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THE NEGRO EXPERIENCE AT THE OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY IN THE FIRST SIXTY-FIVE YEARS, 1873-1938: WITH SPECIAL EMPHASIS ON NEGROES IN THE COLLEGE OF EDUCATION

The Ohio State University

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THE NEGRO EXPERIENCE AT THE OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY
IN THE FIRST SIXTY-FIVE YEARS, 1873-1938:
WITH SPECIAL EMPHASIS ON NEGROES IN THE
COLLEGE OF EDUCATION

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of The Ohio State University

By
Pamela Pritchard, B.S., M.A.

* * * * *

The Ohio State University
1982

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Dr. Bernard Mehl
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Advisor
College of Education
To My Late Father

Eugene A. Pritchard, Sr.
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Finally, a special tribute goes to my Mother for her constant love and understanding of this total situation and to my beautiful daughter, Animah Eileen, may this study be the motivating force and a guidepost to your future.
VITA

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Of the total Negro enrollment reported for all institutions of higher learning throughout the United States in the late 1970's, there were 1,054,325 Negro students\(^1\) attending the nation's various colleges and universities, of whom 831,520\(^2\) were attending public institutions. The Ohio State University stands out among other institutions within the State as a leader in having the ability to attract and enroll large numbers of Negro students. In the past ten years, the Office of Minority Affairs at Ohio State had developed the Freshman Foundation Program which enabled thousands of Negro students, who otherwise would not have, to matriculate at Ohio State.\(^3\) But the State of Ohio did not always encourage Negro participation in higher education.


\(^2\)Ibid.

\(^3\)The Office of Minority Affairs, 1979 Annual Report, *What's Happening in Minority Affairs at The Ohio State University?* (Columbus: The Ohio State University, 1979), p. 4.
Two ordinances passed by the Congress of the United States which soon led to the development of Ohio as the first state in the Old Northwest provided an impetus for a primitive form of egalitarianism. The ordinance of 1785 served to lay the basis for mass education whereas the ordinance of 1787 renounced slavery. The fact that these two ideals would soon come into conflict did not occur to the people who wrote the ordinances. Because the Ohio region attracted settlers from the Upper South and New England areas, divergent viewpoints arose concerning the Negro and slavery. The principal settlers from the New England region were willing to relocate to the Northwest Territory if only they did not have to live in a section that permitted slavery to exist. It was this group of whites, the New England settlers, who in general showed more tolerance and expressed more leniency toward the Negro which finally evolved into an abolitionist sentiment. This same group came to support the idea of mass education that would include Negro children. The other group, the non-slaveholding whites from the Upper South, also wanted to escape the institution of slavery, but for very different

Many of the non-slaveholding whites, who were in large part unskilled workers, migrated to the Southern section of Ohio and elsewhere in the Old Northwest to escape the political and economic domination of the southern elite, and, even more importantly, the competition from the skilled laboring classes of Negro slaves. It appears that most whites from the Upper South did not migrate for humanitarian reasons or abolitionist sentiment but for their own economic concern. Actually, it was due to fear and mistrust of the Negro that led most whites of the Upper South to the lower parts of the Ohio region. 6 Ironically, the majority of Negroes who came to Ohio also settled in the lower portions of the State. And so the southern counties of Ohio became most heavily populated with Negroes and with whites who mistrusted the Negro. These feelings of mistrust for the Negro solidified the group of poor whites who came to Ohio.

Because of Ohio's accessibility, many elements of the nation's population travelled to and through the


6 Ibid., pp. 46-48, Wilson points out in his book that the white laboring class was indeed a powerful political force in the Old Northwest. See Chapters 2-3.
region. The differences in opinions and customs brought by the diverse settlers led to a dualism in thought and practice within the State regarding Negro-white relations. Whites who wanted to discourage Negro settlement were able to write the "Black Laws" in 1804 and 1807. By these laws, Negroes were ordered to post a $500 bond within twenty days of arrival and all were required to carry certificates of registration issued by the county clerk. There was a steady continuation of punitive legal measures against the Negro until 1830; no Negro could testify against a white and they were not allowed to vote. Even the idea of public education was not excepted. The first public school law of 1821 totally excluded the Negro from the public school system. In effect, Negroes were forced to maintain their own private schools, if they could do so, and, at times, with the help of white philanthropic support. Nevertheless, there was a constant increase in the Negro population because the legal deterrents had little impact on Negro migration to the State. In fact, while some whites were passing legislation to prevent Negro settlement and citizenship, other whites were encouraging Negroes to come to Ohio by the Underground

Railroad. They often described the Underground Railroad in Ohio as truly the antithesis to the notorious "Black Laws."\(^8\)

**Table 1**

**Negro Population in Ohio, 1800-1870**

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Year</th>
<th>Negro Population</th>
<th>Percentage of Negroes in Pop.</th>
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<tr>
<td>1800</td>
<td>337</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1810</td>
<td>1,899</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820</td>
<td>4,723</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1830</td>
<td>9,574</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1840</td>
<td>17,345</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>25,279</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>36,673</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>63,213</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Although the Negro did not have the legal protections afforded whites, there finally came a gradual improvement in the Negro status. The start of the Negro rise began in the field of education in 1849 when legislation was passed that would allow part of the public education monies or Common School funds to be used for the support of Negro education.\(^8\)

\(^8\)For a remarkable history of the abolitionists and the Underground Railroad movement, See Wilbur H. Siebert, The Underground Railroad: From Slavery to Freedom (New York: Arno Press and The New York Times, 1968). Siebert contends that no less than 40,000 slaves were aided by Ohio abolitionists.
schools. The 1849 legislation nominally erased the "Black Laws," and by 1887, virtually all of the anti-Negro laws were wiped from Ohio's legal codes. Negroes continued to move upward, even more so, from their less fortunate position when Ohio established and maintained a tax-supported university for its citizens.

The Morrill Act of 1862, which provided grants of federal land to each state so that a college of agriculture and mechanical arts could be established, was not immediately put into effect in Ohio, partly because of the fears expressed by the twenty-five colleges already granting degrees in the State. The greatest resistance to the institution's formation arose because of the following passage in the state law establishing the college: "the leading object shall be, without excluding other scientific and classical studies, and including military tactics, to teach such branches of learning as are related to agricultural and mechanic arts." Of the conflict which developed over what should be taught at the Ohio Agricultural and Mechanical College, Cope appropriately notes that one group felt that the institution was to teach only agriculture and the mechanical arts: a trade school for artisans was the view promoted by an influential group

---

9Ohio. General and Local Laws, (1870), LXVII, 20. This passage, of course, is quoted directly from the Morrill Act.
of farmers and manual laborers. An even more influential group of leaders felt that the clause "without excluding other scientific and classical studies" gave to the institution the broader task of teaching all branches of higher learning" ... where any child of the State could have the opportunity to pursue the studies which best fitted him for his pursuit or profession."

Farmers, skilled laborers and manual workers hoped that the founding of the Ohio A. and M. College would give a boost to their professions. The fears and concerns of the agricultural community were not totally unfounded. The country, as a whole, was undergoing radical changes in farming, and Ohio was no exception. Technological changes in transportation brought by the railroad allowed immigrants and even Ohioans to move to places such as Illinois and Iowa. This westward movement appeared dangerous to Ohio's population and its economic strength. In spite of Ohio's great progress as a farming state between 1850 and 1880, the revolution that began taking place in agriculture and the introduction of sophisticated machinery affected


11Ibid., p. 102.
Ohio's supremacy as a diversified farming state. Hence, when Congress enacted legislation for the founding of A. and M. colleges, the farming communities of Ohio were enthusiastic that the possible downward trend would be averted through the teaching mechanisms and curriculum at the Ohio Agricultural and Mechanical College.¹²

Whereas the farmers expected to receive many benefits from the A. and M. College, Negroes expressed little interest in the college initially mainly because the history of higher education for Negroes did not begin with the Ohio A. and M. College. Negroes were attending, in not so large numbers, Oberlin, Antioch, Ohio University, Wilberforce and other small colleges that maintained their "open-door" admissions policy, and these colleges were training Negroes for the profession of teaching and not for the agricultural profession. Yet the founding of a land-grant institution, at first free of tuition, centrally located in Columbus seemed to be ideal; moreover, the Charter Act of 1870 stated that the college would be open to all persons over fourteen years of age. However, it took nearly twenty years from the opening date of the A. and M. College before a Negro graduated and received a Bachelor's degree. Nonetheless, The Ohio State University, as it was later called,

¹²Roseboom and Weisenburger, p. 209.
came to hold the distinction of being the predominant institution of all northern colleges and universities to enroll and graduate Negro students.\textsuperscript{13}

The major objective of this research study was to present a brief historical analysis of Negro life and activities at Ohio State University within the time frame of 1873 to 1938. There were two outstanding reasons for undertaking a study of this nature. As stated, The Ohio State University had become a leader in graduating Negroes\textsuperscript{14} not only among the land-grant institutions in the nation but also among the Ohio institutions, including such liberal colleges as Antioch and Oberlin that had begun admitting Negroes years before OSU was even established. A further reason for this study was the fact that the University is located in Columbus, a city long known for its hostility toward the Negro. Also, many of the Negroes who attended OSU came from the Columbus community, especially those Negroes who graduated from the College of Education, and sometimes they returned to this same community to teach.

\textsuperscript{13}See Appendix H for a break-down regarding total number of Negro graduates.

\textsuperscript{14}Generally, only those Negroes who had earned a Bachelor's degree have been documented and recorded for this particular study. Yet, the author was able to gather some scattered information about a few of the early Negro graduates who had received graduate and professional degrees, but for the most part, the study only addressed itself to undergraduates. See Appendix C.
Originally, the intent of this particular study was to develop a research project that would examine the history of Negro students at Ohio State in the College of Education. Founded in 1907, the College of Education provided through several decades, the majority of Negro graduates from the University because it prepared students for the public school systems, particularly the larger schools on the high school level in the urban areas. But, the final research materials revealed that there were not enough sources of information pertaining to just the College of Education and Negroes. And, those fragmentary documents that were available, showed that the Negro was excluded from participating in many of the College's organized activities and they were treated differently as students in preparing for the teaching field. The majority of information concerning the Negro was in reference to Negroes outside of the College of Education. In fact, the University Archives does not have any data on the College of Education for the first thirty years of its founding. Therefore, this study was completed only after broadening our exploration so that OSU Negro students in general could be discussed, with special emphasis being given to those Negroes who graduated from the College of Education during the College's formative years, 1908-1938. It was found that during these formative years certain trends had developed
relative to the treatment of Negro students within the College of Education and on the University campus as well.

A second objective of the study was to discover how the Negroes themselves viewed their experiences as Negroes on a predominantly white campus. This objective was approached through oral interviews with former Negro students from OSU. But there were some major drawbacks to this kind of approach. In some respects the oral interviews were difficult to conduct because the former Negro students were still, after fifty years or more, very hesitant to talk about their experiences which must have certainly left psychological scars in view of the time period that they were attending the University. Many times they were vague and quite apprehensive to elaborate about their plights as Negro students and about white attitudes and race discrimination. Even so, the oral interviews, which were created primarily for the College of Education graduates and which were eventually used for some of the other Negro graduates, were designed to investigate the following questions:

1. Did the professors or students (white) at Ohio State University display any negative attitudes and if so, was race believed to be the motivating factor?

2. What kinds of elementary and secondary school systems did the Negro student attend prior to entering Ohio State University? If the school systems were integrated, was the level of integration extended to the teaching staff or just to the student population?
3. What kind of student-life was possible for the Negro at Ohio State? In other words, was Negro participation outside of the classroom restricted or more open?

4. Did the Negro student have access to any sources of financial aid such as scholarships and/or fellowships or was the student supported by parents and outside employment?

5. Was the Negro student treated fairly and equally within the College of Education while fulfilling requirements such as student teaching and once these requirements were fulfilled what kinds of career opportunities did the Negro graduate receive?

The final objective was to uncover historical materials about Negro students from a white perspective. In order to accomplish this task, personal papers and documents of important university officials were reviewed, mainly from the University Archives. The papers of President Thompson, covering the years 1899 to 1927, contained most of the documents and data directly related to the Negro and showed that at times Negroes were truly not welcomed at the University. Data were also collected from the Columbus Board of Education, Department of Archives, to assess the career opportunities available to Negro graduates within the Columbus community. The materials found in these Archives revealed the attitude of white administrators and Board members toward Negro teachers. Pertinent Board minutes and records together with newspapers such as the Columbus Dispatch, Columbus Journal and the OSU student newspaper, The Lantern, were also reviewed. However, there were some
impediments and limitations to this study.

The most outstanding limitation in researching Negro graduates is that there appears to be no traditional or consistent method of record-keeping on Negro students during the early years, which included the time period for this study. It was not until 1968 that the university began collecting data on minority students, according to the Office of Personnel Services at OSU, and only after 1975 was this data divided into the different colleges so that a total number of Negro graduates for the College of Education could be obtained. This further indicated that a study restricted to Negro graduates from the College of Education could not be successfully completed. As a result, this study is severely limited in that only those Negroes who had their pictures printed in the Makio yearbook at OSU and who could be identified as being Negro are listed for this study.

An additional limitation was that only two studies of any sort had been completed on Negro graduates from Ohio State. Frank W. Hale's study entitled They Came and They

\[15\] See Transmittal Letter and Statistics in Appendix A.

\[16\] See Frank W. Hale, They Came and They Conquered (Columbus, Ohio: The Ohio State University, 1973). Kenneth B. Sanders, "A Study of Negro Failures in the Ohio State University College of Education," (Masters Thesis, Ohio State University, 1948). Neither of these two studies gives complete data concerning the number of Negro graduates for any given time period.
Conquered only included 72 Negro alumni of OSU who were "...leading executives and officials in government, business, education, civic affairs and other fields."\textsuperscript{17} School-teachers in large part were overlooked in Hale's study. The other study which was a master's thesis by Kenneth B. Sanders was not useful for our purposes because it was restricted to case studies on Negro students who had failed scholastically in the College of Education during the years 1934-1940.

Still another limitation derived from the fact that most of the Negro graduates in the College of Education for our time period were females. Because of the limited number of job opportunities, the majority of Negro males did not enter the teaching field through the College of Education. The females who entered the College were normally light-skinned, upper-class Negroes who were from the near East side of Columbus. Many of these females, upon graduation, found that the only professional teaching positions available for them were in segregated school systems in the Southern or border states; oftentimes, they did not return to the Columbus community to teach. Also, many of the female graduates were married and dropped their maiden names completely so that it was extremely

\textsuperscript{17}Hale. See Forward.
difficult to trace them. A few of the Negro students had registered with the Alumni Office at Ohio State, but, for the most part, the addressess were outmoded and incorrect. The only Alumni report which gave race data by indicating {Negro} beside the name of a former student was in the Who's Who publication in 1912. Upon inquiry, there were no further data that could be compared with the 1912 publication and very few Negroes had graduated before this data. Also, there is an absence of such studies at other predominantly white institutions which implies that the limitations on available data for Negro graduates from this particular time period is commonplace. In spite of these limitations, it has been possible to complete a study which serves to describe Negro student-life and career opportunities.

Only in the early decades of the twentieth century did Ohio see an influx of Negro students into higher education which was most apparent at the tax-supported institution, Ohio State. The early history of Ohio State, the formative years discussed in Chapter Two, are crucial to understanding why Negro students attended this particular institution. Until the 1920's, Negro involvement at the university was minimal. But as the number of Negroes increased on the campus, so did Negro involvement. Chapter Three will provide a broad background study of the problems and ob-
stacles that Negro students had to face-- a sociological overview beginning in 1873, while Chapter Four will aim to give an account of Negro students in the College of Education with a discussion on selected incidents of race discrimination against Negroes that took place beginning in the early 1930's.

In Chapter Five, there will be an examination of the findings for those interviews that were collected from the College of Education Negro graduates specifically, followed by a short summary of the development of Negro education and opportunities for the Columbus community. For Chapter Six, a summary and a set of basic conclusions that were derived from this investigation, with respect to Negroes and for those who were preparing to become teachers, will be the overriding purpose. Because there has not been a study of this kind, a list of recommendations will be presented so that hopefully additional studies will be undertaken about Negro graduates and especially those Negro graduates in professional teacher training programs at Ohio State. Also, comparable studies should be undertaken at similar institutions in order that future historians of Negro graduates and teachers will have a better data-base for research.
CHAPTER II

NEGRO INVOLVEMENT IN THE EARLY YEARS

On the opening day of the Ohio Agricultural and Mechanical College, September 17, 1873, the daily newspaper reported:

Prof. Orton states that he knows of no rule to exclude persons from being candidates for admission to the Agricultural College, on account of sex or color. ¹

Thus, a liberalizing trend was introduced into the basic practices of the new institution by Edward Orton, the first president of the Ohio A. and M. College and ordained Presbyterian minister. Professor Orton's statement regarding equal opportunities in higher education for all persons was characteristic for him. Partly due to his unorthodox opinions about religion and other matters, he was relieved of two positions, before his appointment as president of the Ohio A. and M. College; one being at Downsville, New York where he had accepted a pastorate and at the New York State Normal School at Albany where he held the Chair of

¹The Daily Dispatch and Daily Ohio Statesman, September 17, 1873, {p. 4 of 4 un-numbered pages}. Also see James E. Pollard, History of the Ohio State University: The Story of Its First Seventy-Five Years, 1873-1948 (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 1952), p. 31.
natural science.\textsuperscript{2} He seemed, however, to be most comfortable in his positions as professor and later president-elect of Antioch College where a spirit of liberalism existed because of the ideas of Horace Mann, the first president of the college.

Orton's viewpoints pertaining to the race issue (or Negro issue) were probably formed during the time he spent in Cincinnati where, immediately after his graduation from Hamilton College in 1848, he had attended Lane Seminary. Abolitionist sentiment had been very strong at Lane Seminary before the Civil War. As a matter of fact, in 1835 soon after the institution had opened, a group of protesting students were expelled from the Seminary because of their insistence upon discussing the slavery question and other related topics involving the Negro.\textsuperscript{3}

The Seminary students also had begun to establish schools for the Negro including academies and Sabbath-Schools and they employed teachers whenever possible.\textsuperscript{4} "But these

\textsuperscript{2} Pollard, pp. 19-20.

\textsuperscript{3} The pros and cons of the prohibition of slavery became a popular issue not only with the college students at Lane Seminary but also earlier at the Western Reserve University under President Storrs who was known to be an abolitionist.

noble efforts put forth so near the border states soon provoked firm opposition from the pro-slavery element."\(^5\)

The opposition became so great that the students decided to move further north\(^6\) to Oberlin. They took with them an ex-slave named James Bradley who became the first Negro to be admitted on an equal basis, after what is said to be a narrow vote by the trustees at Oberlin.\(^7\)

It would appear that there was a residue of Anti-slavery feelings even in 1848, which had an influence upon Orton. Yet Orton, as an early official at Ohio State, was not alone in his pro-Negro sentiment. Dr. Norton Strange Townshend, one of the original members of the Board of Trustees for Ohio State, was chosen to be a delegate in 1890 to the world's Anti-Slavery convention, held in London, England.\(^8\)

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\(^5\)Ibid.


\(^7\)Although Oberlin is cited by several historians as the first college in Ohio to admit Negro students, McGinnis points out that a Negro was attending the Western Reserve University as early as 1832 and graduated in 1836. See Frederick A. McGinnis, *The Education of Negroes in Ohio* (Blanchester, Ohio: Curless Printing Company, 1962), p. 77, and Hickok, pp. 83-84. There will be further discussion in this chapter about Negro college graduates in the 1800's for Ohio and elsewhere.

\(^8\)In addition, Townshend was instrumental in securing the repeal of the "Black Laws" as an elected member to the Ohio General Assembly from Lorain County. See Cope, pp. 67-68.
Since there were not any Negroes to present themselves as candidates for admission at the A. and M. College, Orton's "equal opportunity statement" had absolutely no meaning and certainly made no impact upon the Negro population. However, of the twenty-five students who were admitted for the opening school year, two of them were women. The two women to be admitted—Harriet and Alice Townshend—were the daughters of trustee member Dr. Norton Strange Townshend who resigned as a trustee to be named later as Chairman of the Department of Agriculture. Right from the beginning female representation could be seen and felt throughout the community life on the campus. By 1879, Miss M.F. Morrison became the first woman to graduate from the young institution. She was also appointed as assistant in the library. And Alice Townshend, one year later, was selected to be president of the senior class. She was the first woman to hold such an impressive position.

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9 For the Winter term of the beginning year, student enrollment increased to thirty-seven and for the Spring term, there were fifty students. By the year 1874, there were fifty-nine students in attendance and seven of the students were women. See Pollard, p. 36.

10 Pouneh M. Alcott, "Women at The Ohio State University in the First Four Decades: 1873-1912" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, The Ohio State University, 1979), p. 15.

11 Ibid., p. 28.

12 Ibid., p. 57.
There were a couple of reasons as to why the Negro possibly did not attend the University during the early years. One outstanding reason was that there were no public facilities available to anyone. Although dormitory spaces were provided for the male students, they were oftentimes lodged in substandard and overcrowded rooms on the campus. The female students were forced to live in private homes. These conditions were especially undesirable for the out-of-town student.\textsuperscript{13} If a Negro had attended Ohio State at this time, local custom would not have permitted the Negro student to intermingle with the white students, and the hardships in attending Ohio State would have been insurmountable. Besides, there were no sidewalks or paved roads, and streetcar service was non-existent. Nevertheless, the college did enter into an agreement with the Columbus Street Railroad Company with the expectation that transportation services would be furnished for the commuting students.\textsuperscript{14}

An argument over the nature of the institution stood

\textsuperscript{13}It was estimated that at least one half of the students who attended the university were from rural districts and small towns within the state. Twenty-two counties were represented during the beginning year. See Pollard, p. 36 and George W. Knight and John R. Commons, \textit{The History of Higher Education in Ohio} (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1891), p. 47.

\textsuperscript{14}Recording of Proceedings of the Board of Trustees of The Ohio State University, January 6, 1875, p. 90. Hereafter referred to as \textit{Proceedings}, Board of Trustees.
out as a second reason for the lack of Negro students. Leaders from the farming communities had fought unsuccess-
fully to keep the Ohio State University exclusively an 
agricultural and mechanical college. The fight began as the 
result of an amendment that was attached to the Enabling 
Act of 1870 which had established the college. Section I 
of the amendment stated:

Be it enacted by the General Assembly of 
the State of Ohio, that the educational 
institution heretofore known as the "Ohio 
Agricultural and Mechanical College, shall 
be known and designated as "The Ohio State 
University."

The old cliche of "what's in a name" proved to be a relevant 
concern for the officials of the now Ohio State University. 
The name change antagonized those proponents who supported 
the narrow interpretation of the Morrill Act of 1860. They 
argued that the name change indicated a shift away from 
emphasizing the agricultural and mechanical arts subjects 
to a trend which showed more of an inclination toward the 
liberal arts. Whether it was intentional or not, this fight 
had the kind of effect which would make Ohio State Univer-
sity unattractive to the Negro. Most of the Negroes, who 
were attending institutions of higher learning, were en-
rolled in the liberal arts colleges throughout the State. 
To seek a degree in agriculture, and expect to obtain

15 Proceedings, Board of Trustees, November 21, 1877, p. 146.
employment in Ohio during the late 1800's, was an impractical avenue for Negroes. Eventually, the disenchanted farmers and small town politicians, who wanted to maintain a God-fearing institution that stressed utilitarian pursuits, developed a strong coalition to lobby against the University in response to the decision to change the institution's name. Their lobbying efforts affected the institution's major funding source, namely the Ohio General Assembly, and caused a slow growth rate in expansion for the University.

Reverend Walter Quincy Scott, another Presbyterian minister, was selected as the next president to help build Ohio State amidst the controversies and problems. Scott was well remembered for his inaugural address of June, 1882 in which he defended the ideal of equal opportunity for all students in an eight thousand word speech. Scott espoused this liberal viewpoint when he endorsed a petition that had been signed by the female students requesting that a dorm be built for them. The question of a Negro student attending Ohio State did not come up during Scott's tenure as President, so his opinion concerning this matter was not revealed, but, he did speak on such matters as the political economy, the maldistribution of wealth, and communism. He received criticism from those people who heard his lectures on these topics which ultimately led to
his dismissal\textsuperscript{16} after serving for only two years. He was replaced by William Henry Scott in 1883,\textsuperscript{17} who served the University for a total of twelve years, which was the longest tenure of the first four presidents. It was only a year after Scott's appointment that the first Negro to have an official relation with Ohio State appeared on the campus, not as a student, but as a Board member.

Peter H. Clark became the first Negro to be appointed as a Board of Trustee member for The Ohio State University. He served a total of forty-two months from May 13, 1884 to December 7, 1887 and was very active as a Board member.\textsuperscript{18} The newly-elected governor, George B. Hoadley, a Democrat, appointed Clark to the position of Trustee as a political patronage for his work in the gubernatorial race against Republican Joseph Benson Foraker in 1883. Clark and his son, Herbert, had established in Cincinnati a newsprint, entitled \textit{The Afro-American}, which was used as a vehicle of communication for Negro Democrats of Ohio. Before Clark

\textsuperscript{16}Pollard, pp. 81-83

\textsuperscript{17}Cope, p. 579

\textsuperscript{18}Biographical File for Peter H. Clark, The Ohio State University, University Archives. Hereafter The Ohio State University, University Archives will be indicated by OSUA. Also see \textit{Proceedings}, Board of Trustees, February 21, 1888, p. 352.
first joined the Democratic ranks in 1882, he was considered to be a staunch Republican. However, his support for the Republican Party had begun to wane as early as 1873 when he and other Negro Republicans convened at Chillicothe for a state racial convention to protest the inaction of the Republicans concerning racial matters. It was his contention that the Republican Party had not given to Negroes a fair amount of electoral opportunities, political patronage positions, and that the Republicans had failed to act upon the civil rights bill proposed by Sumner.\textsuperscript{19} Although Clark may have been justified in his concerns, a faction of Negro Republicans was fiercely opposed to his methods. The "old-line" Negroes felt that he should work within the existing Republican ranks. The ill-feelings might have been reduced had President Hayes not announced his southern policy involving the pull-out of remaining federal troops.\textsuperscript{20} This action of the President led Clark to the Ohio Socialist Labor Party. In 1877, he ran on the party's ticket for state school commissioner and lost. By 1879, he left the Labor Party, and four years later, helped Hoadley to become Governor of Ohio. Clark,

\textsuperscript{19}Gerber, \textit{Black Ohio and the Color Line}, p. 219.

\textsuperscript{20}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 223.
as a Negro rights activist, was attracted to Hoadley, who was popular among the Negroes of Cincinnati for his policies relative to their rights.21 "Nowhere was the pace of {the Black} community development as rapid as at Cincinnati, where the state's largest and one of its oldest black communities was located."22 Clark had risen to fame in this environment as early as 1849 when the city council of Cincinnati had refused to pay Clark for his teaching appointment by the colored trustees"...on the ground that the colored people, not being citizens and voters, could not be trustees, and their employing teachers was not legal."23

The council's action stemmed not from the 1849 Law which allowed Ohioans to establish separate schools for Negroes and whites, but, from the "Black Laws" which to that time denied citizenship to Negroes. The question of whether Negroes were permitted to manage their own affairs, including the payment of Negro teachers, was taken to

21Ibid., pp.232-233.Gerber mentions the fact that Hoadley let it be known that he was arrested in response to his refusal to help capture a runaway slave. In addition, Hoadley boasted about his opposition to the extension of slavery into the Western territory.

22Ibid., p. 21.

court in 1850 by Clark and others to force an opinion.\textsuperscript{24} The decision declared that the law of 1849 was valid (separate schools were legal) and that the Negro trustees should be substantiated,\textsuperscript{25} and Clark should be paid his salary.

From Clark's activities with the Cincinnati school board, he continued after 1850 to move up in the school system and political and social ranks. But by 1886, Clark

\textsuperscript{24} Negroes in Cincinnati, because of their large numbers and "business-sense" were able to establish their own high school in 1844. The school was funded by a Negro choral group and white ministers. (The law of 1829 precluded Negroes from receiving any funds to establish their own schools). Gerber states in his book that the all-Negro Board of Directors composed of three members was elected by the adult males (Negroes) of the city. The Board of Directors rendered, on a yearly basis, financial reports and budgets to the white-controlled board of education and to the city council. The city council, through legal mandates, had the responsibility of handling all monies for Negroes and whites. Negroes, however, were not allowed to collect their own taxes. See Gerber, p. 22. The council's refusal to acknowledge the Negro school and its employees led to a court case, The State, ex. rel. etc. v. City of Cincinnati et al.

\textsuperscript{25} Simmons, p. 375. A legal precedent had been set in Boston regarding the Ohio decision allowing Negroes to attend separate schools. In the review materials prepared by West, a brief synopsis of the first desegregation case is discussed. In 1849, Sarah C. Roberts v. The City of Boston was argued in the Boston Court by Charles Sumner and Negro Attorney Robert Morris. The Court upheld the Primary School Committee of Boston's decision that denied Sarah C. Roberts the right to attend an all-white neighborhood school, and ordered her to attend the Negro Primary school farthest from her residence. See Earle H. West, The Black American and Education (Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Company, 1972), pp. 43-45.
Negro Trustee at The Ohio State University: 1884-1887

Peter H. Clark
resigned his position as principal of Gaines High School where he had served for thirty years. Shortly thereafter, having served less than four years, he resigned as trustee of The Ohio State University"... to accept the position of principal of the State Normal School of Huntsville, Alabama."26 The remaining members of the Board made the following declaration in behalf of Peter H. Clark:

RESOLVED, That we desire to place on record our high appreciation of his character and services to the University. He was zealous, unselfish, of broad views on the subject of higher education and exhibited excellent judgement in all matters pertaining to the University. While a member of the Board he bore himself in such a manner as to win the confidence and high regard of all his associates. We sincerely regret his departure and our best wishes go with him to his new field of labor.27

Clark quietly left the political scene in Ohio but his son, Herbert, who also had worked for the Democrats during the 1883 gubernatorial race, followed in his father's footsteps as a Negro rights activist. As expected, the younger Clark fought for Ohio State when a political storm (which became racial too) raged across Ohio concerning the division of funds from the Morrill Act of 1890. He even spoke at a Columbus rally against Wilberforce. Sharp

26 *Proceedings*, Board of Trustees, February 21, 1888, p. 352.

battle lines were drawn between the officials at Ohio State, who felt they were entitled to the full share of the $25,000 annuity from the second Morrill Act, and President Mitchell of Wilberforce University and other sympathizers who wanted Ohio State to share part of the federal allocation. The officials at Ohio State made their claims to the funds, according to Cope, based upon two reasons: Wilberforce was not an agricultural or mechanical arts college and therefore should not be considered for an equal portion of the funds, and "the university had never made any distinction as to race or color in the admission of students, and at that time there were a number of colored students attending its classes." 28

Wilberforce had entered into earlier financial agreements with the State of Ohio which intended to stimulate additional growth and expansion in other directions. The first such agreement came in 1869-1870 when the Ohio General Assembly was to allocate from the Freedmen's Bureau approximately $25,000 to train teachers to work in the South. 29 Again in 1887, the year that the last vestige

28Cope, p. 132.

of the "Black Laws" was erased from the books, Wilberforce reached an accord with the State which added extra resources for teacher-training programs. As specified, Wilberforce would provide the needed space and other facilities while the State would give the necessary financial assistance for a "teacher's college" at Wilberforce to be called the "Combined Normal and Industrial Department." These measures still left the college underfunded.

The bill to give the full portion of funds to Ohio State was supported by leading members of the United Mine Workers Union and the Grange and Farmers' Alliance, and, also by former President Hayes. John P. Green, a prominent Negro State Representative, opposed the division of funds arguing that if Wilberforce's plea for the funds was approved, the long, hard struggle for the repeal of the "Black Laws" (through the passage of the Arnett Bill, February, 1887) would be negated. He maintained that "...an increase in the scope of voluntary separation by Blacks was seen as a precedent for white-imposed segregation." Due to factions within the Negro community based upon differences in religion, social class and color, the

\[30\] Ibid., p. 7.

\[31\] Ibid., p. 2.
strength of Wilberforce's campaign to obtain the funds was weakened. The final blow had come when an eventual compromise gave full allocation to Ohio State through a letter written by the Secretary of the Interior stating that"... Wilberforce University could lawfully claim no part {of the funds}."\textsuperscript{32} Wilberforce agreed to continue to accept a separate allocation from the State.

In the very next year, Ohio State University graduated its first Negro student with a Bachelor of Arts degree.\textsuperscript{33}

\textsuperscript{32}Cope, p. 132. The State gave additional funds to Ohio State through the Hysell Law which was enacted March 20, 1891. Also see Twenty-first Annual Report, The Ohio State University (Columbus, Ohio: The Westbote Co., State Printers, 1892) November 15, 1891, pp. 27-28. "The act of Congress of August 30, 1890, supplementing the original endowment of the University, was accepted by the General Assembly May 4, 1891. This act provides an annual appropriation beginning with $15,000 for the year ending June 30, 1890, and increasing the amount $1,000 a year until it is $25,000, and then continuing it indefinitely." If what happened in the State of Ohio is an example of how the North distributed the 1890 funds then no wonder the North does not have any more Negro colleges than do exist.

\textsuperscript{33}Proceedings, Board of Trustees, June 20, 1892, p. 86. This author relied upon information available at the University Archives at Ohio State University. Even though Ohio State stated during the 1891 "division of funds" controversy that Negro students were attending classes at the University, this author was unable to locate any graduates earlier than 1892. There was a two-year certificate program in Agriculture which may have attracted Negroes, but for this study, as stated in Chapter I, only Negroes who received a four-year degree will be discussed. By coincidence in the same year, Katherine Morhart became the first female Editor-in-Chief of the \textit{Lantern}, established in 1881. See Alcott, p. 57.
Sherman Hamlin Guss, a native of Middleport, Ohio, was a very active Negro student on campus. He was a member of the Alcyone Literary Society in which he held the position of Sargeant-at-Arms.\textsuperscript{34} Even more notably, on February 23, 1891, Guss spoke on "Tendencies of Democracy" during the University Day exercises in the Chapel.\textsuperscript{35} According to the Alumni Register,\textsuperscript{36} he was named Principal of the Normal Department of the West Virginia Colored Institute after graduation. Guss initiated a practice here which was that the majority of Negro graduates entered the teaching field, regardless of the college of their enrollment, and that they could find employment not in Ohio, or even in the North, but generally in the Southern or border states where hostility against the Negro was greater and more intensified. Guss never forgot his years at the University. In 1915, Guss, who was then secretary of a committee to revise a system of grades, records and registration at the Colored Institute, wrote Dr. Thompson about information on Ohio State's system. He concluded his correspondence by stating, "as an Alumnus of the Ohio State University, '92, I congratulate you and take pride in the great work

\textsuperscript{34}Makio, 1891, p. 64.

\textsuperscript{35}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{36}Alumni Register, The Ohio State University, November, 1906, p. 33.
my Alma Mater is doing under your leadership," and he adds, "I am doing what I can here to help my people."37

Ohio State was not a leader in the 1880's for Negro graduates. In comparison to other Ohio colleges, the interval between the founding of a college and of graduating a Negro was a little greater at Ohio State. The overview of listings in Table 2 give only a few of Ohio's colleges that led the state in graduating Negro students. As mentioned earlier, the Western Reserve University graduated the first Negro with a Bachelor's degree in 1836. Oberlin ranked second by granting a degree in 1844 to a Negro38 and Ohio University placed third when J.C. Corbin graduated in 1853.39

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38The majority of information concerning Negro graduates can be found in DuBois, The College-Bred Negro. Also see Charles S. Johnson, The Negro College Graduate (College Park, Maryland: McGrath Publishing Company, 1938), pp. 122-123 and 305. Of course, John Russwurm became the first Negro to receive a Bachelor's degree in America from Bowdoin College in 1826.

39Corbin was elected State Superintendent of Public Instruction in Arkansas during the Reconstruction period under Governor Clayton, after holding a position as Chief Clerk in the Little Rock Post Office in 1872. He served for only two years because of a new constitution that was enacted which precluded most Republican officers from holding their positions. See Simmons, pp. 829-832. Also see Horace Mann Bond, The Education of the Negro in the American Social Order (New York: Octagon Books, 1970), p. 49.
Table 2*

Earliest Negro Graduates From Ohio Colleges

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Western Reserve</th>
<th>Oberlin</th>
<th>Ohio University</th>
<th>Ohio Wesleyan</th>
<th>Dennison</th>
<th>Antioch</th>
<th>Ohio State University</th>
<th>Otterbein</th>
<th>Wittenberg</th>
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<td>1830-1840</td>
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</table>

A gradual trend was continued at Ohio State for Negro graduates. Allen Saunders Peal received his Bachelor of Arts degree in 1895. And, by 1897, Ohio State could boast of graduating two Negroes at the same commencement exercises. Sherman Tecumseh Wiggins, the first Negro from Columbus, received a Bachelor of Philosophy in the Modern Language course, and Arthur Kelton Lawrence completed studies for a Pharmacy degree. The fourth President of the university, James H. Canfield, a former President of the University of Nebraska, had the largest number of Negroes to graduate from Ohio State than any of the first four presidents. Interestingly, by 1898, Ohio State appears to have led its sister land-grant institutions for total number of Negro graduates. The information in Table 3 reflects the earliest year in which a Negro received a Bachelor's degree from the selected land-grant institutions, in addition to the listing of the total number of graduates for 1895-1898. Michigan State follows behind Ohio State with one less Negro graduate, and Cornell, the first land-grant institution to be established in the United States, trails Michigan State with a total number of three Negro graduates.

40 Proceedings, Board of Trustees, June 10, 1895, p. 201.

41 Ibid., June 14, 1897, pp. 294 and 296.
Table 3*

Negro Graduates From Selected Land-Grant Institutions in the Late Nineteenth Century

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1880</th>
<th>1885</th>
<th>1890</th>
<th>1895</th>
<th>1898</th>
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<td>Cornell</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Illinois</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Michigan</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>4</td>
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<td>OSU</td>
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<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pennsylvania</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
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</table>


One of the chief reasons for an eventual increase in Negro students may have been when Canfield set up, within his first year, the Department of Pedagogy.42 Professor

42 Edgar B. Wesley, NEA: The First Hundred Years: The Building of the Teaching Profession (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1957), p. 375. Canfield had served as secretary to the NEA, and because he was one of the few men to hold the office for longer than a year, 1886-1889, the membership for the organization increased rapidly. As noted in Appendix B, the membership stood at 625 in 1885; 1,197 in 1886; 9,115 in 1887; 7,216 in 1888; and then back down to 1,984 in 1889, p. 397. One can assume that Canfield was instrumental in promoting the cause of education at the time that he held an office with the organization.
J.P. Gordy of Ohio University was chosen as head of the Department, which was established April 10, 1896.\textsuperscript{43} Canfield stated that "the Department of Pedagogy was created to meet a very proper and urgent demand on the part of the teachers of the State..."\textsuperscript{44} He continues with his reasons for the establishment of such a department by commenting, "this Department of Pedagogy is not meant to take the place nor do the work of a Normal School--of which Ohio needs several, but under the direction of Professor J.P. Gordy, whom you called to this Chair, it is entirely safe to expect that the department will rapidly advance in importance and will be recognized as one of the strongest in the University."\textsuperscript{45}

No doubt when Canfield established the Department of Pedagogy, which in later years expanded into the College of Education, Negroes were afforded an opportunity to go into teaching, on a professional level at OSU. Even though there is no data to support this specific claim, generally speaking, since the majority of Negroes went into teaching anyway, it is safe to assume that those Negroes attending

\textsuperscript{43} \textit{Proceedings}, Board of Trustees, April 10, 1896, p. 234.

\textsuperscript{44} \textit{Twenty-sixth Annual Report}, The Ohio State University (Columbus, Ohio: The Westbote Co., State Printers, 1896) June 30, 1896, p. 28.

\textsuperscript{45} \textit{Ibid.}, pp. 28-29.
OSU would not be deviants from the norm. It was Canfield's basic philosophy that sought to improve the welfare of all people which led to broader educational opportunities, and these opportunities reached a small number of Negroes. After all, when Canfield established a summer school for teachers in 1896, certainly there were some Negroes who took advantage of these additional course offerings.

