

If They Come, We Will Build It: The Creation of the Office of Afro-American Affairs at Indiana University

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In 1970 Indiana University launched one of the first black studies programs at a major university (Wynkoop, 2002). Alongside the black studies program was the creation of an office that specifically addressed the issues of black students on campus, the Office of Afro-American Affairs. The creation of this office was a significant moment in the history of the university. This is a brief account of the events that lead to the creation of the office.

“This institutionalized presence of black people, like all other facets of our academic environment, has a history of struggle, development and unfolding. It is a presence, however, which remains largely unrecorded and therefore invisible in the standard texts on our history.”

– Herman C. Hudson, 1986.

Indiana University has progressed in eliminating instances of human injustice and indignity since its founding in 1820. On paper, Indiana University’s academic programs have always been open to all students without regard to race, creed, or color. In 1895 Indiana University graduated its first Negro student, Marcellus Neal, with an A.B in mathematics. Even before *Brown vs. Board of Education* in 1954, Indiana University had already made significant strides in desegregating the Bloomington campus; however, the road to such progressive movements and reforms was not smooth and remained largely unpaired.

Brief History of Black Students at Indiana University

Institutional records are unsure of when the first black student was enrolled in Indiana University. From its founding in 1820 to its centennial in 1920, Indiana University did not keep official enrollment records of their students, but informal records indicated that 1882 might have been

when the first black student entered the University (Beck, 1959). Records from 1910 indicated there was anywhere from ten to twenty black students. When the University did begin keeping formal records, less than one percent of the 2,356 students were black. Between 1920 and 1950, enrollment of the number of black students never reached above three percent of the total enrollment (Beck, 1959).

There is a record of the first black student to graduate from Indiana University. Following the civil war, many black families began an exodus from the still highly contentious southern states to northern states. Marcellus Neal’s family was one of those families. They moved from their home in Lebanon, Tennessee to Greenfield, Indiana. His high school work earned him a distinguished scholarship to Indiana University, which allowed him to enroll as a freshman in 1891, and in 1895 he became Indiana University’s first black graduate (Beck, 1959). Marcellus Neal was not the only black student to find their way to Indiana University.

For black students, Indiana University provided an education and an opportunity to advance in their careers and professions. Halson Vashon Eagleson, a black Methodist minister who made his way to Bloomington after being an orphan in Virginia, sent four of his five children and several of his grandchildren to Indiana University (Beck, 1959). In September of 1940, Wilson

Vashon, Jr. was the fourth generation of Eagleson's family to attend Indiana University (Beck, 1959). Attendance at Indiana University provided Eagleson's family a chance to attain bachelor's degrees in teaching, the arts, and nursing, as well as doctorates in law, medicine, and philosophy. Education provided an opportunity for black students to advance in society and to make a living for themselves that might guarantee them some financial security.

While educational opportunities might have been open to black students, enrollment into the University proved to be difficult. During the depression, black student enrollment dropped nearly twenty percent, while white student enrollment doubled (Beck, 1959). By the 1960s, the total number of black students at Indiana University had increased to approximately six hundred, but they still remained two percent of the student population (Capshew, 2012). In 1968 University President Elvis Stahr was giving a presentation on the University's commitment to black students, when he commented that until more black youth graduate high school academically prepared to enter college, colleges will continue to be disproportionately white (Stahr, 1968). Stahr's comment strengthened the struggle that black students encountered.

When Race Becomes a Problem

While black students may have been admitted into the University without regard to race, creed, or color, their academic experience while at Indiana University did not always align. Black students were often confronted with instances of discrimination and segregation throughout their experience. Even at Indiana University, "racism and segregation were common experiences for most blacks . . . It was nearly impossible to find in Indiana a public place, institution, or group where whites accorded blacks an

equal and open reception" (Madison, 1982, p. 8). Throughout the Indiana University campus and surrounding Bloomington community, there was evidence of racism and segregation as strong and prevalent as the Jim Crow societies of the south. Capshew (2012) noted how everything at that time was "owned" by white people and that everything from clubs and activities, residences, and food service was segregated.

