

## RACIAL PROGRESS AT OBERLIN COLLEGE, 1940-1946

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An article of mine in the July 1971 *The Journal of Negro History* titled “Oberlin College and the Negro Student, 1865-1940” concluded during the tenure of President Ernest Hatch Wilkins who served the college from 1927 to 1946. Professor Wilkins, a native of Massachusetts, was almost age forty-seven when he came to Oberlin. He had received his PhD from Harvard and taught at Amherst, Harvard and the University of Chicago. At Chicago his duties for a few years in the 1920s included being Dean of the College of Arts, Literature and Science. An authority on Petrarch and Dante, his specialty in Romance languages did not prepare him to cope with the uncertainties regarding race that he found in Oberlin.

This paper continues the subject of the college’s treatment of African American students to the end of President Wilkins’ administration in 1946. Over the years since the abolition of slavery the school had changed from a deliberate attempt to accept these students as equals (social activities excepted, especially between the sexes) to a holding action more in line with the attitudes of a nation going through its worst post-bellum period of openly anti-black sympathies. During these times the school also faced changing attitudes among its employees and students. Faculty members and students who helped to end slavery had left the scene to be replaced too often by persons with less, or little, racial understanding. Still, a belief continued where Oberlin College was located

there had once been a non-discriminatory community and that this should again be the objective no matter how difficult the goal. Such an aim in a nation rampant with prejudices that existed in the Jim Crow era was not easily achieved. As the 1930s drew to a close, a few students, who did not like the way non-white students were being treated, made their sympathies known in various ways. The protests were not large, but they became persistent and increasingly could not be dismissed. The end of the Wilkins presidential administration brought a close to a great deal of the uncertainty in racial matters that troubled the school.

The World War II years were difficult for the college in many ways. Just the teaching of navy men on campus as a part of the war effort was an educational trial of immense proportions. In addition, President Wilkins took it upon himself to answer every letter from former Oberlin students then in the service, taking much time from already busy days. On top of all usual administrative problems this was also a period of change nationally in race relations. One topic of debate was Should the armed forces be integrated? At home irritants were more immediate. At the beginning of the war, an official outside of Oberlin ordered the Red Cross not to accept the blood of African Americans. Shortly thereafter the order was rescinded, but much bitterness understandably remained in Oberlin as elsewhere among African Americans.<sup>1</sup> During the war no African American was allowed to serve on the town of Oberlin's rationing and price control board. A statement by the local attorney who had headed the board, that "no Negro had ever occurred to me as a potential appointee," did nothing to ease the pain.<sup>2</sup> People asked why none were represented on the faculty of Oberlin College or among its

administrative employees and why were they admitted mainly to menial positions?<sup>3</sup>

Grounds maintenance and dormitories were the main places where African Americans were employed.

Racial attitudes in Oberlin during the 1940s made the community a difficult place in which to register social gains. In a town of 4300 persons that was 20% African American, students of this race were not too noticeable because they made up only a very small percentage of the college's enrollment. African Americans trained at the College to teach were not assisted to obtain positions in the town. The first African American teacher in the Oberlin public school system, Elizabeth (Betty) Glenn (later Mrs. Philip Thomas), a local woman who had a primary-kindergarten teaching certificate and a 1936 A.B., both from Oberlin College, began teaching in 1940 in Oberlin's Centennial School which was predominantly African American. When her contract renewal, upon which tenure would be determined, came up in 1942, there was much public and private discussion of whether she should be rehired. It was understood that she would be teaching more and more white children as time went on. She had proved herself a first rate teacher and individual, and the support generated by interested persons, especially by the *Oberlin News-Tribune's* publisher Charles Mosher, was the backing needed to cause the Oberlin Board of Education to renew her contract. The opposition had not been weak, but many of the protesters of 1940 had become Miss Glenn's supporters by 1942. Oberlin College took a neutral position throughout the affair, its employees taking sides in the matter only if personally inclined.<sup>4</sup>