Canfield believed that the teacher-training curriculum should be taught by instructors who had special training in the methods of the philosophy of education. His aim to upgrade teachers and instructors of teacher-training courses gave a positive image to the recently-established Department of Pedagogy. And, education was taking on a new look, one of a professional study. By 1899, Canfield resigned his position and William Oxley Thompson, who served the University for twenty-six years, became the next president. In the first years of his service, he developed plans for a teacher's college which came to be known as the College of Education. Negroes who would have normally attended Wilberforce University or perhaps one of the other smaller white colleges began to look at the State University and its overt efforts to attract more students, by increasing its allocation for the professional teacher's college. By the early 1900's, there was an obvious change on the university campus. Negroes were
attending and graduating from an institution that would
one day be recognized as the leading northern white college
to graduate Negroes. But, there were problems and many ill-
feelings were directed toward Negroes, especially as their
numbers increased. They faced racism from faculty, students
and the Columbus community. Yet they continued to enroll
at the University and to seek a degree. In the following
two chapters, we will review their plight, to see how, if
ever, they were able to overcome the many obstacles.
CHAPTER III

THE NEGRO AND THE THOMPSON PRESIDENCY

At the beginning of the new century and continuing throughout the Thompson years, there were both negative and positive instances concerning the Negro at The Ohio State University which ultimately affected Negroes in the College of Education. At times, it was plainly apparent that the Negro was not well-received on the campus; there were specific occasions when the Negro was discouraged from even attending the University. Then, at other times, there would be a breakthrough for the Negro. For example, Jessie Frances Stephens¹ of Columbus became the first Negro woman to earn a Bachelor's degree from The Ohio State University in 1905. Miss Stephens was the daughter of Robert K. Stephens, an ex-slave and Sarah Smith, a born free Negro, who were opposed to the idea of their daughter attending college, mainly because of the financial hardships involved in pursuing a degree. Miss Stephens, who walked four miles twice daily to attend

¹In the Makio, 1905, p. 63, Jessie F. Stephens is listed as a graduate. However, according to the official records at OSU, Jessie F. Stephens received her degree in 1906 for the Class of 1905. Proceedings, Board of Trustees, January 9, 1906, p. 20; Records of the University Faculty of the Ohio State University, June 14, 1906 p. 121. Hereafter referred to as Faculty Minutes.
First Negro (Female) Graduate

Jessie Frances Stephens
classes at Ohio State, was employed as a maid at the same place where her father worked as a janitor. After her graduation and before her marriage to Edward Glover in 1912, she taught in the Arkansas school system, because she had an uncle who was a principal there. Then she joined the faculty of the Florida A. and M. College in Tallahassee where she became an associate professor and taught German and English since her major area of concentration was in the field of modern languages. Later, she taught French, German and English at the West Virginia Collegiate Institute (formly known as the West Virginia Colored Institute) where Sherman Hamlin Guss, the University's first Negro graduate, was principal of the Normal School for the institution.²

The second Negro female to receive a Bachelor's degree was Helen Helena Scott³ from Worthington, Ohio. Scott held

²For an excellent account on Jessie Stephens Glover see First Negro Woman Graduate File, OSUA. Also see Ruth Young White, ed., We Too Built Columbus (Columbus, Ohio: Stoneman Press, 1936), p. 377. Jessie Stephens Glover was followed by two daughters—Carolyn Utz and Portia Glover Sunico as OSU Alumni. Carolyn graduated in 1938 with a degree in Social Administration and Portia earned a Bachelor of Science in Education in 1934 and a Master's Degree in 1938. The Golvers can boast of having four generations of sons and daughters who have graduated from OSU. A tribute was made in honor of this feat in the OSU Monthly, June, 1965, p. 2.

³Makio, 1911, p. 68.
two distinctions in that in 1911 she was the first Negro to earn two degrees, Bachelor of Arts and Bachelor of Science in Education, simultaneously in the dual Arts/Education program and qualified to become the first Negro to graduate from the College of Education. Unfortunately, Scott died shortly before she would have graduated. Both women, however, were added to the statistics of the very small group of educated Negro women for the nation. DuBois points out in his survey that the first Negro woman to receive a Bachelor's degree in the United States did not achieve that honor until 1850. Oberlin led all northern and southern colleges in graduating Negro women. Before 1880, Oberlin had graduated at least thirty-one Negro women with the Bachelor's degree, and the number increased to fifty-five by the year 1898. Ohio State did not witness an increase in female enrollment for Negroes until the College of Education was set up in 1907 and began granting degrees.

Yet Negro recipients of a Bachelor's degree prior to 1907, according to the available data, generally established careers in the field of education. Thompson made great efforts to encourage Negroes to enter this field of endeavor--education. As reflected in his correspondence during the early years of the 1900's, Thompson was asked on

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several occasions to aid various Negro graduates in their professional pursuits. And he did.

Clarence S. Woodward who received a Bachelor of Science degree in Agriculture in 1908 stated in a letter the following year:

Please accept my many thanks for what you did for me during my school career at the Ohio State University and for the excellent letter of recommendation which you sent me some time ago. I take pleasure in informing you that I have been elected to the position of Professor of Agriculture and Natural Science at Lincoln Institute, Jefferson City, Missouri. I shall do my best to do honor to my alma mater and to merit the continuation of your kindly interests in me.5

On the other hand, Allen Saunders Peal, a graduate in the year 1895, as indicated in Chapter Two, and a resident of Kansas City, Kansas wrote to Thompson for help even though Thompson was not the University President at the time of his graduation, and commented:

I beg to take a moment of your valuable time with a few lines of "heart to heart" talk. I have been re-elected to my position, but Kansas schools are so ridden with politics that I am nearly stifled with my environment.6

Thus, Peal requested, "I am cherishing the hope that probably you may hear someone casting about for a colored...


man for some fair position, and be kind enough to mention me."\(^7\) Peal, who was at the time of his letter to Thompson a Commandant at Western University in Kansas City, Kansas mentioned the fact that, "Wilberforce University next year will be without a colored military instructor. Probably I am quite near the qualifications not to be a West Point graduate."\(^8\) Indeed, his qualifications were impressive. Peal started out in 1898 as Principal of the Red River Normal School in Texas. By 1899, he was a Commissioned Lieutenant for the U.S. Volunteer Army followed by an appointment as Deputy Auditor of Franklin County, Columbus, Ohio, in 1901. He left his post in Columbus in 1908 to become Principal of the Public Schools in Tulsa, Oklahoma and was appointed, two years later, Postmaster in Clarksville, Oklahoma. No records remain, however, to indicate whether Peal was successful in obtaining the position.\(^9\)

Obviously Thompson had gained a good reputation among the early Negro graduates, for his interest in helping them. At times his influential position as a University President of a northern (white) institution proved to be

\(^7\)Ibid.

\(^8\)Ibid.

\(^9\)Who's Who, Ohio State University Association, 1912, p. 187. Also see Early Negro Graduates File, OSUA. Peal was also author of an article entitled, "School Gardens" which he wrote in 1911.
beneficial for those students seeking employment opportun-
nities, but not always. This was clearly the case when he
undertook to help an OSU graduate who had transferred
elsewhere for further studies:

Some time ago a letter which I happened
to overlook was addressed to me by Mr. Alonzo
J. Bowling, 130 Dartmouth St., Boston, Mass.
Mr. Bowling is a colored man who received his
Master's degree from the Ohio State University
in 1908. He is a candidate for his Ph.D. de-
gree at present, or was before June. He is a
candidate for the Presidency of the New Berea.
Several of our Faculty who had him in graduate
work would I am sure, be glad to speak of his
scholarship and intellectual capacity. We know
a good many things about him and nothing dis-
creditable. If so young a man is under con-
sideration, I feel sure we should like to re-
commend him. He doubtless had better education
than most colored men more advanced in years.
I should be glad to take the matter up some-
what earnestly if the authorities are in search
at present for a President or for a teacher.10

Bowling had been the first Negro to receive a Master's
degree from Ohio State after receiving a Bachelor of Arts
degree in 1906 from Albion College. After graduation from
OSU, he attended Harvard University in 1909 and Boston
University in 1910. By 1912 he was reported to be a Hotel
Manager for Hotel Upton in Boston, Massachusetts and a
Graduate student (second year) at Harvard University which
implies that he did not become president of New Berea

10Letter, W.O. Thompson to President William G. Frost,
College. Yet he became author of "A Study of Negro Education" and held memberships to organizations such as: The Negro Literary Association, Inter-State American Association for International Conciliation and the American Association for Advancement of Science.¹¹

Thompson's helpful attitude toward the Negro, as shown in his correspondence, was sharply modified by the middle years of his Presidency. This attitudinal change was due in large measure to the overall community feeling about Negroes; and, since the University was a reflection of the State with respect to the inherent philosophies and practices concerning the Negro, it was inevitable that Thompson would make a shift in his attitude. The prospect of Negro expansion in the student population became increasingly alarming, especially when those Negroes, who entered the University in the early part of the twentieth century, expressed a desire to forego the traditional field of education. As it stood, growing numbers of Negroes did leave education in pursuit of other disciplines. Because of the "open door" admission policy for the Law School enacted in 1891, Elmer Amos Shackelford, of Tipton, Missouri, became the first Negro to receive a Certificate of Law in

1906.12 Another first for Negroes was James Hendrix Bias from Vicksburg, Mississippi who graduated in 1910 with a degree in Veterinary Medicine.13 In an article entitled "Colored Students in University," the Ohio State University Monthly reported: "ten students are specializing in botany; fifteen are enrolled in the military department; eight are taking veterinary medicine, and others are enrolled in the Colleges of Agriculture, Arts, Law, Engineering and Pharmacy."14 These increased enrollments took place against the background of growing problems for Negroes in Ohio.

In these years, within the State of Ohio, and particularly within the surrounding community of Ohio State, ill-feelings were being directed towards the Negro— a white backlash was the response to Negro advancements and achievements made in the latter part of the nineteenth century. The legislative acts of the federal government such as the 1866 Civil Rights Act and the Fourteenth and Fifteenth

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12Proceedings, October 14, 1891, p. 48. "The department will be open upon the same terms to both sexes and to all persons of whatever race or color..." See Makio, 1906, p. 85.

13Makio, 1910, p. 127.

14OSU Monthly, March, 1915, p. 19. Arthur K. Lawrence, who was mentioned in Chapter Two, became the first Negro to earn a degree in Pharmacy in 1897. See Makio, 1897, p. 113.
Amendments gave to Negroes the basic fundamental civil rights that were guaranteed to white citizens of America. As a result, a small group of elitist Negroes in the 1870's began enjoying the public facilities that had been traditionally closed to them. Negroes rode on trains and in streetcars and utilized other public accommodations as whites begrudgingly accepted their presence.\textsuperscript{15} However, in Ohio, "the years after 1890 saw an increase, by no means approaching that found in the South but alarming in itself, of lynchings, attempted lynchings, and race riots."\textsuperscript{16} Oxford, Ohio was the location for the lynching of a Negro who had been charged with murder and assault against a white woman and her daughter in 1892. In the meantime, another lynching occurred in Adams County two years later involving a Negro teenager.\textsuperscript{17} Two more lynchings took place in Bellefontaine and New Richmond by the end of 1895. An outcry from Negroes led to the passage of an anti-lynching bill in 1896 called the Smith Law which"... provided that a county where lynchings and other mob violence against individuals occurred might be sued for $500 to $1,000, depending on the seriousness of the injury sustained by surviving victims, or for $5,000 by the

\textsuperscript{15}Gerber, \textit{Black Ohio and the Color Line}, p. 47.

\textsuperscript{16}Ibid., p. 249.

\textsuperscript{17}Ibid., pp. 249-250.
next of kin of those murdered by mobs.\textsuperscript{18}

To be sure, the incidents of violence against Negroes were the result of fear. Quillin notes "that the prejudice of the white man against the negro increases according to the growth of the negro population."\textsuperscript{19} This theory was especially true for the State of Ohio and more particularly for Columbus in the early 1900's. The growth rate in population for Columbus was considerably much higher than the total for the State. According to the Mark Survey, "the negro population almost trebled between 1900 and 1920."\textsuperscript{20} As suggested by Minor, this rapid increase in population was because, in part, Negroes were migrating from the southern parts of the State and increasingly from the deeper South.\textsuperscript{21}

\textsuperscript{18}Ibid., pp.251-252. By the next year, after passage of the Smith Law, another lynching took place in Urbana. No action was taken against any of the participants who were linked to the incidents.


But it was not just happenstance that Negroes migrated northward to Ohio. The managers and owners for Ohio's industries, "stimulated the migration into the state by actively recruiting Negro workmen in the South."22 The conclusion of this northward movement resulted in the urbanization of Negroes. For instance, in three of Ohio's major cities-- Cincinnati, Cleveland and Columbus, three-quarters of the Negro population resided in the urban centers by 1910. In essence, Negroes had gone from being a rural dweller to an urbanite within fifty years.23 The spillover effect of the growth of the Negro population to the urban communities was, most of all, the result of the shift from a preindustrial to an industrial system, a phenomenon which caused more turbulence, in the end, for those Negroes seeking upward mobility. "The preindustrial and industrial stages were principally related to group struggles over economic resources," to borrow from Wilson's analysis, "as different segments of the white population overtly sought to create and solidify economic racial domination of black labor in the preindustrial period to the elimination of black competition for jobs in the industrial period..."24


23Gerber, Black Ohio and the Color Line, p. 272.

24Wilson, p. 23.
Negroes, at The Ohio State University, were unknowingly victims of the process to eliminate "black competition" for skilled and technical jobs. And Thompson became a significant force in holding to the status quo in which Negroes were not to become skilled artisans. In 1911, he wrote to President Shurman of Cornell about another matter, to be discussed later, and concluded his letter with the following statement:

I am discouraging colored young men from taking courses in engineering, chiefly on the ground that social conditions will not tolerate their preference. I know of instances where men could not be employed because white men would receive a smaller salary. The race problem is growing in intensity every year, and I am disposed to doubt the wisdom on the part of the colored people of taking any move that practically forces the doctrine of social equality.25

Subsequent letters of his which remain to us show that in 1913, Thompson was able to dissuade a young Negro from applying to the University to enter an engineering program. A young Ohioan named Jennings had written to Thompson for advice:

First of all permit me to state that I am a young man eighteen years of age, an alumnus of the South Charleston High School, graduating in 1911 with the highest Class Honors. In February, 1912 I completed a

25Letter, W.O. Thompson to President J. Schurman, April 7, 1911, OSUA, Thompson Papers, RG 3/e/13,
Short Course in Stenography in the Greenfield Business College and since that time have been employed in the office of C.R. Patterson & Sons located in the same city. That you may better understand my position I will also state with no hesitancy whatever on my part that I am a Negro.  

Jennings goes on to say, "now, Doctor, I hope you can fully understand my position. I desire to attend Ohio State University and complete the course of Electrical Engineering." Thompson did not respond immediately to Jennings until Jennings had asked, in a second letter to Thompson, for a reply.

Two days later Thompson wrote:

I should be very glad to aid you in any way possible in securing an education in Electrical Engineering. I regret to say, however, that I have nothing at my disposal for your encouragement. There is no objection to your coming to the Ohio State University and entering any course for which you are qualified.  

Nonetheless, he continues:

On one matter, however, I feel constrained to say just a word. The sentiment north of the Ohio River seems to be so persistent against the negro in skilled labor that I doubt very much whether an educated negro has a fair show or a show worth while in this part of the country. A few years ago I

26 Letter, Hartford Jennings to W.O. Thompson, July 7, 1913, OSUA, Thompson Papers, RG 3/e/6.

27 Ibid.

had a conversation with a young man at Wilberforce who had graduated from Case School of Applied Science at Cleveland. He had been employed in an engineering company and received $125.00 per month. Sickness followed and upon his recovery he went back and the firm said they could not employ him again. They were satisfied as to his ability, his capacity as an engineer, but frankly said that the social conditions would not allow him to go on the road to represent them and there were a great many white men in the establishment receiving much less that it caused more trouble to employ him than not to do so and therefore they did not re-employ him. He began to teach a little later at Wilberforce.29

His letter concludes:

You know full well that the labor unions will not permit a negro to be a carpenter, a brick mason, a stone mason, or engage in any skilled trades. I am not in sympathy with this situation but I feel obliged to say to you that if you secure an education in technical lines there might be some difficulty if you propose to secure employment in Ohio.30

Jennings responds to Thompson, as expected:

It is very hard to know just how to address you after receiving your letter. In fact I am wholly at a loss just what to do.31

29Ibid.

30Ibid.

31Letter, Hartford Jennings to W. O. Thompson, September 1, 1913. OSUA, Thompson Papers, RG 3/e/6.
He concludes, "it is a great help to know that you do not approve of this condition of affairs. The only remaining source I know is to pin my faith to the motto of one of Southern Ohio's leading engraving concerns, -- 'All things come to him -- who hustles.' Eventually I will find out whether here, too, the color line is recognized." More than a full decade passed before a Negro earned a degree in electrical engineering. Harold Ralph Lewis of Columbus was the first Negro to graduate in 1924 with a Bachelor's degree in that field. Lewis was followed by Hunter Stratton Hopson, who was also from Columbus, and received a Bachelor's degree in electrical engineering in 1933.

Thompson also discouraged Negroes from attending the graduate program in Agriculture, although he had encouraged Negroes in the beginning. But, it should be remembered that Ohio State experienced a population increase in Negroes just as the entire State had experienced such. So, when Byrd Prillerman, President of The West Virginia Colored Institute wrote to say:

I am trying to inspire the graduates of this institution to take higher courses of study

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Ibid. This author checked all available resources to ascertain whether or not Jennings graduated from the engineering program at OSU. All records indicate that he did not graduate. Therefore, I presume that he did not attend.

McKio, 1924, p. 138 Also see Giffin, p. 194.

McKio, 1933, p. 118.
on leaving here; but after their parents have struggled three or four years to get a child through this school, they do not feel able to assist him further.

I should like you to consider the propriety of giving a scholarship to such graduates as we could recommend and who might desire to take a course in your institution.\(^\text{35}\)

Thompson gave an abrupt reply:

The Ohio State University has no scholarships except the undergraduate scholarships in agriculture which are assigned two to each county.

In addition to this, however, we have a few fellowships which go into the annual budget for such graduate students as are able to do some teaching and continued two years, receiving the master's degree. The rules require that these persons shall be candidates for the master's degree and that they shall give half their time to such departmental work as may be assigned. I doubt whether I could encourage any number of students from any institution under this rule.\(^\text{36}\)

There were counter pressures from the Negroes in Ohio against the difficulties that members of the race were experiencing at OSU. In fact, concern over the maltreatment of Negroes at the University had reached all the way to the Governor's office on two separate occasions while Thompson was President. It should be noted, however, that

\(^{35}\) Letter, Byrd Prillerman to W.O. Thompson, February 16, 1912, OSUA, Thompson Papers, RG 3/e/6.

although these complaints were lodged, little was done
to rectify the situation; there was no real visible out-
come mainly because Negroes were without effective leader-
ship, during this time period. The first inquiry was made
by Governor Frank B. Willis who contacted Thompson in
1915 about an alleged act of discrimination in employment.
Willis stated that a Miss Stewart, a graduate from Colum-
bus High School took a Civil Service examination and"... received an appointment under Prof. Plum who was not aware
of her being a Negress. Upon his being informed as to her color he immediately transferred her to another office
where, so I am told, he advised her that she should remain
as long as there was no objection to her color which was
not of long duration as she was dismissed altogether."³⁷

Quite naturally Thompson assured the Governor that race
had nothing to do with the action of dismissing Miss Stewart.
He pointed out that in accord with university practice, Miss
Stewart had never actually been appointed because "All
university appointments are made from the Executives office

³⁷Letter, Governor Frank B. Willis to W. O. Thompson, December 21, 1915, OSUA, Thompson Papers, RG 3/e/6. Charles S. Plumb (not Plum), the professor who was accused of racial discrimination, was responsible for the develop-
ment of the Animal Husbandry Department at Ohio State. He came from Purdue University in July, 1902"... upon the in-
vititation of President W. O. Thompson and Dean Thomas F. Hunt." See Biographical File for Charles S. Plumb, OSUA.
and the only function of the department has been to recom-
mand."38 If this is so, it would appear that only two
Negroes listed in the early 1900's were "appointed" to
positions at Ohio State. In 1902, John Brown was hired as
Janitor of Page Hall.39 In addition, Mrs. Lou Gornett was
chosen, seven years later, to be a Janitress of Orton Hall.40

Again in 1921, Thompson was approached, this time by
Governor Harry L. Davis, about complaints lodged against
two white professors for using racial slurs in the class-
room against Negroes. A copy of the original letter signed
only by "Voters" to Governor Davis was filed in the Thomp-
som papers without a follow-up letter. A group of Negro
voters asked for a "Probe" because"... damnable treatment
is being accorded our colored students at The Ohio State
University."41 But students at the University were not
the only group of Negroes suffering from the unkindly
actions of whites. In the early 1900's, especially by the
1920's, Negro-white relations were in disarray and a new
period of social uncertainty was introduced into the

38Letter, W.O. Thompson to Governor Frank B. Willis,
39Proceedings, Board of Trustees, November 6, 1902, p.
23. The official record states that Mr. Brown is "colored."
40Proceedings, Board of Trustees, December 28, 1909,
p. 40. The official record states that Mrs. Gornett is "colored."
41Letter, "Voters" to Hon. Harry L. Davis, April 26,
1921, OSUA, Thompson Papers, RG 3/e/16.
Columbus community.

The discords of the 1890's had never really subsided and Mark suggests"... that a number of young white men, who had been in the south and had married southern women, returned north, spreading prejudice against the negro,"\(^{42}\) which left an aftermath of mutual mistrust among Negroes and whites. Mark's analysis is supported by Quillin who surveyed Negroes for a better understanding of the basis for the racial hostilities. As one Negro reported to Quillin,"... the 'old-line white families,' meaning the cultured families of long standing, were rapidly dying out, and in their place were rising the newly-rich and uncultured families who were ready to take advantage of all artificial props to uphold their importance. To the negroes they could show no mercy."\(^{43}\) Specifically, for the Columbus community, anti-Negro feelings were always prevalent, even though the city was"... identified with a section of the country which at least in theory stands for fair treatment."\(^{44}\) However, for the white residents of Columbus, "it is not so much a rabid feeling of prejudice against the negroes simply because their skin is black as it is a bitter hatred for them because they are what they are in character and

\(^{42}\)Mark, p. 27.

\(^{43}\)Quillin, p. 139.

\(^{44}\)Minor, p. 247.
habits."\textsuperscript{45} Not only were the original white families dying out in Columbus, but, by 1900, the old breed of Negro leadership was becoming extinct.\textsuperscript{46} In part, this extinction was due to the fact that a new city charter was adopted which mandated after 1914 that all elections in Columbus would be held as at-large elections,\textsuperscript{47} rather than by wards which in the past allowed at least one Negro representative to be elected. Still, the overwhelming evidence in regards to the extinction of the Negro leadership was that the leaders themselves had not put forth any effort to establish within their ranks some sort of legacy; younger men were not groomed to follow in the footsteps of men such as the Reverend James Poindexter and others.\textsuperscript{48} Therefore, when the group of concerned Negro voters complained to Governor Davis about Negro students being called

\textsuperscript{45}Quillin, p. 145.

\textsuperscript{46}Gerber, p. 403.

\textsuperscript{47}Gerber, p. 344. Also see Giffin, p. 101.

\textsuperscript{48}For an excellent account on the Reverend James Poindexter, Negro community leader in Columbus, See Simmons, pp. 394-404.
"Nigger, Coon or Darky" by Professors Landacre and Knight, nothing was done to investigate the charges, basically because of the lack of a spokesman for the Negro community. The group had concluded their letter to Davis by saying:

But please sir do every thing in your power to ward off a terrible race riot which will surely come if the proper parties don't act.

The threat of a race riot was very real for Columbus. Other communities in the State had been subjected to such uncontrolled acts or racial violence. Akron was the first city to explode into a race riot in 1900, and Springfield followed with outbursts in 1904 and 1906. When the white residents of Springfield threatened to attack the Negro community again in 1921, Negroes began arming themselves and a full-fledged riot was averted.

The truth is, the early 1900's was a period in American History in which racial outbursts became commonplace. Even

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49 Letter, "Voters" to Hon. Harry L. Davis, April 26, 1921, OSUA, Thompson Papers, RG 3/e/16. For the year 1921, George W. Knight, former Dean of Education, was listed as Professor of American History and F.L. Landacre was Professor and Head of Anatomy. See Proceedings, Board of Trustees, June 11, 1921, pp. 138 and 147.

50 Letter, "Voters" to Hon. Harry L. Davis, April 26, 1921, OSUA, Thompson Papers, RG 3/e/16. The typed copy located in the Thompson papers appears to be taken from a handwritten original.

51 Giffin, pp. 209-211.
cities such as Chicago and St. Louis were troubled by the outward displays of racial hatred. The greatest sign or indication that racial hatred was a disease spread throughout America was in the organized efforts of whites to establish a counter-movement to Negro upward mobility through the Ku Klux Klan. By the 1920's, the Klan was able to start splinter groups in Ohio and other surrounding states. The Columbus community had a chapter of Klan members, headed by Dr. Charles L. Harrod, a dentist and first King Kleagle in Ohio.\textsuperscript{52} Members of this group were elected to State legislative and congressional seats in the 1924 election. Their infiltration on the State level was manifested by State Representative George H. Roberts of Youngstown who introduced House Bill No. 218 in February, 1925, which "... would have prohibited ministers from marrying white persons to individuals of other races and would have required a fine and imprisonment for violators."\textsuperscript{53} An OSU Professor, Herbert A. Miller, joined the NAACP and other Negroes to speak against the bill at a judiciary committee meeting held March 4, 1925.\textsuperscript{54}

\textsuperscript{52}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 200. By 1927, Giffin estimated that the Klan was claiming three hundred thousand members for Ohio, p. 201.

\textsuperscript{53}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 207

\textsuperscript{54}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 8. Giffin notes that the bill never left the committee.
Inescapably, the University was affected by the anti-Negro sentiment that was so apparent in the mid-1920's. The Board of Trustees, in a special report about university organizations published in the next decade, mentions that there was, at one time on the OSU campus, a University Anti-Negro Guild which never received, university recognition. Yet an organization against Negroes did exist at the University, and the name implies that Negroes faced opposition during the time that they were at OSU. Bond offers one of the most plausible explanations about white hostility against Negroes in tax-supported schools by commenting that"... the education of Negroes symbolized their elevation to a status inconsistent with prior conceptions of the role they played in the social system." Thompson sheds even more light upon the white attitudes relative to the Negro rise. He states to President Scarborough of Wilberforce University:

Personally, I believe that there is a little envy at the prosperity of the negro. I got evidence of that in Washington last week. A friend of mine in South Carolina, who is a thorough going Southerner, said to me last fall, that

55Proceedings, Board of Trustees, August 14, 1939, p. 83.

56Bond, p. 45.
the "niggers" as he called them, "had taken their part in the war better than most of the white men." He spoke with a great deal of enthusiasm of the way in which these men had met their obligations, not only as soldiers, but as residents had come forward and done their part locally in all matters of money raising, social service, etc., etc. He added, however, that it would raise a serious problem after the war. He said, "The niggers will say we helped to win the war, now what are you going to do for us?"

It is obvious that a deep seated prejudice which people are unwilling to confess, has influenced a great many people and may be a factor in this case not fully appreciated. 57

In the 1920's there was at least one white organization at OSU which believed in the elevation of the Negro, the Y.W.C.A. By 1926, the Y.W.C.A. had formed an Inter-racial Committee that "was composed of equal representatives of the two groups, (Negroes and whites) who met to study and discuss and try to smooth out some of the problems and frictions of race relations. They brought speakers to their group and to the campus and also aided in the Inter-racial dinners held at Indianola M.E. Church with average attendance of 400." 58 The Inter-racial Committee members stepped forward into an area untouched by

57 Letter, W.O. Thompson to President W.S. Scarborough, August 15, 1919, OSUA, Thompson Papers, RG 3/e/16.

university officials; they included a Negro to sit, from
the Inter-racial Council of the University, as a member
on the Senior Cabinet. The Negro appointed was also, "by
virtue of this position co-chairman with the World Fellow-
ship Chairman."59 The purpose of this merger was to ex-
pose the Negro students of the University and to give them
more personal contact with other students, working for the
Y.W.C.A. By 1930, one Negro student was named to the
Upper Class Council and "two Negro students have been in-
cluded in the Sophomore Council...."60 Through a process of
gradualism, the Inter-racial Committee was practicing its
creed"...that a full and creative life may be made possi-
ble for all men," and the committee, "has worked specifically
to increase understanding between members of the Negro and
white races."61 An example of the committee's efforts, to
"increase understanding" between the races, was in coope-
ration with the Inter-racial Council in the scheduling of
a "Friendship Tour to negro centers in Columbus,"62 and a

60 Sixtieth Annual Report, 1930, p. 281. See, Makio
1931, p. 243, for pictures of those Negroes in the Upper
Class Council and Sophomore Council. Louis is the name of
the Negro chosen for the Upper Class and Jones and Ford
for the Sophomore Council; all three Negroes were men. Un-
fortunately, there are no records which show the full
names of the Negroes chosen to sit on the aforementioned
councils.
62 Ibid.
group of white students was sent to the International Institute at Wilberforce University.63

Prior to the emergence of the Inter-racial Committee on campus, Negro students were excluded from almost all extracurricular activities that involved contact with whites. Negro women, however, were allowed to visit the "Gab-Room" along with the white female students.64 The "Gab-Room," located in University Hall, was originally the office for Dr. Townshend, who donated the small quarters to the female students for a place to socialize, eat lunch and rest between classes.65 Negroes were accepted in the Ohio Union which was opened in 1910 and in Pomerene Hall, which opened several years later, in 1925. There were places within the surrounding campus community that prohibited Negroes from using the facilities. In fact, the majority of the private enterprises barred Negroes, even though most of those places were public, such as restaurants, theatres and some stores.

Negroes were not accepted as members in the social

63 Ibid.

64 Interview with Edith Jones, April, 1981. Ms. Jones graduated from the College of Education (Bachelor of Science) in 1912. At the time of the interview, she was 90 years of age which made her the oldest living Negro graduate from the College of Education.

65 Alcott, p. 20.
clubs on the OSU campus as well. One specific example is that Negroes were excluded from participating in the Greek letter organizations. As a rebuttal to the exclusionary practices imposed upon Negroes by the Greek letter organizations, Negroes began their own Greek letter fraternities and sororities. The Alpha Phi Alpha fraternity was the first Negro Greek letter organization to be created by a group of Negro students which was at Cornell University during the 1905-1906 school year.\textsuperscript{66} It took several years before the Kappa Chapters of the Alpha Phi Alpha grew strong enough at OSU to petition for faculty recognition of their fraternity; on May 10, 1917, however, the faculty voted in favor of the recommendation that allowed the Negro fraternity equal status with the white fraternities on the OSU campus.\textsuperscript{67} Three years later, the Alpha Phi Alpha Chapter at Ohio State had gained enough support and respect to have full responsibility of the University Convocation. They chose Lucius L. McGhee, from the University of Chicago, as the keynote speaker for the event. McGhee talked about race relations and the need for


\textsuperscript{67}\textit{Faculty Minutes}, May 10, 1917, p. 137.
economic equality between Negroes and whites. Furthermore, he attacked the press as the prime instigator for the worsening situation that the races were facing.  

68 The fact that a Negro fraternity was allowed to participate, to that extent, in the Commencement proceedings at the University was remarkable, given the time period and white opinions concerning the Negro. But, part of the reason for white acceptance to the Alpha fraternity was because of the type of Negroes who joined the fraternity. Skin color proved to be an important factor among Negro college graduates as well as throughout the Negro communities-at-large. Frazier admits that the Alpha Phi Alpha fraternity was known to be a highly distinctive social set of snobbish students who did not allow the "darker students" or those students not from prominent families to join.  

69 The schisms that had developed in the Negro community permeated the Negro social clubs on campus. Negroes resorted to using the same criteria as whites in differentiating among themselves; class values and social status were the measuring devices to help classify each other.

The Negro community's divisions of social stratification resembled those divisions of the predominant society

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68 OSU Monthly, June, 1920, p. 43.
69 Frazier, p. 363.
of whites. But, unlike whites, the upper classes of Negroes were divided on the element of color. Based upon color, two distinct groups evolved with their own set of values, the dark-skinned and the light-skinned or "blue-veins," as they were sometimes called. On all levels of society, the blue-veins wanted to be directly integrated with whites. Their lifestyles and behavior were very similar to the life-style and behavior of the white upper class. Generally, blue-veins became associated with the white-operated Episcopal, Congregational or Presbyterian Churches, (even though they sat in separate pews, took communion after the whites and turned in their offerings sometimes at a separate location) whereas the dark-skinned Negroes of the upper class attended one of the Negro-established Methodist or Baptist Churches. In short, one of the ways that the Negroes of the early twentieth-century ranked themselves was through religious affiliation. Education was not so

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70Blue-vein was the term used to describe the group of Negroes who were very light-skinned, oftentimes, nearly white. Admission to their exclusive social sets and gatherings was determined by the extent of the person's light color of skin in which"... the veins on the under-side of the arm were visibly blue in color, as is the case among whites." See Gerber, p. 129.

71Frazier, p. 297.
much a prerequisite for inclusion into blue-vein society as were the variables of color and mannerisms. After all, any intelligent Negro could acquire an education including a dark-skinned Negro, but, few Negroes, according to the old blue-vein families, had several generations of a stable family background, history, or real culture. In other words, the same discriminatory methods imposed by whites to exclude the Negro from becoming a total functioning member of society were used by the blue-veins to remove themselves from the masses of Negroes. At the most, the blue-veins expressed a sort of paternalistic attitude toward the "other Negroes." Frazier reports that quite often, blue-veins would indulge themselves"...in derogatory statements concerning the Negro's color and behavior and even justify discriminations against the lower class." Historically, moreover, the blue-vein or light-skinned Negro was favored by whites which led most of them to believe that they were a special group of people.

Ohio was a state which catered to the light-skinned Negroes. Legally, they were recognized as citizens when

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73 Frazier, p. 298.
74 Starting with the case, Polly Gray v. State of Ohio, Ohio Reports, 4, 345, the Courts decided that"...a person having more white blood than negro blood in his veins was a white person and free from the disabilities of the Black Laws." Quillin, p. 24. The decision was upheld in 1834 and in 1842. Also see Gerber, p. 8.
the masses of Negroes were denied access to any tools of citizenship. In Columbus, they were allowed to attend schools with the white children before the 1887 desegregation law (only if there were no protests from the white parents). In occupation, the blue-veins were usually servants to the whites by being housemaids, butlers and even barbers in white establishments. Negroes such as the Reverend James Poindexter of Columbus were a barber for white men, and so was Peter H. Clark, former Board of Trustee member at OSU, who worked as a barber in Cincinnati. The close association with whites (and their ability to emulate whites better than Negroes) is what led blue-veins to believe that they were right in denouncing other Negroes. Their denunciations were displayed in the form of special social clubs for blue veins only. For Columbus, the Douglas Literary Society was known to be a blue-vein club.

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76 Simmons explains that Clark had full control of the barber shop after his father died. "He quarrelled one day with a white customer who wanted him to introduce him (the white man) to colored ladies at a fair. The white man being refused, declared he would not shave with him any more as he shaved "niggers." This shows that he was then running a civil rights barber shop. Mr. Clark threw the cup on the floor in rage and disgust, and declared he would never shave another white man and, if he did, he would cut his throat." See Simmons, p. 375.

77 Gerber, p. 129.
Because of the already fragmented Negro community, the blue-veins began to lose their power when the cities of Ohio gradually became large urban centers. Since relationships tended to be more pragmatic in the "big city," occupation and income, which were enhanced with education, won out as symbols of success and class standing over the superficiality of culture and family status that was promoted by the blue-veins. For the campus life, there was more social equality among Negroes when the number of college graduates increased.  

There was also an increase in Negro social clubs according to the student growth rate. But these clubs themselves reflected the difference in color.

By 1911, the Omega Psi Phi fraternity was established at Howard University, the first fraternity to be started at a Negro college. Yet it was sixteen years later before a chapter was recognized at Ohio State University, perhaps, because the Omega fraternity was known to initiate darker Negroes. In the meantime, the Kappa Alpha Psi fraternity, organized by a group of Negro students at

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78 Frazier, p. 385.

79 Ibid., p. 383. According to Russel Pace, a Negro graduate from OSU in 1930, the Omega Psi Phi Chapter at Ohio State started in the Fall, 1927. There is no documentation in the Faculty Minutes to show when the fraternity was granted a petition of recognition. See Appendix L.
Indiana University, filed a petition on November 13, 1919 asking for recognition.80 This fraternity was similar to the Alpha Phi Alpha fraternity in attracting the lighter Negroes which is possibly the reason why they were able to move more rapidly in securing recognition from the faculty. The distinction of color was not as prevalent in the Negro sororities at OSU. The two Greek letter sororities at OSU. The two Greek letter sororities, Alpha Kappa Alpha and Delta Sigma Theta were originally started at Howard University in 1908 and 1913, respectively, and both sororities were granted permission rather soon to form chapters on the OSU campus.81 By 1919, Miss Jones of the Committee on Women's Fraternities "presented a petition from a group of colored girls asking permission to establish the Epsilon Chapter of Delta Sigma Theta."82 Within the following year, the other Negro sorority, Alpha Kappa Alpha, was granted permission to establish a chapter at Ohio State.83

80 Faculty Minutes, November 13, 1919, p. 66.
81 Frazier, p. 384.
82 Faculty Minutes, November 13, 1919, p. 67.
83 Ibid., October 21, 1920, p. 28. Hooper gives a brief account of Negro fraternities and sororities, but, his dates are wrong, and, the number of active members are inaccurate. Osman C. Hooper, History of the Ohio State University, Vol. II (Columbus, Ohio: The Ohio State University, 1926), pp. 179-180.
The sororities and fraternities, however, provided no relief for Negro students relative to the inconveniences that the commuting students and out-of-town students experienced. Because these Greek organizations were very small, and lacked a substantial amount of financial resources, they were unable to acquire housing facilities on the campus. Their meetings were held in the Negro community usually at Second Baptist Church or the Spring Street Y.W.C.A. Also, because Negroes were not permitted to live in the dorms with whites, out-of-town Negro suffered a great deal more than their counterparts in trying to obtain an education. Basically, Negroes were forced to live away from the campus since only a minimal number of homes were open to them within the immediate vicinity of the campus, and these homes were normally limited to male Negro students. Of the total number of homes available to the Negro students on campus, two homes were located on Eleventh Avenue; 236 East Eleventh Avenue was owned by the Harrisons who were Negro and 76 East Eleventh Avenue was owned by the Penns who were also Negro and owners and operators of the "Penn Moving and Storage Company" now called the "Lincoln Moving Company." In addition, Mrs. Johnston, a Negro woman who lived at 34 East Seventh Avenue, opened her home to Negro students. 84 Except for these three

84Interview in April, 1981 with Barbee Durham who graduated in 1934. Mr. Durham stated that there was a house on Frambes where Negro students could live, however, he was unable to recall the name of the owner (s).
residences, the only option left to Negroes, and especially to Negro women, was to rent a room several miles from campus, often within or near the Negro community on the Eastside of town. According to those Negro graduates who were interviewed for this study with respect to housing facilities, most Negro women lived at home with their parents, at the Y.W.C.A., or with a Negro family who could offer a room to a Negro college student. The Administration at OSU recognized that a problem existed in the area of housing facilities for Negro women. The Dean of Women's Office reported to the President, "the housing of the colored women who live away from home has never been solved. We tried to help a little this year, but have not accomplished anything definite as yet. We hope to do more next year."  

And by the following year, a report was submitted by the Dean of Women's Office concerning housing facilities for Negro women with the statement that "every house where a colored undergraduate woman was living was visited."  

Yet the housing problem for Negro student remained.  

Several years before this acute housing problem, an exchange of correspondence between President Schurman of  

86 Fifty-ninth Annual Report, Dean of Women, 1929, p. 239.
Cornell University and President Thompson shows that Thompson would have discouraged the co-mingling of the races in residence halls. Schurman wrote:

In Sage College, which is our residential hall for women students at Cornell University, we have at the present time no colored students. But an application has been received from two colored women students to be allowed to live in Sage next year. To the granting of this application objection has been made by a considerable number of women students now in Sage. If the colored women persist in their application, we must either grant it and force the two colored women upon the unwilling white women, or we must deny the application and announce that while our halls of instruction are open to all races, only white women will be admitted to Sage College.

Confronted with this dilemma I desire to avail myself of the experience of other universities. Your University has residential halls for women, and I suppose you have had colored women students. I should like very much to know how you have solved the problem which is now staring us in the face. 87

Thompson responds:

In reply to yours of April fifth, I recognize very promptly the embarrassment you have in the application from two colored women for residence in Sage College. Happily we have never had such an application at this University and I can not conjecture what should happen in case we had such application. My impression is that colored people should not undertake to force that issue, and if

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87 Letter, J.G. Schurman to W.O. Thompson, April 5, 1911, OSUA, Thompson Papers, RG 3/e/13.
it came about I should request them not to do it.\footnote{88}

Even though the housing matter was never resolved to the satisfaction of the Negro students who were attending Ohio State, by the 1930's Negroes were making inroads into other areas of campus life, chiefly because of an outstanding Negro named Barbee Wm. Durham, son of Reverend W.E. Durham of Dayton, Ohio. Durham graduated in 1934 with a Bachelor's degree in Pharmacy.\footnote{89} As a student, he was a leader in those organizations which fostered the spirit of integration. He was a member of the Student's Rights League, composed of Negro and white students and President, by 1934, of the Anti-Lynching League which was a division of the Inter-racial Council. Durham was instrumental in establishing the Negro student pamphlet called The Scoop which gave an update on Negro student leaders on the campus. Together with Gertrude Scott and James Madison, Durham was featured in a newspaper article in the Pittsburgh Courier entitled, "Ohio State Students Jump 'Color Bar;' Are Elected to Students Activities"\footnote{90} in which all three Negroes were listed as being named to important university

\footnote{88}{Letter, W.O. Thompson to J.G. Shurman, President, Cornell University, April 7, 1911, OSUA, Thompson Papers, RG 3/e/13.}

\footnote{89}{\textit{Makio}, 1934.}

\footnote{90}{\textit{The Pittsburgh Courier}, April 28, 1934, p. 1.}
positions. Durham was appointed Chairman of the Cap and Gown committee for the 1934 graduating class along with James Madison, a Columbus man, who was a member of the OSU track team.\textsuperscript{91} Gertrude Scott\textsuperscript{92} was picked as a ranking member of the Memorial committee and was the first Negro woman to become a member of Chimes, an honorary scholarship society.\textsuperscript{93}

In addition, Durham was elected to Phi Rho Alpha and Rho Chi honorary societies. At first, Durham was not accepted into the Rho Chi honorary society. He went to see the secretary of the Pharmacy Department about not being admitted into the association, considering the fact that he was an Honors student at OSU. The secretary admitted that he had not been accepted because the annual banquet was held downtown at the Neil House Hotel, and the Hotel did not admit Negroes, therefore, he could not be accepted due to the fact that he could not attend the banquet. Eventually, upon the persistence of Durham, he and another Negro were initiated, by special invitation. But, the banquet for that year was held at the Ohio Union

\textsuperscript{91}\textit{Ibid.}

\textsuperscript{92}\textit{Makio,} 1934, p. 14.