Students began recognizing the growing social inequities and racial discrimination that permeated the campus. A group of concerned students, comprised of both blacks and whites, gathered together in 1935 to form the interracial Commission. This small group of students charged themselves with examining where the University permitted instances of discrimination and segregation on campus. Over the course of the next academic year, the Commission interviewed and surveyed over 500 students, both black and white. Their interviews revealed that the University itself placed restrictions on black students, including the restricted dining facilities (Beck, 1959).

During their investigation, the Commission found many instances of discrimination and segregation. Beck (1959) recorded that the R.O.T.C and University band denied black students membership. Black students were excluded from professional and honorary societies like the Sphinx, denied entrance into all-university dances, and were limited in the student organizations they could join (Beck, 1959; Capshew, 2012). Black students could play sports, but only those sports with no skin-to-skin contact. Black students could eat in the campus dining facilities, but only in specified facilities in the designated areas. Black students were allowed to join student organizations, but only the few black Greek-letter organizations. Faculty even supported the practice of discrimination in organizational membership based on race

(Beck, 1959; Capshew, 2012). Involvement for black students was very limited and almost entirely non-existent.

The University housing operated separate but equal facilities for white men and women and black men and women. The white students lived in halls that were more centrally located and closer to where classes were held. White men lived in the men's dormitory that was located near the core of campus, and white women lived in a women's dormitory located just across the street from major academic buildings (Beck, 1959; Capshew, 2012). The black students were provided some smaller housing facilities far north of campus or they lived in Greek housing, while most lived with other black families (Capshew, 2012; Freyer, 2004). The black students were so minimal in number that they lived scattered throughout Bloomington.

Segregation and discrimination of black students even extended into the classroom and among faculty. During commencement exercises in the late 1890's and early 1900's, black students were often left to march by themselves. In the 1920s and early 1930s black students were permitted to attend classes with the white students, but they were forced to sit in a separate area of the classroom (Beck, 1959). Some classes like physical education and swimming remained segregated. While the *Brown vs. Board of Education* decision integrated the classroom, it did little to impact the attitudes of the faculty. In an article by the *Indiana Daily Student* (1968) one black female student recalls how a professor, in front of the entire class, questioned her as to why she didn't choose to attend a historically black institution.

Black students faced the struggles and challenges of segregation and discrimination without an advocate in the faculty or administration who was also black. It wasn't until 1951 that Indiana University hired the

first black faculty member, Richard Johnson, who was hired by the School of Music as percussion instructor (Capshew, 2012). In 1966, Dr. Orlando Taylor, a professor in speech and theatre, was one of only of three black faculty members. By the end of the 1960's there were only ten black faculty members in the entire university and no black administrators (Capshew, 2012; Clark, 1977). This made it very difficult for Black students to find someone in a position of power and support with a shared experience.

Beyond the discrimination and segregation occurring within the University, black students encountered similar issues when they stepped off campus. In 1937 a Bloomington restaurant displayed a sign that indicated that blacks were not welcome and that only white customers would be served (Beck, 1959). This proved to be quite an issue as it significantly limited the number of dining establishments for black students. There was "only one eating establishment, outside of the colored cafeteria, in the entire city where Negro students can secure food" (Daily Student, 1939), and it was chronicled regularly in the student newspaper. It continued until well into the 1950's when headlines from the *Indiana Daily Student* from March 16, 1950, read "We got no hamburgers; City cafes close early." Black students were no closer to integrating even their food options.

Putting the Pressure on University Administration

At the turn of Indiana University's second century, race relations were its most unsolved and dogged issue; in fact, the University administration did little to correct or address the issue, publicly or privately (Beck, 1959). Indiana University was poised for change. It was in a place to address issues of discrimination on campus. Change

would have to be at the determination of the administration if it was to happen.