President Wilkins' general outlook in matters racial may be surmised from his reaction to a letter sent him by a black Toledo doctor. While visiting his parents, Oberlin residents, the doctor went with a friend to play at the Oberlin Golf Club. There the two were refused admittance because of their color. The doctor wrote a courteous, informative and questioning letter one page in length asking how Oberlin College could so violate its tradition by succumbing to racial intolerance. The President's reply, in total, was as follows: "Thank you for your letter of October 16, which, however, I must receive as a matter of information since the Oberlin Golf Club is a privately organized club, and is not controlled by Oberlin College."<sup>5</sup>

One should not be left with the impression that President Wilkins never put himself forward for equality in racial matters. When the wife of a former faculty member did not wish to allow an African American woman as a resident in Cranford, the non-college dormitory that she headed, Wilkins and Secretary Donald Love made it plain that she must accept the woman or the relationship between the college and Cranford would be terminated.<sup>6</sup>

The president's decision not to lead in public ways left those who worked under him without adequate guidance upon how racial matters should be treated. No one received the brunt more than Dean of Women Marguerite Woodworth whose thinking revealed the same lack of leadership as Wilkins. Many of her problems arose at the dormitory director level, both college and non-college. Directors did not care to have more than two African American women students at a time lest a house be considered a

dormitory for black students. For the same reason they objected to having students of color live at a house for two or three successive years. The dean was also perplexed by the problems caused by white women students who engaged in interracial relationships. One example was a very friendly relationship between a white female student and a black janitor. "One of the most difficult duties of a dormitory director and a dean of women," wrote Woodworth, "is to persuade a student, of a reforming temper, that relationships of this kind are unwise and that they serve no useful purpose."<sup>7</sup>

Many of the visible interracial relations were constrained by dormitory directors. In one instance an African American maid, in response to a director's request that she aid the Red Cross, said she could not afford to give money but that she would be willing to donate her blood. The director replied strongly to the maid that she did not want such blood in her veins. The director again brought up the subject the next day and at length. The maid then complained to the Manager of Residences and Dining Halls, whose duties included immediate supervision of the directors. The latter talked with the director in question but found no race prejudice. Wrote the manager, "Her family always had colored servants and she had colored servants in her own home and never had difficulty in working with them."<sup>8</sup> Obviously, some education was sorely needed.

Such inconsistency in leadership kept interracial social relations in uneasy tension. In the summer of 1942 a white and an African American woman decided to room together to test the school's policies. They were members of a committee appointed by the Summer Student Council to report upon Afro-Americans in Oberlin. In the first

session the women asked permission to room at Talcott Hall during the second session and the matron acquiesced. The matron later left on her vacation and her successor stopped the women when they began to move into the same room. This matron said that since she had never encountered such a situation she considered it necessary for the students to seek the permission of the Dean of Women. The Dean refused permission for several reasons: she feared opposition from some parents of students and some alumni; she believed no African American or white woman had ever expressed a desire to room together in the previous five years; and she believed that roommates normally chose each other on the basis of congeniality, a factor not particularly present in this case. The dean doubted that the experiment would result in other black and white women rooming together as a matter of course in the future. Dean Woodworth did say that she would discuss the matter with the school's Prudential Committee if the women wished, but they did not ask for her to do this. The right of appeal could only be carried to that committee because the president and the dean of the College of Arts and Sciences were gone for the summer.

Instead, two students went to Orville C. Jones, a faculty member of the Graduate School of Theology where interracial rooming had been allowed for years. Jones told them that they were within their rights to room together. He then went to see Miss Woodworth and told her what he thought. Jones, described by an emeritus member of the faculty as a radical, not intellectual, not well organized, a sketchy thinker, "and with all that a sterling sort," accomplished little except to upset the Dean of Women and nettle Wilkins for injecting himself into the matter. Three years later Professor Jones' daughter

received the permission of Dean Woodworth to room with an Afro-American woman student.