\textsuperscript{93}\textit{The Pittsburgh Courier,} April 28, 1934, p. 1.
so that the two Negroes could attend. The next year, Durham reported that a Negro female was admitted without any question.\textsuperscript{94}

Again, in 1934, the color line was broken by Maribodine Busey who "was elected to associate membership in Sigma XI honorary scientific society, the first Negro girl from Ohio State to be so honored."\textsuperscript{95} Busey was also an undergraduate student in the College of Pharmacy at OSU and graduated at the age of twenty, in addition to holding many distinctions and honors. She was the first Negro female to be admitted to the Y.W.C.A. cabinet (freshman) and was elected to the senior Y.W.C.A. cabinet post in her fourth year. She was also a member of the Ohio State University Student Pharmaceutical Association, the Interracial Council, and the International Club. Busey received her Master's Degree in 1934 in physiological chemistry which made her the youngest Negro woman up to that time to receive a master's degree at Ohio State,\textsuperscript{96} "and the only one to have received a higher degree in physiological chemistry."\textsuperscript{97}

Beginning in the early 1930's, the Negro students at

\textsuperscript{94}Interview with Barbee Durham, April, 1981.
\textsuperscript{95}Ruth Young White, ed., We Too Built Columbus (Columbus, Ohio: Stoneman Press, 1936), p. 376.
\textsuperscript{96}\textit{Ibid}., p. 375.
\textsuperscript{97}\textit{Ibid}.
Ohio State were being admitted to many university organizations that had been traditionally reserved for whites. But there were still areas where Negroes were denied equal access. It was only after Barbee Durham had graduated from OSU and worked as a janitor in Dayton, due to discrimination, and then returned to the University to take a position as a pharmacist in the Department of Chemistry, that he was able to launch a "Two and a Half Year Study" within the University District of those businesses which were discriminating, on the basis of color and race. Durham would go into a restaurant and wait to be served. During his visit to a particular business, he would document the activities and attitudes of the whites in charge. If he received a negative response, Durham would send a letter of protest to the management explaining the disparate treatment that was accorded him. His work did not stop with the integration of the University District as he was known throughout the Negro community for his activities with the NAACP.

Ironically, the Negro leaders on campus, and even after graduation, in the community, were not the Negroes who were preparing themselves to be teachers, to educate

98For a summary, See Appendix D.
the younger Negro generation. The College of Education seemed to attract a more conservative type of Negro. However, most studies involving Negro teachers shows how this professional group was able to influence the Negro community in a positive way. For the OSU graduates, who were trained as professional teachers, there was little impact; yet, the reasons were complex and can hardly be explained without a thorough analysis of what kinds of individuals were being prepared at Ohio State's professional teacher's college and for what kind of environment.
CHAPTER IV

THE STRUGGLES FOR EQUALITY

Negro participation within the College of Education was minimal at first. The majority of Negro students at OSU remained outside of the professional teacher's college for quite some time, particularly before the 1930's. There were certain factors, however, which led to this non-participation, and the available evidence suggests that there were two overriding causes: the selection of George W. Knight as the Dean for the College of Education, and the exclusionary practices of Negro participation in the public school system which were inherent throughout all educational systems, including the College of Education, because of the residual effects of the legal barriers forced upon Negroes within the State of Ohio. Yet, by the 1930's, due to the various events which dealt with the issue of Negro rights, Negro participation increased in many sectors at OSU including the College of Education. Nonetheless, the beginning stages within the College were formative stages that did not necessarily include the Negro, but, there were programs which ultimately affected Negro students.

President Thompson was able to persuade the Board of Trustees in a special report on April 17, 1907 to
accept his proposal for the establishment of a professional teacher's college for the University. Thompson's actions were prompted by the Ohio General Assembly through House Bill No. 45, passed in the House on January 25, 1906,\(^1\) which prohibited The Ohio State University from establishing a teacher's training center comparable to the Normal Schools at Miami and Ohio Universities.\(^2\) Instead, OSU was authorized to train teachers for secondary levels. The University insisted that all candidates desiring to enter the professional teacher's college must obtain a secondary-school education, in order to be considered for admission.\(^3\) This type of requirement gave the University an advantage over the other institutions of higher learning; OSU was able to establish a professional teacher's college that would far exceed all other training centers for teachers within the State.

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\(^1\)Harry G. Good, *The Rise of the College of Education of The Ohio State University* (Columbus, Ohio: The Ohio State University, 1960), pp. 36 and 46. The Bill passed the House on January 25, 1906 and the full assembly April 2, 1906. This Bill became known as an "Enabling Act" which paved the way for the opening of the College of Education on September 17, 1907. See *Thirty-seventh Annual Report*, 1907, p. 9.

\(^2\)Good, pp. 24 and 38. The Ohio General Assembly passed a law in 1902 which created the Normal Schools at Ohio and Miami Universities. A Normal School only demanded an elementary-school education for admission. See 95 Ohio Laws 45, March 12, 1902.

\(^3\)Good, p. 43.
The OSU Board of Trustees, however, was unable to reach a unanimous decision for the creation of such a college. Board member Frank E. Pomerene went on record as a "nay" vote because, in his own words, he"...felt that the money required for the Teacher's College should go to increasing the salaries of our present teaching force." But Pomerene did join other Board members to unanimously approve the appointment of William W. Boyd as Dean for the new college, which was ultimately named the College of Education. Originally, Boyd was brought to Ohio State to be head of the High School Visitor's Office, created in 1902, long before the law of 1914 which mandated that an office of this nature should be established. Before 1902, there was no coordination with the different boards of education, superintendents, principals and teachers throughout the State "in adjusting the work of high school students for a smooth transition to college." It was Boyd's responsibility "to help the schools meet university

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4 *Proceedings*, Board of Trustees, April 17, 1907, p. 46. Frank E. Pomerene's concern for salary increases was very real. The Department of Education lost J.P. Gordy to an eastern university in large part because of a higher salary offer. For an excellent history on the formation of the College of Education at OSU, see Good, Chapters 1 and 2 are especially helpful.

5 *Proceedings*, Board of Trustees, April 17, 1907, p. 46.

6 Pollard, p.183.
entrance requirements and to cultivate friendly relations.\textsuperscript{7} Because of his outstanding achievements as a High School Visitor, Boyd had developed an excellent reputation as a hard worker and capable administrator which had led to the recommendation that he should be named Dean for the College.

By 1908, the College of Education began to expand rapidly; the initial enrollment stood at 28. Yet, most importantly, one year after its opening, the College of Education graduated Roy Hedges Oman, a white male, on June 22, 1908 with a Bachelor of Science degree in Education.\textsuperscript{8} In the following year, nine students earned their Bachelor of Science degrees in Education; and in 1910, the number increased to thirteen.\textsuperscript{9} Five years after the opening date and one year before Boyd stepped down as Dean of the College, Edith Alicia Jones, a Negro woman, received

\textsuperscript{7}Good, p. 25.

\textsuperscript{8}Proceedings, Board of Trustees, June 22, 1908, p. 61. Roy Hedges Oman received his Master of Arts degree in 1910. Also see OSU Commencement Proceedings, June 22, 1908, p.9.

\textsuperscript{9}OSU Commencement Proceedings, June 23, 1909, p. 50; June 22, 1910, p. 10. The College of Education began conferring the Master of Arts degree in 1909 and three students were listed as recipients for this degree, none were Negroes.
her Bachelor of Science degree in Education.\textsuperscript{10} And, two years later, Edith Lucile Frazier, another Negro woman, was one of twenty-six candidates who graduated with a Bachelor of Science degree in Education.\textsuperscript{11} After 1914, there were no Negro graduates for several years. In fact, George Wells Knight, the professor who was accused of using racial slurs, discussed in Chapter Three, had no Negroes to graduate during his tenure as the second Dean of the College of Education.\textsuperscript{12} By 1922, when George Frederick Arps was Dean, two additional females, Sedonia Rotan\textsuperscript{13} and Eva Jane Smith\textsuperscript{14} received their Bachelor of Science degrees from the College.

There was, from the start, overall concern regarding

\textsuperscript{10}\textit{OSU Commencement Proceedings}, June 12, 1912, p. 14. Helen Helena Scott, summarized briefly in Chapter Three, received a dual degree, but, because of her untimely death, she is not listed in the Commencement Proceedings. Therefore, Edith A. Jones is considered the first Negro recipient of a B.S. in Education. She was also the wife of Clarence Alexander Jones who received a Law Degree (LL.B.) in 1912.

\textsuperscript{11}\textit{OSU Commencement Proceedings}, June 17, 1914, p. 20. Also see \textit{Makio}, 1914, p. 64.

\textsuperscript{12}George W. Knight was Dean for the College of Education from 1914 to 1920.

\textsuperscript{13}Sedonia Rotan received two degrees simultaneously, Bachelor of Arts and Bachelor of Science in Education. See \textit{OSU Commencement Proceedings}, June 13, 1922, p. 35; \textit{Makio}, 1922, p. 121.

\textsuperscript{14}\textit{OSU Commencement Proceedings}, June 13, 1922, p. 35; \textit{Makio}, 1922, p. 127.
the enrollment levels for the College of Education. A meeting was held several months before the opening date on June 5, 1907 to announce the new curriculums for the College. There were two programs offered: a four-year program leading to a Bachelor of Science degree in Education and a two-year Certificate Program. \(^{15}\) Students who wanted to receive a Bachelor of Science in Education would spend their first two years in the College of Arts, Philosophy and Science. \(^{16}\) At the start of the third year, all students desiring a professional degree in education went over to the College of Education so that the main feature of the new College's curriculum--practice-teaching--could be fulfilled. \(^{17}\) It appeared initially that students were going to elect to remain in the Arts College (especially the Negro students) rather than to cross-over in their

\(^{15}\) According to the Annual Report on June 21, 1910, the two-year certificate program was instituted at the time that the College of Education was organized. However, it was reported, "no certificate has ever been granted and the courses have been withdrawn." See Fortieth Annual Report, 1910, p. 37.

\(^{16}\) Good, p. 48. The Department of Education was originally located under the College of Arts, Philosophy and Science.

\(^{17}\) Proceedings, Board of Trustees, July 31, 1908, p.6. Also see Good, p. 53. Thomas S. Lowden became the first professor of principles and practice, the department which handled the area of practice teaching, and he was responsible for supervising all in-coming students in this area.
third year into the area of professional education.

During an annual Board meeting in 1910, the following comment that "students who once enter the College of Arts seem to become so attached to it and their work is so framed under the direction of its advisors that they do not like to break the established order even for the professional advantages to be gained within the College of education,"\textsuperscript{18} reflected an attitude or maybe even a trend that was developing against the newly-formed college. Yet, five years later, on July 1, 1915, the Dean of the College of Arts, Philosophy and Science stated in his annual report that the Arts college had lost a total of fifty-six women to the College of Education. Although there was no break-down of the racial data, according to the available statistics, Negro female students eventually followed the practice of the white female students and chose to enter the College of Education; Negroes began graduating from the college after Dean Knight's departure. The Dean of the Arts college attributed the "cross-over" of the Arts' students to education to the new certification requirements in the 1914 law, namely that practice-teaching was mandatory in order to receive a certificate without an

\textsuperscript{18}Fortieth Annual Report, 1910, p. 37.
examination.\textsuperscript{19}

The 1914 law made it possible for the College of Education to have exclusive rights in the area of practice-teaching, essentially the College had control of preparing teachers for the public school systems. A Bachelor of Science degree in Education gave the student an automatic high school certification which was valid for any school district in Ohio, and after teaching for two years, the certificate was reverted to a life-time certificate. This law was enacted in a special session of the Ohio General Assembly on February 17, 1914,\textsuperscript{20} due to the recommendations of the 1913 survey committee.

James M. Cox, Governor of Ohio, appointed a commission in 1913, to conduct a state-wide survey of Ohio's public schools (emphasis was placed upon the rural schools) so that some kind of standardization could be formulated among the various agencies which were preparing teachers for the public schools.\textsuperscript{21} There were two possible reasons

\textsuperscript{19} Forty-fifth Annual Report, 1915, pp. 22-23. According to Good, the State Superintendent of Public Instruction held steadfast to his position of supporting the need for the practice-teaching requirement. See Good, p. 68.

\textsuperscript{20} 104 Ohio Laws 100 (February 17, 1914).

\textsuperscript{21} Good, p. 65.
for the establishment of such a committee within the State. One reason for the committee was because the State had adopted legislation in 1911 which "made the teaching of agriculture mandatory in rural and village elementary and secondary schools,"\textsuperscript{22} and another act followed which would allow teachers to become certified in agriculture.\textsuperscript{23} The 1911 law or the Cahill law, as it was named, was to create a uniform system within the State in order that more teachers could be prepared to teach agriculture in the smaller school systems. The new program in which "the state was divided into four districts and the state superintendent of public instruction was required to appoint a supervisor of the teaching of agriculture for each district,"\textsuperscript{24} failed miserably within a few years after the passage of the 1911 law. This particular law had little effect on Negroes because they were becoming urbanized and most rejected agriculture as a major area of concentration on the college level.

The second possible reason for the creation of the 1913 survey committee may have been the result of a report released from the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching in which Ohio was lambasted for maintaining

\textsuperscript{22}102 Ohio Laws 38 (March 11, 1911). Also see Good, p.63. \textsuperscript{23}102 Ohio Laws 129 (May 18, 1911). Also see Good, p.63. \textsuperscript{24}Good, p. 63.
three different (teacher-training) state institutions--Ohio State, College of Education; Miami University, Normal School; and Ohio University, Normal School--which prepared teachers. The report stated that "overlapping is wasteful, results in competitive bidding for students and it demoralizes the institutions concerned." President Henry S. Pritchett of the Foundation, in his assessment of the State of Ohio, and its educational system rejects the State's application in 1909 for admission into the Carnegie Foundation. Pritchett's rejection letter reads in part:

The Ohio State University maintains regular inspectors, on the basis of whose report an accredited list of higher schools has been made up. Ohio University, on the other hand, accepts students from many high schools that the Ohio State University finds unworthy of recognition, while Miami University also pursues a course of its own.

In view of the conditions which have been referred to, it seems clear to the executive committee of the Carnegie Foundation that the cause of education would not be served by the admission of any of these institutions at the present time to the benefits of the Carnegie Foundation.

The survey committee of 1913 did try to address the problem of "overlapping" by recommending that the different kinds of teacher's certificates be reduced in number.

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26 Ibid.
and even the whole certification process be revised.\textsuperscript{27} Another conclusion reached by the committee was the realization that"... the College of Education was preparing teachers for the larger high schools, including teachers of special subjects such as home economics, and subject supervisors and school administrators—no elementary teachers."\textsuperscript{28} But, actually the College of Education did prepare teachers for the elementary schools, at least the Negro was prepared for such schools. After all, it was not until the mid-1950's that a Negro was permitted to teach on the high school level in Columbus. Negroes were limited in practice-teaching. They either fulfilled their practice-teaching requirement at Champion which was an Elementary/Junior High School combination, or they were excluded from the process altogether.

The idea of preparing Negroes for only certain levels of teaching and the exclusionary process enforced upon Negroes by the custom of the College of Education relative to practice-teaching came about as a result of the developmental stages of Negro educational history for the State of Ohio. It is worth discussing briefly Negro educational history in Ohio because by the early 1900's Negroes were just recuperating from the prohibitive legislation

\textsuperscript{27} Good, p. 68.

\textsuperscript{28} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 66.
that had been directed against them in the eighteenth century (basically in the Southern states) yet these laws precluded Negroes, for another whole century, of any chance to move upward in American society.

Beginning in the nineteenth century, Ohioans refused to allow Negroes on a universal basis to be part of the public educational system. The legal barriers that were used against the Negro were totally different from the stringent mandates that were found in the South. Nonetheless, by 1821, Ohio passed her first public school law—a law which taxed Negroes on their property but disavowed any ideas that would include Negroes in the system. As a matter of fact, it was never disputed or talked about in any way that Negroes should or could be included in one of the first public school systems in the nation. Up until 1849, white Ohioans would methodically invent new ways to shut out Negroes from every phase of society, and,

29Gerber, p. 4. Although the State of Ohio enacted legislation which precluded Negroes from enjoying the same rights as the white citizens of the State, there were no laws similar to the harsh laws and punishments as those in the South which were used as "threatening" devices to discourage Negroes from learning how to read and write.

30See Appendix J for a brief overview on the history of Negroes and literacy in the South.

31Gerber, p. 4. Also see McGinnis, p. 11.
especially the educational arena. Thus, Negro educational history in Ohio can be divided into periods. The first period covered the years before 1849, a period when Negroes were educated"... in private academies financed by black and white contributions and often held in the back of churches or in crude shacks, or by individual private tutors."32

In essence, Negroes were forced to be educated in substandard conditions. But, it was the Law of 1825 that dealt a devastating blow to the possibility of any Negroes attending the public school systems in Ohio. This particular law compelled each township to standardize the school systems by organizing the schools into districts, providing a definition of duties for the school officers, and setting up certification requirements for teachers. It was this law that required all teachers to be examined and all instruction supervised.33 In regards to the Negro, Hickok explains that "there were not over 7,000 Negroes in the whole State at that time and their presence would not be seriously considered, and in some communities where there might be only a few colored children, their attendance

32 Gerber, p.4. Also see Erickson, pp. 54-71; 120-140; 174-177; and Hickok, pp. 103-105.

33 McGinnis, p. 11.
would not be particulary objectionable, but in most places the race prejudices would generally be strong enough to shut them out. "34 If there were Negroes attending the schools under the Law of 1825, by 1829 a law was passed and as Hickok concludes, "the attendance of black or mulatto persons were specifically prohibited." 35 Or, as Erickson notes, the Law of 1829"... made it possible for a school to be established for Negroes from their tax money if the township officials provided for one." 36 Most local officials refused to adhere to the provision that Negro schools could be created, therefore, within two years after its passage, the Law of 1829 was repealed.

One school district, however, did permit Negroes to establish their own schools. A special local law was enacted in 1834 in Cincinnati which allowed the taxes collected from Negroes to be used for school purposes. 37 The Negro school was opened to all Negroes, regardless of skin tone or shade of color. 38 It should be noted that most of the early Negro schools also discriminated against

34 Hickok, pp. 80-81.
35 Ibid.
36 Erickson, p. 114.
37 Ibid.
38 Ibid., p. 115.
one another. The basis for the disparate treatment involved skin color, which meant that the dark-skinned Negro, oftentimes, was not permitted to attend school with the mulatto. Normally schools were run-by and operated-for the mulatto. Even the Negro college, Wilberforce University, was started for the expressed purpose of educating the mulatto children of Southern slaveholders.

By 1837, Negroes began holding conventions to address the social issue of how to overturn the "Black Laws," to secure a repeal, and how to improve educational opportunity for Negroes. John Malvin, formerly of Virginia and a preacher settled in Cleveland about 1827. He started a school in Cleveland around 1932. In addition, he was instrumental in the coordination of the Columbus Convention, a meeting of Negroes which resulted in the formation of the "School Fund Institution of the Colored People of the State of Ohio," or more commonly referred to as the "School Fund Society." The School Fund Society became an organization which was for the founding and maintenance of Negro schools with the State of Ohio. The establishment of such an organization was the direct outcome of the discriminatory legislation enacted against the Negro, but, by 1842, the Society began to decline,"...undoubtedly in part caused by the difficulty of raising funds."40

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39 Ibid., p. 65. Also see Hickok, P. 88.
40 Erickson, p. 79.
By 1848, however, Negroes experienced some relief in the school law that was passed. Essentially, the law stated that twenty or more children constituted a school district and if Negroes had enough children to meet the requirements then their properties would be taxed for the purpose of establishing a school. If, however, twenty or less children were part of the school district then all property owners would be taxed and the "... colored children were to be admitted to the white schools, if objectionable, then tax collected from the colored for school purposes was to be refunded." The "Repealing Act of 1849" replaced the 1848 legislation. The major feature of the 1849 law was that the mandate requiring a certain number of Negro children to constitute a school district was lifted which left the establishment of Negro schools in the complete supervision and maintenance of the Negro people. Hickok summarizes the 1849 law with the following statement:

We find that through all their discouragement the colored people never regarded the system of separate instruction as anything more than a makeshift, and accepted it because they could get nothing better. Their ambition was to enter the public schools on equal footing with the whites.

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41 Hickok, p. 91. This author cannot imagine State Officials returning tax monies to Negroes when there was a time when Negroes were taxed for school purposes, without a refund.
42 Ibid., p. 92.
43 Ibid., p. 95.
Thus, the idea of separate but equal hit the State of Ohio many years before the infamous 1896 Supreme Court decision of *Plessy v. Ferguson*. A supplemental law of 1853 followed the 1849 legislation which provided guidelines for the creation of Negro school districts.\(^{44}\)

The year 1849 marked the beginning of a modification in the Black Laws, not a repeal as some historians have suggested. In the words of Quillin, "... the negroes were still under certain disabilities not suffered by the whites. They could not sit on juries and therefore were tried by a jury, not of peers, but of white men prejudiced against them; they could not gain legal residence with the State which would entitle them to enter a county poor-house or a State charity institution of any sort; they could not enter the public schools along with the white children, but were given a limited amount of inferior instruction all by themselves; and the State constitution prohibited to them the elective franchise."\(^{45}\) In other words, Negroes had a long way to go before getting a complete repeal of the "Black Laws."

As the Negro entered another phase of educational history, the second period between 1849 and 1887 were years

\(^{44}\)Gerber, p. 5.

\(^{45}\)Quillin, p. 88.
"...when a system of partial segregation existed." This system of partial segregation was enhanced by the law of 1864 whereby the minimum number of children needed to establish a Negro school was reduced to twenty. The reason for such an act was to increase the number of Negro schools so that a smaller number of Negro students would be required to enter a white school district, if the minimum number was not met. Surprisingly, most districts instituted separate schools on the elementary level, but Negroes were admitted to the high schools; they (high schools) became integrated in 1872. Such communities as Columbus and Springfield allowed Negroes to attend the white high school; but, that was so that the community did not have to go to the expense of maintaining a separate facility for Negroes which would surely have been very costly. Horace Mann Bond explains, "... that Negro children are discriminated against universally in states with a heavy Negro population, all available funds being devoted as far as possible to the needs of white school children." Yet, Bond concludes, "when the proportion of Negroes in a community decreases, educational problems of support for a separate

46 Erickson, p. 419. Also see Hickok, p. 78.
47 Hickok, p. 102.
48 Bond, p. 257.
system become less complicated. In fact, whites understood full well, in most Ohio communities, that it was better to have mixed schools, in view of financial pressures and racial animosities, than to try and maintain, as the South was doing, an inferior school system for both races. That is why by 1882, most elementary schools were integrated in Ohio. This kind of action of allowing Negroes to attend school with whites put additional pressure on the Ohio General Assembly to adopt some sort of legislation that would reflect the current trend. Thus, in 1887, the Arnett Bill was passed which virtually repealed the remaining "Black Laws" and prohibited public school discrimination.

White opposition to Negroes receiving an education did not fade immediately just because the Negro could attend school with white children. Upon close observation, one can feel an undercurrent of resentment held by whites against educated Negroes, so much so that Negroes had a tougher battle in an integrated situation than with the segregated system. What happened in the communities, especially the Columbus community will be discussed in Chapter

49 Ibid., p. 202
50 Gerber, p. 53.
51 Hickok, pp. 106 and 129. Also see Giffin, p. 8.
Five; but, in higher education, Negroes faced difficult times, particularly in the Colleges of Education. Negroes wanted complete integration and whites appeared to want at the most, a few Negroes to be educated and returned to the Negro community. Of course, there were a few whites who encouraged full participation from Negroes, even at the risk of being ostracized from the majority group of whites.

Most of the controversy surrounding the extent of Negro integration, more specifically within the College of Education, and generally, at The Ohio State University was highlighted during the 1930's, after Thompson left office. However, at the close of the Thompson years, the College of Education had become a very stable and highly respectable institution within the University and Columbus communities, especially after the establishment of the Bureau of Educational Research and the invention of Pressey's teaching machine. Thompson carried the College through its formative years, a period in which the College grew and adjusted its structure and format to become better enmeshed into the University system. By the year 1926, Thompson, who was the fifth consecutive ordained Presbyterian minister to be called to the Presidency at OSU, resigned his post and was replaced by George W. Rightmire, the first OSU Alumnus to be chosen as President. Rightmire
was a graduate of the University's Law School and had basically worked his way to the top, to the Presidency, after working as an administrative staff member for several years.\textsuperscript{52}

From the beginning, Rightmire's tenure was besieged with internal disorders and dissensions. For example, within the first month of Rightmire's term, there were accusations of alleged bootlegging on the campus. In addition, a few faculty members were blamed for advocating subversive views and conducting unacceptable activities against the government on campus and elsewhere.\textsuperscript{53} There seemed to be deep-rooted concerns among faculty members, in this period, for upholding the principles of democracy, and this particular concern was tested with Negro rights at OSU.

As mentioned before, Negroes were accepted (not in large numbers) gradually into the mainstream of campus activities. Of the 16 Negro students who were interviewed,\textsuperscript{54} most agreed that by the 1930's Negroes were participating in the majority of activities on campus, except for housing spaces in the dormitories and (white)
social fraternities and sororities. Even in the year 1928, Bernard Young was named managing editor for The Ohio State University Lantern.\textsuperscript{55} This appointment made Young "the first Negro to hold such a position on a student newspaper at an integrated University in the United States."\textsuperscript{56} But, there was always a persistent dichotomy at OSU. Whereas Negro students would break the color line in one particular area on campus, they were sometimes excluded blatantly from other activities. This sort of uneven situation, based upon racial acceptance, is what made the history of Negro student life at OSU so perplexing. For instance, Negroes never seemed to have been included, during the early years, in the extracurricular academic functions within the College of Education, especially on the undergraduate level. As early as 1932, an Education College Council had been established by the Junior Dean, J.L. Morrill and some students; its stated purpose being "to foster College spirit, and to create a feeling of unity between faculty and the student."\textsuperscript{57} No Negroes were named

\textsuperscript{55}Makio, 1929, p. 428. Correct full name is P. Bernard Young as shown in the Makio.

\textsuperscript{56}Giffin, p. 194. After graduation, Young had a distinguished career at the Norfolk Journal and Guide.

\textsuperscript{57}Makio, 1937, p. 51.
to this body within the first five years that it functioned. And yet, the same year that the Council was started, a group of nationally-known faculty members, within the College of Education, rallied enough support to challenge an overt attempt, on the part of the chartered members, to exclude Negroes from membership in an honorary society that recognized outstanding graduate students and faculty members in the field of education.

The Phi Delta Kappa, which was the honorary society for the College of Education on the graduate level, presented a petition on February 8, 1916 to the Faculty from the Committee of Fraternities requesting permission that the Sigma Chapter of the Phi Delta Kappa at OSU be granted recognition to receive a charter for its local chapter. 58

Ironically, the Sigma Chapter at OSU joined the national chapter of Phi Delta Kappa organization just a few months before the infamous "white clause" was inserted into the National By-Laws of the Society. 59 This organization

58 Faculty Minutes, February 8, 1916, p. 237.

59 See Appendix F for an excerpt entitled "The White Clause Crisis" that was taken from the Documentary History of the Phi Delta Kappa Society written by J.W. Lee. A copy of correspondence from the sister organization of Phi Delta Kappa called Pi Lambda Theta had also considered restricting their memberships based on race within the time period from 1927 to 1931. The Nu Chapter at OSU of Pi Lambda Theta was installed in 1922, which infers that members from OSU were possibly involved in the discussions.
which had a threefold purpose of research, service, and leadership for those individuals who were"...acknowledged educational leaders in the classroom, the administrative office and in the country's colleges and universities as students and teachers,"

restricted their membership to white males only. Obviously, the majority of leaders within Phi Delta Kappa recognized the fact that the broad criteria for acceptance would someday include a Negro, especially since it was known throughout the nation that Negroes considered education to be a tool, a social tool for upward mobility.

The increased enrollment and graduation levels of Negroes undoubtedly put pressure on the faculty members of the OSU Chapter of Phi Delta Kappa which eventually made them take a strong stand on the matter. For example, in 1924 and 1925 at OSU, there were only two Negroes listed for each year as graduates from the College of Education. For the year 1924, Marie Sarah Cleveland and Beatrice Elizabeth Penman were the two Negro graduates.

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60 See "White Clause Controversy" 1932-1942. Sigma Chapter, The Ohio State University, Phi Delta Kappa folder. This material can be found in the archival box of the Sigma Chapter of Phi Delta Kappa at OSU, located each year with the elected historian. This author was able to locate Dr. Frederick R. Cyphert, who was currently the historian and keeper of all historical records, pertaining to the Sigma Chapter of Phi Delta Kappa. Hereinafter referred to as Sigma Chapter, Phi Delta Kappa.

61 OSU Commencement Proceedings, June 10, 1924, pp. 25 and 27. Also see Makio, 1924, pp. 102 and 152.
and Eugene Grigsby, one of the first male Negroes to graduate from the College, and Elizabeth Maybell Smith received their degrees in 1925.\textsuperscript{62} By 1926, the number of Negroes to receive a Bachelor of Science degree in Education increased to six; five in 1927; six in 1928; four in 1929; and seven by 1930 for a total of thirty-two Negro recipients of a Bachelor's degree within a relatively short time span of six years.\textsuperscript{63}

It was Edgar Dale, Professor in the Bureau of Educational Research, who questioned the undemocratic doctrine and outright racist clause of the National Chapter of Phi Delta Kappa. His words of protest were written to Paul Cook, Executive Secretary of Phi Delta Kappa in Chicago:

\begin{quote}
I greatly fear that the national prestige of Phi Delta Kappa is going to suffer markedly unless something is done about the infamous "white clause." I understand that unless there is better evidence than is available to present relative to the direction which Phi Delta Kappa is moving in this regard that large numbers of persons are going to seek leadership, service, and research outside the banners of our organization.

The chief arguments that I have heard against the "white clause" are that the
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{62}OSU Commencement Proceedings, June 16, 1925, pp. 29 and 31. Also see Makio, 1925 , pp. 150 and 194.

\textsuperscript{63}For a total breakdown of Negro graduates, College of Education, See Appendix B.
Southern chapters would withdraw if it were removed. If our southern membership is composed so largely of "nigger haters" then perhaps it would be of a good thing to have them outside the fold. If our southern membership is recruited from the thinking southerners, then by and large no such withdrawals will occur. Further, if the feelings of the southern members are the chief concern of the "white clause" let us make it a "negro" clause and be honest about it.  

Cook's response to Dale was rather patronizing, non-apologetic and uncompromising. "I am very much interested, claims Cook, "in your concern for the welfare of the truly professional colored man. I am in hearty sympathy with your interest and would be very happy to cooperate in any kind of a program which looks toward the professional advancement and recognition of such men." But Cook continues his letter by expressing his concern for the woman, "white or black," and the fact that she too, is excluded from the Phi Delta Kappa ranks. Cook also states:

If Phi Delta Kappa is inconsistent with its ideals in retaining the "white clause," it

64 Letter, Edgar Dale to Paul Cook, August 3, 1932, Student Organizations: Phi Delta Kappa Correspondence, OSUA, RG 44/30/1.

65 Letter, Paul Cook to Edgar Dale, August 24, 1932, Student Organizations: Phi Delta Kappa Correspondence, OSUA, RG 44/30/1.

66 Ibid., But Cook fails to admit that the sister organization, Pi Lambda Theta was established for the purpose of admitting women.
is just as inconsistent in retaining
the "male clause." There is absolutely
no defense for the "male clause" if there
is not defense for the "white clause." 67
Good logic demands that we be consistent.

Of course, Cook was absolutely correct in his logical as-
sumptions, because Phi Delta Kappa was indeed dis-
criminating against individuals based upon race and sex,
two of the main tenets to the major civil rights legis-
lation of the twentieth century. Cook does offer a con-
ciliatory remark in this correspondence:

The "white clause" has not been re-
tained because of the Southern votes alone,
as a matter of fact, some Southern Chapters
are ready, if it is the will of the fraternity, to abandon the "white clause." 68

But, Cook's statement came back to haunt him several years
later. When the Sigma Chapter at OSU attended a conference
in Chicago, to feel the pulse of the National Chapter
members regarding the repeal of the "white clause," they
were met with hostility and eventual expulsion from the
National organization for initiating a Negro. 69

By 1937, the members of the Sigma Chapter at OSU of
Phi Delta Kappa issued a statement denouncing the "white
clause" doctrine. It read:

The Sigma Chapter of Phi Delta Kappa
approves the efforts of those university
organizations which are protesting against

67 Ibid.
68 Ibid.
69 See Sigma Chapter, Phi Delta Kappa.
alleged racial discrimination directed at the students of the Negro race on the campus of The Ohio State University. The membership of Sigma Chapter has protested to the national meetings of Phi Delta Kappa against the clause of the national constitution of that organization which limits membership to those of the white race. Consequently, we wish to take this method of registering our disapproval of any artificial barriers which deprive our fellow students of the Negro race of participation in university activities which are available to students of the white race.

The Sigma Chapter took the lead in allowing individuals of a different race to be initiated as members of Phi Delta Kappa. On July 18, 1940, the Sigma Chapter initiated into their membership twenty men, two of whom were not white—a Chinese named Dai Ho Chun and a Negro named George A. Wright. By August 22, 1940, the National Office wrote the following to the Sigma Chapter:

On August 9th, the national office received a report from Sigma Chapter of initiation into the Chapter of a group of 20 new members, among whom were a Mr. Dai Ho Chun, Chinese, and a Mr. George A. Wright, Negro.

This action is interpreted to be an intentional evasion of the Constitution of Phi Delta Kappa, Article IX, Section 1, which reads as follows:

"Only white males of good character shall be eligible to membership in this fraternity."

This action is considered by members of the national Executive Committee as a

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70Open Letter, May 26, 1937, Student Organizations: Phi Delta Kappa Correspondence, OSUA, RG 44/30/1.
violation of the Constitution of Phi Delta Kappa and therefore subject to the penalties therein provided.

After deliberate consideration of this attempted nullification of the fundamental policies and law of Phi Delta Kappa by Sigma Chapter, the national Executive Committee, in fulfillment of its duties, finds it necessary to declare Sigma Chapter suspended as provided by the By-Laws, Articles I, and judged inactive by the Executive Committee and therefore no longer in good standing, as provided by the National Constitution, Article VIII, Section 3, Subsection A. Furthermore, as provided in the Constitution cited above, thenceforth the chapter shall be deprived of all usual rights and privileges.71

It was not until May, 1942 that the Sigma Chapter was welcomed back into the fold. Cook wrote to Arthur Jay Klein, Dean of the College of Education on May 19, 1942: "We are nearing the close of the referendum of our Chapters on the deletion of the "white clause" from the constitution of Phi Delta Kappa."72 Ten days later, Cook reported to the President of the Sigma Chapter after receiving a petition for reinstatement,"...

I am authorized by the committee to declare Sigma Chapter reinstated to good standing in Phi Delta Kappa in accordance with the provisions made by the Nineteenth National Council of Phi Delta Kappa."73

72Letter, Paul Cook to Arthur Jay Klein, May 19, 1942, Sigma Chapter, Phi Delta Kappa.
73Letter, Paul Cook to John A. Ramseyer, May 29, 1942, Sigma Chapter, Phi Delta Kappa.
The action taken by the Professors in the College of Education as Sigma Chapter members of Phi Delta Kappa relative to the "white clause" controversy did not appear to spark the kind of negative reaction from the Board of Trustees or President Rightmire as did the Miller incident which was another controversy involving Negro rights that occurred one year prior to the "white clause" controversy. There are possibly two schools of thoughts as to why the Board members and President Rightmire took no action against the OSU opponents of the "white clause." One thought is that the University officials could turn their heads to this particular fight because the Sigma Chapter members had taken the controversy outside of the university's jurisdiction, and the Board and President were safe from any personal attack. Another thought is that since the school officials were already embroiled in a Negro rights controversy with Professor Miller, which they felt compelled to win, perhaps it would have been unwise on their part to attack another white faculty member within their own ranks.

Professor Herbert A. Miller came to Ohio State University to be Chairman of the Sociology Department in 1924, upon the recommendation of President Thompson. Prior to his OSU appointment, Miller was a Professor at Oberlin College where he had established himself as a race
relations expert. Miller's viewpoint on race is best explained in a statement from a paper that he read before the Chinese Social and Political Science Association entitled, Race and Politics: "there is enough fallacy and power in the idea of race to make it an ideal political instrument, a sort of symbol like a flag or a slogan around which people rally without really knowing what it means." 74

Ironically, Miller's career at OSU was abruptly ended in 1931 partly due to his philosophies about race, and his theories on the Negro race and Negro rights.

The Board issued a statement in 1931 giving three reasons for its decision in relieving Professor Miller of his duties at the University. 75 Of the three reasons cited by the Board, the recurring complaints from parents, seemed to be the legitimate motivating force in the Board's

74 Rightmire Papers, Miller Case, OSUA, 1931, RG 3/f/32. Within this particular collection of manuscript papers are all of the materials collected by the University officials in reference to Professor Miller. A copy of his "Race and Politics" speech read on September 27, 1929 can be found among these papers.

75 Ibid. The Report on the Dismissal of Professor Herbert A. Miller from the American Association of University Professors can also be found among these papers. This particulars report gives a detailed account of events relating to the Miller incident, and a conclusion of why OSU was expelled from their organization. Hereafter referred to as AAUP Report, pp. 443-463.
decision not to renew Miller's contract rather than the two incidents abroad; the one in which Miller"... had been escorted by the Japanese police from a public meeting in Korea where he was making an address on matters forbidden by the Japanese authorities,"76 or the second whereby a speech was delivered to a mass rally on March 12, 1930 in Bombay, to individuals who were against British intervention/rule in India.77 When the American Association of University Professors (AAUP) investigated the Miller incident at OSU, they concluded because of Miller's academic field and subject matter,"... complaints were to be expected and that such complaints were likely to be ill-founded in prejudice, or magnified by reason of rumor and gossip."78 And this was certainly the case when a barrage of complaints were lodged against Miller because of his "laboratory practices" in race relations where he held teas and"... both white and colored people were invited."79 Also, according to what an AAUP sub-committee found after interviewing several persons, most people felt that the

76Ibid., p. 444.
77Ibid.
78Ibid., p. 454.
79Ibid., p. 450.
greatest source of complaints against Miller were in reference to the voluntary field trip to Wilberforce University, the Negro institution located in Xenia, Ohio. Based upon Miller's own account, a group of white girls were seen dancing with a group of Negro guys at a fraternity house on the campus during the tour. Miller reported to the AAUP investigating committee that he did, in fact, witness the interracial dancing scene, but, he said nothing, although he did admit that he was shocked.  

The AAUP committee was disappointed in the handling of Professor Miller and the Board's questionable procedures regarding Academic Freedom for professors. The committee was astonished to find out that the underlying causes to Miller's dismissal were because of his close association with Negroes. They felt that they had gathered enough information to arrive at this conclusion. In particular, Miller irritated many whites because of his activities with the Columbus Urban League where he served as Chairman of its Board. A former graduate student reported:

...the colored people regarded Miller as a Champion, and were doubtless inspired in seeking better conditions for living, and wider cultural opportunities, by the fact that

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80Ibid., p. 453. Also see Pollard, 299-300 and 304. Giffin, pp. 359-362.
such a man would work with them. This search for better living conditions, and presumably also for better working conditions, aroused some hostility among employers who felt that their bargaining power with labor had been hampered. Instances of this sort were reported to us.81

In addition, the AAUP was able to decide after collecting data about the Board of Trustees that the Miller incident was racially motivated. They stated:

As to how far the Board itself was affected by race prejudice there is but little definite evidence. It did refuse on three separate occasions, contrary to conventional action in such cases, to grant fellowship status to negro students who were regularly recommended by the Graduate School but whose stipend was provided by the Urban League. With respect to the visit at Wilberforce a trustee was quoted as saying, "He made his students dance with niggers."82

Although there were mass rallies and protest meetings at OSU, Oberlin and in various communities in support of Miller's retention as Professor and Chair of the Sociology Department at OSU, the University held its position. It was reported in the daily newspaper on May 27, 1931:

Dismissal of Professor Miller was the result of complaints received from parents of students in his classes and from others, concerning his teachings on the


82 Ibid.
relations of the races and on domestic relations, according to a joint statement of the board of trustees and President Rightmire... and the chapter ended on the Miller incident with this final public statement. But, the University was expelled from the AAUP, and a greater wedge was driven between Negro-white relations on the campus and in the Columbus community.

The AAUP's assessment of Rightmire's role in the Miller affair was important and insightful, especially since he was to be drawn into another "Negro Rights" controversy immediately after the Miller incident. They reported:

President G.W. Rightmire is a man of undoubted sincerity and good intentions yet he lacks both the ability and the desire to afford an aggressive representation of faculty rights and opinions. His Faculty respect him as a man but, in the main, doubt his power to look after their interests as opposed to those of a business-minded Board of Trustees. His understanding of his office is strictly legalistic. He seemingly has no conception of himself as the leader of a great educational institution.  

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83The Columbus Dispatch, May 27, 1931, pp. 1-A through 2-A. This same newspaper report also printed the open letter that Dr. W.O. Thompson had sent to Rightmire expressing his support of Rightmire and his handling of the Miller case. Also see Proceedings, Board of Trustees, May 13, 1930,p.155.