William Lowe Bryan had been presiding as President of Indiana University since 1902. While regarded as one of Indiana University's pioneer Presidents, he and his administration had remained uncharacteristically moot on the issues of racial discrimination (Lowe-Bryan, 2013). In an initial report to the President in 1936, the interracial Commission presented their findings with recommendations for improvements. Whatever the reason, President Bryan had the opportunity to act but did nothing to address the issues of discrimination happening at Indiana University. "He [Bryan] might have insisted that an order to discontinue discrimination might not have worked. He might have held that intolerance could not be removed by a mandate or a law. He might have thought that the proper time had not yet arrived" (Beck, 1959, p. 60). The interracial Commission commented in their minutes following their first official report that "increased the general ignorance and indifference to discrimination happening on campus among the students" (Beck, 1959, p. 34) originated from lack of administrative support for issues of discrimination.

The Commission continued their investigation of campus racial tensions. They were particularly interested in improving the race relations on campus, and specifically the attitude of the University administration toward black students (Beck, 1959). After the completion of their second investigation in 1937, the interracial Commission composed another report. This time, the Commission presented their results to the Board of Trustees and the new University President, Herman B Wells. The Commission reported that "If the University is to achieve its greatest good as a free, democratic institution, we feel that it should promote organizations which aid in

preparing its students to participate more intelligently in democracy" (Beck, 1959, p. 34). The Commission encouraged more administrative action be taken and provided the Board and Wells with several educational methods to assist in the remedy of the University's discrimination. Beck (1959) recalled that these remedies included a curriculum that focused on race-relations and racial intolerance and an inquiry by the university administration into the housing options for black students.

Even before he became President in 1937, Herman B Wells had witnessed discrimination at Indiana University. As a student at IU in the 1920s, Wells had observed the hatred and racial intolerance the Ku Klux Klan brought to Monroe County (Capshe, 2012). Wells had always been welcoming of all people and when he became President of Indiana University, he extended that tolerance into his administration, "We must renounce prejudice of color, class, and race in Bloomington, Monroe County, Indiana. Our renunciation must be personally implemented by deeds. Our actions will be the measure of the sincerity of our words" (Beck, 1959, p. 44; Capshe, 2012, p. 164). As an administrator, Wells looked for unobtrusive ways to combat racism and segregation. Wells was genuinely concerned about the larger civil rights issues as whole, in addition to the issues black students faced at Indiana University and in Bloomington. In his book *Being Lucky*, Wells (1980) commented, "One of the most time-consuming and important responsibilities relating to students that occurred during my administration involved the effort to shake off our previous university practices that discriminated against Black students" (p. 214).

Upon taking office, Wells immediately began addressing items conveyed in the interracial Commission's report. Wells first

addressed the restricted dining in the Union and the policy of only serving white customers in the Men's Grille. He met with the manager of the Indiana Memorial Union, James Patrick, to have the signs that designated special seating for black students removed. Wells instructed Patrick to remove all the signs without mention and without interrupting patrons. It was not until weeks later than anyone realized they had been removed (Beck, 1959; Capshew, 2012; Wells, 1980). Next, Wells worked with Athletics Director, Zora Clevenger, to integrate the men's swimming pool by using one of the popular black football players, Chester "Rooster" Coffee. At Wells' call, Coffee was to jump into the pool at the busiest time of the day and to observe the reaction of those already swimming. Coffee was greeted cordially in the pool and patrons continued to conduct their business in the pool (Beck, 1959; Capshew, 2012; Wells, 1980). In 1943 the faculty raised questions about a Negro girl participating in swimming classes with white girls. Director of Physical Education for Women, Edna Munro, petitioned Wells to allow the department to integrate the Negro girls with the white girls and provide one swimming class for women. Wells responded in a memo to Munro with strong encouragement that the current policy of separation be abandoned in favor of the new policy (Wells, Personal Communication, April 26, 1943). Wells (1980) recalled the subtle actions taken to integrate campus, "I doubt that anyone realized a policy had been changed" (p. 216).

University housing proved to be a larger administrative issue for Wells than the integration of the pool or campus dining. Upon entering the administration in 1937, Wells initiated an administrative exploration into the campus housing. He became troubled by the discrepancies reported between the black and white students'

accommodations. Reports of the Dargan House, where many black female students lived, alarmed Wells so much that he immediately began working to improve the conditions. Wells began working with Ward G. Biddle, Indiana University comptroller, and Kate Mueller, Dean of Women, to begin securing housing for black women. The new facilities would require the same accommodations and amenities as the white women, and in 1940 two new off-campus facilities were acquired (Beck, 1959). While black females had more appropriate facilities, Wells was not satisfied with the progress.