The women, still in separate rooms, saw Carl Wittke, dean of the College of Arts and Sciences, after his return in September, although they realized that only the president had authority to overrule Dean Woodworth's ruling. Wittke thought their desire to room together was unwise and explained why, but he also said that there was no regulation to forbid it and that they could decide for themselves. If they wished to do so, they were free to do so. They never did room together.

The upshot of this was that students were uncertain about what could be done. The opinions of lower-level employees of the college, who should never have been so influential, too often held. Only one or two matrons were willing to reveal for a student survey whether they would object to a black and a white woman rooming together. Most would not give a clear answer. One matron who did speak said, if so confronted she would "want to know what's wrong with both of them." Students heard various versions of this and other incidents and were hesitant to venture toward an interracial social life lest they be chastised for so doing. At two non-college residences for women there were no African Americans nor could the matrons recall that there ever had been. Matrons at both said they never received applications from African Americans. A student committee reported that the general belief among these women was that they would not be admitted in these two dormitories and thus they seldom listed one as a first preference, if at all. The hesitant position taken by the Dean of College Men, Edward F. Bosworth, merely

increased uncertainties. When a student committee interviewed him about what was permitted in the areas of interracial male rooming and dating, Bosworth requested that his answers not be put into the committee's report lest they be misinterpreted. The committee thus did not pass on in its report what it learned from him.<sup>9</sup>

At the end of the 1930s one of the irritants for students was an administrative ban against the appearance of African American dance bands. A feature of the decade 1935-1945 was the tremendous popularity of dance bands. The "big band era" caught the enthusiasm of college students as much as any and dancing to swing music stood high on the list of recreational preferences. There were proms and hops and mixers where the music ranged from the playing of phonograph records to the hiring of "name" bands that visited college campuses across the country. There were sweet bands and hot bands and enough varieties in between to supply the wants of everyone. Interest in the music caused followers to hang upon every word about the bands and the musicians themselves with Oberlin students no different than students elsewhere. Early in 1939 a column began in the *Oberlin Review* titled "Swing Spot" in which Bob Greer reported upon music, especially phonograph records, played by name dance bands. He also provided information about where they were playing and gave items of interest about band personnel. A student, for example, who wished to know what groups would be appearing in Cleveland could keep up quite well as a regular reader of the Greer column.

The ban on African American bands on campus had been imposed following the appearance of the Chick Webb Orchestra, featuring singer Ella Fitzgerald, at the Senior

Prom, June 14, 1938. The dance had been held in Wilder Hall (then known as the Men's Building) which was not an easy place to secure from gate crashers. Some townspeople, a majority of whom were African Americans, managed to get in and complaints resulted. After June 14 students were not allowed to hire any more African American bands. However, the fact that white musicians charged union scale while black musicians did not, caused the administration late in 1940 to permit African American student musicians and individuals from the community to perform at smaller college functions. In addition, there were no facilities in which to hold dances that accommodated over 200 couples at a time and this made it costly for students who wished to hear name bands. African American bands could have been hired for less than white bands except that the ban prohibited their appearing on campus.

Bob Greer questioned the ban in an October 1940 column addressing the issue with several points, one of which was that the "spirit of liberalism that the college has often emphasized upon us should not be impaired by race discrimination." The enthusiastic response to his column caused Greer to sponsor a petition asking for the removal of the ban. Only about one student in twenty-five refused to sign when asked. In December, after discussing the matter before a large audience, the student council created a committee that sent a memo to the administration requesting an end to the ban. The reply the committee received was signed by President Wilkins, Dean Wittke, and Director of Recreation, Ellen B. Hatch, an assistant professor. The three administrators said they did not believe that African Americans should be brought to the campus if their performance would be likely to leave an "impression of cultural inferiority." Welcome

were such persons as Marian Anderson, Roland Hayes, Mordecai Johnson and Howard Thurman, but “ordinary Negro bands” were liable to impair the “general attitude” toward African Americans and thus increase racial misunderstanding, unfair as this might be. The presence on campus of large numbers of uninvited African Americans would result in ill-will and the appearance of their bands would tend to produce such uninvited persons. The present rule should be retained.