Whereas Thompson was able to squelch most incidents directly-related to the Negro rights issue, due in part, because of his ability as a master politician, Rightmire, who did not possess the same kind of political savvy as Thompson, was not only a disappointment as an effective administrator to the Faculty at OSU, but he also lacked the ability, the foresight, and the sensitivity needed during the 1930's when "equal opportunity" in higher education for Negroes was being challenged. Unlike the previous incidents whereby whites took the lead in the fight for Negro equality, by 1932, two Negro women who were preparing for an Education degree in Home Economics at OSU were forced to take a stand against the blatant disparate treatment accorded Negroes. The battleground was set in the Department of Home Economics, a Department within the College of Agriculture which began receiving federal appropriations due to the enactment of the Smith-Hughes Act of 1917.\footnote{The Smith-Hughes Act (1917) granted additional federal appropriations to help prepare more teachers in the field of Agriculture or for a particular vocation. With the passage of this bill, the College of Education stopped training teachers in Agriculture and agricultural education was transferred to the College of Agriculture. According to Good, "the Smith-Hughes Act (1917) gave a powerful impetus to the development of vocational education in the country..." Good, p. 134. However, it was the 1914 Smith-Lever Act which boosted the field of Home Economics, "...because by it Agriculture and Home Economics were written side by side in the records of the nation." Mendenhall, p. 167. Also see Hooper, p. 29.} This Act enabled the College to grant monies to
the Department for the construction of a Home Management
House which served as a laboratory center for those stu-
dents who were majoring in Home Economics. The students
were required to live in small groups in a makeshift
home environment in order to learn how to deal with the
problems of family relationships, household expenditures
and upkeep of the home, as specified in the Bulletin\textsuperscript{86} of
course offerings. The students were charged a residence
fee of $32.50 in addition to $5.00 for laboratory costs
for approximately six weeks of course instruction in the
Home Management House.\textsuperscript{87}

Miss Wilhelmina J. Styles, a Negro student, requested
permission to seek admittance for practical training in
the Home Management House. She was refused admission
based upon race and color. She wrote about the incident
and stated the following:

> All students except those who are training for Institutional
> Management are required to live in the
> Home Management House (Grace Graham
> Walker House) at the end of four years.

\textsuperscript{86}OSU Bulletin, 1931-1932, p. 62. The course was en-
titled, 627. Laboratory in Home Management.

\textsuperscript{87}Letter, Faith R. Lanman to Dean Alfred Vivian, June
18, 1932, OSUA, Rightmire Papers, School of Home Economics,
college training in Home Economics. That is all students enrolled in the College of Agriculture. They live in the house for a period of six weeks. There are twelve weeks in a quarter; there are two residences, so 24 girls are taken care of in a quarter.

I made application for residence in this house in May, 1931, 1 year prior to taking up residence in the home.

Dec. of 1931 I was informed by Miss Lindquist, head of the Home Management Department, that I could not live in the house for the reason of color and tradition so I was to have to take my work in a home off campus.

Miss Lindquist made the statement, "that as long as she stayed at Ohio State University there shall never be a colored girl to live in the Home Management House." 88

After both Lindquist and Lanman refused to allow Styles to enter and live in the Home Management House, the University received an outpouring of protest letters from concerned Negro and white citizens. The first response came from The B'Nai B'rith Hillel Foundation at the Ohio State University, a Jewish organization devoted to religious, educational and social work among the college students on campus. The letter stated in part:

I know that you will want to be aware immediately of this grave charge of discrimination on racial grounds, and that you will certainly wish to clear it up, both for the sake of the University policy and for that of the University's reputation throughout the state. I have all confidence in your personal attitude and in the official stand of the University, under your control, through many contacts which I have had personally. Among all the rumors of anti-Jewish bias in various institutions of learning throughout the country, I have not found one that can be established against the administration or any official branch of the Ohio State University.

It happens that Ohio State University has also the full confidence of the Negroes of Ohio, as is indicated by the fact that we have the largest number of Negro students of any general University in the country,

In addition, various NAACP branches throughout Ohio sent to OSU letters of concern. Some of these letters came from Cincinnati, Cleveland, Cambridge and Columbus which expressed their disapproval of OSU policies regarding Negroes

\[89\] Letter, Lee J. Levinger to President George W. Rightmire, April 26, 1932, OSUA, Rightmire Papers, Race Discrimination, RG 3/f/36.
and the Home Management House. There were letters from local officials, the YMCA and the Inter-racial Council along with business leaders who wrote to object to the discriminatory practices at OSU but to no avail. Rightmire upheld the Department's decision of not allowing Styles practical Home Management training at the Federally-funded facilities on the campus, however, she was given two options. Lindquist, in response to a white alumnus and his inquiry into the Styles situation, made the following statement:

I am sure that if you were to talk to Wilhelmina Styles she would tell you that she was not forced into a private home for training by the threat of credit refusal. I object seriously to the use of the fear motive in any human relationship and therefore I do not employ it in my dealings with students. Miss Styles was given a choice between a special problem to be developed through library work in the field of management and residence in a successful family. She chose the latter.

May I assure you of my deep and sincere interest in promoting appreciation and understanding between races, nor is this interest limited to that of colored and white, but of Mexican, Japanese, South-eastern European, and others as well. Any decision which I may help to make while I remain at Ohio State University will be made with this interest as the underlying

90 See Letters, OSUA, Rightmire Papers, Race Discrimination, RG 3/5/36, for copies of the letters protesting the treatment of Wilhelmina J. Styles.
factor.91

The University checked around the nation of see if other schools, in similar situations, were having the kind of problem with Home Management Houses as OSU. Dean Vivian had written to Lanman in 1929 about the different universities with household management houses. As it stood, Iowa had four homes and the University of Minnesota had only one. He had stated:

Such household management laboratories (houses or apartments) are in general use all over the country in home economics departments in Land Grant Colleges and in other institions where the home economics work is of high standard. Such laboratories are considered by home economics leaders as providing an essential part of the training and experience needed and appreciated by the students as a help in understanding and applying the principles of household management. Moreover, the inclusion of work in such laboratories is required of all students wishing to qualify for certification to teach vocational home economics just as is laboratory work in other subject matter courses. A large proportion of our students are qualifying for the teaching of vocational home economics each year.92

Unfortunately Negroes were not qualifying the same as whites in this particular area of concentration; and, Lanman who wrote to the University of Minnesota received a


nod of approval from the Chairman of Minnesota's Home Economics section to practice, and to continue to practice racial discrimination. The letter said:

How unfortunate and surprising (as I see it) to have such a reaction regarding the plan for the laboratory work in home management for the colored students--the more so, since the proposed plan does not differ from the one previously used for white students.

We have had 2 colored students graduate from the University of Minnesota in the last four years. Previous to the time when the first one would be ready for the course, following consideration of the same by the H.E. faculty, the following statement was put into the catalogue with the notice of the laboratory course. 'Students may be required to substitute other work for this course at the discretion of the Division.' Each of the two students, along with several experienced white people at various times, substituted for the 6 cr. course in home management lab., a special problem (3 cr.) and took the course "Problems in Income Management", (3 cr.), thus fulfilling the requirement of 6 credits in home management.

I was not here (on leave) when the first colored student made this adjustment, but it was only last year, I believe, possibly the year before, when Mrs. Gleid (an instructor at Tuskegee) made this substitution. She was most gracious about it. The fact that she was a woman of experience with two sons may have made a difference. She knew other students were doing the same thing, so that I doubt if she felt she was being discriminated against in any way. If she did, she did not show it to me. She carried out a special problem in low cost meals with her sister at whose home she and her sons lived. I called at the house and talked with her sister and met her boys.

Don't you suppose that the nearness of Ohio to the south is a factor in the feeling? At any rate it is so too bad to have any unhappiness or friction about it. I hope that the
colored people have seen the wisdom of the plan as you have told them more about it, and that now, 'all is well.'

Lanman sent Rightmire a copy of the letter and Rightmire's response was:

In view of the letter which you kindly sent from Miss Studley of Minnesota, it occurs to me that you might care to insert in your next bulletin the same general kind of provision permitting a substitution.

Thus, Negroes were excluded from the normal process of certification in Home Economics, and, upon the advice of Rightmire, were subjected to an inferior substitute course offering so that the Home Management House would not be integrated. Because of graduation, Styles dropped her grievance against the University, nevertheless, OSU was not relieved of this particular problem.

On May 11, 1932, Doris L. Weaver, another Negro student, made application for reservation at the Home Management House. Amazingly, she received a positive reply from Ruth Lindquist, and the letter of acceptance said:

In accordance with your request, we have reserved space for you in The Grace Graham Walker House during the Autumn Quarter.

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This letter is primarily about your living arrangement for the year.

We are hoping that each student who is not to live at home will be able to arrange what is called a "split contract" so as to avoid paying for residence and meals in any other place while living in The Grace Graham Walker House. The "split contract" means that one of two students may have a room elsewhere for the first six weeks of a given quarter and the second of the two students may have this room the second six weeks of that quarter while the first is in the Grace Graham Walker House.

For your convenience in helping to choose a senior who may alternate with you, you will find enclosed a list of the students who have made reservations in the house in the same quarter you are to be there.95

But, Miss Weaver answered: "Inasmuch as I had not requested admission until the winter quarter, I am hoping you can arrange to enter me at that time. At present I find it impossible to be entered the first half of the autumn quarter. If you find this inconvenient I can make it possible to enter the second half of the autumn quarter."96

By September 29, 1932, Miss Weaver was instructed by Ruth Lindquist to report to Miss Osborn because as Lindquist suggested:

95Letter, Ruth Lindquist (Form letter attached to Weaver's approved application) to Doris Weaver, September 23, 1932, OSUA, Rightmire Papers, Home Management House, RG 3/f/36.

I note that by mistake you were sent an announcement regarding home management laboratory in the Autumn Quarter. I note also that you had not anticipated registering for home management laboratory in the Autumn Quarter. I should be glad to talk with you about your plans and suggest that you come in to see me during the first day that you are on the campus.\(^7\)

The mistake that was made by Lindquist and others was in the assumption that Doris L. Weaver was white and not a Negro. And, if she had not reported to the College of Education her racial identification, the Home Management House would have been "desegregated" Autumn Quarter of 1932.\(^8\) As it turned out, however, Miss Winters, a practice-teaching supervisor from the College of Education reported to the Home Economics Department that Doris Weaver was indeed a Negro and Lindquist, upon such notification, withdrew the confirmation allowing Weaver to enter the Home Management House. Chester K. Gillespie, state legislature, intervened in behalf of Weaver as he did for Styles. There seemed to be more of a feeling among interested Negroes that the Weaver case had greater promise as a test

\(^7\)Letter, Ruth Lindquist to Doris L. Weaver, September 29, 1932, OSUA, Rightmire Papers, Home Management House, RG 3/f/36. Also see Giffin, pp. 364-370; Pollard, p. 309.

\(^8\)Interview with Doris Weaver, August, 1981.
case for full integration at OSU, mainly because most Ne-
groes felt that since Weaver looked white, she would be
to better accepted or would blend more easily with whites
rather than the dark-skinned Styles, who in the words of
Weaver, looked like an Indian.\footnote{Ibid., Weaver stated to the author that it was her
opinion that the whites at OSU were upset that she looked
like a white woman. But, it is this author's opinion that
it really did not matter what Weaver looked like-- white
or Negro, she was not to be admitted to the Home Manage-
ment house because she was a Negro.}

Immediately after Weaver's acceptance note was re-
cinded, Gillespie began sending correspondence to Right-
mire demanding an amicable solution-- that Weaver be ad-
mitted to the Home Management House, on an equal basis
with whites. Rightmire's replies were always cautiously
written, and he purposefully side-stepped the main issue
on several occasions. Actually, Rightmire knew that
Gillespie was a newly-elected official and he was unsure
just who he was. In correspondence to George E. Hagenbuch,
who was a white attorney from Cleveland, Rightmire writes:

\begin{quote}
I appreciate your comment as to his
\textit{(Chester Gillespie)} general attitude,
and I shall be glad if you will give
me one further item of information,
namely is he a colored man. He seems
to be very zealous in the interest of
perfect equality of rights and privileges,
and I should be glad to know about this
\end{quote}
After Hagenbuch responded to Rightmire with the following information, Rightmire took the suggestion of Hagenbuch and ignored Gillespie's attempts to a resolution which would allow Weaver to stay at the Home Management house for the Winter Quarter of 1933. Hagenbuch held the opinion:

This man Gillespie is the type who always has a chip on his shoulder and insists upon causing troublesome situations at every opportunity. Whether it would do the University any harm if he mentioned this matter on the floor of the House, I must leave to you to judge. His demands are rather bluntly stated and perhaps it will not be deemed important to accord the prompt satisfaction to which he considers himself entitled.

And so, Gillespie, a Negro legislator, was forced to introduce legislation that would bar OSU officials from refusing Weaver admittance to the laboratory house. While Gillespie was lining up support for the Weaver case, Rightmire was devising a scheme which would appear non-discriminatory, and yet satisfactory to both parties. Rightmire speculates in a letter to Lanman about an arbitrary solution:


Could the occupancy of the House be so managed that any colored students could use one of the apartments for a particular period of experience in the year, saving white girls for the remaining period? Is this merely a matter of scheduling or are there too many white girls to permit of operating under this plan?

Let us look at the situation a moment:— Twelve girls may live in the House at any one time, hence twenty-four girls may live in the House in any quarter, hence seventy-two girls may be accommodated in the year. If for one period one apartment could be devoted to colored girls that would mean that sixty-six white girls could be accommodated in the year. Some questions arise at this point. Is the progress of the girls so carried forward that a particular girl could live in the house in any period of the senior year? If there are no complications due to progress in the studies this looks like a feasible arrangement, namely, accommodate sixty-six white girls and as many as six colored girls, the colored girls occupying the apartment by themselves for one period.  

The basis of Rightmire's suggestion was to offer Doris Weaver residence in the Home Management house without imposing her (Weaver) upon the white residents Lanman did offer Weaver residence in the other laboratory house

where a residence advisor dwelled.\textsuperscript{103} Weaver rejected this offer.

The final outcome to the Weaver case involved Gillespie's efforts to pass legislation that would have, in effect, pressured OSU to admit Weaver to the Home Management House. The proposed legislation (H.R. #18) would have threatened OSU with "loss of funds" if equal opportunity was not given to the Negro students. Gillespie lost his fight in the Ohio General Assembly. In the end, the Ohio Supreme Court heard the Weaver case and rendered a decision against Weaver and "social equality." Both the Assembly members and the Court Justices leaned towards the idea of Rightmire which he expressed at different times. In essence, he felt:

Each girl in the apartment is privileged to have guests and these guests may come for dinner and a social hour afterwards, and the girls with their guests make a common company at the table and in the parlor. If colored girls are in the group, they would have the same privileges and this would mean that the colored and white girls live together in the most intimate domestic way, and colored and white people are brought together at the table and in the social hour afterwards.

This is not done anywhere to my knowledge outside of the University and has so

\textsuperscript{103} Letter, Faith Lanman to President George W. Rightmire, January 14, 1933, OSUA, Rightmire Papers, Home Management House, RG 3/f/36.
far not been done inside. The situation created by this mixture of the races in the Home Management house would be one which requires the University to make white and colored people live together and neither of the races presumably would desire this.\textsuperscript{104}

The Ohio Supreme Court's decision was monumental because if Weaver had won, there would have been many changes on campuses across the country. For instance, Negroes could then request admittance into the dormitories which they were barred. A Weaver victory would have also impacted Ohio's general population of Negroes and placed a burden on Negro-white relations, because white Ohioans were not prepared for social equality. But, most importantly, other states would have been forced to follow the example of Ohio if Weaver had won. At Iowa, for example, Jenkins conducted a study in the school year 1932-1933, and what he found was the Negro students at this "Big Ten University" were not allowed either to live in the dormitories, and they were discouraged from attending social affairs with whites.\textsuperscript{105} And Iowa was similar to OSU in that Negro men

\textsuperscript{104}Letters, Rightmire to The Honorable Hugh E. Addison, January 14, 1933, OSUA, Rightmire Papers, Home Management House, RG 3/f/36. Also see Rightmire to The Honorable Perry L. Graham, February 3, 1933, Rightmire to The Honorable Frank Agnew, February 3, 1933.

\textsuperscript{105}Herbert C. Jenkins, "Negro Students at a Big Ten University." \textit{Opportunity}, XII, (October, 1934), p. 297.
were permitted to participate in sports events. However, Jenkins noted that the Negroes were kept on the bench if the opposing team (usually from the South) objected to the presence of Negroes.\textsuperscript{106} The overall conclusion to the Jenkins study was that Negro women experienced more discrimination at state-supported institutions than men.\textsuperscript{107} Weaver also confirmed Jenkins' findings. According to her account of the Home Management controversy, she was seeking educational privileges not social privileges. When OSU did not allow her to live in the Grace Graham Walker House, she lost an average of $75.00 per month in income, because under the Smith-Hughes Act, additional money was given to those individuals who taught in the field of home economics and agriculture. Weaver returned to OSU, on a special university scholarship, and completed studies for a Master of Science degree in Chemistry in 1936. She taught at Wilberforce University for seven years, alongside Wilhelmina Styles in the Home Economics Department.\textsuperscript{108}

\textsuperscript{106}\textit{Ibid.} William Bell, a Negro tackle for the football team at OSU was forbidden, in the Fall of 1930, from playing with The United States Naval Academy in Baltimore. This incident caused the Negro community in Columbus to protest the handling of the Bell situation. They argued that the whole team should have refused to play. See Giffin, p. 359.

\textsuperscript{107}Jenkins, pp. 297-298.

\textsuperscript{108}Interview with Doris Weaver, August, 1981.
Despite the many drawbacks during Rightmire's administration, he did introduce some innovation programs amid the controversies and scandals. His internal improvements hit every section of campus. The white females received additional dormitory space through the leasing of Neil Hall and the Women's Student Government Association was formed.\textsuperscript{109} J.A. Parks, Dean of Men, conducted a survey to see"... whether it might be possible to house a group of boys in some university building at low cost in some kind of co-operative dormitory."\textsuperscript{110} Federal aid was increased. Students were given help in the form of part-time employment and grants were offered through agencies such as the C.W.A., F.E.R.A., P.W.A. and C.W.S.\textsuperscript{111} Through the F.E.R.A. program, students were employed as laboratory and research assistants, library workers, readers, and farm helpers.\textsuperscript{112} One such program that resulted from the F.E.R.A. funding was at the YMCA whereby a group of Negro students attempted to conduct a nationwide study about Negro college students. Arthur P. Stokes wrote to President Coffman, University of Minnesota:

\textsuperscript{109} Pollard, pp. 290-295.
\textsuperscript{110} Ibid., p. 315.
\textsuperscript{111} Ibid., p. 314.
\textsuperscript{112} Ibid., pp. 314-315.
We are conducting a survey among eleven northern universities, regarding their Negro students. We wish to know what is being done for them, aside from that which is being done for the white students. Our purpose is to discover where our Association and University can be of greater service to our Negro student body.

In particular we should be pleased to secure information regarding your university as to the number of Negro students enrolled, eating and living accommodations, interracial organizations participation in athletics and other campus activities.

We shall appreciate very much receiving this information concerning your university. If you desire we shall be glad to send you a copy of our survey on its completion.113

Coffman, in turn, returned the letter to Rightmire's office and questioned the authenticity of Stokes' inquiry for such information. Coffman received an interesting answer from J.L. Morrill, a Junior Dean in the College of Education. Morrill stated:

Arthur P. Stokes, the signor, is a negro student here and one of a small group of negroes working on an F.E.R.A. project supervised by the Y.M.C.A. on our campus. These colored boys are attempting to make some sociological study of housing, social conditions, etc. at comparable universities with no intention, our Y.M.C.A. says, of agitating any question of race relations (although, of course, one cannot be too sure about that).

My suggestion would be that you refer the letter to your own Dean of Men for a reply which would omit my reference to such a controversial matter as "participation in athletics", a topic of some interest here three or four years ago and of special interest last fall at the University of Michigan.  

Although Morrill's response seems to indicate that he had no interest in the study of Negro students, he was instrumental in conducting a Negro study himself. A graduate student from the College of Education, under the direction of Morrill, studied forty-eight Negro students who had failed scholastically in the College of Education, 1934-1940. Only those Negroes who had graduated from Columbus' East High School and chose to enter the College of Education were surveyed. What the Sanders survey

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115 J.L. Morrill was chosen as Junior Dean of Education due to Rightmire's establishment of a campus-wide Junior Dean Organization, started in 1928. See Pollard, p. 287.


117 Sanders states in his Introduction that he was unable to locate the exact number of Negroes who entered the College of Education because race information was not kept at OSU due to the University's policy of keeping race data. Sanders, p. 3. However, this author was able to locate in the archival collection several documents which had race data in them, and one document in particular showed race data for the College of Education. See Appendix A. Also, Sanders does note that applicants were required to attach a picture to the application form and under the section entitled, Family Data, the applicant was required to check, White-Yellow-Black. See Sanders, p. 6. and his Appendix for copy of application.
attempted to prove was that for those students who did poorly during Freshman Week on the entrance examinations, they were more inclined to "flunk-out" of OSU, from the College of Education.\footnote{118} Sanders was able to locate twenty-four of the individuals who failed scholastically. Out of his interviews with the Negro students, Sanders ascertained that most Negroes chose the field of education because of:

1. Professional and Vocational reasons;
2. Desire to serve their people;
3. OSU was less expensive;
4. Belief in their ability within the field of education.\footnote{119}

Parental influence was the motivating factor in the selection of OSU, and the attitude that the University's College of Education was of superior quality in the work that it offered ranked last among students.\footnote{120} Sanders held a basic conclusion that the Negroes who were interviewed did not experience any racial discrimination or prejudice and that racial animosity could not be considered a factor in assessing Negro failure rates.\footnote{121}

It was this kind of dichotomy in the Negro perception

\footnote{118} Sanders, pp. 8-12.
\footnote{119} Ibid., pp. 27-30.
\footnote{120} Ibid., p. 29.
\footnote{121} Ibid., See Review of Case Studies.
of race relations and their inability to understand the idea of race consciousness which leaves one with a befuddled impression of Negro students in the College of Education. On the one hand, the Negroes who received degrees (not included in the Sanders study) asserted that they were not affected by race prejudice. As a matter of fact, several Negro graduates felt that race prejudice was non-existent on the campus. Then on the other hand, there was the thought expressed by most Negroes that they were just as good as whites; that they should be allowed to teach at the same schools, in the same classrooms as whites. The scary part of this scenario is that the Negro graduates were not considered to be as good as whites, and, in the Negroes' opinion, they were reduced to segregated school systems-- an inferior school system that was filled with Negroes who were beneath them (an opinion held by some Negroes). If this is so, then Negro children suffered under the direction of Negroes just as they did with whites because the educated Negro, for this time period, who was forced to return to the Negro community for professional opportunities, returned lacking racial pride and love for the Negro children who were to be taught by them.
CHAPTER V
AN ASSESSMENT OF THE NEGRO GRADUATE AND THE
COLUMBUS COMMUNITY

"We weren't fighters. We didn't think too much about race." In fact, most of the former Negro graduates from the College of Education at OSU lacked what is known as race consciousness. As indicated by Gandy, a graduate student who had borrowed from Brown's definition while conducting a study of racial attitudes among Negro college students in 1938 from the Sociology Department at OSU, race consciousness could be defined as "the tendency of members of a race to identify their interests, status and destiny with that of the race as a race." The OSU Negro graduates interviewed for this study did not seem to possess any qualities necessary for race

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1 Interview with Octavia J. Martin, May, 1980, graduated 1926.

2 W. O. Brown, "Race Prejudice: A Sociological Study," {unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1929}, page number not cited, in John Manuel Gandy,"Study of Racial Attitudes of Negro College Students," (Master's Thesis, The Ohio State University, 1938), p. 25. Gandy distributed an eight-part questionnaire to sixteen state and private Negro colleges throughout the country. See pp. 10-12. The Gandy Survey is used extensively for this particular topic because it was part of a number of studies that the Sociology Department at Ohio State University conducted relative to Negroes and Negro life.

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consciousness. But, as one former graduate explained, "We had made so many sacrifices just to sit down in that class. In those days, we went to college to get the credits and the degree." However, Gandy's findings underscore the above statement in that he reveals that only a certain kind of Negro possesses race consciousness and others try to explain away their deficit. Simply put, "brown Negroes are more race conscious than either light or dark Negroes, and those coming from skilled homes are more race conscious than those from either unskilled or professional homes." In other words, two factors appear to be predominate as requisites in developing race consciousness among Negro college students-- color and job status. Gandy reported that "color seemed to be of the most importance in conditioning the reaction of the students in those situations involving other races and the conception of the meaning of race." In addition, it is the middle-class Negro student, whose parents are skilled workers, who will be "the most concerned about the welfare of the race and the most highly race conscious of the three groups." It was also

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3 Interview with Margaret Elizabeth Day, May, 1980, graduation date could not be confirmed.
4 Gandy, p. 25.
5 Ibid., p. 52.
6 Ibid., p. 53.
concluded that the brown student was better adjusted in Negro-white relationships. These assumptions were also correct in analyzing Negro students at Ohio State University in regard to race consciousness.

Overall Gandy's survey supported the thoughts and opinions of Carter G. Woodson because Gandy found that "the Negro college student represents a group lacking a strong desire of race consciousness." Woodson went further by stating that "the more 'education' the Negro gets the worse off he is." Yet Johnson maintains in his study that there is a considerable number of graduates who have urged that race consciousness be cultivated within their ranks. Therefore, Johnson felt: "it is a reasonable expectation that the college graduate, with the advantage of the best of the American tradition, with better disciplined habits of mind, and a broadened outlook on life, should both desire and be able to participate more constructively in the life of the community." Johnson did admit "however, {that} a liberal arts education amounts frequently and essentially to a break

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7Ibid., p. 52.
10Johnson, The Negro College Graduate, p. 357.
11Ibid., p. 338.
with the familiar folk traditions of the group." ¹²

Johnson definitely believed that higher education would benefit the total community, and more particularly the Negro community while Woodson warned that "if you can control a man's thinking you do not have to worry about his action."¹³ Or, to put it another way, Woodson disliked the present system of higher education due to the philosophy that it taught-- a philosophy which, in his opinion, destroyed racial pride among Negroes. Woodson points out in his book that "the 'educated Negroes' have the attitude of contempt toward their own people because in their own as well as in their mixed schools Negroes are taught to admire the Hebrew, the Greek, the Latin and the Teuton and to despise the African."¹⁴

Woodson is correct in his assessment of Negro attitudes and lack of racial pride. As was indicated by this study most former Negro graduates from OSU reported that they were treatly fairly and that they did not experience any discrimination. They would try to justify their inability to own up to the nature of their education with respect to racial attitudes. Then, as an

¹²Ibid., p. 338.
¹³Woodson, The Mis-Education of the Negro, p. 84.
¹⁴Ibid., p. 1.
afterthought, those students who were interviewed would mention that Negroes were indeed made to feel uncomfortable at OSU. As one graduate suggested, a few professors would make racial slurs and derogatory statements about Negro intelligence. Another former student reported that most Negroes were subjected to embarrassing situations. One incident, in particular, was when a Professor stated to the class that he did not feel that"... any colored person could make over a "C" grade in his course."

According to an explanation given by one student, "We knew we got a "B" when we should have gotten an "A." Yet nothing was done.

Pechstein had suggested at the beginning of the 1930's that the northern colleges of education should direct more attention to racial psychology. But, it must be remembered that before a methodology could be formulated regarding a curriculum for Negroes, attitudes about Negroes had to undergo a drastic change. Nevertheless, Pechstein

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17 Interview with Margaret Elizabeth Day, May, 1980.
noted in his summary that "no attention is directed to-
ward training a highly selected group of socially minded
teachers to make the negro school in every way the center
of community activity, out of which shall go guidance in-
to all phases of living--intellectual, vocational, recrea-
tional, physical, religious, etc. . . ." 19 Unfortunately, what
Pechstein was advocating would not take place for several
decades, especially when most Negro college students be-
lieved that all Negro schools were not as good for colored
children as mixed schools. 20 Pechstein, however, felt that
Negroes in separate schools do not lose anything just be-
cause they have no contact with whites, even though most
Negroes felt that a lack of white contact was damaging. 21
He also found "that the standards of teaching and pupil
accomplishment are not lower in separate schools than in
mixed schools." 22 What was surprising is that Pechstein
had evidence to support his claim "that negroes who have

19Ibid.

20Gandy, p. 17. See Table 4 which gives the reaction
from 510 Negro College students concerning all Negro
schools vs. mixed schools. 18.8 percent agreed that all
Negro schools were better whereas 62.3 disagreed.

21Pechstein, p. 194.

22Ibid.
attended mixed schools do not make better college records than do negroes who have attended separate schools and that the greater proportion of negro notables have not attended mixed schools."23

Another characteristic of Negro college students, from the early 1930's was in their choice of Negro leaders. An overwhelming majority (59.2 percent) in the Gandy survey picked Booker T. Washington as the top leader in comparison to Mary Bethune (12.5 percent), Carter G. Woodson (6.9 percent), Frederick Douglass (5.9 percent), and W.E.B. DuBois (5.1 percent).24 Washington promoted a complex yet accommodating philosophy of thrift, industry, Christian character and a system of morals based upon white values.25 Washington had become the leading educator for the industrial arts program, a'la the Hampton-Tuskegee idea, even though most of the graduates from these two colleges usually entered the field of teaching instead of developing a career with a specific trade or craft.26

Washington's basic concern was always focused on

23 Ibid.

24 Gandy, p. 28.


26 Bond, p. 120.
economic prosperity for Negroes. In fact, he fought for justice and only a required amount of interracial cooperation rather than social equality which Washington felt was not the answer for Negro upward mobility.\textsuperscript{27} It was Washington's advocacy for economic rights which led to his rise in stature within the Negro and whites communities, and, at the same time, his advocacy led to the demise of Frederick Douglass. Douglass had insisted upon full equality for Negroes but his popularity began to wane after his second marriage, whereby he married a white woman which "... caused considerable commotion, most Negro commentators opposing it."\textsuperscript{28} Frazier noted that as Douglass' popularity went downward, Washington's influence steadily increased.\textsuperscript{29} Indeed, it should be noted that Washington's philosophy stirred a negative reaction in some circles of Negroes, especially within a particular group of educated Negroes led by DuBois, an early graduate of Harvard College. By 1905, a group of critics to Washington's philosophy formed

\textsuperscript{27}Meier, p. 101. At Tuskegee, the home base for Washington, separate facilities were maintained for whites and Negroes. As a matter of fact, there was a guest house on the campus premises for whites only which was a strong indicator of Washington's ability to "accommodate" in matters of social equality. See Langston Hughes, "Cowards from the Colleges," The Crisis, 41 (August, 1934), 227.

\textsuperscript{28}Meier, p. 54.

\textsuperscript{29}Frazier, p. 540.
an organization which became known as the Niagara Move-
ment.\textsuperscript{30} "...The Niagara Movement represented the reaction of the (Negro) intelligentsia against the compromising leadership of Booker T. Washington."\textsuperscript{31} DuBois oftentimes classified this college-educated elitist group of Negroes The Talented Tenth. He felt that through these Negroes, a unified protest movement could be started so that Negroes and whites would have a platform to address the social, economic, and political issues which the Negro was facing. DuBois' efforts were central to the establishment of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)--an organization which came into being on February 12, 1909, the same date for President Abraham Lincoln's birthday.\textsuperscript{32} One year later, DuBois was named Director of Publicity and editor of The Crisis journal for the NAACP.\textsuperscript{33} And by 1911, the organization began to do what DuBois had envisioned, a campaign was launched against the lynching

\textsuperscript{30}Meier, p. 178.

\textsuperscript{31}Frazier, p. 520.


\textsuperscript{33}Ibid., p. 112. It was through his position as Director of Publicity that DuBois was able to collect race data from northern white institutions such as The Ohio State University.
practices of whites. When the first national conference of the NAACP was held, an equal number of Negroes and whites had become members of this organization in an effort to reduce racial animosities. For example, John Dewey, the foremost philosopher of educational theory and practice, was in attendance at this conference and spoke on the issue of race reconciliation. One of the platform issues to be adopted was a firm commitment to equal educational advantages for Negroes and whites. The NAACP had started out in 1910 with only ten branches throughout the country. By 1914, the number had increased to fifty-four and in the year 1921, the total number of branches for the entire organization had reached a staggering number of four hundred.

The Urban League, another Negro rights organization that was supported by the majority of Negro college students, was also formed during the early 1900's in direct response to the urban conditions among Negroes in the State of New York. The League had such financial supporters

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34Ibid. Also see Frazier, p. 526.
35Ovington, p. 111.
36Ibid., p. 115.
as John D. Rockefeller, Julius Rosenwald, Mrs. William H. Baldwin and Alfred T. White.\textsuperscript{38} As Wood explained: "the Urban League program is based on the co-operative work of members of both races. The national organizations suggests a program for a full rounded community life, and has directed attention to the health, housing, recreation and employment, and also the problems of school life, home economics, clubs for boys and girls, and questions of crime and delinquency."\textsuperscript{39} The League never wanted to be considered as part of the protest movement that DuBois had initiated when the NAACP was founded. Frazier states:

The League was, of course, correct in its position that it was not a Negro mass movement. In fact, it should be added that the League did not represent the hopes and aspirations of the Negro masses. It was an organization comprised of educated Negroes and philanthropic whites with conservative views concerning Negroes.\textsuperscript{40}

The City of Columbus welcomed the League into its community. On November 25, 1918, the first conference of all Executives Secretaries within the various branches of the National Urban League was held in Columbus, Ohio.\textsuperscript{41}

\textsuperscript{38}Ibid., pp. 119-120.

\textsuperscript{39}Ibid., p. 123.

\textsuperscript{40}Frazier, p. 532.

\textsuperscript{41}Wood, p. 123.
Marcus Garvey, who emphasized a nationalistic philosophy in his speeches and programs that entailed a "Back to Africa" movement was not considered a leader among the Negro students although his Movement was the direct result of World War I and urbanization.\textsuperscript{42} Nothing ever materialized with the Negro students with respect to Black Nationalism. Frazier felt that due to the joint action of Negroes and whites working towards a common end, Garvey and his nationalistic philosophy were never a popular or desirable Movement with Negroes.\textsuperscript{43}

In addition to Negro students being survey with respect to race consciousness, Negro students at Iowa were questioned by Jenkins, who was discussed earlier, at the time that they were attending the University to find out why their choice of a college was a Big Ten University to find out why their choice of a college was a Big Ten University, a state-supported school attended by majority white students. Most students responded that they matriculated at Iowa because they were residents of the state and because of lower living costs.\textsuperscript{44} When Caliver conducted his study on Negro students, who for the most part attended all-Negro colleges, he also found that Negroes chose a particular university or college according to the cost.\textsuperscript{45}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{42} Frazier, pp. 520-521.
\item \textsuperscript{43} Ibid., p. 538.
\item \textsuperscript{44} Jenkins, p. 296.
\item \textsuperscript{45} Caliver, \textit{A Background Study of Negro College Students}, p. 12. See Table 2.
\end{itemize}
Yet, whereas in the Jenkins study Negro students picked living cost and convenience to home as the primary causes for attending a predominantly white college (with good training in a particular field or department as the number four reason), 46 Negro students who were attending Negro colleges chose vocational or professional reasons and superior quality of work offered as the number one and two responses. 47 The Negro students surveyed from OSU followed the same pattern as the students at Iowa, even though the OSU survey was conducted nearly fifty years after graduation. 48

There were two distinct groups of Negroes attending OSU in the early 1900's. One group was of the upper class, mostly light-skinned women, who shunned, together with their families, the idea of attending the nearby Negro college of Wilberforce where a teacher training program existed. Another group consisted of the very poor Negro, usually a first generation college graduate within the family, whose parents and other family members would forego basic necessities to help in sending the student through

46 Jenkins, p. 296.

47 Caliver, A Background Study of Negro College Students, p. 12. See Table 2.

48 See Appendix B for a sample copy of the questionnaire and table of responses.
college; these poorer Negroes tended to be darker and were mostly males. Ultimately, however, both groups were found in the public school systems in the South after graduation from OSU.\textsuperscript{49}

According to Johnson, "northern-born graduates tend, on the whole to remain in the North, but the proportion of these graduates who have gone South is slightly greater than that of southern-born graduates who have gone North despite the large northward migration of the Negro population."\textsuperscript{50} It appears that this analysis did not hold true entirely for northern-born OSU Negro graduates. Instead, nearly all of these graduates were pushed South, mainly to the border states. Johnson's study does concur, however, with this assessment because he states, "of the northern-born Negroes who go South, 62.4 percent of them stop in the border states, and in the states of the upper South, Virginia and North Carolina."\textsuperscript{51} Additionally, Ohio, Pennsylvania and New York had the greatest number of Negro

\textsuperscript{49}The Jenkins study also revealed that a large number of students at Iowa came from households where parents were laborers or part of the non-professional class of workers. He notes that very few students came from well-to-do homes. See Jenkins, p. 296.

\textsuperscript{50}Johnson, p. 42.

\textsuperscript{51}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 48.
graduates to migrate, with more Negro women (31.9 percent) than Negro men (28.1 percent) going South.\textsuperscript{52}

The most popular field for Negro college graduates, and the one with the poorest salary, was teaching.\textsuperscript{53} And salary was not the only drawback to the teaching field. For Negro OSU graduates, who wanted to remain in the Columbus area, the opportunities were practically nil. Speaking more broadly, Johnson points out that "only about 20 percent of the {Negro} college graduates have settled down permanently in their home towns."\textsuperscript{54} Of course, there was a big difference in the reasons between Northern and Southern Negro college graduates in terms of job opportunities. The Southern graduate had more opportunities, on the whole, than did the Northern graduate. The Southern Negro graduate could always teach in the Negro schools (elementary and secondary) because the South maintained a dual system of education for a longer period than the North. The Northern Negro graduate was faced with a scarcity of teaching positions. For Columbus, specifically, the market remained diminished because Negroes had pushed for a unitary system, a desegregated

\textsuperscript{52}\textit{Ibid.}, pp. 49, 54, and 120.

\textsuperscript{53}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 141.

\textsuperscript{54}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 54.
elementary and secondary school system which cost Negro teachers their jobs, long before the establishment of the College of Education, and there was an obvious predilection for the local Normal School graduates instead of the college-trained teachers. This predilection was extended to both the white and Negro graduates wanting to enter the Columbus Public School system, directly after graduation from OSU. But the white graduate could always find a teaching position in the smaller communities and rural areas of Ohio while the Negro graduate was forced to incur additional expenses and other-related hardships that were associated with relocating South.

Job opportunities, however, were not always bleak for Negro teachers in the City of Columbus, especially before the passage of the Arnett Law which outlawed segregation. Negroes were very industrious and self-sufficient during the time that the State of Ohio allowed segregated school systems to be legally accepted. At one time, Negroes had funded on their own and were maintaining four private all-Negro schools throughout the city, and the Negro children in these schools were taught, for the most part, by college-educated Negroes mainly because the Columbus Normal School, the local two-year teacher-training institution, did not open until 1883. Even when the Negroes of Columbus were brought under the white-controlled public school
system, through the opening of the all-Negro public school called Loving in 1872, the majority of Negro teachers came from Oberlin and Wilberforce and were not local high school graduates as most white teachers because the Columbus Public High School did not become integrated until 1873 although it was established in 1849.\footnote{For a brief synopsis on Negro Education in Columbus, See Appendix I.}

As the public school systems became more and more integrated, Negro teachers, especially those who were college-trained, faced difficult times in finding employment because white parents were vehemently opposed to Negroes teaching white children. The first dry season for the City of Columbus hit Negro teachers after the Loving School was closed in the year 1882. Just one school year prior to the closing of Loving, there were six Negro teachers at Loving: Everett J. Waring was principal, with teachers Virginia Copeland, John J. Sparrow, Emma J. Hall, Mary E. Roden and Kate B. Porter.\footnote{Annual Report of the Board of Education of the Columbus Public Schools, 1879-1880 (Columbus, Ohio: G. J. Brand and Co., Printers, 1880), p. 87. Also see Columbus City Directory, 1880, pp. 63, 89, 304, 326, 364, and 398.} The year following the closing of Loving, none of the teachers listed above were teaching anywhere within the Columbus Public School system. By 1884, John J. Sparrow, former teacher, had become
a letter carrier and Everett J. Waring, former principal, was a clerk. 57 Ironically, there were two Negroes elected to the school board after the closing of Loving. Reverend James Poindexter and Joshua J. Jones held Board member positions between 1882 and 1900. Poindexter was the first Negro to be elected from the ninth ward which was Dr. Starling Loving's old seat. 58

Approximately ten years after Loving School was shut down, Jennie A. Lee was hired to teach the "c" Primary grade at Rich Street School in Columbus for the 1890-1891 school year, which made her the first known Negro teacher to instruct white pupils in the City of Columbus. 59 In 1892, Maud Baker and Dickie Joyce joined Lee as Negro teachers instructing white youth in the Columbus School system. Maud Baker, who began teaching at Stevenson School, 60 was a graduate of Central High School and the

57Columbus City Directory, 1884-1885, pp. 789 and 863.

58Myron T. Seifert, Early Black History in the Columbus Public Schools," (unpublished, Columbus Public Library, n.d.), p. 46. Columbus Public Library hereafter referred to as CPL. Also see Minor, p. 152 and Simmons p. 396.


60Annual Report of the Board of Education of the City of Columbus, 1892-1893 (Columbus, Ohio: Press of Trautman Brothers, 1893), p. 386. It should be noted that Joshua H. Jones, the second Negro to be elected to the Board, was a member at this time.
Columbus Normal School. Also, she taught at Mound Street School and later at the Champin Avenue School.\textsuperscript{61} Joyce began teaching at Garfield School.\textsuperscript{62} Two years later, Abbie McFarland, was teaching for the Columbus system. She was also a Negro graduate of Central High School and the Columbus Normal School. She joined the Spring Street School staff\textsuperscript{63} after teaching for three years in Lexington, Kentucky and another five years in Arkansas.\textsuperscript{64} Nellie Moffitt, one of the last Negroes to be accepted into the Columbus School System before 1900, began teaching the third grade at the Mound Street School in the school year of 1895-1896.\textsuperscript{65}

It is very apparent, after a careful review of the Board minutes and proceedings, that the Columbus Public School officials would only allow the local Normal School graduates to be hired into the Columbus system during the 1800's and early 1900's. One obvious reason was because

\textsuperscript{61}White, p. 373.