At the end of World War II in 1946, Indiana University was presented with both a blessing and curse. The federal government had created a plan, the Service Member Readjustment Act, to provide funding, education, and employment for returning service members. In the fall of 1946, approximately 4,200 veterans enrolled in Indiana University (Archives, Online Exhibit: IU and World War II - Post War IU, 2013). The massive influx of students created a dramatic housing shortage. Wells took advantage of this opportunity to create new housing for black students, particularly females. He worked with the Director of the Halls of Residence, Alice Nelson, and the Trustees to provide facilities for black females that "were better accommodations for privacy, more adequate equipment in desks and lighting for study, and increased toilet and bathing facilities" (Beck, 1959, p. 56); consequently, they established the Elms Residence Hall near the core of campus.

At the turn of 1950 campus housing still remained separate but equal facilities, but ultimately Wells wanted the entire residence system integrated. He created a proposal that he submitted to the University Housing Committee and the Trustees requesting the integration of the male dormitories. The housing crisis was a perfect opportunity to

begin the integration of the male dormitories with a small group of students (Beck, 1959). Met with minimal student dissatisfaction at the initial integration, efforts were made to completely integrate the residence halls. Considerable effort was made to house students together based on race. By the end of 1948 all males in University housing had been fully integrated, and by the end of fall of 1948, plans were made for the integration of the female dormitories (Beck, 1959; Capshew, 2012). Fifteen years after his initial investigation and plan, Wells had integrated the University housing system.

In 1962, administrative control transferred to the hands of new President Elvis J. Stahr. When Stahr assumed the role of President in July of 1962, student protest and demonstration was on the rise. The social and political activism of the students at Indiana University was no different from any other campus in the 1960's. Students, both black and white, protested the Cuban Missile Crisis, the Vietnam War, and general university policies and procedures (Archives, Online Exhibit: Student Demonstrations at IU in the 1960s, 2013). Additionally, the 1960's also saw the rise of the civil rights movement. Protests became not only a critical way for students to voice their feelings on social and political issues, but also a way to voice their concerns to the administration. In general, students protested peacefully in order to maintain decent orderliness on campus (Wynkoop, 2002). These nonviolent protests made working with students more appealing to University administrators.

In October of 1967, Indiana University experienced one of its most historic protests, the protest of Dow Chemicals. Dow Chemicals was a chief producer of the napalm gas that the United States armed forces had used in Vietnam (Archives, Online Exhibit: Student Demonstrations at IU in the 1960s, 2013). On October 30,

1967, a senior official for Dow came to the Indiana University Business School on a recruiting trip looking for interested students to join their company. Sometime in the afternoon, over two hundred students converged on the business school with picket signs and demanded to speak with the representative (Dow Protest, 1967). The protest quickly turned negative when students marched into the area where the interviews were being conducted. Fearful of physical violence, the university and local police were called for protection. Several students were targeted, beaten, and arrested by police, including "the colored boy" Robert (Bob) Johnson (Archives, Online Exhibit: Student Demonstrations at IU in the 1960s, 2013). Dean of Students Robert H. Shaffer indicated that the students involved in the disruption and were arrested would "face serious disciplinary action" (Dow Protest, 1967). The Dow Chemical protest served to ignite a sequence of student protests, particularly among the black students.

Black students began protesting and crusading against racial discrimination, for equal treatment of all students and faculty. Black students began to organize themselves and their message into a more unified front and created the Afro/Afro-American Student Association (AAASA). The AAASA worked with students, both black and white, and organizations dedicated to the purge of impediments that were preventing these students from moving forward (Wynkoop, 2002). The AAASA elected graduate student Robert Johnson as their leader and their main objective was to put pressure on the university to take serious action to decrease the instances of racism and discrimination happening on campus. An article from the Indiana Daily Student (1968a) captured the message, "The University hasn't made enough significant changes . . . so far it's not enough," said the Vice President of

AAASA. “Everything is moving too slow and white people think it’s moving too fast” (Indiana Daily Student, 1968a).