The student committee countered that the administration’s rule constituted race discrimination “contrary to the ideals for which Oberlin has always stood.” Among the points made were that black bands could make great cultural contributions because in the field of jazz, African Americans were superior to whites; that if a band’s members acted improperly that band could be prohibited from further appearances, after all, the only band that had caused unfavorable reactions were members of a white band who had drunk too much prior to their appearance. Additionally, the obstreperous conduct that had brought on the ban had been caused by both white and black youths and was a youth problem, not a race problem, which could be prevented by proper policing of those who attended the dances. The students concluded that they did not believe “the college can ever build up a spirit of racial equality . . . by refusing members of one race the right to display their art in Oberlin.”

President Wilkins replied that the ban did not constitute race discrimination because it barred only imported African American bands, not bands composed of students or townspeople; that exclusion was a preventative action and properly a part of a

sound race relations program; and that adverse reactions to the events during the Webb orchestra's appearance had been greater than the students believed. Wilkins commended one of the authors of the student memo for the spirit in which it was written and for the general desire to improve race relations.

As an outgrowth of the inability of the two groups to agree, a subcommittee on dance bands was appointed by Wilkins. Its recommendations, approved by the faculty the following February, allowed student groups to submit names of outside bands to a special committee which would in turn select one band from the list. Secretary Love, chairman of the committee, assured the students that the only criterion would be quality of musical performance. The Duke Ellington Orchestra's appearance at the Junior Prom, May 16, 1941, marked the end of the ban.<sup>10</sup>

The big band craze continued through the war years. Greer gave up "Swing Spot" due to the difficulty of digging up fresh and interesting material, but the column was later continued by others. It seems not incorrect to state that the kind of music supplied by these dance bands received little support from some faculty members in the Conservatory of Music. In spite of this obstacle, this music was heard in Finney Chapel at the first swing concert ever given there, October 6, 1944. A sextet of area African American musicians, led by pianist Frank Williams, an Oberlin High School graduate who in the 1980s would earn a degree at the Conservatory, played the "One O'Clock Jump," "I Can't Get Started With You," "Things Ain't What They Used To Be," and other standards of the period. The *Review* sponsored the event, comparing it to Ellington's

concert at Carnegie Hall the previous year. Admission of eighteen cents per ticket was charged, but the *Review* “graciously” invited conservatory faculty members to attend as its guests. “Holy Smokes! Jazz Concert in Chapel,” declared the *Oberlin News-Tribune*. A precedent had been set and the “first big band swing concert” followed in June 1945, when a campus dance band, The Bluejacket Commandos, performed.<sup>11</sup>

Another area of dispute in social affairs was dating. A substitute director at a women’s dormitory reprimanded a male student, whom she assumed to be white, for holding hands with an African American woman and the man, who was black in heritage if not in color, received a letter from President Wilkins in which he apologized for the director’s statements.

The arrangements for some dances caused embarrassment because students signed for their dates. Preparations for a 1942 “Frosh-Upper-Class Shindig” brought several unpleasant moments. When a black woman signed for a white man, the latter proved not anxious to have the date. The student social committee asked the Dean of Women for advice and she suggested that the boy refuse the date. She said that the girl should be given a list of only those African American men who had not yet been signed up should she again approach the social committee. The student council committee considered this to be a proper response. But later the chair of the social committee told a white student, when only African American men remained on the list to be signed for, that she should not sign for a black man for the dance. Another white student was also told that she could not sign for a black student although she wanted to do so since all of

the white men had been signed for. The chair wrongly took the dean's action in the previous matter as precedent for her action.