\textsuperscript{62}Annual Report of the Board of Education of the City of Columbus, 1892-1893 (Columbus, Ohio: Press of Trautman Brothers, 1893), p. 379.

\textsuperscript{63}Annual Report of the Board of Education of the City of Columbus 1895-1896 (Columbus, Ohio: Press of Nitschke Brothers, 1896), p. 310.

\textsuperscript{64}White, p. 373.

\textsuperscript{65}Annual Report of the Board of Education of the City of Columbus, 1895-1896 (Columbus, Ohio: Press of Nitschke Brothers, 1896), p. 314.
Normal School graduates would be paid less money. Also, it was a known fact, according to the Negro graduates from OSU, that the Negro graduates from the Columbus Normal School had developed a closed system within the Columbus Public School System. One teacher in particular, Nellie Moffitt, prevented (with the help of white officials) many college-trained Negroes especially those from OSU, from becoming employed in the Columbus School System. Of course, upon hindsight, it is understandable why a group of local normal school graduates would organize themselves against the college-trained graduates. After all, if college-trained Negroes were allowed to teach on an equal basis with Normal School graduates, many Normal School graduates would have probably lost their administrative posts and influential status within the local community. Because of this closed system, the Negro graduate from OSU was precluded by whites and Negroes alike from becoming community leaders.

The first [known] Negro graduate to enter the Columbus Public System directly after graduation from OSU was Eva Jane Smith, Class of 1922. Smith stated that her father, Charles Taylor Smith, a well known medical doctor and high ranking Republican, went to the Columbus Board and requested that she be given a teaching position after several unsuccessful attempts on her part.
to apply for a position. Bessie Phillips, a 1933 graduate from the College of Education, was also allowed to teach in the Columbus Public School System directly after graduation. Because she had a relative teaching in the school system, Phillips was able to secure a teaching job at Garfield School where Nellie Moffitt was principal. For the most part, however, Negro graduates from OSU, College of Education, were barred from the Columbus system. This practice was enhanced by the Board on November 18, 1918 when a rule was passed stating that all new teachers were expected to have a minimum of two years teaching experience, out of the city.

On the whole, Negro teachers, either from the Normal School or the college-trained, were not accepted as equals in the Columbus School System. There was a continuous undercurrent to rid them of the system, particularly from teaching white children. Beginning in the year 1879, there was white protest about Negro teachers. A group of local white parents tried to oust Miss Celia Davis, a Negro woman who

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66 Interview with Eva Jane Smith, September, 1981, graduated, 1922.
68 All New Teachers Required to Have Out of City Experience, Columbus Board of Education Archives, p. 114. Two Board members tried to rescind the rule in 1935, but to no avail, See p. 117.
had been named a full-time teacher at Medary School. "Almost a month after she began her teaching duties at Medary, 336 citizens (white) of this school district petitioned against her assignment." On November 1, 1899, a resolution was introduced which would require the Teachers Committee of the Columbus Board to transfer Davis from Medary to another school, "on account of her inability to maintain discipline," but no action was ever taken against Davis because the Board continuously delayed any action.

There was a greater problem to this white outburst of transferring Davis from Medary, and Charles E. Morris, President of the Board during the Davis crisis supplied a lengthy explanation to the situation by stating:

The abolishment several years ago of schools for the colored youth has had the effect of keeping out of employment many intelligent colored people who were fully competent to manage and instruct (in) any school. Taking a broad view of the situation, the Board of Education has been disposed to recognize such ability, and for the past ten years has employed as teachers five or six young ladies of African descent, noted for their scholarship, refinement and skill

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69 Seifert, p. 51.

70 Annual Reports of the Board of Education of the City of Columbus, 1899-1900 (Columbus, Ohio: The Westbote Printing Co., 1899), p. 50.
in management.
In most cases these young ladies have been well received and have done excellent work. However those most familiar with the conditions cannot deny that in some instances there has been a deep seated prejudice to work against them that has been detrimental to the best interests of the schools concerned.

The colored people of the city deserve and must receive the same consideration that is given to other citizens. Their children should enjoy the same school facilities and those who are competent to teach are entitled to fair treatment. It occurs to me that in buildings where the numbers will justify it, that the colored children could be given their own rooms and enjoy the instruction of their own teachers. Such an arrangement would be mutually beneficial, and would give employment to a larger number of colored teachers.

A few colored teachers with the spirit of Booker Washington could accomplish wonders for their people in this city. I believe that a majority of the colored people would themselves prefer such an arrangement. They have their own churches, their own societies, and their own organizations, and would not thank any one who would attempt to abolish them.\

Morris' remarks were not taken lightly and schemes were devised to reduce the number of Negro teachers from teaching white children. The best solution that the white officials could conjure in their minds was to redraw the boundary lines within the particular attendance areas so that the number of Negro children attending a mixed school would be reduced considerably and their numbers would be

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71 Ibid., pp. 20-22.
increased in these certain areas which would create all-Negro schools. In turn, the Negro teachers who were scattered throughout the system could be forced to the all-Negro schools. 72

After 1900, Columbus had six predominantly Negro schools. They were as follows: Mt. Vernon Avenue School, Garfield Avenue School, Champion Elementary and Junior High School, American Addition, Atcheson and Spring Street. 73 The mixed school idea virtually came to an end when President Shriner of the Columbus School Board in 1904 attempted to remove all Negro teachers from predominantly white schools. On August 11, 1903, there was protest of Shriner's move in the assignment of two Negro teachers from Mound Street to Douglas. 74 Shriner's logical thoughts concerning Negro teachers were recorded as such:

In the State, there are 830,000 school children, among which probably one in ten is colored, making 83,000 colored pupils. If these children were provided with colored teachers, it would require about twenty-four hundred colored teachers... 75

72 Annual Report of the Board of Education of the City of Columbus, 1897-1898 (Columbus, Ohio: The Westbote Printing Co., 1898), p. 53. Also see Seifert, p. 49.

73 Minor, p. 156.

74 Annual Reports of the Board of Education of the City of Columbus, 1903-1904 (Columbus, Ohio: The Westbote Publishing Co., 1902), p. 47.

75 Ibid., p. 26. Also see Seifert, pp. 55-57.
In 1907, the Columbus School Board proposed a plan which they felt would ease white resentment about Negro teachers and students in mixed schools by announcing a proposal for the redistricting of boundary lines (called gerrymandering) in the various attendance areas. About eight hundred Negroes met at a local skating ring located at the corner of Mt. Vernon Avenue and Twenty-third Street in protest of the School Board's action.\textsuperscript{76} And once again, the Negro community was torn apart relative to the mixed school idea.\textsuperscript{77} While the Negro community was lining up to oppose or support another separate school system, the Board had enacted their gerrymandering scheme which would put most Negro children into the same school and at the same time the Negro teachers would follow behind the students and this action would in essence relieve the Board of two problems at once. Dr. W.O. Thompson, who was President of OSU, was also President of the Columbus School Board when the proposal was made for the re-institution of separate schools, and was an ardent supporter of this

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\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{76} Seifert, p. 59.
  \item \textsuperscript{77} Ibid., pp. 58-59.
\end{itemize}
A group of Negroes attended a Board meeting on May 11, 1908, to present their opinions about the separate-school proposal, but their efforts were futile, because in 1909, a new school was built at the corner of Champion and Hawthorne Avenues. At that time, Champion was the most expensive and best-equipped building in the city, according to the local white officials who supported a separate-school concept. All the Negro teachers were immediately transferred to Champion and additional Negro teachers were hired. Unfortunately, the Champion Avenue School teaching staff instantly developed itself into a tight knit group of teachers, possibly due to fear of losing their jobs and power within the system. And this group, who were composed mainly of the Negro teachers from the mixed schools, and who had in earlier years shunned

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78 Harold L. Carter, "Domestic Colonialism and Problems of Black Education with Special Reference to Columbus, Ohio" (Master's Thesis, The Ohio State University, 1976), pp. 154, 158-159. Carter notes that Charles T. Smith, a Negro, filed a class action suit in the Court of Common Pleas in an effort to prevent the Columbus Board of Education from making Champion Avenue School a separate Negro school.

79 Seifert, p. 62.

80 Minor, p. 152.
college-trained Negro graduates, continued for several decades, to keep out the Negro graduates from OSU.

Through a tracking system which put most of the Negro students left in mixed schools after 1917 into an all-Negro school and by the Board's action on September 5, 1922, which made Champion Avenue School a junior high school as well, the Board was successful in establishing a school system similar to that which existed before the passage of the Arnett Law. 81 Negroes had come full circle.

The certification process of the State was no more helpful to OSU Negro graduates than receiving a Bachelor's degree. Most local governments and school systems could still come up with a scheme which would exclude Negroes from their teaching staffs. The Columbus Board and a few Negro leaders within the school system were successful in their attempt to keep out OSU Negro graduates. In 1930, Anderson reported that out of a total of 1,875 teachers, there were only 49 Negro teachers which meant that Negroes only constituted 2.6 percent of the total teacher population. Six years later, there was a slight increase in Negro teachers, yet overall, the proportion remained the same. There were 60 Negro teachers out of 1,516 total

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81 Carter, pp. 159 and 168.
population of teachers. Minor states that "if the number of Negro teachers were made proportionate to the number of Negro people, there would be 162 Negro teachers, for that particular time period.

Throughout the period of this study the story on Negro teachers and the white-controlled Columbus School Board remained similar in their dynamics. The conclusion remains that either Negroes will have to return to separate school systems to have the proportionate number of teachers, or remain in a mixed school system which denies full employment opportunities. It will be the same choice no matter what the time period.

82 Marcus, L. Anderson, "The Educational and Vocational Opportunities for Negroes in Columbus, Ohio," (Master's Thesis), The Ohio State University, 1936), p. 28.

83 Minor, p. 157.
CHAPTER VI

EPILOGUE

To present a history of Negro graduates from the Ohio State University within our specific time frame of 1873-1938, and especially with emphasis placed upon those Negro graduates from the College of Education was a difficult task, particularly considering the fragmentary materials which are available to researchers and the uneasiness of the former Negro students to express themselves about their experiences, but it is still a task which needed to be fulfilled. Beginning with Orton's 1873 statement that advocated equal opportunity for all persons as a backdrop, Ohio State became the northern white institution that introduced to the nation the idea of integration for Negroes, on the higher education level. It was President Thompson's earliest attempts in which he helped Negro graduates to seek employment opportunities that ultimately represented an example of positive white attitudes. Also, the establishment of the Y.W.C.A.'s Interracial Council was indicative of another example of Negro-white relations at OSU. But, there was overwhelming evidence such as Negroes not being allowed to live in the dormitories which showed that the University did not make any real or substantial effort to attract or
retain the Negro student. In fact, just the opposite proved to be true.

For a Negro to attend OSU was in actuality such a feat, or a monumental task, or an outstanding accomplishment that the idea itself (if left in its proper historical context) tends to leave the researcher bewildered when trying to sift through and make sense of the scanty number of documents which are themselves indicators that the Negro was ignored, treated poorly and indifferently, and discouraged from seeking a degree at OSU. These negative attitudes were especially revealing when reviewing the Thompson papers which reflect a dichotomy in his attitude and feelings toward the Negro. The dichotomy is most apparent if a researcher reviews the content of Thompson's correspondence with Negroes where he appears to be sympathetic to Negro rights and upward mobility and then compares this attitude with his comments to other white college administrators where he admits that he discourages Negro enrollment in particular technical fields at OSU and acknowledges that he would prohibit Negroes from using the dormitory facilities. Initially though, the Negro students at OSU, like in certain parts of Ohio and most certainly in the South, were subjected to separate facilities at a public institution that received federal funds, derogatory remarks such as being called a 'nigger', and
overt racist policies and cover-up schemes that would deny them the equal advantage to attend the university. These instances of racial animosities were most prevalent during the Rightmire years. Even so, the early Negro students were indeed the pioneers, the pathfinders to integration as they gradually fought their way into every conceivable phase of student-life activities, except those activities which were social in nature. Ironically, those rights, privileges, and affirmative plans that encourage Negro participation in higher education which are taken for granted by the Negro students of the 1970's and 1980's were denied to the Negro students within our study.

For many white administrators and faculty members at Ohio State both past and present, a history of OSU Negro students is not a pleasant history and may be viewed by some as a witch-hunt or finger pointing exercise instead of being considered for what it is--a learning experience in Negro-white relations. It is very doubtful that any group of white students could have withstood the hostilities and animosities that the Negro students experienced. Despite those odds, Negro students opted to attend OSU. Out of this particular learning experience, we have found that the Negro students of the latter part of the nineteenth century and into the early twentieth century were a very atypical group of scholars. This
peculiarity was due in large measure because of the kind of urban setting that was prevalent at the time of this study within the Columbus community. The Negro leaders were basically drawn from the near East side of the City, a section that attracted the more stable Negro families. The other sections of the City attracted the migrants or the newly-arrived Negro families who may have been in some cases, just as aristocratic, but not as respected as the East-enders because they did not have the right kind of "roots" or family connections. In either case, the Columbus community lacked a permanent class of Negro leadership. From this, two groups of Negroes were formed in Columbus and ultimately were found at OSU.

These two classes of Negro students had very different ways in obtaining their education. The very poor students were too busy and definitely too afraid to assert themselves. Most of them worked on the campus for high officials or in the surrounding campus community at local fraternity and sorority houses where they could not be accepted as equal members or the public restaurants where they were forbidden to be served. Any reports of "subversives" kinds of activities would have certainly been reported to their college office and their education could have been halted just by a negative report from a "respectable" white. The upper middle-class Negroes who entered
OSU and especially the College of Education were most concerned about social contacts and activities. These Negroes could concern themselves with such matters since most were the only child in their family and did not have to support themselves with outside employment while attending OSU. Their leadership qualified were developed within the closed systems of Negro organizations. Of course, it should be remembered that sometimes the only identification that these upper class Negroes had with one another was through some kind of organizational affiliation. Through various kinds of activities, the early Negro graduate did contribute to the future generations of Negro graduates who would follow in footsteps.

Two of the greatest contributions made by the Negro students were in the founding of the different social clubs and with the initiators who dealt with the social and civil issues of their time. Whereas, whites, both male and female, had support systems to aid them during their years of matriculation; for the Negro student, the major outlet to the feeling of isolation, and the acts of discrimination, was by establishing all-Negro social and political clubs. But the early Negro student did even more for future Negro scholars. They provided an impetus for other Negroes and that impetus was endurance. The former students were constantly being
challenged by faculty, students, and the surrounding campus community as to their right to be there. Their viewpoints on change were usually myopic, but the Negro students also developed a sustaining quality about them and it took exactly this kind of action on the part of the students to help future generations of Negro students.

Based upon the findings of this study, the early Negro graduate, that is, the graduate prior to the 1930's was more innovative and became more involved with scholarly endeavors. After 1930, there appeared to be more of a utilitarian perspective, a pragmatic outlook on higher education. Most former students returned to obtain a Master's degree but their return to OSU was because a higher degree gave them a better vantage point to enter the Columbus Public School System, namely Champion. It was stated by many alumni who were interviewed, that Champion at one time had more Master's Degrees and Ph.D.'s holders on their staff (a staff that was predominantly Negro, occasionally a white teacher would be hired) than any other school in the City of Columbus. Yet, the Negroes did not take advantage of their unique situation. There was more concern, as during their college days, with social contacts and they expressed little identity with the masses of Negroes within the Columbus community, and possessed hardly any race
consciousness. In fact, most Negro graduates did not see themselves as leaders, nor were they desirous of becoming one. This attitude may have been fostered because most students were uprooted from their home communities and they returned to a community which eventually alienated them because of their social standing, their negative attitudes directed towards the masses of Negroes, and because of their light color of skin.

In retrospect, the history of Negro student life and their experiences had turned out to be a meandering history of events with stop-gap measures affecting Negro upward mobility. Future researchers, however, should be prepared for a highly frustrating experience when dealing with Negro life at OSU in the early 1900's. Even with the materials from the University Archives coupled with the oral interviews, together these research methodologies do not provide enough background information; the combination of both methods is not enough for a full history. As a warning to future researchers, there are a few salient features that will prevail while conducting a study on Negro students and they are as follows:

1. The scheme of values for Negroes and whites were very different in the latter part of the nineteenth century and the early part of the twentieth century as compared to the present-day. Anyone conducting a study of this nature should be cognizant of the fact that relationships between the races were considered cor-
dial to the Negro of that time period whereas some current researchers are likely to view them (relationships) as being strained.

2. It will be difficult to ascertain a correct and total list of names of the former Negro students, and it will be even more difficult to locate those Negro alumni who are still living.

3. Also, one can never really be sure that you have a complete list of all Negro students or that you have a good cross section of those students who you are able to locate.

4. Each researcher must be aware that the circumstances surrounding the racial events at the University and in the Columbus community are very painful for the Negro to discuss at times and the revelation of these occurrences such as the establishment of a University Anti-Negro Guild is surprising to many whites and an embarrassment which will sometimes be challenged out of emotionalism rather than within historical context.

5. Finally, it would appear that it would be much easier to find research materials at OSU, even if you take into account the many drawbacks and limitations, because OSU holds the distinction of leading all other white universities and colleges in the nation for enrolling and graduating Negro students.

As an afterthought, perhaps a later time period will yield a greater amount of information or maybe a similar study at one of the comparable institutions, originally located in the Old Northwest Territory, will reveal some other common trends that are not readily apparent through the research apparatus at OSU. In any event, there should be a continuation of this kind of study, a study that
takes into consideration the Negro viewpoint. Negro researchers, in particular, need to construct a process so that there will be available a great number of histories that more clearly describes Negro life at a predominantly white institution. These histories can one day be used:

1) to assist in educational policy planning regarding race relations such as affirmative actions programs;

2) to aid in curriculum development for "race-specific" understandings, growth and strength;

3) to provide a continuous history of Black people in education which will be a reminder to the American nation of what the Negro had to undergo in higher education; and

4) for salutes to all former Negro students who matriculated within this kind of difficult environment.
Appendix A

University Documents/Correspondence
which Reflect Record-Keeping
on Negro Graduates
Subject: Number of Black Graduates/College of Education
Date: April 14, 1980
From: Timothy Dolen
To: Pamela Pritchard

Your request for the names and numbers of black graduates from the College of Education since 1987 was reviewed carefully. However, due to the following two constraints we could not totally satisfy your request.

1. We cannot release names of individuals without the written consent from the individual concerned because of privacy laws in Ohio.

2. Our information base on minority students did not start until 1988 for the University as a whole. Only until 1975 was this information broken down categorically into the colleges and divisions. Once again, during the academic year 1977-78 we only have University totals.

Attached is the summary. I hope that this data is timely and of use to you.

TD:jv
Attachment

cc: Mr. Steve W. Stoffel
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Academic Year</th>
<th>Bachelor's Degree (Requiring 4-5 yrs.)</th>
<th>Master's Degrees</th>
<th>Doctor's Degree (Ph.D., Ed.D., etc.)</th>
<th>Total</th>
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*aUniversity totals only*
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Total: 268

*Original can be found in the Office of the Registrar, Edith Cockins Correspondence, 6/3-3/2.
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March 5, 1931

THE MEN'S HOUSING BUREAU*

Distribution of Students in the University District

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<th>Occupants</th>
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<td>In fraternity houses</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total number of male students residing in the University district</td>
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Listing of Rooms

- Landladies listing their rooms with the Men's Housing Bureau, 1929-1930: 928
- Number of houses inspected by the University: 452
- Roaming House Permits were granted by the City Health Department: 429

Cost of Rooms

- The average cost of a room for two occupants: $25 ($12.50 each) per month.
- The average cost of a single room: $14

Number of Applicants for Rooms

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<th>Sophomores</th>
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*Original may be found in Dean of Men, 1930-1936, RG 3/11/17.
### REPORT OF MEN'S HOUSING BUREAU

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<th>Number of Single of Doubles</th>
<th>Number of Apartments</th>
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There were 8042 male students enrolled 1929-30-5088 male students resided outside Franklin County and roomed in the University district. 63%

Approximately 32% of the men students from out of the city reside in fraternity houses and 68% in private rooming houses.

185
STUDENTS WHO HAVE HAD SPECIAL ASSIGNMENTS
IN HOME MANAGEMENT LABORATORY OR SUBSTITUTION FOR SAME*

Spring Quarter 1931
4 white students lived in private homes.
Dorothy Wright (white) (617)  Norma Aschbacher (white) (617)
Arlene Graff (white) (617)    Frances Thompson (white) (617)

Autumn Quarter 1931
Mrs. Elizabeth Basom (white) (701)

Spring Quarter 1932
Eleanor Whitney (white) (701)
Wilhelmina Styles (colored) (701)

Summer Quarter 1932
Mary Luella Bargman (white) (701)

Autumn Quarter 1932
Mrs. Lois Hale (white) (627)

*Original may be found in Rightmire Papers, RG 3/f/36,
Home Management House (Doris Weaver)
LIST OF WILBERFORCE GRADUATES WHOSE TRANSCRIPTS HAVE BEEN SENT TO OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY WITHIN THE PAST FIVE YEARS*

Barnes, William H. Lee, Benjamin F.
Beck, Margaret Lee, Nathan Moseell
Beckett, John C. Lewis, Gaston F.
Bellinger, Lillian M. Lewis, Ozaeta
Bowen, Hiliard A. Love, James B.
Brown, Thomas Martin, William D.
Burkney, Garfield Martin, William H.
Carman, Helen Mathews, Meredith
Cowan, Vernon D. Mazeke, Edward
Edwards, Hugh Morgan, Mildred
Fisher, Dwight Robinson, Lydia M.
Flack, Elizabeth Russell, Cyrus T.
Flack, Helen Sanders, Junius C.
Gibbs, George E. Saulsbury, Charles W.
Green, Leroy Skelton, Thelma
Harris, Thelma L. Singleton, Alzada M.
Hawkins, Melvin Stanfield, Jere B.
Hill, Maceo Stokes, Ennis Elmer
Holland, Edith Tarpley, Marvin F.
Holland, Eleanor Trotman, James E.
Hough, Sherman G. Waites, Alexander W.
Hudson, Fannie L. Walker, Melvin W.
Jackson, Reid E. Ward, Omar
Johnson, Edward C. White, Jerome
Johnson, Harold White, Naomi M.
Jones, Gladys E. Williams, Faye F.
Kolthoff, Eric Winburn, Mamie
Wright, Richard R.

*Original may be found in Registrar, Edith Cockins Correspondence, 6/1-3/2.
LIST OF TULPEHOCKEN GRADUATES whose transcripts have been sent to Ohio State University within the past five years

Bemis, William Henry

Beck, Cora Marguerite

Beckett, John Clifton

Bellinger, Lillian Marie

Bower, Hilliard Alphonso

Browne, Thomas Hawthorne

Edwards, Hugh Kane

Fisher, Dwight H.

Flack, Helen Selena

Gibbs, George Edwin

Greene, Leroy

Harris, Thelma Lena

Hawkins, Kerlaine Melvin

Hill, Maceo

Holland, Keith Druessel

Holland, Eleanor Jane

Hough, Sherman Cassfield

Hudson, Fannie Lee
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Jackson, Reid Ethelbert</th>
<th>Marin, William Harris</th>
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<td>Johnson, Edward Theodore</td>
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<td>Jones, Gladys Haven</td>
<td>Morgan, Mildred Lucille</td>
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<td>Holthoff, Erick Edwin</td>
<td>Russell, Cyrus Turner</td>
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<td>Lee, Benjamin Franklin</td>
<td>Sanders, Junius Richard</td>
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<td>Lee, Nathan Russell</td>
<td>Saulsbury, Charles William</td>
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<td>Singleton, Alzada Mentor</td>
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<td>Lewis, Ozetta Charlotte</td>
<td>Skelton, Thelma Emmons</td>
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<td>Love, James Golden</td>
<td>Stanfield, Jere Bardell</td>
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<tr>
<td>Marin, William Davis</td>
<td>Stokes, Ennis Elmer</td>
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</table>
Trefley, Marvin Frank

Trotman, James Edward

Weites, Alexander Wesley

Walker, Melvin Waddell

Ward, Czar Khayuan

White, Jerome Fletcher

White, Naomi Marguerite

Williams, Faye Fern

Winbush, Mamie Lee

Wright, Richard Robert III
Cowan, Vernon David - Did not enter summer Quarter of 1935

Robison, Lydia Mildred - Did not enter Summer Quarter 1930

Burkney, Garfield - Could not locate Census Card or Record

Cermak, Halen - Could not locate Census Card or Record

Fleck, Elizabeth - Could not locate Census Card or Record.
Barnes - Tillian Derry. Admitted to the University in June 1921 in the College of Commerce. He was in residence during the summer quarter only and carried advanced work in Sociology and Psychology. His grades were very satisfactory. His point-hour ratio was out of a possible 4.00. He has not been in residence in the University since that time nor has he received his degree.

Beck - Coren Weynert. Admitted to the University in June 1925 in the College of Education and was in residence during the summer quarter only. Her work was in Fine Arts, Education and Geography. Her grades in Geography and Education were 4.0. Her grade in Fine Arts was 4.0. On account of the grade in Fine Arts her point-hour ratio is out of a possible 4.00.

Beckett - John Clifton. Admitted to the University in October 1923 in the College of Education. In January 1924 he was admitted to the Graduate School on the basis of his degree and the work which he had done in the College of Education which was very satisfactory. All of the work which he did in the College of Education was in the Department of Physical Education. In the Graduate School he followed this same major field. He continued in residence during the winter and spring quarters of the academic year 1924-25 and the summer quarter of 1925. In the summer quarter of 1926 further registration in the University was protested due to the fact that he owed a bill of $70.00 to his landlord.

Bellimer - Lillian Moyo. Admitted to the University in June 1922 in the College of Education and was in residence during the summer quarter of 1922. She carried courses in Psychology and Sociology. She was admitted to the Graduate School in October 1922 on the basis of her degree from Willamette University and one quarter of satisfactory work completed at this University in the College of Education. Her major fields of interest were Sociology and Social Administration, while her point-hour ratio was out of a possible 4.00. She has never completed the work for a Master's degree.

Bensen - Hilliard Alphonso. Admitted to the Graduate School in September 1925 with the understanding that the advanced degree could not be conferred in less than four quarters of graduate work completed in residence. He was in residence during the autumn and winter quarters of the academic year 1925-26 and is still in residence. His point-hour ratio is out of a possible 4.00.

Browe - Thomas Hawthorne. Admitted to the University in October 1920 in the College of Education and was in residence during the autumn quarter of the academic year 1920-21. His field of interest was Practical Arts as given in this University in 1920 and his point-hour ratio was out of a possible 4.00. He withdrew from the University January 25, 1921 to accept a teaching position and has not been in residence in the University since that time.

Edwards - Hugh Kunu. Admitted to the University in January 1925 in the College of Education. He was in residence during the winter quarter of 1925, his field of specialization being confined to Education. He was transferred to the Graduate School on the basis of his degree and one quarter
Tilberfoxe University Students

Edwards - Hugh zones continued  
of satisfactory work in the College of Education in this University.  
His point-hour ratio in the Graduate School was 4.00. He has not been in residence in the University since June 1925 and has not completed the work for his Bachelor's degree.

Fisher - Dwight R. Admitted to the University in September 1923 in the College of Education. His field of specialization was Physical Education. At the end of the Autumn Quarter he was transferred to the Graduate School on the basis of his degree and one quarter of satisfactory work in the College of Education. His point-hour ratio is 4.00. He has not completed the requirements in the Graduate School for his Bachelor's degree.

Flack - Helen Falena. Admitted to the University in September 1921 in the College of Education. In the Autumn Quarter her work was done in the Departments of Education, History and Public Health and in Zoology in the Winter Quarter. She was admitted to the Graduate School in the Spring Quarter of 1924 on the basis of her degree and fifteen quarter hours of satisfactory work in the College of Education. Her point-hour ratio in the Graduate School is 4.00. She was in residence during the Spring Quarter of 1924, the Autumn Quarter of 1925 and the Summer Quarters of 1924 and 1925. She has not completed the requirements for her Master's degree.

Gibbs - George Rain. Admitted to the University in October 1923 in the College of Education. He was admitted to the Graduate School in January 1924 on the basis of his degree and one quarter of satisfactory work in the College of Education. His field of specialization is Physical Education. His point-hour ratio in the Graduate School is 4.00. He was granted the degree of Master of Arts in August 1924.

Greece - Leroy. Admitted to the University in September 1920 in the College of Education. He was transferred to the Graduate School in January 1920 on the basis of his degree and one quarter of satisfactory work in the College of Education. His field of specialization was Physical Education. He was in residence during the Winter Quarter of 1920 and is still in residence. His point-hour ratio in the Graduate School is 4.00.

Horris - Theba Long. Admitted to the University in June 1921 in the College of Education and was in residence during the Summer Quarter of 1921. Her major interest was in the departments of Education. There is a notation on her record to the effect that she would not be permitted to register in the College of Education after that date because of her failure to pass the Intelligence Test which is a State requirement.

Hawkins - Marlasie Pollution. Admitted to the Graduate School of this University in October 1925 on the basis of his degree and the completion of fifteen quarter hours of credit in the College of Education. His field of specialization is Education. He has a point-hour ratio of 4.00. He was in residence during the Autumn and Winter Quarters of this year and is still in residence.
Hill - Weno. Admitted to the University in October 1932 in the College of Arts and Sciences. He was in residence during the academic year 1932-33 and was transferred to the Graduate School in October 1934 on the basis of his degree and satisfactory work in the College of Arts and Sciences. He was in residence during the academic year 1934-35 and the Autumn and Winter Quarters of 1935-36. He is still in residence. His point-hour ratio in the Graduate School is out of a possible 4.00. His field of specialization is in Public Speaking and also Psychology.

Holland - Ethel Prussell. Admitted to the University in June 1933 in the College of Education. She was in residence during the Winter Quarter of 1933. Her field of specialization was sociology and English. Her point-hour ratio is out of a possible 4.00.

Holland - Eleanor Jones. Admitted to the University in September 1931 in the College of Arts and Sciences. She was in residence during the Autumn and Spring Quarters of the academic year 1931-32. Her field of specialization was in History and Sociology. Her point-hour ratio is out of a possible 4.00. She has been in residence since June 1932.

Hough - Sherman Gifford. Admitted to the University in July 1932 in the College of Education and was in residence during the Summer Quarters of 1932 and 1933. His field of specialization was History and Education. His point-hour ratio is out of a possible 4.00. He was placed on probation at the close of the Summer Quarter 1933 and has not been in residence since that time.

Hudson, Marie Lee. Admitted to the University in June 1931 in the College of Education. She was in residence during the Summer Quarter of 1931. Her field of specialization was English. Her point-hour ratio is out of a possible 4.00.

Jackson - Ettie Stinchfield. Admitted to the University in October 1933 in the Graduate School. At the time that he was admitted, he was told that the advanced degree could not be conferred in less than four quarters of residence. He was in residence during the Autumn, Winter and Spring Quarters of the academic year 1933-34, the Summer Quarter of 1934, the Autumn and Winter Quarters of the academic year 1934-35. He is still in residence. The degree Master of Arts was conferred on him in June 1934. His point-hour ratio is out of a possible 4.00.

Johnson - Elder Theodore. Admitted to the University in September 1933 in the College of Education. He was graduated in June 1936 with the degree Bachelor of Science in Education and his point-hour ratio was 1.94. He was transferred to the Graduate School in October 1938, but withdrew October 1, 1938 on account of finances. He returned to the University in the Winter Quarter of 1935 and was in residence during the Winter, Spring and Summer Quarters of 1936. He was graduated in September 1936 with the degree Master of Arts. His point-hour ratio in the Graduate School is. His field of specialization was Principles of Education and Psychology.
Wilberforce University Students

Johnson - Harold Durante. Admitted to the University in October 1935 in the College of Arts and Sciences. He was in residence during the Autumn and Winter quarters of the academic year 1935-36. His point-hour ratio is 4.00 out of a possible 4.00. His field of interest is evidently the Biological Sciences.

Jones - Gladys Haven. Admitted to the University in June 1931 in the College of Arts and Sciences. She was in residence during the Summer Quarter of 1931 and the Autumn Quarter of the academic year 1931-32. She undertook advanced courses in Chemistry and Psychology in which she failed. Her point-hour ratio is 4.00 out of a possible 4.00. She has not been in residence since the Autumn Quarter of 1932.

Kolthoff - Eick Edwin. Admitted to the University in June 1935 in the College of Education. She withdrew July 2, 1925 on account of financial reasons. He therefore has no credits on the University records.

Lee - Benjamin Franklin. Admitted to the University in October 1932 in the College of Arts and Sciences. He was transferred to the Graduate School in January 1933 on the basis of his degree and fifteen quarter hours of work satisfactorily completed in the College of Arts and Sciences. He was graduated in March 1936 with the degree Master of Science. His field of specialization was Zoology. His point-hour ratio in the Graduate School was 4.00 out of a possible 4.00.

Lee - Nathan Howard. Admitted to the University in October 1934 in the College of Agriculture. He was in residence during the academic year 1934-35. He was transferred to the College of Arts in the Summer Quarter of 1935. In the Autumn Quarter he transferred back to the College of Agriculture. His registration for the Winter Quarter of 1935-36 was cancelled on account of payment of fees with a bad check. He was permitted to pay his fees for the Spring Quarter of 1936, but his academic record for the Winter Quarter was not satisfactory. He failed in an advanced course in Animal Husbandry and received an "Incomplete" in Chemistry. His point-hour ratio is 2.00. He is not in residence this quarter.

Lee - Cletus Frederick. Admitted to the University in July 1934 in the College of Education. He was transferred to the Graduate School in March 1935 and was in residence during the Spring and Summer quarters of 1935. His field of specialization is Physical Education. His point-hour ratio is 4.00. He has not been in residence since the Summer Quarter of 1935.

Lewis - Cletta Charlotte. Admitted to the University in October 1932 in the College of Education. She was in residence during the Autumn Quarter of 1932 only. Her work was in Home Economics, Economics and Sociology. Her work was not satisfactory and her point-hour ratio was 2.00 out of a possible 4.00.
Love - James Holden. Admitted to this University in September 1926 in the College of Arts and Sciences and was graduated in March 1931 with the degree, Bachelor of Arts. He was admitted to the Graduate School in March 1931 and was graduated in September 1933 with the degree, Master of Arts. His field of specialization was Psychology. His point-hour ratio in the Graduate School was out of a possible 4.00.

Martin - William Davis. Admitted to the University in June 1929 in the College of Arts and Sciences and was in residence during the Summer Quarter of 1933. He was transferred in October 1933 to the Graduate School on the basis of his degree and one quarter of successful work in the College of Arts. His field of specialization is Chemical Engineering and Chemistry. His point-hour ratio is out of a possible 4.00.

Martin - William Harris. Admitted to the University in October 1930 in the College of Education. He was in residence during the Autumn Quarter of 1930 and was transferred to the Graduate School in October 1931 where he was in residence during the academic year 1932-33. He was graduated in June 1933 with the degree, Master of Arts. His field of specialization is Education. His point-hour ratio was out of a possible 4.00.

Matoes - Merle Ruth. Admitted to the University in October 1935 in the College of Education. He was in residence during the Autumn Quarter of 1935 and was transferred to the Graduate School in January 1936 on the basis of his degree and one quarter of successful work completed in the College of Education. His field of specialization was Physical Education. He is still in residence. His point-hour ratio is out of a possible 4.00.

Maxole - Edward C. Admitted to the College of Commerce and Administration of this University in November 1934. He was in residence during the academic year 1934-35. He carried courses in Economics, Accounting, and Business Organization and was out under the rules in June 1935. His point-hour ratio was out of a possible 4.00.

Morgan - Alfred Lucille. Admitted to the University in September 1927 in the College of Education. She withdrew from the University on December 15, 1927 on account of illness but returned to the University in January 1928 and was in residence during the Winter Quarter of 1928, the academic year 1928-29, the Autumn and Winter Quarters of the year 1929-30 and the Summer Quarters of 1930 and 1931. She was out under the rules at the end of the Summer Quarter 1929 by Executive Committee action. Her point-hour ratio was out of a possible 4.00.

Russell - Cyrus Turner. Admitted to the University in October 1932 in the College of Education and was transferred to the Graduate School in March 1933 on the basis of his degree and one quarter of successful work in the College of Education. He was granted the degree Master of Arts in June 1934. His field of specialization is Social Administration and Education. His point-hour ratio was out of a possible 4.00.
Wilberforce University Students

Sanders - Junius Richard. Admitted to the University in September 1923 in College of Arts and Sciences. He was in residence during the Autumn and Winter quarters of the academic year 1922-23. He has not been in residence in the University since March 1922. His point-hour ratio is out of a possible 4.00.

Saulbury - Charles William. Admitted to the University in January 1924 in the Graduate School. His field of specialization was Education. His point-hour ratio was out of a possible 4.00. He has not completed the requirements for a Master's degree.

Singleton - Alzada Mentor. Admitted to the University in September 1925 in the College of Education and was in residence the Autumn and Winter quarters of 1925-26. She is still in residence. Her point-hour ratio is out of a possible 4.00.

Skelton - Thelma Ema. Admitted to the University in July 1925 in the College of Education. She was in residence during the Summer quarter only. She carried advanced courses in Home Economics. Her point-hour ratio was out of a possible 4.00.

Stanfield - Jere Bardell. Admitted to the University in January 1923 in the College of Education. He remained in residence during the Winter quarter and was transferred to the Graduate School in March 1923 on the basis of his degree and one quarter of satisfactory work in the College of Education of this University. He was in residence during the Spring, Summer and Autumn quarters of 1923. He withdrew February 4, 1924 because of illness in the family. His field of specialization is Education. His point-hour ratio is out of a possible 4.00.

Stokes - Louis Elmer. Admitted to the University in June 1922 in the College of Arts and Sciences. He was in residence during the Summer of 1922 and the Autumn quarter of 1922 and the Spring quarter of 1922. He has not been in residence since the Spring quarter of 1922. His point-hour ratio was out of a possible 4.00.

Turpley - Marvin Frank. Admitted to the University in October 1922 in the College of Education. He was in residence there during the Autumn quarter of 1922 and was transferred to the Graduate School on the basis of his degree and fifteen hours of satisfactory work done in the College of Education. He was granted the Master of Arts degree in September 1923. His field of specialization was Education. His point-hour ratio in the Graduate School is out of a possible 4.00.

Trotman - James Edward. Admitted to the University in September 1923 in the College of Arts and Sciences. He remained in residence during the Autumn quarter 1923 and was transferred to the Graduate School in January 1925 on the basis of his degree and fifteen hours of satisfactory work in the College of Arts. He was graduated in September 1925 with the degree of Master of Science and his field of specialization was Physiology. His point-hour ratio was out of a possible 4.00.
Willberforce University Students

Weites - Alexander Pealey. Admitted to the University in October 1924 in the College of Education and continued in residence during the three quarters of the academic year 1924-25. He was transferred to the Graduate School in June 1925. He was admitted to the Graduate School on the basis of his degree and satisfactory work completed in the College of Education. He was in residence during the Summer quarter of 1925, but his registration for the Autumn Quarter of 1925-26 was cancelled in December 1925 for the non-payment of deferred fees. He has not been in residence in the university since that time. His field of specialization was Social Administration and his point-hour ratio in the Graduate School was out of a possible 4.00.

Wilkos - Colvin Waddell. Admitted to the University in October 1925 in the College of Education. He continued in residence during the Autumn quarter and was transferred to the Graduate School in January 1926 on the basis of his degree and one quarter of satisfactory work done in the College of Education. He was in residence during the Winter and Spring quarters of the academic year 1925-26, the Summer of 1926 and the Autumn and Winter quarters of the academic year 1926-27. He was granted the degree, Master of Arts, in March 1926. His field of specialization was history. His point-hour ratio in the Graduate School was out of a possible 4.00.

Yard - Cear Thorton. Admitted to the University in September 1926 in the College of Arts and Sciences. He withdrew on October 22, 1926 and has no credits on the university record.

White - Jerome Jeter. Admitted to the University in January 1927 in the College of Arts and Sciences where he remained in residence during the Winter Quarter of 1927. He was transferred to the Graduate School in March 1927 on the basis of his degree and fifteen hours of work satisfactorily completed in the College of Education. He was in residence during the Spring quarter of 1927, the academic year 1927-28, the Summer Quarter of 1928, and the academic year 1928-29. His field of specialization is Zoology and Education. His point-hour ratio was out of a possible 4.00. He has not completed the requirements for his degree.

White - Hazel Marigold. Admitted to the University in June 1927 in the College of Education where she remained in residence for the Summer quarter only. She carried courses in music and Physical Education. Her point-hour ratio was out of a possible 4.00.

Williams - Faye Ann. Admitted to the University in September 1928 in the College of Education where she remained in residence for the Autumn Quarter only. She was transferred to the Graduate School in January 1929 on the basis of her degree and seventeen hours of work satisfactorily completed in the College of Education. She was in residence during the Winter and Spring quarters of the academic year 1928-29, the Summer Quarter of 1929 and the Autumn and Spring quarters of 1929-30. Her field of specialization was Practical arts. She has not completed the requirements for her degree. Her point-hour ratio was out of a possible 4.00.
Hlebush - Yvonne Lee. Admitted to the University in June 1920 in the College of Education. She was in residence during the summer quarter of 1920 and the Spring quarter of 1921. She was transferred to the Graduate school in June 1921. Her field of specialization is Education. She was granted the degree Master of Arts in June 1925. Her point-hour ratio was out of a possible 4.00.