When the Black Panther Party visited Indiana University in October of 1966, they spoke about the importance of the incorporation of black culture into education. Students gravitated toward one of their principles, idea of education for all, including a history reflective of black decedents and struggles. The principle spoke about America’s “true history” and how that helps to educate black students not just to their past, but to their present role in society and beyond (Nelson & Pellett, 1995). Students wanted black professors to teach them about black history and Afro-Americans in the United States (Indiana Daily Student, 1968a). But it would be hard for the University to support black education with no formal program, no afro-centric educational curriculum, no black faculty to teach the courses, and sparse resources to support the program.

One issue and area of protest was the University’s failure to recruit black students and faculty. Students did not believe that the University was making a concerted effort to address this issue (Indiana Daily Student, 1968d). Students argued that not enough had been done by the IU administration. Admissions and recruiting materials included almost no mention of black students on campus and certainly did not include pictures of black students. Indiana University was an equal opportunity employer but did not actively publish or promote that to potential faculty candidates (Clark, 1970-1977; Indiana Daily Student, 1968b). Students began protesting and calling for the administration to increase the number of black students and faculty at IU and to “put faith in black students to recruit other black students” (Indiana Daily Student, 1968b).

Invigorated by student concerns and the Black Panther’s visit, the AAASA set about to create a petition for a black studies program at Indiana University. Additionally, the AAASA wanted to unify the efforts of the black students on campus and the university administration. To achieve this unification, the AAASA created a proposal for the creation of a black studies program that they submitted to the Bloomington Faculty Council in January 1968 (Indiana Daily Student, 1968d). In addition to the hiring black faculty to teach in a black studies program, the proposal included a resolution to increase the number of black students and administrators on the Bloomington campus. In particular, the proposal called for a position in the university administration that would focus specifically on the issues of black students: “If the university is sincere, they should install someone in a position at the vice-presidential level to deal exclusively with black problems” (Indiana Daily Student, 1968d, p. 4). In order for the black student and faculty population to continue growing on campus, there was a need for black representation and for those positions to be of authority.

There was immense pressure from the students and University community, including the Faculty Council, to support the proposal presented by the AAASA. The Board of Trustees had taken action in 1967 to “accelerate the final elimination of such vestiges of discrimination as may still exist, based upon race, color, religion, sex, or national origin, from all phases of university life” (Clark, 1977; Wynkoop, 2002) by creating the Joint Commission for Discriminatory Practices. There was a necessity for the University to escalate their commitment to growing the number of black students and faculty on campus. President Stahr identified that there was a need to have an administrator that he said, “could give us

[administration] guidance in what we can do better and faster to meet the needs of our Negro students” (Indiana Daily Student, 1968a). As part of his plan to reorganize the University, Stahr was going to create the Office of Afro-American Affairs (OAAA).

In May 1968, while speaking in Indianapolis at the National Conference on Negroes in Higher Education, President Stahr commented on the progress that the University was making in regards to race relations. His comment led to questions about his commitment to black students at the University. Stahr commented, “negroes at IU have told us where we are falling short” (Indiana Daily Student, 1968b). He furthered his remarks by acknowledging that Negro students, like any other students, had needs that needed to be addressed. Additionally, he stated that he was hesitant to increase the population of black students on campus until the University had sufficient programs and services in place to meet “the special needs they have” (Indiana Daily Student, 1968a; Wynkoop, 2002). Finally, he concluded his remarks by saying, “I did not think predominantly white universities should hire black faculty away from all-black colleges, because they were often vital to their own institutions existence” (Indiana Daily Student, 1968a; Wynkoop, 2002).

Stahr’s comments trickled back to Indiana University where they were met with disapproval. The AAASA was outraged at his series of comments, “while the black student used to have a 200-pound foot on his neck, now he has a 199-pound one” (Indiana Daily Student, 1968a). The University had even been praised by the Indiana Department Commander of the American Legion, Frank L. Hamilton, for “keeping minority groups under control” and stating “they have not run rampant at this university like they have at others” (Herald Times Reporter, 1967). Even with the promise of a

new office and program, black students felt their issues were no longer at the forefront and believed the administration was still lagging on issues of discrimination. In May 1968, with mounting frustrations and administrative inattention, the black students decided further action was necessary.