An investigative committee formed by student council to document incidents of administrative inconsistency in racial matters did not believe that administration pressure had played a part in the dating signup troubles, but it did think that the Shindig Committee's policy was one of discouraging interracial dating. All council members, except one, were certain that social discrimination was the implicit policy of the administration and they requested a statement from the administration that there would either be, or not be, discrimination. The council's committee had found the application of rules by administrators, faculty, dormitory matrons and students inconsistent. Early in 1943 a joint faculty-administrative committee issued a statement that the college had no policy regarding students of different races and that rulings by the deans followed procedures that apply to all. President Wilkins was reported as saying, "rulings will not be made on racial grounds." Student council now considered that, at the least, there was something to hold the administration to.<sup>12</sup>

One group that openly tried to improve racial affairs was the Y.W.C.A. The general secretary reported that they had an African American and a white as co-chairs in 1942-43 for their community center committee and that blacks had been involved in worship, community service and the recreation office. The secretary said that Oberlin was unprejudiced in theory, but "not entirely in practice. Negro students do not always feel free to participate in campus affairs. Proportion of 1450 to 50."<sup>13</sup>

In the town of Oberlin African American men were refused service by the four regular local barbers, all white. At night African Americans patronized the home of a part-time barber or on Saturdays they went to an African American shop whose owner worked in Elyria during the week. On May 4, 1944 a number of students at the Graduate School of Theology, in two groups, proceeded to two of Oberlin's four barbershops. When chairs were vacant an African American student in each group stepped out to sit down. The barbers would not cut their hair. A peaceful sit-in of perhaps an hour followed until the barbers closed their shops. A week later publisher Charles Mosher slapped the wrists of the students by editorializing that they had only increased racial tension. He then suggested that the course to follow was to purchase one of the local shops and operate it bi-racially. Mosher pledged his financial and moral support if this could be done.

One of the Theology faculty members who supported this cause was the Rev. Walter M. Horton. Ten days after the sit-in, while serving as a replacement for the minister of First Church, Horton spoke from the pulpit against the segregated barber shops and both the *Oberlin News-Tribune* and the *Oberlin Times* printed his sermon in full. Horton said the practice of segregation was a reversal of Oberlin's most sacred traditions and that the community was to blame, not the barbers who ran the shops. Horton favored following Mosher's suggestion to get an interracial shop in operation, and he stated that he would henceforth refuse to patronize any barbershop in Oberlin, or elsewhere, unless its services were multiracial.

Several months of planning and labor followed during which time stock was sold which students purchased at one dollar a share. In November 1944, one of the four barbers sold his shop to the group, but no African American barber could be persuaded to leave an established position to chance the uncertainties of cutting hair in Oberlin. The first barber thus was a Japanese-American, interned on the west coast, who was allowed to come to Oberlin to work. After about six months, when federal security restrictions were eased, he was able to go back to his shop in California and an African American minister from Wooster, Ohio, became the barber. But the shop's successes were slow in coming. Oberlin's African American men continued to have their hair cut by the same barbers they had been going to. Liberals on the college faculty, students and a few townspeople kept the shop going until business picked up. In 1945 the shop was owned by some 400 students and townspeople. Eventually it was purchased by Gerald Scott, an African American who worked as a barber in Oberlin until the 1980s. Meanwhile, Oberlin College students had been observing that they could effect social change.<sup>14</sup>

“Rulings” by the deans may not have been made on racial grounds as the president stated, but Dean Woodworth did continue to use persuasion. In 1943 she gave permission to black and white students to room together when asked. But she advised two counselors at Talcott, one black and the other white, who requested to do so, not to room together because she believed they would be more effective counselors if they roomed alone. The dean also tried to convince a white student, who was a close companion of two African American women students and who was dating an African American man, to

make broader friendships, white and black. The concern stemmed mainly from the woman's growing intimacy with the black male.

To the Dean of Women 1943-44 was an important year, for a black woman and two white women students did room together. It was not a happy arrangement, for one of the women turned out to be "very untidy." But interracial rooming had occurred for the first time outside the Graduate School of Theology and was reported by the dean as having caused no reaction among other students. In reviewing racial matters during that school year, Dean Woodworth implied that many of her problems over interracial dating resulted from the actions of students in the Graduate School of Theology. She wrote, "I wish theology students had better judgment in these matters than they usually give evidence of having."<sup>15</sup>

In her report upon the 1945-46 academic year the dean wrote that several white girls had dated black men during the year, so conventions were changing. But she was sensitive since the Y.W.C.A. had been so critical of the advice given students by some of the house directors and she had told the directors to refer all matters of race relationships to her.