Bryant - Richard Charter, III. Admitted to the University in January 1926 in the Graduate School on the basis of his degree and one quarter of satisfactory work in the College of Commerce. His field of specialization is Business Organization and Economics. His point-hour ratio is out of a possible 4.00. He is still in residence.
Appendix B

List of Negro Graduates from the
College of Education and
Analysis of Interviews
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Year Graduated</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>Helen Helena Scott</td>
<td>1911*</td>
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<tr>
<td>Edith Jones</td>
<td>1912**</td>
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<tr>
<td>Edith Lucille Frazier</td>
<td>1914</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sedonia Rotan</td>
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<tr>
<td>Eva Jane Smith</td>
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<td>Jefferson Eugene Grigsby</td>
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<td>Elizabeth Maybelle Smith</td>
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<td>Mary Ruth Banks</td>
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<td>Mary Nancy Stribling</td>
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<td>Ruth Poindexter Scott</td>
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<td>Vernon Hazel Jones</td>
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<td>Faustina Edith Townsend</td>
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<td>Edith Berrett Coleman</td>
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<td>Samuel Moss Carter</td>
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<td>Elizabeth Irene Chapman</td>
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<tr>
<td>Irene Mae Harris</td>
<td>1927</td>
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<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Year Graduated</td>
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<tr>
<td>-------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helen Viola Mullins</td>
<td>1927</td>
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<tr>
<td>Catherine Regina Booker</td>
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<tr>
<td>Edith Mae Carroll</td>
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<td>Katherine Elinor Freeland</td>
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<td>Nannie Lucretia Nichols Pieters</td>
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<td>Gertrude Turner</td>
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<td>Viola Davis Jefferson</td>
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<td>Alberta Ethel Banner</td>
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<td>Leota Alice Bell</td>
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<td>Rosa Lee Carter</td>
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<td>Angela Dukye Woode</td>
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<td>William Henry Atkinson</td>
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<td>Charlotte Edna Clark</td>
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<td>Ruby Pearl Elzy</td>
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<td>Sarah Lucy Nuby</td>
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<td>Russell William Pace</td>
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<td>Jean Calve Reynolds</td>
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<td>Julius Harold Thomas</td>
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<td>Cora Baldridge McNabb</td>
<td>1931</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rosetta Elizabeth Reese</td>
<td>1931</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hattie Brooks Smith</td>
<td>1931</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evelyn K. Warren</td>
<td>1931</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elizabeth Louise Brown</td>
<td>1932</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Henry Rowland</td>
<td>1932</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annabelle Carter</td>
<td>1933</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Year Graduated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ruth Evelyn Dean</td>
<td>1933</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bessie Phillips</td>
<td>1933</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arretta Mae Carter</td>
<td>1934</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carolyn May Glover</td>
<td>1934</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aileen Virginia Guest</td>
<td>1934</td>
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<tr>
<td>Marjorie Paula Jackson</td>
<td>1934</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arnetta Fern Rains</td>
<td>1934</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles Daniel Allen</td>
<td>1935</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ferda Yolanda Barnett</td>
<td>1935</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles Harrison Blair</td>
<td>1935</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mary Estella Cooper</td>
<td>1935</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hilda Ruth Jenkins</td>
<td>1935</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rosetta Seals</td>
<td>1935</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clifford Loudin Ward</td>
<td>1935</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ella Louise Jenkins</td>
<td>1936</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marguerite Chambers Johnston</td>
<td>1936</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hewitt Stanhope Toney</td>
<td>1937</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tucker A. Wallace</td>
<td>1938</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arthur Allan Ware</td>
<td>1938</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Died before graduation.

**First known Negro Graduate with a Bachelor's Degree from the College of Education.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total No. of Students*</th>
<th>Total No. Schools Attended</th>
<th>No. Taught by Negro Teachers</th>
<th>No. Who Did Student Teaching at Champion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>9/5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Elem. /14</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jr. High /14</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High School 1**/13</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. Who Received Scholarships</td>
<td>No. Who Received Financial Aid</td>
<td>No. Who Received Total Support from Parents</td>
<td>No. for Part-time Employment***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>2(See Part-time)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total No. Reported as Being the Only Child in the Family</td>
<td>Total No. of Students Involved in Extracurricular Activities Negro Sororities Fraternities Honorary Societies</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional Societies/Clubs</td>
<td>Interracial Organizations</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*One male student is listed within the total number of students who graduated with a M.A. in Music in 1942.

**High School was not located in Columbus

***A few of the Negro Students who worked part-time also received support from their parents. Two Negro students, in particular, were on the National Youth Administration Program and one of those students reported that she worked for Dr. Parks, Dean of Men at OSU, for 50¢ an hour or $2.00 a day.
QUESTIONNAIRE

Name_________________________________________ Sex________

Address_______________________________________________

Phone______________________________________

Hometown_____________________________________________

School Attended Were they Segregated?_____  
Elementary________________________

Jr. High__________________________

High School________________________ Year Graduated____

Date of Graduation from OSU_________Major________

Student Teach (Where?) Was the School segregated?__________________  

Position(s) after graduation

Teaching--(if yes, where?) Segregated?________

If No, why not?
QUESTIONNAIRE (Continued)

Did you notice any ill-feelings toward you because of your race? (OSU)

Teachers?

Students?

What about your social life?

a. Member of what organization (s)?

b. What places did you frequent on campus?

How was your schooling financed?

a. Parents?

b. Work? Where?

c. Financial aid? From what source?
Additional Comments

Verified Date of Graduation
Appendix C

List of Negro Graduates, 1892-1950
Compiled by Dorothy Ross,
University Archives
OSU

208
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date Grad.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Degree</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Hometown</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1892</td>
<td>Sherman Hamlin Guss</td>
<td>B.A.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Middleport, Ohio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1897</td>
<td>Sherman T. Wiggins</td>
<td>B.A.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Columbus, Ohio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1897</td>
<td>Arthur K. Lawrence</td>
<td>Phar.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Columbus, Ohio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>John T. Clark</td>
<td>B.A.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Louisville, Ky.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>Jessie Frances Stephens</td>
<td>B.A.</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Columbus, Ohio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>Shackelford, Elmer Amos</td>
<td>Cert. in Law</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Tipton, Missouri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>Clarence Swanson Woodward</td>
<td>B.Sc. in Agr.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Jefferson, Ohio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>Alonzo J. Bowling</td>
<td>M.A.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Boston, Mass.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>W. E. Davis</td>
<td>B.Sc. in Phar.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Fremont, Ohio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>W. J. Williams</td>
<td>Law</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Union City, Tenn.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>Wilbert Reed Howell</td>
<td>B.A.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Gallipolis, Ohio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>Clarence A. Jones</td>
<td>B.A.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Columbus, Ohio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>Edward J. Loggans</td>
<td>B.A.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Greenfield, Ohio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>Robert Kenneth Stevens</td>
<td>Ph.C.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Columbus, Ohio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>James Hendrix Bias</td>
<td>D.V.M.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Vicksburg, Miss.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Veterinary Med.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>Williams Otis Stokes</td>
<td>Law</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Dayton, Ohio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>Helen Helena Scott</td>
<td>B.A., B.Sc. Ed.</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Worthington, Ohio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>James Claude Kingslow</td>
<td>Phar.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Plainfield, N. J.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>Henry Mason Higgins</td>
<td>D.V.M.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Cincinnati, Ohio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date Grad.</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Degree</td>
<td>Sex</td>
<td>Hometown</td>
</tr>
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<td>-----------</td>
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<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>Clarence Alexander Jones</td>
<td>LL.B.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Columbus, Ohio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>Edith Alicia Jones</td>
<td>B.S. Ed.</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Columbus, Ohio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>Ernest Percival Simonds</td>
<td>Ph.C.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Jacksonville, Fla.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>Thomas D. Walker</td>
<td>B.Sc. in Agr.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>(Unknown)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>James Arthur Dunn</td>
<td>B. or Arch.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Dayton, Ohio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>David Langston Brown</td>
<td>Ph.C.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Crystal, W. Va.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>Florence Maye Burns</td>
<td>Ph.C.</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Mt. Sterling, Ohio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>Wilbur Edison Carson</td>
<td>B.Sc. in Phar.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Columbus, Ohio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>Fannie C. Jamison</td>
<td>Ph.C.</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Columbus, Ohio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>Lucien Ellsworth Simms</td>
<td>Ph.C.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Cincinnati, Ohio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>Jessie Starks</td>
<td>Ph.C.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Wilmington, Ohio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>Henry Hall Boger</td>
<td>B.Sc. in Agr.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Aurora, Illinois</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>Arthur Adolphus Turner</td>
<td>B.Sc. in Agr.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Lowell, Kentucky</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>Thurman Fredrick Scott</td>
<td>D.V.M.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Columbus, Ohio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>W. Lloyd Lancaster</td>
<td>D.D.S.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Akron, Ohio</td>
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<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>Edith Lucille Frazier</td>
<td>B.Sc. in Ed.</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Columbus, Ohio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>John Gordon</td>
<td>Ph. C.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Oberlin, Ohio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>Ernest P. Jackson</td>
<td>Ph. C.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Springfield, Ohio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>L. R. Watkins</td>
<td>D.D.S.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Sabina, Ohio</td>
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<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>Elmer Leroy Carson</td>
<td>D.V.M.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Columbus, Ohio</td>
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<td>Louis M. Weaver</td>
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<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>Waldo Woodson Tyler</td>
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<td>1916</td>
<td>John B. McClellan</td>
<td>B.A.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>Clarence A. Lindsay</td>
<td>M.D.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Xenia, Ohio</td>
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<td>1916</td>
<td>Charles Huston Minor</td>
<td>D.V.M.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Columbus, Ohio</td>
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<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>Frances Walton Wand</td>
<td>D.V.M.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Omega, New York</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date Grad.</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Degree</td>
<td>Sex</td>
<td>Hometown</td>
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<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>Leonard Pearl Henderson</td>
<td>LL.B.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>South Charleston</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>Hubert Pleasant</td>
<td>Cert. in Phar.</td>
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<td>Lawrenceburg, Ky.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>James E. Wallace</td>
<td>B.Sc. in Agr.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Decaturville, Tenn.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>Jimsiana Brassfield</td>
<td>B.Sc. in Home Ec.</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Columbus, Ohio</td>
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<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>Wayne L. Hopkins</td>
<td>B.A.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Columbus, Ohio</td>
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<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>Irene Josephine Patterson</td>
<td>B.A.</td>
<td>F</td>
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<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>Scott M. Taylor</td>
<td>B.A.</td>
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<td>Winchester, Ky.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>William Rohimbox Morrison</td>
<td>M.D.-Homeopathic</td>
<td>M</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Medicine</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>Joseph Henry Stevens</td>
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<td>Columbus, Ohio</td>
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<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>B. Luther Colbert</td>
<td>D.V.M.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Macon, Georgia</td>
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<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>George Ray Dorsey</td>
<td>B.A.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Columbus, Ohio</td>
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<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>C. H. Dean Mohr</td>
<td>Ph. C.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Springfield, Ohio</td>
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<tr>
<td>1918</td>
<td>Carl Eugene Barnett</td>
<td>B.Arch. E.</td>
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<td>Columbus, Ohio</td>
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<tr>
<td>1918</td>
<td>Nelson L. Barnett</td>
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<td>Columbus, Ohio</td>
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<tr>
<td>1918</td>
<td>Samuel Nathaniel Bruce</td>
<td>Vet. Med.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>British Guiana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918</td>
<td>John Wesley Dunbar</td>
<td>D.D.S.-Dentistry</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Cincinnati, Ohio</td>
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<tr>
<td>1919</td>
<td>Robert G. Bruce</td>
<td>Agr.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Ravenna, Ohio</td>
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<tr>
<td>1919</td>
<td>Clarence E. Thompson</td>
<td>Homeopathic Medicine</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Sandusky, Ohio</td>
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<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>Earl D. Alexander</td>
<td>B.A.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Sandusky, Ohio</td>
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<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>Donald A. Gillam</td>
<td>D.D.S.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Yellow Springs, Ohio</td>
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<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>Wayne L. Hopkins</td>
<td>M.A.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Columbus, Ohio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>Phila Ann McGillery</td>
<td>B.A.</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Pomeroy, Ohio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>Charles Huston Minor</td>
<td>M.D.-Homeopathic</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Columbus, Ohio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Medicine</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Date Grad.</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Degree</td>
<td>Sex</td>
<td>Hometown</td>
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<td>-----------</td>
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<td>-----</td>
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<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>Richard Clyde Minor</td>
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<td>M</td>
<td>Columbus, Ohio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>Tillman Rogers Thompson</td>
<td>B.A.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Columbus, Ohio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>Herbert L. Wallace</td>
<td>D.D.E.–Dentistry</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Sandusky, Ohio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>Robert S. Sloan</td>
<td>M.D.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Columbus, Ohio</td>
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<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>James Aubrey Lane</td>
<td>D.V.M.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Cincinnati, Ohio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td>Bernice Naomi Copeland</td>
<td>B.Sc.</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Winchester, Ind.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td>Spotswood M. Greene</td>
<td>Ph. C.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Bellaire, Ohio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td>Sedonia Rotan</td>
<td>B.A., B.S. in Ed.</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Columbus, Ohio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td>Eva Jane Smith</td>
<td>B. Sc.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Columbus, Ohio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td>Everett Simpson</td>
<td>L.L.B.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>St. Clairsville, Ohio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td>Edward G. Trigg</td>
<td>D.V.M.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Columbus, Ohio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td>Sevilla Madelyn Key</td>
<td>E. Sc.</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Columbus, Ohio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>Harry G. Dickerson</td>
<td>Agr.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Columbus, Ohio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>Percy Willard Giddings</td>
<td>Ph. C.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Columbus, Ohio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>Howard DeBosse Gillies</td>
<td>B.A.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Columbus, Ohio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>Donald A. Gillim</td>
<td>D.D.S.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Yellow Springs, Ohio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>Alberta Henley</td>
<td>B. Sc.</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Columbus, Ohio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>Mildred Ann Henson</td>
<td>B.Sc. in Journ.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Columbus, Ohio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>Thomas McAllister Johnson</td>
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Appendix D

Correspondence Related to Two and a Half Year Discrimination Study of the Business District at OSU*

*Original copies of correspondence can be found at the home of Barbee Durham.

225
The Attitude of Restaurants in the University District to Colored People:
Based Upon a Two and a Half Year Study.

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<th>Reception</th>
<th>Practices</th>
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<td>Once a month during this year</td>
<td>Slightly hostile</td>
<td>#Prices doubled, payed 26¢ for 11¢ worth of food</td>
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<td>C &amp; G Restaurant</td>
<td>One time, not recently</td>
<td>Very hostile</td>
<td>No service</td>
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<td>Pic &amp; Pan</td>
<td>Two times, not recently</td>
<td>Hostile</td>
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<td>Fairly good</td>
<td>$None</td>
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<td>Issy's*</td>
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<td>One time recently</td>
<td>Not good</td>
<td>$Objection to serving me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High at 11th</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walgreens Drug Store*</td>
<td>About once a month at present</td>
<td>Good</td>
<td>None at present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High at Chittenden</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frecker's*</td>
<td>About once a month at present</td>
<td>Hostile</td>
<td>Prices doubled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High near Chittenden</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New China</td>
<td>Two or three times during vacations</td>
<td>Good</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High Street</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orange Hill</td>
<td>Once a week</td>
<td>Good</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trink-Marte*</td>
<td>Four times</td>
<td>Good then hostile</td>
<td>Prices doubled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grill</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mykrantz Store*</td>
<td>Three times</td>
<td>Hostile</td>
<td>Told not to come back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hennick's</td>
<td>Three times</td>
<td>Poor</td>
<td>Had to wait</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Issy's</td>
<td>Two or three times during vacations</td>
<td>Good</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15th &amp; High</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Establishment</td>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>Quality</td>
<td>Notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>--------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Varsity Drugs</td>
<td>One time</td>
<td>Good</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taystee Restaurant*</td>
<td>Three times</td>
<td>Hostile</td>
<td>Prices raised</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Now Lloyds)</td>
<td>not recently</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lorna's Restaurant</td>
<td>Four times</td>
<td>Good</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>not recently</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cor. Neal Ave.,</td>
<td>Three times</td>
<td>Poor</td>
<td>Asked to take food out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>at Woodruff</td>
<td>not recently</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campus Inn*</td>
<td>Two times</td>
<td>Hostile</td>
<td>No service on last visit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chittenden Ave.</td>
<td>not recently</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Antionette</td>
<td>One time</td>
<td>Very hostile</td>
<td>No service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High St., near 11th</td>
<td>not recently</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Letter written (Type enclosed)

#Sign on wall concerning sudden change of price.

Submitted by

Barbee Ms. Durham
63 East 11th Ave.,
Columbus, Ohio
July 16, 1938

Dr. William E. McPherson,
Acting President,
Ohio State University,
Columbus, Ohio

Dear Dr. McPherson:

I should like to bring to your attention, a situation which I feel merits some consideration.

From Saturday noon until Monday morning, the Ohio Union and Pomerene Hall are closed. Consequently, it is very difficult for colored students, most of whom are graduate students and who live in the university district, to get meals. It is most embarrassing to have to go from restaurant to restaurant only to be told that "You don't serve colored people." One usually ends up in buying some crackers and boiled ham, a bottle of milk and retiring to his room; or, if the urge is great enough, an hour and a half of very valuable time is spent in going four miles to the east end for the meal.

Occasionally, it is possible to get a meal in the university district but such practices as greatly reducing the helpings, giving bad service, and increasing the price from two to five times, are resorted to in order to discourage a return visit.

A second matter of concern is the fact that colored students are not admitted at the State Theater. It is necessary to spend, again very valuable time, and car fare in going to the east end while there is a theater within a five minute walk of the residence.

Such conditions are certainly incompatible with all the principles of democracy, and, is particularly obnoxious when they exist within the shadow of one of America's largest institutions of higher learning. I bring these matters to your attention because:
first, I feel that they are not generally known, and secondly, I feel that a statement of disapproval of such discrimination, coming from the university administration, would go a long way toward righting these wrongs. I will certainly appreciate any suggestions you wish to offer.

Yours very truly,

Barbee Wm. Durham
COPY

63 East 11th Ave.,
Columbus, Ohio
November 29, 1938

Mr. J.W. Hangartner,
Isaly's Inc.,
2800 North High Street,
Columbus, Ohio

Subject: Racial Discrimination

My Dear Mr. Hangartner:

If you will remember, about a year ago I had an occasion to bring to your attention, a complaint because of racial discrimination on the part of your employees in the 1620 North High Street store. Since that time I have visited that store from time to time, to find that the service was sometimes good and sometimes bad. It all depended upon the employees; some of whom have used various subterfuges to discourage the patronage of colored people. I have ignored these with the thought that these employees would, sooner or later, tire of such practices or that their better self would come to the fore in due time. I find that I have erred in this assumption and regret to say that the purpose of this letter is to complain anew, because of a recent upswing in discriminatory practices.

First, I should like to state that since I live in this neighborhood, and since I am employed near by, it logically follows that I take many of my meals in it. I am sure that it would not be suggested that I arise an hour and a half earlier each morning in order to get my breakfast, usually ten cents, in the east end of the city. I only have an hour for lunch and it is quite impossible to go out there and back in such a short time. As a matter of policy, I vary my visits from restaurant to restaurant so that my frequency for any one of them is not great. My attire is such that, not by the greatest stretch of imagination, could one say that it constitutes a point of objection. In general, this is true of the colored people of the neighborhood; most of them being student in the university.

Last Tuesday morning, November 22nd, I went to the above mentioned Isaly's and ordered a roll and a glass of milk. The waitress set the roll on the counter and then went to the rear of the store for the milk. She returned with the glass filled with what I took to be a mixture of milk and water. Since it was so very definitely off color, I started to leave it on the counter where she had placed it. However, in order to confirm my suspicion, I took it to the table and tasted it, to find that it was decidedly flat. When I had finished my roll, I asked the waitress if
the milk was a product of Isaly's or of a local firm. I then asked if she would object to my submitting the milk which she had served me, to the Board of Health Laboratory, for analysis. At this point she became very indignant, stating that it was milk out of a quart bottle which had been tested once. Rather than participate an argument, and possible trouble, I said no more and left the store. I can assure you that had that milk been tested, it would have been low in total solids, ash, fats, and specific gravity, all indicating that it had been diluted.

I have cleared with the proper authorities and find it is a requirement that milk be poured into the glass from a bottle of certain definite specifications (section 40 of the Public Health Code), and this is usually done in the presence of the customer.

I am bringing this matter to your attention because I feel that such practices are so much out of harmony with the accepted principles of democracy; they are particularly obnoxious when they exist within the shadow of one of America's largest institutions of higher learning. I have delayed in doing this because I first felt that I might overlook this incident. At the present time I am of a different opinion. And then too, I had decided to dismiss the matter should the waitress wish to make an apology. I had considered an apology sufficient because it would certainly have caused the least trouble for all concerned. However, should you consider this matter to a point of investigation, I do hope that it will not merely be a case of my word against her word; neither do I ask that my word be given more weight than hers.

In closing I wish to say that I have sincerely sought a way out of this situation without causing trouble. On the other hand, suppose this type of discrimination is used against someone who might not be so very rational under such conditions. Instead of writing a letter they might want to do something about it then and there. I am sure that you can see what might happen; therefore, for the good of all concerned, I am bringing this to your attention. May I hear from you in the very near future.

Yours very truly,

Barbee Wm. Durham
63 East 11th Ave.,
Columbus, Ohio
November 11, 1938

Frecker's Malted Milk Shop,
North High Street at Chittenden Ave.,
Columbus, Ohio

Attention: The Manager

Subject: Racial Discrimination

Dear Sir:

When I came into your place of business last Wednesday morning for breakfast, I found it quite impossible to get any service even after waiting for more than a reasonable length of time. In my opinion, the reason for those who were on duty at that time, making it so very evident that they did not intend to wait upon me, is my color.

First, allow me to say that since I live in this neighborhood, and since I am employed – in a fairly good position – in this same neighborhood, it therefore very logically follows that I take many of my meals in it. I am sure that you would not suggest that I get up an hour and a half earlier each morning so that I might spend ten of fifteen cents in the east end. At noon I have only one hour for lunch and it is quite impossible to go there and back in such a short time. I very often take my evening meal in the east end when I find that, for some other reason, I am to be in that part of the city.

Now that I have very definitely established that it is necessary that I take many of my meals in this part of the city, I might comment upon matters of policy which I have arbitrarily adopted. My frequency is not great. My attire is such that not by the greatest stretch of imagination, could one say that it constitutes a point of objection.

On the other hand, your policy of racial discrimination is most incompatible with all the accepted principles of democracy; it is particularly obnoxious when it exists within the shadow of one of America's largest institutions of higher learning. However, there is one point which puzzles me.
I should like to know what your policy is toward persons whose racial identity is so very difficult to establish. You, no doubt, are aware of the fact that there are many such persons; persons who have not as yet elected to disown a small part of their heritage.

I have herein, endeavored to appeal to your better sense of judgment and hope that I have met with some success. I should like to hear from you in the very near future. If not, I shall assume that my appeal has met with a measurable amount of success and that you are revising your policy to more nearly conform to American Ideals of democracy.

Yours very truly,

Barbee Wm. Durham
The Committee Investigating  
Racial Prejudice,  
Ohio State University,  
Columbus, Ohio  

Gentlemen:

I was very glad to read in The Lantern last Friday that Student Senate had approved K O A D A Council's efforts to do something about racial discrimination on the campus and in the university district. It was most encouraging to learn that an investigating committee had been appointed.

It is because I feel that you might not be able to ascertain the true attitude of the various business establishments in the district that I wish to make available to you some of my personal experiences. During the past two and a half years, I have lived and worked in this neighborhood and, therefore, have found it necessary to face this thing of discrimination almost constantly.

There is a law - Section 12940 of the Ohio General Code - which is designed to put an end to racial discrimination in places of public accommodation. However, the restaurants and theaters have devised many subterfuges in order to get around this law. I am sure that each of you has noticed the frequent sign "We reserve the right to change prices without notice." The following is a list of some of the practices employed for the purpose of discouraging colored people:

1. Doubling or tripling the price.
2. Charging the regular price for greatly reduced portions.
3. Serving cold food.
4. Slow service, intentionally overlooking colored people.

During the past two and a half years, I have visited almost every restaurant in this vicinity. Because of this I will deal more specifically with the subject by setting up a chart. (See enclosure) I have put forth every effort to cause various restaurants to change their policies. The enclosed letters are copies of the type which I usually write when discriminated against.

The most annoying situation is the discrimination on the part of the theaters; the State Theater in particular because it is closest to me. When Negro students wish to attend a movie it is necessary to go four miles across town to the east end. This is most inconvenient and causes a needless loss of valuable time. On several occasions I have presented myself for admission. The girl in the ticket office refuses to sell me a ticket and the gentleman on the door refuses to admit me without a ticket. In two instances the girl has sold tickets to white persons over my money which I was offering for the same purpose. I might mention further subterfuges employed by theaters:
1. Sometimes a Negro is able to secure a ticket. He is usually seated on an end seat. In two or three minutes one of the ushers will come along and 'stumble' over his foot. The usher will then start an argument and have the Negro put out because he is 'disorderly'.

2. A variation of this is used when the Negro is not sitting near the isle. The usher will come down the isle and stare at the Negro. He repeats this four or five times or until people begin to wonder what he is doing. At this point the usher claims that the Negro is causing a disturbance and has him put out.

As for any suggestions which I might offer the committee:

1. In regard to restaurants
   a. I am not sure as to the advisability of boycotts; they are difficult to organize and more difficult to carry out.
   b. Probably a circular letter with a follow-up visit would be of value.

2. In regard to theaters
   a. A conference with the manager might be of value.

3. The help of Mr. James A. Rhodes, the mayor of University City, should be enlisted by having him issue a statement disapproving of racial discrimination.

4. Individuals should be urged to make known their disapproval of such discrimination each time they see it.

5. Most helpful would be the publishing of the practices of the theaters and restaurants.

In conclusion, I wish to state that I will be glad to come before the committee to elaborate upon the report, or, to offer any further suggestions or information which I might have. My only request is that my name not be used in connection with the same.

Respectfully submitted,

Barbee Wm. Durham
COLUMBUS BRANCH

National Association
for the
Advancement of Colored People

PHONE: EVERGREEN 3575
OFFICIAL ORGAN: "CRISIS"

63 East 11th Ave.,
Columbus, Ohio
Sept. 9, 1937

LOCAL OFFICERS & BOARD

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Maddie L. Jones, Asst. Secy.
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Rev. C. S. Smith
Dr. J. J. Smith
Dr. W. Bohm Terri
Miss Marion Walker-White
Miss Reba Maude Hill
Dr. Helen Wilson
Mrs. D. Williams

BELLS' RESTAURANT
1500 E. High St.
Columbus, Ohio

Subject: A Matter of Policy

Attention: The Manager

Dear Madam:

Last evening when I was paying for my meal, you stated that you would prefer that I be served elsewhere. Conditions are such that I am unable to consider your preference, to any appreciable degree, when determining certain of my habits.

The residence at which I room is in the neighborhood of your restaurant; I am employed - in a very good position - in the neighborhood, therefore it logically follows that I take my meals in this locality. I am quite sure that you would not suggest that I get up one hour and forty-five minutes earlier in order to get my breakfast, which usually costs fifteen or twenty cents, in the east end of Columbus. At noon I have one hour for lunch. It is impossible for one to go to the east end for lunch in such a short time, even if I elected to do so. In the evenings I very often go to the east end, for various reasons, and I usually wait till then to eat.

Now that the fact that it is necessary for me to take some of my meals in this vicinity is established, I might comment on the policy which I have arbitrarily adopted. I usually take break-

1938 NATIONAL CONVENTION - COLUMBUS, OHIO JUNE 28, - JULY 3, 1938
fast at one place, lunch at another, and dinner
at a third. This is varied from day to day so that
I eat in several different restaurants in any
given period of time.

My personal appearance is good; a point of which
I have been very careful. I feel that my attire
is complimentary to that of your average patron.
My attitude is that of a very retiring person. You,
no doubt, have noted these points. I feel quite
sure that you realize the importance of these
points - variance of frequency, personal appear-
ance, and attitude - in such a program of inte-
gration.

Finally, I would like to know what your policy is
in regard to persons (members of my racial group)
whose racial identity is very difficult to determine.
Several such persons are among your constant patrons.
However, I assume that you probably think that
they are members of the majority group.

In conclusion, I wish to state that I have endeavored
to appeal to your better sense of judgment and
sincerely hope that I have been successful. May I
hear from you in the very near future?

Yours very truly,

Barbee Ms. Durham
63 East 11th Ave.
Columbus, Ohio
November 29, 1938

The Malted Milk Shop,
67 East State Street,
Columbus, Ohio

Attention: Mr. Eddie Frecker,
General Manager

Dear Sir:

I should like to bring to your attention, a matter which I feel merits your consideration.

This morning I went to your unit located on North High Street, for breakfast. Again, there was a very definite effort on the part of the employees present, to cause me to leave without being served. When I talked with one of them, it was suggested that since your orders were being carried, I take the matter up with you.

For your information, I have enclosed a copy of my letter, of the 11th inst., to the manager of the above mentioned unit. This letter was neither acknowledged nor answered. Since I feel that it quite adequately covers the situation, I shall not elaborate upon it.

Will you kindly advise me of final disposition.

Yours very truly,

Herbert Wm. Durham
The Campus Inn Restaurant
7 Chittenden Ave.
Columbus, Ohio

SUBJECT: Racial Discrimination

ATTENTION: Mr. E. Southworth, the Manager

Dear Sir:

This afternoon, my sister and I came to your restaurant for our dinner. Your cook, Thelma Murray, stated that she could not serve us because of your orders relative to service to colored people.

I should like to preface my remarks by stating that my sister is a student at Ohio State University, and that I am employed in this neighborhood, in a fairly good position. This, together with the fact that we live in this neighborhood establishes the fact that it is necessary that we take our meals in this same neighborhood.

This being the case, I should like to know what your suggestion would be. I am sure that you would not suggest that I get up an hour and a half earlier so that I might spend fifteen or twenty cents in the east end of Columbus for my breakfast. At noon, it is impossible for me to go to the east end and back in the one hour which I have for lunch. I usually take my evening meal in that part of the city if I find that, for other reasons, I am to be out there.

I am very careful about my attire and attitude. Not by the greatest stretch of imagination could one say that these points could constitute an acceptable objection to my presence in your place of business. On the basis of morals, we find that such discrimination is most incompatible with all the principles of democracy. It is especially odious when it exists within the shadow of one of America's largest institutions of higher learning.

Finally, in all fairness to you and to me, I don't feel that you are consistent in your apparent policy. There are colored students who live in this neighborhood, and whose racial identity is very difficult to establish. These persons, who have not as yet, elected to disown a part of their heritage, are among your constant patrons.
I have, here-in, endeavored to appeal to your better sense of judgment, and, should like to hear from you on this matter in the very near future. Should I not hear from you, I shall take it that I have met with some success, and that you are revising your policy.

Yours very truly,

Barbee J.M. Durham
63 East 11th Ave.,
Columbus, Ohio
April 20, 1939

The University Drugs,
Eleventh & High Sts.,
Columbus, Ohio

Attention: The Manager
Subject: Racial Discrimination

Dear Sir:

I should like to bring to your attention a matter which, in my opinion, merits your immediate consideration.

When I stopped in your store for breakfast this morning, the waitress was very hesitant about serving me. I inquired as to the reason for her attitude. She stated that it was contrary to the policy of the store to serve colored people, and, at the same time, called to my attention a sign, 'To reserve the right to charge prices without notice'.

Before going further I feel that it is of advantage to state that since I live in this neighborhood, and since I am employed near by, it logically follows that I take most of my meals in this same neighborhood. I am sure that you would not suggest that I arrive an hour and a half earlier so that I might obtain my breakfast, which usually costs ten or fifteen cents, in the east end of the city. At noon I have only an hour for lunch and it is virtually an impossibility for one to go out there and back. While often I take my evening meal in the east end and when I find that, for other reasons, I am to be in that part of the city,

And then too, there are certain matters of policy which I have arbitrarily adopted, and which could be mentioned at this point. My frequency is low, because I vary my patronage from restaurant to restaurant. My attire is such that not by the greatest stretch of imagination could one say that it constitutes a point of objection. My attitude is retiring. I am very careful of these points.

On the other hand, I am sure that you will agree with me in that racial discrimination is quite incompatible with all the accepted principles of democracy, and, that it is particularly obnoxious when it exists within the shadow of one of America's largest institutions of higher learning.

I am looking forward to hearing from you in the near future, as to any suggestion which you might have to offer. In the event that I do not, I shall assume that you are revising your policy to more nearly conform to those principles so often advocated as the 'American Way'.

Yours very truly,
63 East 11th Ave.,
Columbus, Ohio
July 10, 1940

North High St., at 11th Ave.,
Columbus, Ohio

Attention: The Proprietor
Subject: Racial Discrimination

Dear Sir:

Yesterday, you mentioned the fact that several of your customers had objected to my presence in your establishment, and, at the same time, implied your desire that I alter my habits along these particular lines. I appreciate the straightforward manner in which you brought this matter to my attention.

First, I wish to state that I live in this neighborhood and am employed, in a good position, in this same vicinity. It therefore very logically follows that I take most of my meals nearby. I am sure that those persons, who have registered the objection, would not suggest that I arise an hour and a half earlier each day so that I could go to the east end of the city for my dinner and milk. At noon, I only have an hour and it is impossible for me to go so far in so short a time. I quite often take my evening meal in that part of the city when I find that, for other reasons, I am to be out there.

Now that I have established the fact that it is necessary that I take many of my meals in this neighborhood, I feel it advisable to mention two matters which I have arbitrarily adopted as policy, and, about which I have been very particular. My appearance has been such that not by the greatest stretch of imagination, could one say that it constitutes a point of objection. I am sure that you will agree with me in that my behavior has been none other than that which one would expect from a gentleman. These facts, I believe, are of more than passing interest.

And then on the other hand, it seems to me that now is the time to practice a little of the democracy about which these same persons talk loud and long. This would seem particularly true since this community is within the shadow of one of America's largest institutions of higher learning.
This brings me to this point. I have always wanted to know what people, who are so narrow-minded and prejudiced as to present the presence of a visibly colored person, do when it is impossible for them to establish the racial identity of an individual. I am sure that these persons are well aware of the fact that there are many such colored people; individuals whose racial identity cannot be established with any degree of certainty without considerable reference to past generations in their families. Such people are sometimes known as 'volunteer Negroes'. Often they tire of the rebuffs and insults they suffer and, by merely going to another community and no longer admitting their racial background, cease to be colored. I am quite anxious to know just what prejudiced people do in this situation.

Finally, I know that you are anxious to know what disposition I am making of your implied desire. Before stating my decision on this point, I wish to say that your personal attitude has been, and is, as fine as one could expect. You and your employees have always treated me with all the respect and courtesy that any individual could expect. For this I am grateful. In arriving at my decision I have been guided by that part of my philosophy of life which I find quite indispensable; the Golden Rule. I am going to do that which I would expect you do do if our positions were reversed. I will miss your very delicious donuts, the beat that I have ever tasted. And then too, I will probably miss my meals from time to time and occasionally find it necessary to go hungry. However, because your unbiased attitude, I am sure that you will invite my patronage when the present unfavorable conditions cease to exist. You may question my optimism on this point but I feel that if the persons who have objected to me, could know just how inconvenient their objection makes living, I am sure that some of them would think this matter turn and end up with a different attitude toward their fellow American citizens.

I have herein endeavored to state my position clearly. It is possible that some of these persons, who have made known their resentment, would like offer a solution to my problem. Should you talk with them, and I would certainly suggest this, I will be more than glad to hear of any suggestions which come forth. Should you have a suggestion I will certainly appreciate it.

Again, may I express my appreciation for your position in this matter.

Yours very truly,

Barbee J. Durham
Appendix E

Copy of Negro Student Newspaper
and Announcements*

*Original Copies can be found at the Home of Bobbie Durham
244
This is the last Scoop of the year, so back it now to your memories. It is being edited by the new editorial staff, so you get an idea of what next year’s Scoops will be like.

Leanne Scott has been wearing a broad smile recently. Oh, so brave has she been, eh?

Boys: If your white shoes are too small, fill each one full of cotton balls and then 1 cup of water. In a few days, they will be just right and you will have no further trouble.

Dave Elia makes Phi Eta Sigma, national honorary freshman society.

Earline Holtland who is almost in her nose that she weighs too much, got her key for making Alpha Scoops Delta, which is a local, national, international and universal honorary sociological society.

A certain gentleman is said to have a weakness for Ann.

If Schumee ever calls you by telephone, be it at 316 Lexington Avenue.

At last we found out this guy Will Walker. He ought to tell Joe how high he jumps every day, just last night he was out on 10th.

Bill Duggard is the most vertiable on the campus. The trusty landing place is by the chief engineer’s office at B. A. I..

Margaret Johnson’s artistic touch added greatly to the success of the Alpha Scoops.

Some say that the first prize of the Jabbawock was two lives while others say that it was ten. Still others say it was five, 5, 10 and 10.

See Salley next time you are strolling up North with only your coat. Buy two papers, pull your hat out of shape, turn up your coat collar and proceed to sell the paper on the street car. Buy two more papers down town and sell them on a Long Street Car. Repeat the process on the return trip.

Some smart 656 said Salley would stop his own wedding.

Charles Thomas seems to have become fairly well with 30 hours this week. He may have had the freshest and English before.

The fastest racket is number twelve. Pick your number and throw it with us. If you don’t have it the day it comes out, we pay you 35 for each one you would have played on the Jockey Hill—Chief Agent. (In. Res. Rates – 50.00 per number.)

THE ART OF SHOPPING

A thesis submitted for the degree of M.S. (Master Shopper)

By Harriet Schmee, B.S.

There is a certain lady who wants to know every name Sidney Hill.

GRADUATING LIST

Name Degree Major

Katherine State B.A. Chemistry

Mary Jane Brown B.S. in Ed. Home &

William Crew B.A. Bacteriology


Ruth Pichel Daniels B.A. Sociology

Barbara Durkan B.S. Pharmacy

Carolyn Glover B.S. in Ed. Pub. M.H.


Earline Holtland B.A. Sociology

Earline Holtland B.A. Sociology

Bill Holton B.A. B.S.

Pharmacy

Walden Hunter B.A. M.D.

Margaret Jackson B.S. in Ed.

Marjorie Johnson B.S. M.S. Phys.Ed.

Reid Jackson M.S. in Education

Wash McMill B. S. (U.S.)

Burt Jones B.S. in Ed. English


Jules Martin A.B. M.A. Chemistry

Thomas, Mahaffey A.B. M.B.A. Banking

Ernest Reaves B.A. in Ed. French

Jane Richardson A.B. M.A. English

Orrin Scott B.A. Romance Lang.

Willard Smith B.S. in Ed. Psy Ed.

Herbert Baumgartner B.S. in Ed. M.S.

They were fresh four years ago with their wagons hitched to a star.

They dreamed then but now they know that wagon wheels will never reach a star.

Some had just laid aside their tears when they came up here to plot.

Shirts, hat and gamp’s were in this cultural setting not. You look at them with all their gamp’s.

They’ve lost those ly and drawn foots.

They know something of this education value.

And that all knowledge is not in books.

I SEE IN THE CRYSTAL

Mrs. Garza 899 needing her flower garden. There is a young man there — to be a doctor or a school teacher is it a Cordes? It is a Cordes. (Is it a scratching? Not.)

Mrs. Majorie J. 997 seeing her own name for lunch, near as she leaves a drug store. Did she change over from aspirin?

Mrs. Carolin see Miss Glover reaching music at flite. West is rushing back toMahers

Miss Ruth Jones matron of a girl denumers.
The Scoop

Mrs. Wintred 99 girls physical education director at Howard.

Future Forecasts 1977 - The Scoop was approved by the -- -- -- and is now a recognized publication.

The Staff has been trying to decide which dance or party the most outstanding for the past quarter. The Ivy League gave an ultra swanky party last Friday and we thought it had eclipsed all others. We then attended the Delta's Orgy from -- now we don't know. But we can say that everything that has been given in the past quarter has been a生产经营 success.

Good old A A A, and they are good said that old romantic practice spreading. There were no bawdy antics, no gatos on 8 or 10 still "Harvey's" but everyone seemed to enjoy the bowling. Next year girls will be elaborated upon a bit to get your panties peeled.

.Winfred Smith - one of those who stick it out -- as a freshman she was a "brat" and we can say this of no one else. As a senior she is still regular.

Marjorie Jackson - we can't remember her as a freshman, but as a graduate student she has been a speech. From the work she has done on her thesis it should be 10 volumes long.

Jim Hudson - one of those that have come the hard way. Plenty of "spit and polish" and I think from me, at times he has needed it. Fresh as a freshman - as a senior - still fresh.

William Barbee Durham - the most practical, methodical guy I've ever known. As a freshman shy - as a senior sure. Too bad the College of Pharmacy didn't have any more honors - he would have gotten them all.

Reid Jackson - gets by on his undergraduate laurels. This little man has the big ideas, and a Master's Degree.

William Clark - as a freshman from Cleveland - but you would have sworn he was from "Pond's Center." But take a glance at that profile and we'll - no change.

Dolly Davis - as a freshman - quiet and reserved - and non-comittal. I know as much now as I did when she was a freshman.

Dorothy Scott - as a freshman was anything but fresh. This shy girl has attained scholastic heights - for example. May the "Fate of Fortune" continue to smile upon her.

Marjorie Jackson - as a freshman was continually falling from steep stairs, etc. And but sophistication comes slip and slide. Look at her today.

Carolyn Oliver - debonair at the start but a bit cadet. As a senior not so debonair and critical as her classmates.

Earline Holland - a little lady from the start. College just doesn't seem a big deal anymore when the staff is there at the start.

Mary Jane Brown - as a freshman always looks as if her mother had just finished washing her face. But now she has more class than any girl on the campus.

Variat Clark could have been taken for a senior any one of her four years stay here. She just seemed to know her way around. I might add that she missed 6 AM by a small margin.

I See in the Crystal - Continued

Howard Jim Madison, track coach, do you need a diaphragm?

William Crewe, manager & owner of a cat & dog hospital, Midge, attempting to make a French poodle bark "Et Tu Brute?"

Sorine Holland - case working in Columbus and her biggest problem is still Lee - he is just incorrigible.

Mrs. Mary Jane trying to cut down on their chocolate cake. Mr. Came weighing 205 lbs the last time we weighed in.