On May 8, 1968, fifty black students sat camped out in Memorial Stadium, the site of the Little 500 bicycle race. In its twelfth year, the Little 500 had become a campus tradition at Indiana University, largely among the predominantly white fraternity and sororities. Sponsored by the Indiana University Student Foundation, the event was held each year to raise money for student scholarships. Thousands of spectators were set to gather in the coming days to witness what would later be termed “The Greatest College Weekend” (Clark, 1977). Yet fifty black students were not there to reserve their seat for the race, but in protest of the openly discriminatory practices being perpetuated by the University.

To the black students, the Greeks symbolized an acceptance by the University [administration] of discriminatory practices. The white fraternities and sororities had “acceptance clauses” and “other racially restrictive” (Wynkoop, 2002) membership clauses in their charters. The black students asserted that they would not permit the race to proceed until ALL the fraternities and sororities had changed their chapter membership policies to more inclusive language and had signed waivers from their National organizations documenting the changes. The students also demanded that the University demonstrate “definitive plans for desegregation” of the white fraternities and sororities (Wynkoop, 2002). All but one fraternity, Phi Delta Theta, had provided sufficient documentation that these clauses had been removed. Having sat through almost a day and a half of protest, most

which was in the rain, the black students accepted the statements that were presented, including the caveat that Phi Delta Theta be excluded from the race for failing to comply (Clark, 1977; Archives, Why the black students are sitting-in, 2013).

This protest was not just about fraternities and sororities opening their membership, but rather an open challenge to the University to address all its discriminatory practices across the institution. It was an open call to Indiana University to support black students. This was their way of challenging the university to address organizations whose membership was based on racial exclusion (Clark, 1977; Indiana Daily Student, 1968b). According to Clark (1977), Stahr asked why they pushed for the elimination of discrimination clauses several weeks later, to which the black student representatives replied, "they did not want to join the chapters, they merely wished to establish the privilege of doing so."

On July 5, 1968, President Stahr announced to the Board of Trustees that he would be stepping down from the Presidency in September. He cited that he was suffering from "presidential fatigue" that was the result of years' worth of long days and nights, and mounting pressure of the position (Archives, Board of Trustees Minutes, July 1968; Capshew, 2012). No doubt the fatigue was exacerbated by the protests and struggles Stahr had encountered that spring. The Trustees approved Stahr's resignation unanimously and named Joseph L. Sutton as President in November of 1968 (Archives, Board of Trustees Minutes, July 1968; Archives, Board of Trustees Minutes, November 1968). Sutton was not in his role as President long before he too had to deal with student protest and pressure for administrative action.

In May 1969, students and administrators were holding a meeting in

Ballantine Hall to discuss business of the university, including a boycott of classes due to the massive increase in student tuition. During the meeting, 150 black students interrupted refusing to let anyone leave until they spoke with Trustees to negotiate the fee increases. Chancellor Snyder was one of the administrators held "hostage" and agreed to contact the Trustees to arrange a meeting (Capshew, 2012). Authorities were called, including the National Guard, to remedy the situation. At the conclusion of the "lock-in," Chancellor Snyder and Dean Harvey of the Law School commented that despite the means to address the issue, the discussion was productive and in no way needed intervention by the authorities (Capshew, 2012; Indiana Daily Student, 1969c). No formal charges were pressed by the administrators or the University; however, the state felt it necessary to call a grand jury indictment. Due to his outspoken support for the student protest, one of those indictments was handed to faculty member Dr. Orlando Taylor (Capshew, 2012; Indiana Daily Student, 1969c). He was charged with "riotous conspiracy" that carried with it a misdemeanor and \$100 fine.

