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Seeking Representation: Student Activism and the Search for Black Faculty

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During the latter half of the twentieth century, African Americans across the country mobilized in search of equity in law and practice. As laws changed, blacks gained better access to educational and employment opportunities. Although access to education improved, colleges and universities across the country made small strides to reflect that change. During the 1960s, black faculty at predominately white institutions was near zero percent. By the end of the following decade, that number had grown to two percent. Colleges and universities in the United States overall reached four-point-three percent black faculty by the end of the 1970s. Despite this growth, black students still found themselves seeking a more predominant black presence in faculty and administration. Black college students throughout the United States found themselves drawn toward the growing notion of black consciousness. Students found solace in each other, however, they grew distant from white faculty and administration.

Mirroring the movements happening throughout the US, black students sought black faculty at Lake Forest College. Feeling a lack of representation, LFC’s black students vocalized their concerns beginning in the late 1960s. Led by the group Black Students for Black Action, the College’s black students demanded that the LFC increase its number of black faculty. Students argued that these moves would better address

their educational, social, and emotional needs. Between 1968-1970, Lake Forest’s black students led efforts to assert the black presence on campus, focusing significantly on the recruitment of black faculty. This paper will argue that students found success recruiting black faculty despite insufficient efforts made by the College’s administration.

In the midst of the Civil Rights Movement, black students across the country partook in a “Black Campus Movement” between 1966 and 1975. College campuses saw the formation of black student unions and organizations designed to create unity among black college students. Protests also became more prevalent as black students voiced their grievances. The academic year 1968-1969 alone saw at least 85 protests by black students at predominately white institutions. The Civil Rights Movement inspired America’s black youth to become actively engaged in creating the change they wanted to see. In fashion with the Black Campus Movement, the organization “Black Students for Black Action” was formed at Lake Forest College during the 1968-1969 academic year. The constitution for BSBA stated that the organization was open only to students of African American heritage. The exclusivity of the organization resulted in feelings of uneasiness throughout campus. Many believed that such a group would “increase the distance which is separating the blacks and the whites.” Despite the concern over BSBA’s membership policy, the group remained firm in their commitment to a black only membership base. They argued that “Not until Afro-Americans can define themselves to each other can they truly define themselves to whites.” This idea of establishing a shared identity would prove to be the foundation for moves Lake Forest College’s black students would make in changing their college experience.

Following the formation of BSBA, black students at LFC began their work to address the flaws in the black student’s experience. In

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4 Ibid.
6 Ibid.
7 Ibid.

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response to the growing desire for black unity, the first edition of the newspaper Black Rap was published during the 1968-1969 school year. Created by BSBA, the publication states its mission as being to promote, “the creativity of those Black students who have in the past desired to display their talents (as artists), but were reluctant to submit articles to the white-oriented publications.” The newspaper would serve as a creative outlet for poets and artists on campus. It would also serve as a means of communication for students regarding issues specific to the black student.

As Lake Forest College’s black students began to mobilize, they used the Black Rap to delve deeper into race relations on campus. BSBA began to lean more toward black nationalism and the need to work independently of whites. Gerard Simon of BSBA examined the relationship between Lake Forest’s black and white students from such a perspective. He argued, “In my opinion, the ends of the Black movement entail not integration or amalgamation...What I’m trying to say, is that I don’t give a damn if some white person loves me or even likes me. What is important is that my people and I have an equal chance to live—I don’t want love, I want life.” Through the newspaper, BSBA expressed the need for blacks to focus on building their own community rather than assimilating into the white community at Lake Forest College. This desire to self-educate prompted BSBA to advocate for an education that better suits black students. The process began in the spring term of 1968-1969 when black students met with members of the faculty and administration. Meetings were held to discuss the current college curriculum and how it relates to black students on campus. Led by BSBA, black students advocated for a revised curriculum that would address black history and the current black experience in America. The initial push for a more representative curriculum sparked discussion about a more representative faculty.

The administration and faculty at Lake Forest College initially

10 “Black Meeting,” Stentor (Lake Forest, IL), Apr. 5, 1968.
showed strong support of BSBA's call for black faculty. The “Ad Hoc Committee Concerned with Black Students at Lake Forest College” was created comprised of black students and “sympathetic faculty members” who took on the task of seeking black faculty. The committee explained that although the enrollment of black students has increased, there were currently no black faculty or administrators at LFC. It was only four years prior that the College hired its first black professor, Nathan Huggins in the history department, who taught from 1964-1966. According to President William Cole, Huggins only left LFC to fulfill his desire to teach in Boston. However, despite the hiring of Huggins, the College failed to initiate any concrete steps to diversify their faculty body. The ad hoc committee stated their current efforts to recruit black administrators to fill positions in the Dean of Students office and as dormitory counselors. However, as the committee goes on to state, these positions do not address the need for black professors. BSBA’s initial concerns were aimed at providing students with black professors who could provide both representation and assist in their desire to educate within the black community. The responsibility of the search for black faculty was then expanded to departments within the College. The committee requested that each department “institute a preferred Black hiring policy for any and all openings which may arise in the department for the next couple of years.” The steps taken by the ad hoc committee seemed to show a commitment to hiring black faculty.