Ted Wadlow in front of a bank, selling pencils - or is it brass in his paintings? Anyone he is attached to a bank.

Mrs. Varleigh sitting by the fire knitting (can you imagine Varleigh knitting?) waiting for school to let out so father can now come home for dinner.

Marjorie Johnson writing the last volume of her thesis, it is 50 years old now. May someone take up where she left off? There is so much to know about physical education - she leads her field.

Reid Jackson writing on his Ph. D. We had better get a rubber tip for that pencil or the poor old fellow will slip and fall.

Miss Katherine Blake - the goal and collected head of Providence Hospital.

"The Best Red Paper On the Campus"
Ohio State Students Jump "Color Bar"; Are Elected To Student Activities

Recognition Comes After Negro Students Get Together
And Support Faction That Made Best Offer.

COLUMBUS, O. April 26—Ohio State University students went on record recently as disregarding color and creed, and elected to campus activities three Negro students. It was all the result of a political move on the part of Barbee W. Durham and others, who knew that the colored students represent the balance of power and their vote was worth buying for.

Finding that students were divided nearly equally between two political factions—the Boosters and Mary Combines and the Buckeyes Independent—Mr. Barbee W. Durham approached both groups and asked what they would offer for the support of the colored students. Both groups made rather liberal offers, but the Boosters made one in favor of the Boosters and Mary Combines, which made the better offer. This group was.

Mr. Durham graduates from the college of pharmacy as an honor student. He has been elected to two honorary fraternities—the Phi Tau Kappa fraternity for chemistry, and the Psi Chi, a national honorary pharmaceutical fraternity. He is president of the Students' Right League, which is an outgrowth of the anti-racism league, an organization which under the guidance of Mr. Durham was instrumental in sending appeal to Governor Ralph and to Judge Col- lins, who then the Scotstowner boy of the year. The league also sent petitions asking the passage of the de-segregation amendment bill in Congress to the Ohio Senate in Washington. Mr. Durham served as the representative of colored students on the State's governing board to the Senate. He is a member of the Alpha Phi Alpha fraternity and president of the Kappa chapter here.

Miss Gertrude Scott is as brilliant an are is charming. She claims

(Continued from Page One)

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Miss Gertrude Scott is as brilliant an are is charming. She claims

(Continued from Page Four)

present a member of the university faculty, is the Ohio member to receive recognition as a member of the AAI and own committee. He graduated from the department of physical education, where he was a member of the Alpha Kappa Alpha fraternity, and very active in the social and campus life of the university.
Dayton Man Named Pharmacist At O.S.U.

1937 Record At School and Examinations Placed Barbee William Duncan In Line For Job.

COLUMBUS, O., Jan. 21—Authorities at the Ohio State University have announced the appointment of Mr. Barbee Wm. Durham, Dayton, O., to the position of Pharmacist in the Department of Chemistry. This announcement comes as a recognition of Mr. Durham's scholastic record while a student at O. S. U. from which he is a graduate and civil service examination for the position.

Mr. Durham is the first Negro to hold such a position at the university and comes well qualified. While yet a student, he attained membership in Phi Rho Alpha and Rho Chi, both honorary scientific fraternities. In 1924 Mr. Durham was chairman of the cap and gown committee and was president of the Kappa Chapter of the Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity. At present he is secretary of the Dayton Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and a member of the Board of Directors of the Ohio State Conference of Branches. Young Durham is the son of Barbee William Durham of Dayton, O., named pharmacist at Ohio State University.

Rev. and Mrs. W. E. Durham, of Dayton, O.

Dayton Herald, 1937. No full date was given.
Appendix F

Copies of Correspondence and Data on the
Phi Delta Kappa and Pi Lambda Theta
Organizations
March 17, 1982

Phi Delta Kappa
National Organization
P.O. Box 789
Bloomington, Indiana 47402

Dear Sir:

Presently I am a Ph.D. Candidate in the Department of Educational Foundations and Research in the College of Education at the Ohio State University. I have undertaken a study for my dissertation which deals with the history of Negro students in teacher training programs from Ohio State in the early years, 1908-1938. I have found that by the mid-1930's, Negro students were initiated into various honorary and honor societies. However, as you already know, the Phi Delta Kappa Honorary Society included a "white clause" in the By-Laws of its National Constitution which prohibited Negroes from joining the organization. Would you be kind enough to send me a copy or a brief history of the clause which stated and/or explained why Negroes were excluded?

In addition, any information which you could send to me pertaining to the organization's policy on Negroes as it relates to the OSU Chapter in particular will be greatly appreciated. I do have access to the correspondence and archival materials of the "white clause" controversy and the subsequent protest and expulsion of the Sigma Chapter (OSU) from the National Phi Delta Kappa. But, if there is additional information which you feel would shed even more light upon the whole ordeal of excluding Negro students/educators from your organization, please feel free to send the available materials to my address listed above. I should mention that I am willing to incur any cost which may be necessary to secure such information.

Thank you in advance for your time and consideration.

Sincerely,

Pamela Pritchard
March 26, 1982

Pamela Pritchard
737 South 17th Street
Columbus, OH 43206

Dear Ms. Pritchard:

I am not sure how much useful information I can provide relative to the "white clause" that was originally in PDK's Constitution. The issue was resolved long before I was affiliated with PDK. The best information I have is in a chapter from an organizational history written by J. W. Lee. Copies of the pertinent pages are enclosed.

I hope this is the information you need.

Sincerely,

Lowell C. Rose
Executive Secretary

Eighth Street & Union Avenue, Box 789, Bloomington, Indiana 47402  Telephone 812/339-1156
CHAPTER VI
THE WHITE CLAUSE CRISIS

The first national Constitution of Phi Delta Kappa adopted by the First National Council, which met at Indianapo-
olis, had no "white clause." Nothing appears in the minutes of this first council meeting to indicate whether or not there was any discussion on the subject. The same may be said of the succeeding Council meetings, including the Fourth which was held in 1913 at Philadelphia. During this time the national Constitu-
tion was revised twice, but still no mention was made that membership should be "white." The word "male" does not appear in the membership clause in the early editions of the constit-
tution, being included only in the statement of purpose.¹

Race and color as a basis of membership in Phi Delta Kappa are first mentioned in Council minutes in the Fifth National Council, held in Richmond, February 25-26, 1911. The minutes read: "The committee on membership (race and color question) reported. The report advocated no change from the present arrangement." The "present arrangement" refers to the Constitution as revised for printing by the Fourth National Council in 1913. It contained no "white clause."²

² Ibid., p. 313.
The Sixth National Council, meeting in Oakland on August 18-21, 1915, revised the Constitution so that the term "white males" was used. There are no minutes of the meeting preserved, but J. David Houser, the first national historian, wrote a "Critique" in which he stated: "It was provided that 'only white males of good character' shall hereafter be eligible to membership in Phi Delta Kappa."

There is no documentary evidence to show any of the argument or discussion which must have preceded this action by the Council. Neither is there any record of the discussion preceding the adoption of the amendment to the Constitution. However, the amendment is incorporated in the national Constitution as printed in the National News Letter of Phi Delta Kappa (Volume 1, number 3, April, 1916, page 24).

The inclusion of the "white clause" was not entirely popular. Immediate agitation arose to delete it when the question was introduced in the report of the Committee on Constitutional Amendments at the Seventh National Council held in Chicago, in 1916. The minutes record the discussion as follows:

It was moved by Brother Didoott (Beta) and seconded by Brother Anderson (Theta) to omit the word "white" from Section 1 of Article IX of the Constitution, dealing with eligibility to membership. After considerable discussion of the "color question" it was moved by Brother Wisc (Alpha) and seconded by Brother Kyto (Lambda) to close the debate and proceed to vote. The motion was carried.

\[\text{\cite{Cook}}\]

\[\text{\cite{Ibid.}}\]
The result showed four chapters voting to delete the word "white," and 10 voting "No." There were three delegates absent.

At each succeeding Council meeting there was intense feeling among some of the members that the word "white" should be deleted from the Constitution. In the opinion of not a few this limitation was not in accordance with the proper character of an educational professional organization, in that it denied admittance to otherwise eligible candidates because of color.

Sigma Chapter at Ohio State University assumed the leading role in bringing this issue into focus. In protest and in order to provide a test case, Sigma Chapter violated this clause of the Constitution, and, as a result, was suspended from the fraternity by the national Executive Committee.

The controversy concerning Sigma Chapter at Ohio State University was highlighted by a statewide meeting of Phi Delta Kappa members which was held at Ohio State University on May 16, 1940. Brother Ulin W. Leavell, national secretary, and Brother Paul H. Cook, executive secretary, were present, as representative of the national Executive Committee, by invitation of Sigma Chapter. The following excerpts are reported from the record of this meeting:

Dr. Ekelberry: Sigma Chapter has changed its method of selecting members for the chapter. A diligent, competent membership committee was unable to discover all the men worthy to be admitted. A new procedure has been put into effect. It was decided that "any student who has the proper class rank in the College of Education or the Graduate
School may present himself for membership." Of course the committee will then investigate the man and the chapter will ballot on his election to membership. We feel that this is more in line with the democratic philosophy we profess.

Then there was the "white clause" business. The chapter felt that its program was being hampered because it was not free to admit good men who belong to races not white and decided to do something about it. We asked the National Council to define the word "white." The National Council said that it was unable to define the word "white," so the chapter decided to take the moral definition of white instead of the dictionary one.

Mr. Fuller: "There have been some vague suggestions in the speeches of certain points of conflict between the Executive Committee and Sigma Chapter. Mr. Cook, what are some of the points in which Sigma Chapter has come into conflict with the executive committee and are we still in conflict?"

Mr. Cook: "In the past none. In the present the definition of the 'white clause.' There is no antagonism between Sigma and the Executive Committee. We have differences which come up occasionally. They are settled as a matter of routine and do not constitute a quarrel. We have erred tonight in not emphasizing more the specific point of difference. It is from our point of view a matter which has not had any discussion since our meeting in St. Louis."

Mr. Stewart: "It is my understanding that where the Executive Committee and the Council refused to define the term 'white,' we defined it. How does that definition conflict with no definition?"

Mr. Cook: "I would like to ask, have you defined it?"

Mr. Suptong: "Yes, the chapter has defined it."

Mr. Cook: "Within the intent and purposes of the Council?"

Person unidentified: "No, within our own intent and purpose."
Dr. Leavoll: "I was in that committee. There was a long discussion on the part of that group to arrive at a definition of the word 'white' except that which is perfectly apparent to anyone who is aware of the cultural patterns of our country. It was at a facetious moment at an hour when men should have retired, our chairman said that if we could find no definition of the word 'white' other than the customarily accepted, he would report to the Council that the committee was unable to give a definition other than that understood when the term 'white' is usually mentioned. This motion was passed in the spirit of facetiousness. It was in that spirit that they said they were not able to find a definition of the word 'white' because it was a word which was a part of the cultural pattern of our country."

Dr. English: "I think we owe Dr. Cook a straightforward answer. I think our definition is not within the meaning generally accepted nor the meaning that the National Council meant."

"After the Civil War suffrage was granted to all men without reference to race, color, or previous condition of servitude. The South evaded the clear meaning of that amendent; they are still evading it. I feel that Sigma Chapter has evaded the clear meaning of the word 'white.' I for one stand here as a matter of Phi Delta Kappa because we did evade it. I let my dues lapse until this matter was taken care of. I am not alone in this. There are those who feel that that can not be. I think there is no doubt but Sigma Chapter in its work in this state will be seriously handicapped if we do not go ahead with this evasen. I feel that we just have to go ahead and evade. Perhaps we will have to be reconstructed."

Mr. Cook: "We are not here to defend the 'white clause' nor to defend the other side. Our concern is about ways and means. I am not at all unaware of the problem here. I think you have a very real problem, but I do feel that the method of solving it is the question at stake, and the way to solve it is not through an evasion but constructively through a program of education which should begin not for the next Council and be carried on in the way you would any other study. Then you will have a chance of having influence. I believe the activities up to now, if they had been publicized, and I assure you they won't be, would do more to defeat you than any other."
Mr. Fuller: "Mr. English has presented the opinion of one group in Sigma Chapter. I personally represent another group. I was a member of Sigma Chapter for seven years. I kept up my dues even through the years when money was scarce. I did not let my dues lapse until Sigma began what I considered anarchy. I, for one, am not ready to take an undemocratic approach to gain a purpose. I am a member of a group who are not in favor of evasian. I am much more concerned about the method of achieving an end than I am about the end achieved. My dues will continue to lapse as long as evasion is practiced."

Mr. Landisettai: "Since I have been listening here tonight and learned what has transpired in the local chapter and the national organization I see pretty clearly where we are here. This chapter has made its clarification of the term 'white.' You have not so far gathered that the national organization is going to expel this chapter from the national group. I have not decided whether this chapter should go ahead and initiate a colored man or not. But if we are as democratic as we pretend to be, there will not be any split, but we will go ahead and talk this thing out. I would myself insist that if the National Council will not repeal the 'white clause,' it should permit the local chapter autonomy. I think Mr. Cook is right in suggesting that we start a new campaign to get that repealed. Until that is done we must abide by the organization. That is democracy. That to my mind is the clear-cut thing that we should do. I am not resigning my membership. I insist that it is very undemocratic to go against the national organization. To talk about splitting is not the democratic way."

Dr. Bullfish: "I appreciate, Mr. Lascellai, the way you are working at this problem. We have different problems and we should answer them differently. What would happen in the event that Sigma Chapter should initiate someone who would not be in the commonly accepted term 'white'? For example, we have a brilliant student here on the campus who is Chinese. What would the National Council do if we should initiate that student? I gather just by implication that the definition of 'white' by this chapter is not to be accepted. If we can't initiate anyone who does not meet the definition of white, can we expect this chapter to fulfill its purpose in recognizing people who are outstanding teachers?"
Mr. Cook: "First of all I want to say that the fraternity has elected an Executive Committee as its executive body. The Executive Committee had the Constitution which it must enforce. In case any chapter acts contrary to the Constitution, the Executive Committee has but one possible action, to suspend the chapter. I quote from the Constitution, Article VIII, Section 3, Subsection A:

"Forfeiture of Charter: Any chapter which violates or neglects to execute any part of this Constitution and by-laws or any subsequent regulations imposed by a national council or the national executive committee or which shows indifference to the ideals and programs of Phi Delta Kappa and inability to function in keeping with established standards, shall be judged inactive by the national Executive Committee and therefore no longer in good standing. Thenceforth the chapter shall be deprived of all the usual rights and privileges.

"Evidences of such violations or neglect shall be presented by the national Executive Committee to the National Council in convention assembled, before which body, and at which time, the offending chapter, having been given sixty-day notice, may appear through its delegate in defense of any accusations brought against it. The chapter shall become forfeited by two-thirds affirmative vote of all members of the council.

"If the Executive Committee fulfills its functions to Phi Delta Kappa, it can not do otherwise than enforce the Constitution."\n
The National Constitution makes no provision for an application for membership. See Article IX, Section 3, "Election to Membership."

Evidently no agreement could be reached on the interpretation of the "white clause," for on July 18, 1940, Sigma
Chapter at Ohio State University initiated a Mr. Dai Ho Chun, a Chinese, and a Mr. George A. Wright, a Negro.\footnote{Ibid., p. 6.} Sigma Chapter had assumed the authority to define "white" as "morally white." On August 9, 1940, Sigma Chapter reported to the national office the election and initiation of 20 men, which included Mr. Dai Ho Chun and Mr. George A. Wright.\footnote{Ibid., p. 6.} The election and initiation of these two men was ruled by the national Executive Committee to be a violation of the provisions of the Constitution and By-Laws in effect at this time. The 19 eligible men initiated at this time were not penalized because of the ineligibility of their two associates.

Sigma Chapter's action was without precedent in the fraternity, and therefore the national Executive Committee was forced to suspend Sigma Chapter in conformity with the authority vested in it under Article VIII, Section 3, Subsection A, of the National Constitution previously cited.

On August 22, 1940, the national Executive Committee, through the executive secretary, sent the following letter to Mr. John A. Ramseyer, president of Sigma Chapter,

On August 9th, the national office received a report from Sigma Chapter of initiation into the chapter of a group of 20 new members, among whom were a Mr. Dai Ho Chun, Chinese, and a Mr. George A. Wright, Negro.

This action is interpreted to be an intentional evasion of the Constitution of Phi Delta Kappa, Article IX, Section 1, which reads as follows:

\footnote{Ibid., p. 6.}
"Only white males of good character shall be eligible to membership in this fraternity.

This action is considered by members of the national Executive Committee as a violation of the Constitution of Phi Delta Kappa and therefore subject to the penalties therein provided.

After deliberate consideration of this attempted nullification of the fundamental policies and law of Phi Delta Kappa by Sigma Chapter, the national Executive Committee, in fulfillment of its duties, finds it necessary to declare Sigma Chapter suspended as provided by the By-Laws, Articles I, and judged inactive by the Executive Committee and therefore no longer in good standing, as provided by the National Constitution, Article VIII, Section 3, Subsection A. Furthermore, as provided in the Constitution cited above, thenceforth the chapter shall be deprived of all usual rights and privileges.

We sincerely regret that Sigma Chapter has forced this issue, and we have acted to suspend Sigma Chapter only because we have no alternative under the Constitution and By-Laws of Phi Delta Kappa.

On October 12, 1940, the national office received the following letter from John A. Ramseier, president of Sigma Chapter:

It becomes my duty to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of August 22 in which you inform Sigma Chapter of the action of the national Executive Committee to suspend the chapter. Due to my illness during September and my inability to get in touch with a number of our campus people, I delayed all official communication until such time as I could represent the thinking of the members of our local body.

Naturally, we can not agree that the action of Sigma Chapter "is an attempted nullification of the fundamental policies and laws of Phi Delta

Ibid., pp. 7-8.

*Translated from original copy.
Kappa. However, it is apparent that Sigma's interpretation of these "policies and laws" and its sincere desire to interpret them in terms of democratic principles which it holds forth are not accepted by the National Executive Committee.

In order that we might clarify our own position and the rights of individuals to participate in the national organization, we should like an expression from the national office on the following points.

I. Rights and Privileges of Individuals

A. What are the rights, privileges, and obligations of individual members of Sigma Chapter?

1. Should they continue to pay dues to Sigma Chapter and to the national organization?

2. If dues are paid regularly according to methods used in the past, are the individuals concerned in good standing?

3. May an individual drop his membership in the Chapter and still remain a member of the national organization?

4. May a member of Sigma Chapter transfer to another campus or field chapter?

5. What is the individual status of those members who are sympathetic to, and responsible for, the action of the chapter?

B. What is the status of individuals who were initiated on July 15?

C. It happens that on August 22 another group of men were initiated. This was prior to a receipt of your letter. What is the status of these men?
II. Sigma Chapter's Obligations.

A. What is Sigma Chapter's obligation in regard to forwarding dues of individual members?

1. The initiates of July 18 (queries concerning receipts of keys, membership cards, and Delta Delta Kappa must be answered immediately).

2. Initiates as of August 22 (the same problem applies here).

3. Shall we forward initiation fees, dues, and payments made for pins and keys?

4. Members of other chapters who wish to transfer to Sigma Chapter.

5. Members of Sigma Chapter who may wish to transfer or drop membership in the local organization.

III. How do you propose to deal with the following?

A. Dues of initiates of August 22.

B. Money which Sigma Chapter forwarded to the national office in payment for keys and pins.

C. Dues which Sigma Chapter may send during the period of suspension.

IV. What procedures do you see for the resolution of the differences of Sigma Chapter and the national office before a meeting of the National Council?

In order that we may promptly carry out our obligations to the members of Sigma Chapter and formulate a policy for future chapter action we should appreciate a reply at your earliest convenience.

On November 4, 1949, the national Executive Committee empowered the executive secretary to dispatch the following

\[\text{Ibid.}, \text{pp. 8-9.}\]
letter in reply to Mr. John A. Ramseyer:

I have before me your letter of October 12, 1940, which was acknowledged on October 14, and which I am now ready to answer in detail according to the action recently taken by the national Executive Committee in outlining a set of criteria under which we shall operate during the period of Sigma's suspension. I shall try to cover clearly all of the points which you raised in your letter... .

The Executive Committee approves the enrollment of all eligible initiates of July 18 and August 22. Your report of initiates of August 22 has just been received and will be completed at once, along with the report of eligible initiates of July 18.

Under the suspension, Sigma Chapter may not initiate new members; may not receive new members by transfer; may not have representation in district conferences, or in a national council; and, in short, may not have any of the privileges which under the constitution are the prerogatives of a chapter in good standing. National dues which may now be in the treasury of Sigma Chapter will be accepted and credited to good standing by the national office. The books should be cleared at once in order that members who have remitted in good faith may not be penalized. Sigma Chapter is hereby notified that it shall not accept additional remittances of national dues nor of chapter dues during the period of suspension. If remittances are forwarded by Sigma members, they should be returned and the members referred to the national office for information as to possible procedure open to him, or them.

The members of Sigma Chapter have the following privileges during the period of suspension and the following limitations:

1. Present members of field chapters and others who may become members of field chapters may maintain good standing by the regular payment of field chapter and national dues through the field chapter.

2. Members of Sigma Chapter may transfer to other chapters (campus chapters) in accordance with provisions of the Constitution.
3. Members of Sigma Chapter at present in good standing (including remittances indicated above) may... thus maintaining their present status during Sigma's suspension and being able to reinstate their membership without penalty either on transfer to another chapter or in Sigma Chapter when the suspension has been terminated.

4. Members may allow their membership to lapse, i.e., they may become nominal or inactive members.

5. Members of Sigma Chapter may not withdraw their membership from Sigma Chapter alone, except by following the established practice of transfer from one campus chapter to another, as there is no provision for membership in the national organization without concurrent membership in a campus chapter.

6. Notice will be forwarded to the membership of Sigma Chapter at once giving them complete information as to the alternatives available to them under the suspension.

The Executive Committee has indicated that the chapter can not be reinstated under the provisions of the Constitution prior to the meeting of the National Council.

I should also add that members of Sigma Chapter may not maintain good standing by the payment of dues direct to the national office. The national Constitution makes no provisions for the payment of dues direct to the national office. Other alternatives provided above will make it possible for those who desire to maintain good standing to do so by transfer or by membership in field chapters.

You have asked, "What is the status of those members who are sympathetic to, and responsible for, the action of the chapter?" There is no attempt to penalize them in any way, and their status is the same as that of other members.

Jewelry and membership cards will be forwarded to those members who are eligible to receive them at once. Prompt attention will be given to the initiation of July 15 and August 22. Membership receipts will be forwarded at once for all dues remitted in response to this letter.

*Translated from original copy.
I believe that I have covered all of the points raised in your letter and that we have definitely established the Executive Committee's interpretation of the meaning and extent of the suspension of Sigma Chapter.

Trusting that I may hear from you promptly in acknowledgement of this letter and that you will complete the report of any membership dues already received by the chapter, . . . 10

The national Executive Committee later ruled that Sigma Chapter members should be permitted to keep their membership in good standing by paying national dues of $1.50 plus $1.00 direct to the national office. The disposition of the $1.00 would be determined after the status of Sigma Chapter had been established by the National Council. In a letter dated May 15, 1941, the executive secretary addressed a letter to the members of Sigma Chapter advising them the national office would take over the billing of annual dues for Sigma Chapter. 11

On October 11, 1941, Sigma Chapter was notified by the executive secretary of the procedure unanimously adopted by the national Executive Committee for the consideration of the future status of that chapter.

The letter follows:

\[\text{Under date of August 27, 1940, Sigma Chapter was given notice of its suspension under the provision of the national Constitution, Article} \]

10 Ibid., pp. 9-11.
11 Ibid., p. 13.
12 Note correct date, August 22, 1940.
VIII, Section 3, Subsection A, and as further provided under the By-Laws of Phi Delta Kappa, Article 1, for reasons stated in the communication of the date indicated above.

This letter constitutes the official notice of the national Executive Committee to Sigma Chapter that the national Executive Committee will present full details of the case of Sigma Chapter to the Nineteenth National Council of Phi Delta Kappa which will assemble in the LaSalle Hotel, Chicago, Illinois, for a three day session beginning on December 29, 1941. The matter will first come before the Council in connection with the report of the Credentials Committee, which report will be presented to the Council as the first order of business of the second session at 2:00 p.m. on Monday, December 29th.

The national Constitution of Phi Delta Kappa . . . provides that Sigma Chapter may appear through its delegate. Since Sigma Chapter is now under suspension and therefore without power to elect a delegate as provided in the national Constitution, Article V, Section 2, a delegate to the national council shall be elected at any stated and regular meeting of a chapter by the members thereof.

It will be necessary for the delegates last officially recognized as eligible to represent the chapter to appear for the chapter as provided in the national Constitution, Article V, Section 3.

The term of service of the above mentioned delegates shall be for two years from the time of election, or until their successors have been elected and qualified.

In accordance with the provisions of the national Constitution, as stated above, the Nineteenth National Council will recognize Morle Sumption, Sigma 846, as the delegate representing Sigma Chapter, and John B. Griff, Sigma 903, and Archibald W. Anderson, Sigma 845, as the first and second alternates, respectively, representing Sigma Chapter, each having been duly elected and qualified to represent Sigma Chapter in the Eighteenth National Council.
The national Constitution of Phi Delta Kappa, Article V, Section 1, provides that:

The National Council shall be composed of the national officers, the district representatives, and one delegate and alternate from each campus and each field chapter in good standing who shall be elected by the members thereof.

Since Sigma Chapter is not "in good standing," it is obvious that its delegate and alternates will not be seated as a part of the National Council. They will be recognized for the purpose of defending Sigma Chapter as provided in the national Constitution of Phi Delta Kappa, Article VII, Section 3, Subsection A.

Sigma Chapter may wish to prepare a brief for distribution to all chapters of the fraternity in advance of the meeting of the National Council. If so, the national office of Phi Delta Kappa will be glad to mimeograph and distribute the brief unedited and unchanged in any way. This is suggested in order that the case may be fairly presented to all chapters in advance of the Council meeting and in order that they (the chapters) may discuss the situation prior to the Council meeting.

If Sigma Chapter wishes to raise any question as to procedure, the national Executive Committee will welcome a letter of inquiry.13

The Sigma Committee on Education, Ohio State University, prepared an undated pamphlet stating the case of Sigma Chapter, which was distributed "voluntarily" by the national office of Phi Delta Kappa. In this pamphlet the committee wrote as follows:

During the National Convention of Phi Delta Kappa, to be held in Chicago on December 29, 30, and 31, 1941, your representative will, by his vote,
share responsibility in determining whether Sigma Chapter is to be reinstated, or whether its charter is to be revoked. We ask you, in the interest of a rational decision, to consider the following questions and answers before instructing your delegates:

1. What are the basic issues in this controversy?

There are three basic issues. The first is the principle involved: Shall worthy men be excluded from Phi Delta Kappa because of race alone? The second is the method involved: Was Sigma Chapter justified in the method used in bringing the present test case? The third is the course of action to be pursued: Should the charter of Sigma Chapter be withdrawn because its membership now includes a Negro and a Chinese?

2. What is the defense for the principle?

The Constitution of Phi Delta Kappa, Article II, Section I, states that: "Phi Delta Kappa shall be a professional education fraternity." Sigma Chapter sees in this statement no valid defense for excluding a worthy man from professional distinction in the field of education because of the color of his skin or the race of his ancestors. But even more basic in the fact that we in America sincerely wish to promote international tolerance and hemispheric unity, the United States is increasingly being considered the hub of democratic ideals. Phi Delta Kappa can not assume its appropriate role in educational leadership if it denies professional equality on the capricious grounds of race.

3. What is the defense for the method?

Excluding men because of race has been a storm center in Phi Delta Kappa for at least 15 years. As is reported on page 1 of this pamphlet, the Standards and Ethics Committee of the national conference reported its inability to define "white" as used in the "white clause." There can be no reasonable doubt that confusion exists and that clarification of this confusion is desirable. In times like these, there is no room for ambiguity on matters of tolerance in education. Now, as at no previous time, educators must stand in unified opposition to racism and discrimination. Sigma Chapter's amendment can rightly be called an odd
interpretation. It is frankly a use of the vernacular. But it is not an evasion of the issue. It forces a clear stand on the issue. It poses a test case. Implementing an extreme interpretation of an ambiguous ruling is an accepted method of bringing about a clarification of the ruling. In many instances, as in this one, a test case serves to shear a ruling of its ambiguity, and to set it forth in a way which allows an unequivocal decision. This is the defense of the method: by an admittedly unusual device, it impels Phi Delta Kappa to an open stand on the exclusion of men because of race alone.

4. Should the charter of Sigma Chapter be withdrawn?

We believe not. We believe, on the contrary, that Phi Delta Kappa should, in spite of the unorthodox wording of Sigma's amendment, reinstate the charter, including in its membership Mr. George Wright (Negro), and Mr. Lin Bo Chuan (Chinese). By so doing, a precedent of local autonomy in interpreting the "White clause" would be established. This is the end desired: to allow each chapter to choose its membership from worthy men in accordance with its own interpretation of "White."

5. Is Sigma Chapter actually acting in good faith, or is it pursuing a boisterous program of dissension?

Sigma Chapter feels an obligation to the College of Education at Ohio State University and to the national organization of Phi Delta Kappa. The faculty and administration of the College of Education at Ohio State University defines the functions of the College in terms of professional standards appropriate to a democratic society. The administration supports the stand of Sigma Chapter with respect to the "White clause" because it is in harmony with the professional spirit of the College.

Sigma Committee has recommended to the seven hundred members of Sigma Chapter that they act in terms of Secretary Paul Cook's letter of instructions, by sending both campus and national dues to the office of the National Secretary, where Sigma Chapter dues are now being collected and held. This action is evidence of good faith with regard to the national organization of Phi Delta Kappa.
6. Why does Sigma Chapter feel the necessity of conclusive action at this time?

Logroos, Orientals, and members of other races enjoy equal academic and professional privileges in the College of Education at Ohio State University. Some states send citizens to Ohio State University because of this policy. Sigma Chapter has therefore been in the embarrassing and paradoxical position of functioning within a set of professional ideals, one of which it consistently denied by excluding certain races from membership. Sigma Chapter has furthermore faced the ludicrous dilemma encountered by the Standards and Ethics Committee: Is an osteoroon a member of the white race? Is a man white if examination of his face reveals no identifying characteristics of non-white blood, even though his genealogy shows differently? Should inability to furnish an authenticated genealogy be sufficient basis for exclusion? What is a white man?

7. Would the deletion of the "white clause" cause embarrassment to the brothers of Southern chapters?

In states which practice a policy of segregation, Negroes are not admitted to the universities. Therefore, the question of the eligibility of Negro would not arise, since none are admitted to the universities.

8. Suppose a Negro should be admitted to a Southern College of Education in which most students are white?

Removing or nullifying the "white clause" does not in any way obligate a chapter to initiate men who, in the estimation of the chapter membership committee, are considered unsuited for membership.

9. How does Sigma Chapter hope the controversy will be settled?

Either of two solutions is desired by Sigma Chapter:

(1) The lifting of the present suspension and the reinstatement of Sigma Chapter, it is recognized that such action will establish a precedent of local chapter autonomy in the interpretation of the "white clause."
(2) The deletion of the "white clause"
from the Constitution of Phi Delta
Kappa. 34

Evidently this problem was attracting attention outside
the fraternity, for the following comments were made by Nelson
Antrim Crawford, editor-in-chief of the Household Magazine,
in a leaflet entitled, The Kids Are Greater.

There is irony in two news stories that I came across recently in the same paper. One
announced that the students of the Cass Technical
High School in Detroit had elected a Chinese girl,
Hau-yem Soo Soo, to the highest office in the
school, president of the student council. Her
class, the senior, had previously chosen her to
be editor of the yearbook.

The other news story divulged the fact that
Phi Delta Kappa, honorary educational fraternity,
had suspended its chapter at the Ohio State University
because of election of a Chinese and a Negro
to membership.

The active membership of Phi Delta Kappa is
composed chiefly of graduate students; some chapters
admit no one who does not hold a bachelor's degree.
The alumni are largely in educational work—college
professors, superintendents of school systems, high
school teachers. The members wear the jeweled pin
of the order with as much solemnity as any member
of the B.P.O.E. ever directed to his eleventh watch
chain, and the fraternity is proud of its contributions
to what it estimates the highest ideals of educa-
tion. (Probably you have heard members lecture
sermonously before women's clubs and parent-teacher
associations.)

Well, it seems to have turned out that one of
the main ideals of this honorary society, is that no
one and a member of the white race shall be entitled
to honor. Adolf Hitler, I understand, has banned

34
Signs Committee on Education, The Case of Sirna
Chater, pp. 2-4.
from Germany all fraternities and lodges except those he organized himself, but I think he might be persuaded to make an exception of Chi Delta Kappa, upholding, as it does, the same notions of racial superiority that he expounds and enforces.

But I wonder what sort of education the members of the fraternity have received—and are bestowing upon others—to make them feel that here in the United States the concept of one superior race is the thing to advocate. If they have studied any anthropology—as they certainly should have—they know that no scholar of importance regards the doctrine of racial superiority as anything but nonsense. I hope that the youth now growing up prefer sound scholarship to the arrant blather of Mein Kampf.

The election of the Chinese girl to the presidency of the student council in Detroit suggests that this is so. The boys and girls, in this instance at least, show that they are willing to recognize ability and confer honor wherever deserved. While it is ironic, it also is heartening, to find high-school students more alert to the implications of today's world than their elders, festooned with the hoods of their degrees and decorated with the gold badges of their honorary fraternities.15

Thus we see the seriousness of the problem confronting the Nineteenth Council which met in Chicago December 28-31, 1941. Certainly the national executive committee had no other recourse than to enforce the provisions of Article IX, Section 1, of the Constitution which stated: "Only white males of good character shall be eligible for membership in this fraternity." Now it was time for the Nineteenth Council to consider and dispose of the problem. President Ira N. Elmes, in addressing the Council, stated, "Gentlemen, the future status of Sigma Chapter is in your hands. We

anticipate that you will meet the issue frankly and fairly, with a determination that justice be done to all parties concerned.\textsuperscript{16}

The following legislation was adopted by the Nineteenth National Council relative to Sigma Campus Chapter:

1. Unanimous approval of the action of the National Executive Committee in suspending Sigma Campus Chapter.

2. Suspension of Sigma Campus Chapter to be lifted without the exercise of any other penalties, provided that Sigma Chapter does not insist upon the extension of membership to the two initiates in question.

3. The charter of Sigma Campus Chapter to be revoked at the close of the present fiscal year (May 31, 1922), provided that the chapter has not accepted on or before that date the opportunity to remove the suspension which is now upon it.\textsuperscript{17}

There was an extended discussion of a motion to delete the word "white" from the clause on the membership qualifications, with arguments presenting both sides of the question. The Council voted 47 to 42 in favor of deleting "white." However, a two-thirds majority is required to make a change in the constitution. The motion was lost. The Council did unanimously agree that the word, however difficult to define technically, means racially white and not morally white as contended by Sigma Chapter of Ohio State.

\textsuperscript{16} Phi Delta Kappa, \textit{Proceedings, Nineteenth National Council, Phi Delta Kappa}, p. 41.

\textsuperscript{17} Phi Delta Kappa, "Of Concern to Phi Delta Kappa," \textit{Phi Delta Kappan} 24:230, January, 1922.
There was a demand for a popular vote on this issue by the membership of Phi Delta Kappa. The Committee on Standards and Ethics recommended for adoption that the Council instruct the national executive committee and the executive secretary to prepare and send to all members of Phi Delta Kappa in good standing, at the time of mailing, a ballot to read, "Do you believe that only members of the white race shall be eligible for membership in Phi Delta Kappa?" The recommendation was adopted with only one dissenting vote. 18

The ballots were prepared and duly mailed. A 30-day period was allowed for responding. The following instructions were given:

If a majority of the ballots returned within a 30-day period be negative, then the national executive committee is instructed to prepare a constitutional amendment deleting the word "white" from Article 19, Section 2, of the Constitution, and to submit it to the chapters for vote in the constitutional manner. A two-thirds majority in support of the amendment is necessary for its adoption. 19

The results of the ballots submitted follow:

18 Ibid., p. 219.
19 Ibid., p. 219.
REPORT OF MEMBERSHIP BALLOT

Question: Do You Believe that Only Members of the White Race Shall Be Eligible for Membership in Phi Delta Kappa?

<table>
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Total number of ballots circulated: 11,241
Total number of votes cast: 8,133
Per cent of good standing members voting: 68.05

As a result of the membership poll, the Council authorized the national Executive Committee to prepare an amendment to the Constitution for chapter ballot, in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution. This referendum, which was entitled "Special Bulletin to All Chapters" read as follows, and was submitted to the chapters of Phi Delta Kappa on March 19, 1932.
"To amend Article IX, Section 1 of the Constitution by deleting the word "white," the amended section to read:

ONLY MALES OF GOOD CHARACTER SHALL BE ELIGIBLE TO MEMBERSHIP IN THIS FRATERNITY,"

and to become Article IX, Section 2, Subsection A of the revised constitution. 21

The result of the chapter vote on this amendment was as follows: 22

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<tr>
<th>Chapters and Location</th>
<th>Number voting affirmative</th>
<th>Number voting negative</th>
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22 Ibid., p. 44.
| Chapter          | Alpha Alpha, University of Oklahoma | Alpha Beta, University of Virginia | Alpha Gamma, State College of Washington | Alpha Delta, Kansas State College | Alpha Epsilon, University of Southern California | Alpha Eta, University of Arizona | Alpha Eta, Temple University | Alpha Theta, University of North Dakota | Alpha Iota, University of Cincinnati | Alpha Kappa, University of Tennessee | Alpha Lambda, Boston University | Alpha Mu, Colorado State College | Alpha Nu, University of Kentucky | Alpha Xi, University of Alabama | Alpha Omicron, Claremont Colleges | Alpha Psi, Rutgers University | Alpha Rho, John Hopkins University | Alpha Sigma, University of Denver | Alpha Tau, Pennsylvania State College | Alpha Upsilon, University of Utah | Alpha Phi, Syracuse University | Alpha Chi, University of California, Los Angeles | Alpha Psi, University of Buffalo | Alpha Omega, Wayne University | Beta Alpha, Louisiana State University | Beta Eta, North Texas State Teachers College | Beta Gamma, George Washington University | Beta Delta, University of Colorado |
|------------------|------------------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Number Voting    | 10                                 | 11                               | 22                                     | 8                                | 19                                             | 11                              | 28                             | 17                               | 7                                | 2                                | 5                                | 26                              | 52                              | 6                              | 0                                | 0                                | 0                                | 0                                | 10                               | 0                                | 0                                | 10                               | 0                                | 10                               | 10                               | 8                                | 10                               |

**Totals**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</table>

**Field chapters**

**Number voting**

- **Affirmative**
- **Negative**

<table>
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</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>Alpha, San Francisco, California</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beta, St. Louis, Missouri</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gamma, State of Kansas</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delta, Fresno, California</td>
<td>27</td>
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<tr>
<td>Epsilon, Los Angeles, California</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zeta, Detroit, Michigan</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eta, Santa Barbara, California</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tetta, Kansas City, Missouri</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iota, State of South Dakota</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lambda, Warrensburg, Missouri</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mu, Hinsdale, Illinois</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nu, Chicago, Illinois</td>
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</tr>
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</table>

**Discontinued, 1939**

- Lambda, State of Colorado
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Affirmative</th>
<th>Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Xi, Sacramento, California</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Omicron, Kirksville, Missouri</td>
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<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pi, San Antonio, Texas</td>
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<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rho, Pittsburg, Kansas</td>
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<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sigma, Portland, Oregon</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tau, Salt Lake City, Utah</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upsilon, Milwaukee, Wisconsin</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chi, Tulsa, Oklahoma</td>
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<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chi, Terre Haute, Indiana</td>
<td>17</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psi, Omaha, Nebraska</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Omega, San Diego, California</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alpha Alpha, Houston, Texas</td>
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<tr>
<td>Alpha Beta, Tacoma, Washing</td>
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<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alpha Gamma, Kalamazoo, Michigan</td>
<td>19</td>
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<td>Alpha Delta, South Bend, Indiana</td>
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<td>Alpha Epsilon, Hammond, Indiana</td>
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<td>8</td>
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<td>Alpha Eta, Evansville, Indiana</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<td>Alpha Eta, Bloomington, Illinois</td>
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<tr>
<td>Alpha Iota, Jackson, Mississippi</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alpha Lambda, St. Wayne, Indiana</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alpha Nu, Lafayette, Indiana</td>
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<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alpha Nu, Toledo, Ohio</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alpha Xi, Des Moines, Iowa</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alpha Omicron, Charleston, Illinois</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alpha Phi, Havana, Illinois</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alpha Rho, Bakersfield, California</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alpha Sigma, Phoenix, Arizona</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total: 623 317

There was a total of 2,532 votes cast on the "white clause" issue. Of this number there were 1,717 affirmative and 865 negative votes by the campus and field chapters.

The removal of the "white clause" was then so ordered after 67 chapters voted to remove the restriction, 20 voted to retain it, and 5 failed to cast a vote.

On May 27, 1942, Sigma Chapter voted to apply for reinstatement to good standing in the fraternity and on May 29, 1942, the chapter was reinstated by unanimous national executive committee approval. Under date of June 2,
1942, announcement was made to all chapters of the fraternity of the removal of the race restriction in regard to eligibility for membership. 23

Other legislation adopted by the Nineteenth Council was an additional appropriation of $2,000 from the reserve fund for the Dictionary of Education Committee to complete their project. The Council withdrew financial support for the publication of Education Abstracts. They also reduced the appropriation for The Phi Delta Kappan from $6,000 per year to $3,500 for the next four years; no new projects were authorized by this Council.