The Birth of the Office of Afro-American Affairs

The mission of the OAAA was to be two-fold, to provide academic, programmatic, and social support to the black students on the Indiana University campus and to oversee the creation of a black studies program (Program, 1969). Through these objectives, the OAAA would be responsible for raising the enrollment of black students and attracting qualified black faculty and administrators to the Bloomington campus. Additionally, the OAAA would be the central resource for disseminating all pertinent social and

academic material and information to end practices of discrimination and injustice (Program, 1969). According to Wynkoop (2002), this office, and the corresponding black studies program, was to be the first of its kind at a major, state university.

Stahr had committed to finding “an outstanding Negro-scholar, administrator for his staff” (Wynkoop, 2002). Dr. Orlando Taylor was identified as an ideal candidate to lead the new Office of Afro-American Affairs, and provided Stahr’s administrative staff some guidance on issues of the black students and faculty. Dr. Orlando Taylor was an outspoken black faculty member who served as Assistant Professor with appointments in both the theatre and the speech and hearing departments (Indiana Daily Student, 1969a). His advocacy led him to serve in a variety of roles, including a member of the Faculty Council, Director of the newly created Joint Commission on Discrimination, and advisor to the AAASA (Indiana Daily Student, 1968d, p. 4). In his new role of Director of the Office of Afro-American Affairs, he would be responsible for creating a proposal to establish both the office and black studies program, and would report to the Chancellor of the Bloomington campus (Archives, Board of Trustees Minutes, 1968). This was an innovative and boundary pushing administrative position.

For the next several months the newly created OAAA, headed by Director Dr. Orlando Taylor, worked continuously on a proposal for the future black studies program. In order for the office to effectively deal with issues of race and discrimination, they needed power behind their office (Indiana Daily Student, 1968c). An outlined proposal called for the development of the black studies program and OAAA leadership structure. Dr. Taylor asserted that if the OAAA was to be responsible for the coordination of student services and a black studies program, it was

necessary to be integrated into the university programs. To ensure its future development, “an administrator must be appointed high up in the University’s organization structure” (Archives, Board of Trustees Minutes, 1968). This administrator, “whose decisions will have an important influence upon the scope, intensity, and format of the entire Afro-American program” (Indiana Daily Student, 1968c), needed to be prominent. The success and survival of the office depended on the regular access to key decision makers.

At the center of the proposal was the recommendation that an administrator be appointed at the level of university Vice Chancellor. This Vice Chancellor for Afro-American Affairs would report directly to key decision makers and have direct influence on the campus activities, and would also oversee the Office of Afro-American Affairs and the black studies program (Faculty Council Circular #67, March, 1969; Program, 1969). The proposal considered the position of Vice President, giving them direct access to the President and influence over all of the extension campuses. However, a Vice Chancellor position would have jurisdiction over the Bloomington campus only (Faculty Council Circular #67, March, 1969; Program, 1969). This allowed for the extension campuses to implement their own Afro-American programs.

Taylor’s proposal also called for a full-degree program and outlined specific cross-departmental courses that would be included in the degree requirement. The faculty of the program would have regular appointments and report to both the Vice Chancellor for Afro-American Affairs and the College of Arts and Science Dean. Any qualified faculty, either by degree or race, would be welcome to teach in the program. Other institutions like Harvard, Yale, and Stanford were offering programs in black studies, but

they were not “anywhere near the program being discussed here [Indiana University]” (Faculty Council Circular #67, March, 1969; Indiana Daily Student, 1969b). Indiana University was set to make history.

Dr. Taylor’s proposal received favorable support from President Sutton and the Faculty Council requested an immediate implementation of the proposal, but there were still some issues of concern. The two largest were the issues of funding and administrative responsibility. Finances were currently tight and budget stringencies would dictate where the support for a \$200,000 program would come from, which included hiring enough qualified faculty to teach in the program. The Faculty Council wanted to ensure that financial implementation of the black studies program was “feasible and responsible” (Faculty Council Circular #67, March, 1969, pp. 6-7). Additionally, Chancellor Snyder was concerned about the administrative responsibilities of the new Vice Chancellor of Afro-American Affairs. Snyder expressed concerns that the administrator would be confined to the issues of just black students when there were “other disadvantaged students” that also needed attention (Faculty Council Circular #67, March, 1969, p. 7). Snyder believed that such an administrator should have wider administrative responsibilities and greater reach to the university as a whole. The faculty voted unanimously to approve the proposal and its implementation as it might be one of the “most important things accomplished in the decade of the 1970’s” at Indiana University (Faculty Council Circular #67, March, 1969, p. 5). Indiana University was primed to set the bar high and have “the finest Afro-American studies program” in the country (Faculty Council Circular #67, March, 1969; Indiana Daily Student, 1969b). In October of 1968, the black studies program began as a minor and was offered as an area of

concentration through the College of Arts and Sciences.