Certainly the Dean of Women did not have an easy time. After commencement in 1945 a "prominent alumnus" came to her to complain that he had walked into Allencroft (a women's dorm) one evening and found three African American men playing blackjack on the floor in the living room. In a few moments three white women came downstairs

and the group drove off together. The alumnus said that he would never recommend Oberlin to another person. On the other hand, the Y.W.C.A. had drawn up a statement of policy, that it asked the college to publish, explicitly saying that black and white students may room, date and dance together. The statement went unpublished.

Dean Woodworth was perplexed by her concern for college age women, often emotionally immature and of idealistic concepts, who found themselves swept into situations with unpleasant results. Her 1945-46 report explained her fears:

It has been an inexorable rule at Oberlin that the women who date colored men never have a chance to date other men thereafter. Directors know this and hate to see their students going off with colored men .... The policy of non-discrimination which we have always followed, without a detailed statement as to what it does or does not involve seems to me wise. The deans have had discretionary power and occasionally they have talked with individual students about their relationship with students of other races. This they should continue to do when it seems necessary.<sup>16</sup>

It was in this context that the Review had editorialized its support of a clarification of college policy by the administration. It was time, said the writer, to reaffirm the school's one hundred year old stand against discrimination, because:

At the present time, no answer is to be found by the student who finds himself attracted to a member of another race, whether the other be of the same or of opposite sex, as to the limits to which the friendship may be carried without administration interference. Students are asked to place an amount of confidence in the Deans that many would hesitate to place in their own parents.<sup>17</sup>

A graduate of the class of 1945 now knew how education operated in Oberlin. “On the one hand,” she wrote, “we saw students severely reprimanded for dating or wanting to room with those whose complexion is a different color from ours; [we] were advised to read *Strange Fruit*<sup>18</sup> and *An American Dilemma*<sup>19</sup> on the other.”<sup>20</sup>

Over these years some students, some faculty and some townspeople recognized that action must be taken to improve racial matters. Some students and faculty in the Graduate School of Theology did so. Some others in the school tried to see their African American counterparts as individuals without racial identification. In the spring of 1946 an unofficial committee, initiated by the Y.W.C.A. and a representative of the student council, began to study interracial matters. By 1948 it had developed into the eighteen member Interracial Committee whose report did much to clear the air under a different president.<sup>21</sup>

But the main ingredient needed for change had been missing until then. Ernest Wilkins, who had arrived in Oberlin in 1927, was not the man for the 1940s in racial matters. As recently as 1938 he had written that the main factor in equality for black

students must be proof given by those black students themselves of their own “inner equality and character.”<sup>22</sup> If he had spoken boldly for equal treatment, his administrators in both higher and lower positions might have had the direction and support that they needed. It would not have been easy for him to go against the unyielding portion of community and alumni sentiment but it is probable that Oberlin College would have survived—and perhaps served his students and his community more justly.

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<sup>1</sup> *The Oberlin News-Tribune*, Feb. 9, 1942. *The Oberlin Times*, Feb. 5, 1942.

<sup>2</sup> *News-Tribune*, July 26, Aug. 2, 1945.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Aug. 9, 1945.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, April 6,9,16; May 7, 1942. *Times*, April 9,30; May 7, 1942.

<sup>5</sup> R.F. Pulley to E.H. Wilkins, Oct. 16, 1940; Wilkins to Pulley, Oct. 22, 1940. Ernest Hatch Wilkins Papers, Box 64, Oberlin College Archives.

<sup>6</sup> Annual Report of the Dean of Women, Sept. 1, 1945, Administrative Records Box 20, folder P-Y, 1944-45: Correspondence: IV, Feb. 12, 1945, Donald M. Love Papers, Box 4, folder C-Carlson, OCA.