A resolution was introduced for postponing the Twentieth National Council for two years, because of war conditions and the uncertainty of fraternity income. This resolution was adopted. 24

The next meeting of the Council was set for December 28-31, 1945, at Chicago. It was later changed to April 16-18, 1946. The members of the Executive Committee were elected to serve for four years, beginning March 1, 1942. They were: 25 president, Ullin W. Leavell, George Peabody College; vice-president, Ouan H. Hall, University of Southern California; secretary, Zarlé J. Lindell, superintendent of schools.

23 Ibid., p. 46.
25 Ibid., p. 238.
March 17, 1982

Pi Lambda Theta
National Organization
1101 East 3rd Street
Bloomington, Indiana 47401

Dear Sir:

Presently I am a Ph.D. Candidate in the Department of Educational Foundations and Research in the College of Education at the Ohio State University. I have undertaken a study for my dissertation which deals with the history of Negro students in teacher training programs from Ohio State in the early years, 1908-1938. I have found that by the mid-1930's, Negro students were initiated into various honorary and honor societies on the campus. However, the Phi Delta Kappa included a "white clause" in the By-Laws of their National Constitution which prohibited Negroes from joining their organization. Did your organization have such a clause or policy which would have precluded Negro women from joining the Pi Lambda Theta? If so, would you be kind enough to send me a copy of the clause which stated and/or explained why Negroes were excluded? I should mention that I am willing to incur any cost which may be necessary to secure such information.

Additionally, I will greatly appreciate any information about the OSU Chapter in particular regarding Negroes. As you probably already know, there was a fire at the office of the Pi Lambda Theta Chapter at OSU and those records pertaining to the early years of formation and perhaps Negroes were destroyed. Again, if there is any cost, please feel free to write and inform me so that I can make arrangements (immediate) for payment to you.

Thank you in advance for your time and consideration.

Sincerely,

Pamela Pritchard

Pamela Pritchard
737 South 17th Street
Columbus, Ohio 43205
(614) 463-8296
March 25, 1982

Ms. Pamela Pritchard
737 South 17th Street
Columbus, Ohio 43206

Dear Ms. Pritchard:

Pi Lambda Theta has never had any clause in its national bylaws that would exclude any person because of race.

We have checked our records and find that the subject of membership restrictions based on race was before the association for a four-year period between 1927 and 1931. Evidently in 1927 such restrictions were voted in but were never incorporated formally into the bylaws. This indicates that the period from the founding of Pi Lambda Theta in 1911 to 1927 was not characterized by such restrictions. The attached document refers to the discord that surrounded the 1927 decision, leading to a reversal of the decision in 1931.

Nu Chapter at Ohio State University was installed in 1922. Since all chapters are required to follow the national bylaws, Nu would not have had any exclusionary clauses in their bylaws. We do not have copies of bylaws for the chapter going back to these dates.

I hope this information is adequate to your needs. If there is anything else you think I can provide, please contact me.

Good luck on your dissertation.

Sincerely,

[Signature]

Mary R. Carroll
Executive Director

Enclosure
GROWTH IN NUMBERS AND UNITY

passed an ordinance making that limitation. In the Council of 1929 the ordinance had come up for spirited discussion but a motion to rescind it had been lost. When this ordinance was submitted as an article in the constitution it failed of ratification. Problems before other Councils had been problems of mechanics. The Council of 1931 faced an ethical problem, and met it ethically. The restriction was rejected, and the constitution of Pi Lambda Theta is free of prejudice-born limitation.

The change from a corporation to a voluntary association made necessary a new seal, for which the revision committee had prepared a design, which was submitted to the Council for approval. The question then arose whether the date on the seal should be 1910, when the group that became Alpha chapter was organized, or 1917, when the national fraternity was formed. The question was referred to the chapters and the requisite majority fixed 1910 as the official date when Pi Lambda Theta was founded.

Until 1931, each biennial meeting was held at some chapter location which was not only convenient for travel but also for recreation. In 1931, a comparative financial well-being of the fraternity made it feasible and even advantageous to hold the Biennial Council in Colorado, away from any chapter home, in the cool mountain freshness and beauty where the attendees might mix business and pleasure. Omicron was a very successful long-distance hostess.

A necessary consequence to the change in location was a change in the financial plan. For the first time all expenses of delegates were paid by the national organization. Previously each chapter had been expected to provide one-half of the travel expense of its delegates. While this was the plan, the representation at the biennial meetings constituted a sort of thermometer on which might be read the growing warmth of chapter feeling for the nation organization. With the new plan that significance of chapter attendance was increased.

The location of this Council and the assumption of additional expense by the national treasury will indicate to readers a century hence that the general economic depression made itself felt slowly in the profession that is represented in Pi Lambda Theta. But by the succeeding year it was felt plainly enough to bring action by the Executive Committee. Until 1932 no change seemed necessary in the fraternity business. In August of that year the Executive Committee made financial adjustments so that a student who had earned the honor of membership in the fraternity need not refuse it on the ground its cost. The purchase of the key was made optional, and the annual dues were lowered fifty per cent.
Appendix G

Selected Negro Notables
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Recognition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1892</td>
<td>Sherman Hamlin Guss</td>
<td>First Negro to earn a degree (Bachelor's) from OSU</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1897</td>
<td>Arthur K. Lawrence</td>
<td>First Negro to earn a degree in Pharmacy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>Jessie F. Stephens</td>
<td>First Negro woman to receive a degree (Bachelor's) from OSU</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>Alonzo Bowling</td>
<td>First Negro to receive Master of Arts degree from OSU</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>James Hendrix Bias</td>
<td>First Negro to receive a degree in Veterinary Medicine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>Edith Lucille Frazier</td>
<td>First Negro to receive a degree from the College of Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>W. Lloyd Lancaster</td>
<td>First Negro to receive D.D.S. (Dentistry) from OSU</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>Clarence A. Lindsay</td>
<td>First Negro to receive an M.D. from OSU</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>Jimsiana Brassfield</td>
<td>First Negro to receive degree (Bachelor's) in Home Economics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918</td>
<td>Carl E. Barnett</td>
<td>First Negro to receive degree (Bachelor's) in Architectural Engineering</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>Mildred Ann Henson</td>
<td>First Negro to receive degree (Bachelor's) in Journalism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Accomplishment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1927</td>
<td>Ruth Ella Moore</td>
<td>First Negro woman to receive Master of Arts degree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>Althea Hebron</td>
<td>First Negro to receive Ph.D. from OSU</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>Maribodine Busey</td>
<td>First Negro to receive degree in Chemistry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934</td>
<td>Gertrude Scott</td>
<td>First Negro to be initiated into Chimes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*This list was compiled according to the data available at this time.*
Appendix H

Statistics on Negro Graduates*

*Statistics for the following tables compiled by the author. Data were taken from Johnson, The Negro college Graduate p. 11, Giffin, The Negro in Ohio, 1914-1939, p. 357, The Crisis (compiled by W.E.B. Dubois) in the July or August Issues and the listing of students compiled by Dorothy Ross of the University Archives at The Ohio State University.
Table 5*
Total (known) Number of Students Enrolled
And Graduated from the Ohio State University

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Enrollment No.</th>
<th>Total No. of Graduates With B.S. or B.A.</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Enrollment No.</th>
<th>Total No. of Graduates with B.S. or B.A.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1930</td>
<td>327</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1931</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1932</td>
<td>260</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1933</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>26</td>
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<tr>
<td>1927</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1934-35</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1935-36</td>
<td>268</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>275</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>1937</td>
<td>422</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1938</td>
<td>431</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Only year in which OSU did not lead in total number of students to be enrolled, New York University had the greatest number of students enrolled with a total number of 494 but New York University only graduated seven Negroes.
Table 6*
Total Number of Bachelor's Degrees
Granted to Negro Students

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Northern Colleges</th>
<th>OSU</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>43</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1919</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>10</td>
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<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>187</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1927</td>
<td>211</td>
<td>15</td>
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<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>235</td>
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<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>278</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>258</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>260</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932</td>
<td>288</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933</td>
<td>275</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>8</td>
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<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>20</td>
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<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1937</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix I
A Brief Synopsis of a History of Negro Education in Columbus, Ohio:
Supplement to Chapter Five
Prior to 1836, the Negro people of Columbus supported a school in the southern part of the city, near what was called, Peter's Run.\textsuperscript{1} After 1836, the Negro School Society under trustees David Jenkins, B. Robert and C. Lewis with M.M. Clark as the statutory agent were able to collect $225.00 for a building fund whereby they opened a school which had sixty-three pupils in attendance, with a cost, on the average, of $3 per pupil.\textsuperscript{2} It has been noted that the school established for Negro children, after 1839, was only attended by"... lightly-colored children."\textsuperscript{3} As discussed before, it was a customary practice among Negroes to cater to the mulatto Negro, and this practice was extended into the private school system of Columbus which the Negroes themselves had established. Even so, by 1841, Alfred Kelley, John L. Gill, and Peter Hayden composed another group of philanthropic Negro supporters who raised enough funds to erect a school building at Oak and Fifth Streets, on the northeast corner. This school was headed by Robert Barrett,\textsuperscript{4} and the Negro people

\textsuperscript{1}Minor, p. 144. Also see Alfred E. Lee, History of the City of Columbus I. (New York and Chicago: Munsell and Co., 1892), p. 516

\textsuperscript{2}Myron T. Seifert, "Early Black History in the Columbus Public Schools," (unpublished, Columbus Public Library, n. d.), p. 2. Columbus Public Library Hereafter referred to as CPL.

\textsuperscript{3}Erickson, p. 114. Also see Lee, I, p. 550.

\textsuperscript{4}Lee, I., p. 516, Also see Minor, pp. 144-145.
could now boast of having two privately-funded schools in the City of Columbus even before the public school system was legally introduced into the City in 1845.\textsuperscript{5} Two years after the Columbus Public system was organized, in November, 1847, "the High School was formally established."\textsuperscript{6} Initially, Negroes were excluded from attending the Columbus Public High School. The exclusionary practice was reinforced with the Law of 1848 which permitted the Columbus Board of Education, along with the other boards throughout the State, to establish separate school districts for Negroes. The Law of 1848 was amended in 1849 and the salient feature to this particular piece of legislation was that Negroes were allowed to choose their own directors for the Negro school system.\textsuperscript{7} Seifert adds, "the law of 1849

\textsuperscript{5}First Annual Report of the Board of Education (Columbus, Ohio: G.J. Brand and Company, 1872), CPL, p. 61.

\textsuperscript{6}Lee, I, p. 548. In this same year, on June 22, 1847, the first public Teacher's Examination was held for seventeen applicants. Dr. Asa D. Lord, Columbus' first school superintendent served as Chairman of the first Columbus Teacher Examining Board. Myron T. Seifert who served as the Archivist for the Columbus Public School Board for many years condensed the Board minutes, proceedings and special reports for future historians who would study the Columbus Public School System. These materials are located in the Archives at the Columbus Board of Education, See, Teacher Examination Guidelines, Columbus Board of Education Archives, p. 51. Columbus Board of Education Archives referred to as CBEA. Also see the Appendix after each Annual School Board Report for a sample listing of the examination.

\textsuperscript{7}Lee, I, p. 502.
provided for the creation of a Negro school board, where a separate district was created; Columbus apparently, remained under the direction and control of a board composed entirely of members of the Caucasian race..."8

By the 1850's, Negroes were still attending their own private facilities although they were supervised by the Columbus Board of Education.9 As a matter of fact, when the Negro people in 1854 found out that Anna Booker, a mulatto,"... had been attending a primary school in the North building along with the white pupils,"10 the Negroes protested. The Negro protest was perhaps valid. They were able to establish by 1853 another private school. "The instructor of this school received $30 per month or $7.50 per week; and the rental fee totaled $60 per year."11 One year before, the Union Seminary of African Methodist Episcopal Church was in operation. The classes were held at St. Mark A.M.E. Church in Columbus,12...for the purpose of

8Seifert, p. 10.
9Erickson, p. 297.
10Seifert, p. 5.
11Ibid., p. 4.
educating and instructing youth, in literature, science, agriculture and mechanic arts..." 13 Obviously, the Negro people felt that they were quite capable of educating their own youth.

In 1855, Columbus had four privately-owned Negro schools. There were two schools on Gay Street, one school on High Street and another school on Town Street. According to the Board's report for the school year 1854-1855, (which only listed three Negro schools), there were four Negro teachers employed; for High Street, C.H. Langston; Gay Street had two, J.A. Thompson and T.N. Stewart; and for Town Street, Mrs. A.E. Fuller. 14 But, Seifert lists many more: "pioneer Negro teachers were C.H. Langston, M. Stewart, James Waring, M. K. Waring, W.E. Roney, W.E. Lincoln, Miss C. Woodson, Miss H. Woodson, Miss E. J. Allen, and Miss Valentine." 15 Approximately 312 students attended these four schools at a cost ration of $8 per pupil. 16 In


15 Seifert, p. 5.

16 Ibid. Also see Lee, I, pp. 552-553.
comparison, there were twenty-three schools established for white children, with a cost ratio of $6 per pupil in the primary; $7 per pupil for secondary and $17 per pupil for high school.\footnote{17}{Lee, I, p. 552.}

Although the Negroes of Columbus maintained their own schools, they were still inclined to structure their operational procedures along the same lines as that of the white system. An example was that each school had its own visiting committee"... whose duty was to visit the school, inspect the equipment and to note the general effectiveness of the teaching personnel."\footnote{18}{Minor, p. 145.} The Negroes also adopted this idea by having their own school visiting committee composed solely of Negro men.\footnote{19}{Ibid.} Yet, before 1871, the facilities for the Negro school were"...unsuitable both in character and in situation."\footnote{20}{Lee, I p. 560.} There were some Negro citizens who fought for improved surroundings such as W. Ewing, W.H. Roney, James Poindexter, Butler Taylor, J.T. Williams, James Hall, J. Freeland, J. Ward and T.J. Washington. The School Board decided on May 23, 1871, to
upgrade the Negro schools by constructing a building at Long and Third Streets, later called Loving School. The Board had been forced to agree to the Negro request of a new school because of an agreement ten years earlier in which the Board consented to establish a Negro school after a petition that was offered to the Negro citizens of Columbus for signatures was rejected. The acceptance of the petition would have allowed the Negroes to have a separate school system like the one maintained in Cincinnati. Instead, the Negro leaders of Columbus pushed for a school to be furnished for Negro children under the auspices of the white-controlled Columbus school board. In this same year, at a school board meeting on June 20, 1861, "the Board spelled-out the basic qualifications for teachers ( ) which became a pattern for teacher-employment for many years thereafter." In other words, a teacher's salary was set according to the kind of experience and years within the teaching profession. By 1869, the board stated that teachers, "not having taught in the public schools of the city, before, shall be

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21 Ibid.
22 Seifert, p. 6.
23 Salaries Contingent on Teachers' Experience, Passing Certain Subjects in 1861, CBEA, p. 62.
appointed for a probation term of two months...if found efficient and successful, they may be appointed regular teachers for the ensuing year." 24  This rule stood for more than one hundred years.

Just when the Columbus Board had begun to standardize its procedures for teachers and upgrade facilities for the Negro children, the white citizens complained because the Sixth Street School was becoming an annoyance. 25  "The Board recommended that the school be abolished and another school be opened {in} close proximity to the other colored schools." 26  However, a petition was brought before the Board by a group of Negro citizens who wanted a school to be built on the South part of the city. 27  Nevertheless, the Board had already reached an agreement with the powerful Negro businessmen and civic leaders from the near Eastside to construct a building within that area for Negro children. The Loving School which was opened in 1872 and 117 students for seven grades and valued at $24,648 was named after Dr. Starling Loving, a white school board member who"...knocked

24Rules for Teacher Conduct 1869, 1879, 1889, Vary Little, CBEA, p. 62.
25Seifert, p. 15.
26Ibid.
27Minutes of the Columbus Board of Education, November 23, 1869, CBEA.
down a member of the school board who said that Negro teachers did not need as much salary as white teachers. It is said that he had a very fiery temper."\textsuperscript{28}

There appeared to be two standard reasons to uphold the practice of disparate salary ranges for Negro teachers. The underlying causes for such a practice was due to the inherent feelings of inferiority that whites held regarding the Negro. As a result, most whites felt that Negroes should only live at a certain standard, and not try to rise above that standard, which was one basic reason for a lower salary range. Another, as Bond explains was because most whites felt that since the Negro was inferior, then, the logical conclusion was that Negro teachers were inferior to white teachers which helped white administrators to justify giving a lower salary range to Negro teachers.\textsuperscript{29}

Yet, Negro teachers were exposed to the same teacher-training curriculums and attended and graduated from the same surrounding colleges and Normal schools of the Columbus vicinity. Minor reports that most of the Negro teachers graduated from three main institutions: Oberlin, Wilberforce and the Normal School of the Columbus Public School System.\textsuperscript{30} The first principal of Loving School was James

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{28}Minor, p. 146.
\item \textsuperscript{29}Bond, p. 271
\item \textsuperscript{30}Minor, p. 147.
\end{itemize}
S. Waring, an Oberlin graduate, who remained at that position for fifteen years. Several other family members from the Waring family were also Oberlin graduates,\(^{31}\) including Waring's son who also became principal of Loving after his father's death.\(^{32}\) According to the First Annual Report for the Columbus School Board, Hattie Woodson, a graduate of Wilberforce was appointed as a teacher in the Columbus Public School System in January, 1869.\(^{33}\) Overall, there are very few Negroes listed as Wilberforce graduates in the Columbus system. The largest supplier of Negro graduates was the Columbus Normal School, a two-year teacher-training institution.

"In virtue of certain action on the part of the Board, the Columbus Normal School was organized in September, 1883, opening with twenty-eight pupils."\(^{34}\) The Columbus School Board became part of a developing trend within the State


\(^{32}\) Franklin County at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century (Columbus, Ohio: Historical Publishing Company, 1901), p. 366. Hereafter referred to as Franklin County.


\(^{34}\) Annual Report of the Board of Education of the Columbus Public Schools, 1883-1884 (Columbus, Ohio: Gazette Printing House, 1884), p. 121.
of Ohio when they established their own private Normal School which evolved from the Columbus Public High School System. Myers shows in his study that "during the period from 1855 to 1900, Ohio had more private normal schools than any other state."\(^{35}\) In addition, his data reveals that the largest enrollment period for the normal schools in Ohio was from 1890 to 1900; after 1900, the normal schools disappeared as rapidly as they were established.\(^{36}\)

Prior to the opening of the Columbus Normal School, the local high school graduates were permitted to go directly into teaching, on the elementary level.\(^{37}\) Before 1873, the Negro schools were staffed with college-trained graduates because they were unable to attend the local high school. It was not until the year 1873 that the Columbus Board of Education "decided to admit the son of the colored school principal into the white high school."\(^{38}\) Everett J. Waring was allowed to attend classes at the Columbus High School


\(^{38}\) *Columbus Dispatch*, October 15, 1873. Also see Quillin, p. 109.
where he graduated with honors in 1877,\textsuperscript{39} thus, making him the first Negro to graduate from the Columbus Public School System on the High School level. He followed in his father's footsteps, as mentioned earlier, by becoming principal of the Loving School between 1878 and 1882 which made him the last Negro principal of the Loving School.\textsuperscript{40}

The year following the admission of Waring, a whole class of Negro pupils "applied for admission to the High School, and all of the applicants who passed the examination were received."\textsuperscript{41} Lee notes that "the color line was entirely obliterated from the public schools of the city,"\textsuperscript{42} upon the admission of the Negro class in 1874 to the high school course in 1882 when the elementary schools were supposedly integrated. His statement, of course, was

\textsuperscript{39} Franklin County, p. 366. Seifert lists Ms. Mary K. Knight, Class of 1878, as the first Negro graduate in the Columbus High School course. Yet, all the materials which this author has found showed that Waring was the first Negro graduate which would make Mary E. Knight the second Negro to graduate from the Columbus High School. See Seifert, p. 26.

\textsuperscript{40} Franklin County, p. 366.

\textsuperscript{41} Lee, I, p. 565. Also see Annual Report of the Board of Education of the Columbus Public Schools, 1881-1882 (Columbus, Ohio: Myers Brothers, Book and Job Printers, 1882), p. 95.

\textsuperscript{42} Lee, I, p. 502.
untrue and did not take into account other factors relating to why a color line was established in the first place. By 1876, whites were protesting the idea of a mixed school concept. Letters of protest were written to the local newspapers which was to be the start of a battle concerning so-called desegregation. 43

The Loving School was established in order to incorporate Negro children into the school system, on a somewhat equal basis. Since Negroes remained adamant about being part of the white-controlled system, an amicable solution was reached by both races which involved a separate school system within the white-controlled school system. But the Negro school population grew rapidly as more and more Negroes realized that one of the ways to upward mobility was through education. The Loving School, however, was established for the Negro leaders on the Near Eastside of Columbus. This course of action angered other Negroes who lived a great distance from that particular area. The result was in the establishment of a satellite school called the Montgomery School House for approximately twenty-nine Negro children who lived too far from the Loving School. The Montgomery School House opened on April 1, 1880, after the Superintendent of the Columbus Public

43 Editorial, Ohio State Journal, October 3, 1876. Also see Seifert, p. 19.
Schools had recommended its construction and funding on November 20, 1872. The school board began to realize that the cost of providing adequate facilities for all Negro school-age children would be too much of a strain on the Board's total budget. Therefore, beginning in 1878, legislation was proposed to alleviate the problem. In summary, the legislation stated that schools should become mixed in order to educate all qualified children for the public school system.

The Negro community called a meeting at Second Baptist Church to discuss the mixed school idea which was reported in the local newspapers. There were proposals regarding the integration of Negro children into the white public school system. One group, led by Robert Hodge, a porter, and James Hill, a local barber, felt that the Negro people would lose approximately $320,000 yearly in potential salaries from Negro teachers if the schools were mixed. Hodge, Hill and perhaps a few other Negro citizens realized that integration meant the loss of teaching positions for those Negroes employed in the separate school systems.

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44 Seifert, p. 17.
46 Ibid., p. 22. Also see Gerber, p. 201.
47 Meier, p. 48.
Yet, "years of warning from both within and outside the race had prepared many black Ohioans to face the fact that integration would be accomplished at the expense of black teacher's positions." Even Peter Clark was unsuccessful in convincing the Negro communities in Ohio that mixed schools would hurt the Negro community, in the long term. But, Harry Smith, editor of the Gazette in Cleveland supported the idea of a mixed school system, statewide, and accused Clark of being selfish in his fight for segregation. After the Arnett bill was passed, Clark did lose his job.

There were a few Negro teachers to remain on their jobs in Ohio, within the southern part of the State where the local officials ignored the law and continued to support a dual school system. Woodson concludes of the situation that "Negroes, although adequately trained, cannot easily find employment in the mixed systems of the North. The white man still believes that he can best teach his own children." But, Woodson's complaint can be viewed from another perspective. What Negroes were saying is that

48 Gerber, pp. 263-264 and 324.
49 Meier, p. 48. Also see Reddick, p. 297; McGinnis, p. 66.
50 Gerber, p. 265.
51 Woodson, Negro Professional Man, p. 48.
they wanted whites to teach Negro children, perhaps being one of the few racial groups in the world who allows an outside group to teach their children. One year after the mixed school debate in 1878, Mt. Airy School became the first mixed school to be established because the Fulton School had become overcrowded.  

One of the major reasons for having mixed schools was to rid the system of the Loving School, the Negro school which had become an eyesore to the community and a nuisance to the Board members because of the steady flow of complaints. Additionally, the school was straining the budget of the school system. There were much needed repairs that were too costly. "Negro parents and citizens had remonstrated from time to time, regarding the equipment and facilities needed in the Loving School, but to little avail. The Negroes pointed out to the board members the facilities enjoyed by the mixed schools." In actuality, the school was more trouble than it was worth to the Board. And, after 1878, the Board was confident in knowing that Negroes would rather integrate and lose Negro (teaching)  

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52 Seifert, pp. 30-31.  
53 Seifert, p. 41.
positions than to continue the present trend. Therefore, by September, 1882, the Board proposed that the Loving School should be closed and the Negro children attending that school would go to a nearby neighborhood school.\textsuperscript{54} Of course, the proposal to allow Negroes to attend a school in their neighborhood was nothing new. In the President's Report to the Board on December 15, 1897, Henry Olmhausen stated:

The colored children of Columbus are well cared for in respect to their educational wants. Those \{colored pupils\} who live in a remote part of the city are accommodated in the Second Avenue, Douglas, and East Friend Street schools.\textsuperscript{55}

The only major concern regarding the neighborhood concept was with a group of South-enders. According to Seifert the "South-enders did not see eye to eye with Rev. Poindexter on the mixed-school idea advocated by the minister. Many in the Southern part of the city pressed for an exclusively colored institution in their section of town, back in 1881. These people believed that the prejudice factor was stronger in the mixed school than in

\textsuperscript{54}Ibid., p. 44.

schools where all teachers and pupils were Negroes."

56 But, by 1882, the Columbus School Board also invited this dissenting group of separatists, "to send their children to nearby white schools wherever it was convenient to do so."  

57 The Board's statement to the Sout-enders became a policy statement to other Negroes and except for a few instances, Negro children were accepted into the white public school system.  

58 In fact, under the presidency of Charles C. Walcutt, on February 21, 1882, the Board issued the following statement:

The Board by a unanimous vote, resolved to sell the building used for the accommodation of colored youth. White and colored now attend the same schools within the city limits. In this radical change the whole benefit is in favor of the colored youth. When the colored people now agree to abandon their separate Sunday-schools and church buildings, and apply for admission to Sunday-schools and churches now attended by white people alone, and they will not be turned away, the color line in secular and religious education will be completely wiped out.

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56 Seifert, p. 35.

57 Gerber, p. 197.

58 Seifert, p. 42.

Appendix J

Selected History of the Impact of David Walker's

Appeal:

Supplement to Chapter Four
Beginning in 1740, the State of South Carolina enacted the first piece of legislation which prohibited the educating of Negroes. More than seventy years later, Missouri followed suit by passing an act...so to regulate the traveling and assembly of slaves as to make them ineffective in making headway against the white people by insurrection." Within this act, Negroes were also forbidden to attend any of the schools in Missouri. These two pieces of legislation and those acts which followed the 1740 law were attempts by whites to discourage the insurrectionary spirit that was so prevalent among the Negroes in the slaveholding states. Ironically, South Carolina was hit by an insurrection in the city of Charleston by 1822...which the officials believed was due to the "sinister" influence of enlightened Negroes." Following a particular outburst or plot arranged by Negroes, the white backlash would come in the form of restrictive legislation that barred the Negro from any educational system, except religious instruction. "Sabbath-Schools" were tolerated by whites, especially on the plantation systems in the South, because

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most whites felt that the basic Puritan ethic of hard work and thrift was a safe philosophy to teach the servile Negroes. This philosophy could be found in the Bible, a book which had to be read. But, by 1830, even the teaching of religion was restricted to oral instruction. The closed system that whites imposed upon the Negro slave could be related to the Feudalistic stage of the Medieval Period in which the Church fathers controlled the masses of people through illiteracy.

Whites expressed their greatest outrage to Negro literacy when David Walker of Massachusetts wrote a pamphlet entitled the Appeal. Walker's Appeal was written in four articles and contained, according to the slaveholding whites and even to some of the so-called abolitionists of the North, the most inflammatory statements to be dispersed by a Negro, statements which were considered part of a revolutionary anti-slavery sentiment, incited by free Northern Negroes.

David Walker, whose father was a slave and mother, a free Negro, was born in North Carolina in 1785. As Wiltse states, little is known about Walker's background, "... except that somehow he acquired an education." A review of

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5 Ibid.
Walker's *Appeal* shows that he was indeed an educated person. His militant stance excited many Negroes in the South, a place where he had travelled as a free Negro on numerous occasions only to witness the heroes of the slavery institution. In his Preamble to the *Appeal*, Walker notes:

Having travelled over a considerable portion of these United States and having, in the course of my travels, taken the most accurate observations of things as they exist—the result of my observations has warranted the full and unshaken conviction, that we, (coloured people of these United States,) are the most degraded, wretched, and abject set of beings that ever lived since the world began; and I pray God that none like us ever may live again until shall be no more. They tell us of the Israelites in Egypt, the Helots in Sparta, and of the Roman Slaves, which last were made up from almost every nation under heaven, whose sufferings under those ancient and heathen nations, were, in comparison with ours, under this enlightened and Christian nation, no more than a cypher— or, in other words, those heathen nations of antiquity, had but little more among them than the name and form of slavery; while wretchedness and endless miseries were reserved, apparently in a phial, to be poured out upon our fathers, ourselves and our children, by Christian Americans.

These positions I shall endeavour, by the help of the Lord, to demonstrate in the course of this Appeal, to the satisfaction of the most incredulous mind—and may God Almighty, who is the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, open your hearts to understand and believe the truth.

The causes, my brethren, which produce our wretchedness and miseries, are so very numerous and aggravating, that I believe the pen only of a Josephus or a Plutarch, can well enumerate and explain them. Upon subjects, then,
of such incomprehensible magnitude, so impenetrable, and so notorious, I shall be obliged to omit a large class of, and content myself with giving you an exposition of a few of those, which do indeed rage to such an alarming pitch, that they cannot but be a perpetual source of terror and dismay to every reflecting mind.6

Walker distributed his Appeal, starting in September, 1929, by many ingenious schemes. "One of his devices was undoubtedly to "plant" the pamphlet in the ample pockets of the jackets and trousers he sold to sailors bound for Southern ports."7 White reaction to Walker's schemes was typical and expected. More stringent laws were enacted to prevent any uprisings from the southern Negroes. Louisiana was one of the first states to pass legislation in response to Walker's Appeal. Woodson points out that the law stated: "All persons who should teach, or permit or cause to be taught, any slave to read or write, should be imprisoned not less than one month nor more than twelve."8 Consequently, a course of events unfolded which worked contrary to those Negroes who were interested in teaching other Negroes how to read and write. The South pulled

6Ibid., pp. 1 and 2.
7Ibid., See Introduction.
8Woodson, p. 161.
together in"...preventing the dissemination of information among Negroes and their reading of abolition literature. This they endeavored to do by prohibiting the communication of the slaves with one another, with the better informed free persons of color, and with the liberal white people; and by closing all the schools theretofore opened to Negroes."9 In 1831, Georgia threatened Negroes with a punishment of a fine or whipping should Negroes be caught instructing one another.10

Southerners also put a price on Walker's head of $1,000 for the writing of his Appeal.11 By 1830, after a third edition had been prepared, Walker "was found dead near the doorway of his shop. The true circumstances have never been ascertained, but poison seemed the most likely cause of death and few doubted at the time that the most eloquent voice in the battle for Negro freedom had been violently stilled."12 However, Walker certainly knew that he was in imminent danger just by the beginning comments of Article 1 entitled, "Our Wretchedness in Consequence

9Ibid., p. 164.

10Ibid., p. 161. Woodson reports that in the same year of 1831, Nat Turner led an insurrection in Southampton County, Virginia, Coupled with Walker's Appeal, the Nat Turner rebellion reduced Negro education to oral instruction. Virginia prevented any Negroes from teaching one another to read or write, and Mississippi and Delaware, also in 1831, enacted similar measures. Florida and Alabama passed their prohibitive legislation in 1832.

11Witse, See Introduction.
of Slavery" which read:

My beloved brethen:--The Indians of North and of South America--the Greeks--the Irish, subjected under the king of Great Britain--the Jews, that ancient people of the Lord--the inhabitants of the islands of the sea--in fine, all the inhabitants of the earth, (except however, the sons of Africa are called men, and of course are, and ought to be free. But we, (coloured people) and our children are brutes! and of course are, and ought to be Slaves to the American people and their children forever!! to dig their mines and work their farms; and thus go on enriching them from one generation to another with our blood and our tears.

I promised in a preceding page to demonstrate to the satisfaction of the most incredulous, that we, (coloured people of these United States of America) are the most wretched, degraded and abject set of beings that ever lived since the world began, and that the white Americans having reduced us to the wretched state of slavery, treat us in that condition more cruel (they being an enlightened and Christian people,) than any heathen nation did any people whom it had reduced to our condition. These affirmations are so well confirmed in the minds of all unprejudiced men, who have taken the trouble to read histories, that they need no elucidation from me. But to put them beyond all doubt, I refer you in the first place to the children of Jacob, or of Israel in Egypt, under Pharaoh and his people. Some of my brethren do not know who Pharaoh and the Egyptians were--I know it to be a fact, that some of them take the Egyptians to have been a gang of devils, not knowing any better, and that they (Egyptians) having got possession of Lord's people, treated them nearly as cruel as Christian Americans do us, at the present day. For the information of such, I would only mention that the Egyptians, were Africans or coloured people, such as we are--some of them yellow and others dark
—a mixture of Ethiopians and the natives of Egypt—about the same as you see the coloured people of the United States at the present day. —I say, I call your attention to the children of Jacob, while I point out particularly to you his son Joseph, among the rest, in Egypt.13

But Walker's opening statement did not instigate the kind of wrath that his concluding remarks did when he wrote:

The whites have always been an unjust, jealous, unmerciful, avaricious and blood-thirsty set of beings, always seeking after power and authority. —We view them all over the confederacy of Greece, where they were first known to be anything, (in consequence of education) we see them there, cutting each other's throats—trying to subject each other to wretchedness and misery—to effect which, they used all kinds of deceitful, unfair, and unmerciful means. We view them next in Rome, where the spirit of tyranny and deceit raged still higher. We view them in Gaul, Spain, and in Britain. —In fine, we view them all over Europe, together with what were scattered about in Asia and Africa, as heathens, and we see them acting more like devils than accountable men. But some may ask, did not the blacks of Africa, and the mulattoes of Asia, go on in the same way as did the whites of Europe. I answer, no—they never were half so avaricious, deceitful and unmerciful as the whites, according to their knowledge.14

Walker had an equally arousing impact on free Negroes in the North. His *Appeal* reached the Negro population in

Ohio, and influenced many abolitionists.\textsuperscript{15} Perhaps it was inevitable that Ohio would go to such lengths to deny Negroes a chance to be educated. Most settlers of this region, due in large measure because of the nearness to Southern states such as Virginia and Kentucky, were very fearful that Ohio would be considered"...a haven for free blacks and recently manumitted or fugitive slaves--a prospect unappealing to most early settlers."\textsuperscript{16} Subsequently, Ohioans, during the ante-bellum period continuously refused to allow Negroes on a universal basis to be part of the public educational system.

\textsuperscript{15}Ibid., See Introduction.
\textsuperscript{16}Gerber, p. 9.
Appendix K

Selected Materials About Jessie Frances Stephens, First
Negro Woman Graduate
Dear Buckeye,*

THE 800 ALUMNI AND GUESTS

at the 84th Sunset Supper strained forward as Alumni President Howard L. Hamilton presented a very special group seated front and center. Also craning forward to watch were Chancellor Millett, President Fawcett, Trustee Bricker, Association President-elect Laybourne and other celebrities on the rostrum.

Nine graduates of the class of 1905, sixty years away from their Commencement, stood up — and what an ovation they received! The nine: Ira C. Condit, Riverside, Cal.; Jessie Stephens Glover, Columbus; Clara Campbell, Columbus; William W. Hackney, Dayton; Mark C. Houston, MD, Urbana; Osmer C. (Cap) Ingalls, Columbus; Raymond E. Rusk, Columbus; Mary Hollister Southard, Columbus; and Ethyl Woodbury, Columbus.

"Certain Unalienable Rights"

THE first two were singled out by President Hamilton for special attention — Alumnus Condit for engineering the reunion all the way from California, and Mrs. Glover because she was the first woman of her race to be graduated by The Ohio State University. Now since the Glover story and that of her family are a veritable saga of the state university ideal, let's look at the background of the lady pictured with President Fawcett on the following page.

Mrs. Glover's father was Robert K. Stephens, a freed slave. He made bricks for the company that furnished the bricks for University Hall which opened its doors in 1873. Later he was a janitor in a downtown Columbus building. His daughter Jessie, to get her degree from Ohio State, walked to and from the campus from St. Clair Avenue, a distance of about four miles. After supper she walked downtown and helped her father clean 18 rooms. She arose at 4, studied and did expected chores and "set my feet toward the campus at 6." She studied French, German, Spanish "and got glib enough in them to teach." She taught German and English at Florida A&M, where she earned an associate professorship; she served as secretary of the Florida State Teachers Association from 1909 to 1912. She taught English at Bluefield Institute, W.Va.

Jessie caught her inspiration from a teacher "who said you couldn't get anywhere unless you were educated." Her mother said they were too poor but the janitor father said he would send her "if it took his last cent." Jessie's two younger brothers caught the education fever and walked and worked their way through The Ohio State University also. Robert K., Jr., Pharmacy '11, retired from the drug business last August after 37 years; Dr. Joseph, DVM '17, after 38 years as a federal veterinarian is now vice president of the Trans Bay Federal Savings and Loan Assn. in San Francisco.
Jessie, Bob and Joe began a procession of the Stephens family through Ohio State, a practice which is still going unto the fourth generation. Robert Jr., had two sons: Clifford R., who was graduated in '34 in Pharmacy and Robert T., who was graduated in '50 in Social Work. Jessie Stephens Glover, '05, was accompanied by the Sunset Supper by her two daughters, both graduates of Ohio State. Carolyn Glover Utz received a degree in Social Administration in '38. Her sister, Portia Glover Sunico was graduated in '34 with a BSc in Education, and earned a Master's Degree in '38. Mrs. Sunico's daughter, Aleta, is a freshman. Mrs. Utz's son, Stanley, is a freshman. Others of the family who attended include Walter and Hazel Brooks, Beverly Boone and Emerson F. Harris, Mech Engr '31.

NOTHING new about this; the files in Alumni House reveal that literally hundreds of families with dozens of sons, daughters, nephews, nieces, grandchildren, uncles, aunts all with Ohio State University backgrounds. How many grandfathers and grandmothers have prodded and pushed their progeny to and through this University — How many mothers and fathers have repeated, "you can't get anywhere without an education" is incalculable. The Stephens story is a particular Ohio State story because it is infused into the very bricks of old U. Hall. It is much more than that — it is the story and the glory of the United States of America. Robert K. Stephens, the slave was freed by Abraham Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation. But Robert K.'s family and their progeny were to have opportunity for another kind of freedom — the freedom of the mind and spirit through education. This came from another Act signed by Lincoln, the Land Grant College Act of just a hundred years ago.

Before the Morrill Act gave impetus to the state university concept, higher education was the privilege of the wealthy few. Now for the first time the sons of farmers, laborers, artisans and the so-called common man were to have the opportunity — ah, and their daughters, too, as Jessie Glover so well exemplifies. Even so, at the turn of the century only 4% of our high school graduates were going on to college. At the Sunset Supper Chancellor Millett reported that the percentage was over 40 and would soon be over 50, one out of two.

WE ALL share the fruits — in the comforts and joys of body and intellect — in ways no people in the world can match. For all our national shortcomings, no nation bears such constant and generous witness to the dignity of the individual everywhere on the globe nor fulfills better its own declaration of purpose:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. . ."

As Jesse Owens, recipient of the Alumni Citizenship award at this same Sunset Supper, said on that memorable afternoon in the Stadium when his daughter had been elected Homecoming Queen by Ohio State's student body:

"Darling, where else but in America. . ."

Cordially yours

*Taken OSU Monthly, 1965, pp. 1-2
No 'Can’ts’ In Her Dictionary

By MARY E. BILDERBACK

The old woman sat in the chair and peered over her blue rimmed glasses. Once in a while her memory failed. Names were forgotten and dates fused together, but Jessie Stephens Glover, Ohio State’s first Negro woman graduate, still adheres to a philosophy she acquired by 80 years as a college student.

"I’ve always thought I can do anything any black else can," the 82-year-old woman said.

"There’s no such word as ‘can’t’ in the dictionary. I was always the first colored girl to do this or that and I always having my face pushed in as a result, but regardless, I stood by my guns!"

This Saturday, Mrs. Glover, who graduated in the class of 1905, will return to Ohio State to attend the annual Sunset Alumni Supper.

When she was 12 years old she decided to attend Ohio State.

"One day my eighth grade teacher turned her book upside-down on her desk and did some serious talking to the class," Mrs. Glover said.

"She stressed the value of an education and she said that most of us who were lucky enough to go to college would probably attend Ohio State.

"That was the first time I’d ever heard of the University. All this time it had been only five miles from our St. Clair Avenue home."

Her mother, a seamstress, and her father, an ex-Civil War slave, opposed their daughter’s idea to attend college because of finances.

Full of determination, she worked throughout high school and college after classes as a maid where her father was employed as a janitor.

After graduation, securing a job was difficult.

"Teaching jobs went to the colored who looked white then," she said.

"My uncle promised that the first one of his nephews or nieces to graduate from college would receive a position in the Arkansas school where he was principal," taught there for one year.

Mrs. Glover went on to teach in West Virginia and other southern schools.

"I was an associate professor. Later, she developed a course of study in English covering three years of prep work, three years of high school and four years of college."

In 1912 she married Edward Glover, a bricklayer, and had three daughters, the youngest of whom died in 1929.

"After the death of her child a doctor advised Mrs. Glover to return to teaching."

Instead, she returned to Ohio State to begin work on her master’s degree.

At this time her oldest daughter, Carolyn, was a freshman at the University. They still joke about how they waved to each other on the Oval during class changes.

"When I began work on my

Taken from OSU Lantern, May 21, 1965
Appendix L

Selected Photographs Taken from the Makio Yearbook
Volleyball Champions, 1932

Kappa Alpha Psi
Alpha Kappa Alpha, 1929

[275]
Delta Sigma Theta, 1933

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Top Row—McLeod, Rowland, Pierce, Ruben, Mann.
Second Row—Huckley, Riddick, Ormes, Watlington, Hartgrove, Blount.
Bottom Row—Blackwood, Lewis, Pace, Harris, Pirters, Lee, Johnson.

Omega Psi Phi Fraternity, 1930
Festival Winners
Negro Sports Team, 1931

FESTIVAL
Alpha Phi Alpha, 1931
Negro Football Player, 1930
William Bell

B E L L
Tackle
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