After the passing of his proposal, Taylor was offered the position of inaugural Vice Chancellor for Afro-American Affairs at Indiana University in April of 1969 (Indiana Daily Student, 1969d). The letter from Chancellor Snyder expressed the importance of Taylor and the new role that he would occupy in the University, but fallout from events in December of 1968 derailed Taylor’s implementation of the proposal. Taylor’s indictment in connection with the Ballantine Hall “lock-in” in May of 1969 sent concern through the University administration. On the morning of May 14, 1969, Taylor received another letter from Chancellor Snyder; however, this time the message was not so jovial. The letter to Taylor indicated that the University had decided to withdraw their offer for Taylor to serve as the new Vice Chancellor. Taylor commented to the Indiana Daily Student (1969d), “it would represent a crude example of how a big, white run institution insists on applying sanctions against individuals who are not accepting to the white power structure.”

With Taylor’s removal, the black studies program was in jeopardy and it could not happen without administrative oversight. Students initially interested in attending Indiana University because of the program were reconsidering their decision. Potential faculty to the program were concerned about the University’s genuine support of the program and office (Indiana Daily Student, 1969d). Students were angered that the program would be dismantled after all of their hard work to bring awareness for the programs need (Indiana Daily Student, 1969e). More importantly, students were outraged that Taylor had been removed from his position simply for expressing his approval of the events in December. The students wanted Taylor to be the Vice

Chancellor. They believed he had a unique connection with the black community and could communicate their issues to the administration, but his outspoken nature was not welcome among the administration (Indiana Daily Student, 1969f; A resolution concerning the withdrawal of the offer of the position of Vice Chancellor of Afro-American Affairs from Professor Orlando Taylor, 1969). What was done was done and Taylor had moved on from Indiana University and accepted a position in Washington DC.

Doubt lingered over the OAAA and black studies program, they could not exist without a leader. There was doubt as to whether the University wanted the program exist and if they would appoint someone. After several failed attempts, a suitable candidate was finally appointed. In February 1970, Herman C. Hudson was hired as its first Vice Chancellor for Afro-American Affairs and black studies program (Indiana University News Bureau, 1970). Before his appointment, Hudson was the head of the School of Education's Urban and Overseas English program. Hudson received full cooperation from the black faculty, the administration, and students; "He is a scholar wise in the ways of the university and deeply committed to the expansion of opportunities for our disadvantaged black students" (Indiana University News Bureau, 1970). The OAAA was now an official office of Indiana University.

Conclusion

"Thomas D. Clark's four-volume history, Indiana University: Midwestern Pioneer (1977), and Chancellor Herman B. Well's autobiography, Being Lucky: Reminiscences and Reflections (1980), cover periods which end in 1968 or 1970. That is, their ending dates coincide with the inception of offices and programs which over the past 15 years have given black people an organized and recognizable stake in the mission of Indiana University."

– Herman C. Hudson, 1986

In part, the Office of Afro-American Affairs was created in a genuine response to the needs of black students at Indiana University, but it also served as a means to placate the black student protest. As Hudson noted, black students have been integral in the history of Indiana University but time has not been taken to write their history. This history served to cover three purposes. The first was to bring together the multiple histories of black students into a cohesive narrative that could be continued forward. The second was to identify how the university addressed the needs and services of black students with modifications in their organizational structure. Lastly, this story serves as an introduction to history of the OAAA and black studies program. This story of black students, Office of Afro-American Affairs, and the black studies program at Indiana University is not over. This story will continue unfold, and as it does, it will create a more complete historical account of the life of Indiana University.

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