<sup>7</sup> Annual Report of the Dean of Women, Oct. 1, 1941, Administrative Records, Box 17, T-Z, 1940-41, OCA.

<sup>8</sup> Gladys Swigart to Carl Wittke, Jan. 30, 1942, 3, Dean of Arts & Sciences, Personnel Records, Series 6 “Labor Relations,” Box 1, 1941-49, OCA.

<sup>9</sup> *The Oberlin Review*, Mar. 24, 1942. Marguerite Woodworth to Wilkins, Aug. 15, 1942, Wilkins Papers, Box 84. Raymond H. Stetson to C.V. Hudgins, April 15, 1943, March 13, 1944, 30/13, Box 3. “Report to the Student Council of the Special Committee to Investigate Negro Discrimination on the Oberlin Campus,” Nov. 27, 1942, Records of the Student Senate, Box 3, OCA.

<sup>10</sup> *Review*, Feb. 10, 1939; Mar. 19, May 7, Oct. 22, Nov. 12, Dec. 10, 17, 1940; Feb. 14, 18, May 9, 1941. “Memorandum on the Rule Against the Importation of Negro Dance Bands,” Dec. 6, 1940; “Student Reply to the memorandum . . .,” n.d.; Wilkins to “Dear Hilly,” [Hilliard Goldberg] Dec. 16, 1940, Wilkins Papers, Box 58. Prudential Committee Minutes, Feb. 5, 1941. General Faculty Minutes, Feb. 11, 1941. General Faculty Minutes, Feb. 11, 1941, OCA.

<sup>11</sup> *Review*, Sept. 1, 29, Oct. 6, 1944, June 1, 8 1945. *News-Tribune*, Oct. 5, 1944. *Times*, Oct. 5, 1944. *Oberlin Alumni Magazine*, Oct.-Nov. 1944, p. 6.

<sup>12</sup> “Report to the Student Council of the Special Committee . . .,” Nov. 27, 1942, Records of the Student Senate, Box 3, folder Interracial Committee, 1942-51, OCA. *Review*, Nov. 10, 17, Dec. 1, 1942, Jan. 5, 8, 1943

<sup>13</sup> Annual Report of the Y.M.C.A. for 1942-1943, 29/1, Box 2, OCA.

<sup>14</sup> *News-Tribune*, May 11, 18, 25, June 1, 15, 22, Sept. 21, 1944, May 24, 1979. *Times*, May 11, 18, 25, Sept. 21, Nov. 2, 1944. *Review*, May 12, 19, July 21, Sept. 29, Nov. 10, 17, July 1, 1944, Aug. 17, Nov. 23, 1945. *The [Lorain, Ohio] Journal*, May 10-11, 1960.

<sup>15</sup> Administrative Records, Annual Reports of the Dean of Women, Sept. 1, 1944, Box 19, folder M-Y 1943-44; Sept. 1, 1945, Box 20, folder P-Y, 1944-45, OCA.

<sup>16</sup> Administrative Records, Annual Report of the Dean of Women, July 6, 1946, Box 20, folder P-Y, 1945-46, OCA.

<sup>17</sup> *Review*, Feb. 8, 1946.

<sup>18</sup> A poem by Abel Meeropol that became a song associated with the anti-lynching movement which was most notably sung by Billie Holliday.

<sup>19</sup> Myrdal, Gunnar and others, *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy*.

<sup>20</sup> Annual Report of the Dean of Women, June 15, 1945, OCA.

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<sup>21</sup> Administrative Records, Annual Reports of the Y.M.C.A., July 28, 1947 & of the Y.W.C.A., June 19, 1947, Box 21, folder Committees & Other Special Reports, 1946-47, OCA. *Oberlin Alumni Magazine*, Aug. 1948, p. 6.

<sup>22</sup> Wilkins to Sisson, Maxwell & Smith, Jan. 4, 1938, Wilkins Papers, Box 72, OCA.