While the ad hoc committee listened to and worked along with BSBA, their efforts began to diminish. Gaining initial attention from the College administration quickly proved to be the simplest step in BSBA’s efforts to recruit black faculty. The search for black faculty continued into the following school year as black students became more vocal in expressing the challenges they have faced. One of the main concerns LFC’s administration had with recruiting black faculty

11 “Committee Looks for Black Faculty, Impossible Quest?” Stentor (Lake Forest, IL), May 17, 1968.
12 “Ad Hoc Letter,” Stentor (Lake Forest, IL), May 17, 1968.
14 “Cole says college actively seeking black instructors,” Stentor (Lake Forest, IL), Feb. 21, 1969.
15 “Ad Hoc Letter,” Stentor (Lake Forest, IL), May 17, 1968.
16 Ibid.

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was the need for qualified black professors. In the letter written by the initial ad hoc committee, they stated that “Qualified Black teachers are extremely difficult to find, but a serious search is called for.”\textsuperscript{17} The College was persistent in requiring potential candidates, black and white, to have a master’s degree or higher to be considered qualified. Blacks students recognized that there numerically aren’t enough black professors to teach at every college across the country. However, a representative of BSBA argued that there shouldn’t be formal requirements for potential faculty. He stated, “I don’t think there should be any formal rules set down…If a man has some background, he has knowledge, he should be allowed to teach.”\textsuperscript{18} Despite this belief, President Cole would later reiterate the administration’s degree requirements.\textsuperscript{19}

In acknowledging the difficulty of finding black professors, black students were asked if a white instructor was capable of teaching not just black students, but courses in black history.\textsuperscript{20} For example, Arthur Zilversmit in the history department taught black history courses prior to BSBA’s demand for black faculty. Without implying support or opposition to BSBA’s aims, Zilversmit expressed a desire to continue teaching black history regardless of if hiring demands are met. One student responded to the question saying, “It’s not impossible but it seems to me that it just doesn’t make sense. With the situation today in the country it just doesn’t make sense for a white man to teach a black history course.”\textsuperscript{21} Students’ frustrations went beyond the question of degree requirements. Many students also felt that the LFC administration simply isn’t being as diligent as the students themselves. Charles Webb, a student representative on the Committee for Black Faculty (previously known as the Ad Hoc Committee Concerned with Black Students at Lake Forest College) argued, “There are many advantages to teaching at LFC and the excuse the administration comes up with is that they can’t find anybody, but we’ve come up with a few candidates…If they’re really trying to find black faculty, I don’t see why they wouldn’t have done so by now.”\textsuperscript{22} Just as they had done

\textsuperscript{17} “Ad Hoc Letter,” \textit{Stentor} (Lake Forest, IL), May 17, 1968.
\textsuperscript{18} “Black students’ discontent mounts over absence of LFC black faculty,” \textit{Stentor} (Lake Forest, IL), Feb. 21, 1969.
\textsuperscript{19} William Cole, Memo to College Faculty, 1969.
\textsuperscript{20} “Black students’ discontent mounts over absence of LFC black faculty,” \textit{Stentor} (Lake Forest, IL), Feb. 21, 1969.
\textsuperscript{21} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{22} Ibid.

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in initially stating the need for black faculty, black students once again found themselves having to take charge.

The conflicting beliefs about the ability to find qualified black faculty raised the issue of recruiting existing black faculty from other colleges. LFC’s black students favored going to schools in the south to recruit black faculty. Students argued that Lake Forest College is willing to “raid black high schools to get black students,” so recruiting faculty is no different. However, President Cole remained adamant in refusing to bring faculty from other colleges to LFC. He stated that although he is willing to recruit graduate students from black colleges and universities, he would not do the same with already teaching faculty. Cole stated, “For a white institution to go to a black institution and steal students or faculty to be the height of selfishness.” However, when addressing the issue of “raising” black colleges, Charles Webb refuted President Cole’s position and explains that he was actually recruited by LFC admissions officers while studying at a black college. The inconsistencies in the College’s words and actions shed light on the larger challenge of students and administration working collaboratively. Black students were asked if the administration has been “dragging its heels” and how overall efforts have played out in the recruitment of black faculty. Charles Webb was clear in saying, “I don’t believe the administration has been trying. I don’t believe that they realize how important the problem is.” Russell Jackson, a member of the Committee for Black Faculty responded, “I would say that there are some individual attempts on the part of the faculty. Let that be known. But they are individual attempts, out of their own conscience.” President Cole and his administration took a public stance in supporting black students. However, the administration’s supportive words were not necessarily felt by black students.

Black students continued to feel that the administration was not actively engaged in the cause. Shortly after President Cole stated in an interview that, “There has been no foot-dragging on anyone’s part,” a letter was distributed to the faculty which challenged Cole’s

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23 “Black students’ discontent mounts over absence of LFC black faculty,” Stentor (Lake Forest, IL), Feb. 21, 1969.
24 “Cole says college actively seeking black instructors,” Stentor (Lake Forest, IL), Feb. 21, 1969.
25 Ibid.
26 “Black students’ discontent mounts over absence of LFC black faculty,” Stentor (Lake Forest, IL), Feb. 21, 1969.
27 Ibid.
28 Ibid.

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The letter stated, “While administrators constantly say that it would be a beautiful thing to have some black professors here, no one is making a systematic effort to make this a reality.” This statement echoes the sentiments expressed by Charles Webb. Although the College may say they are committed to finding black faculty, their efforts do not reflect that. The letter continues, “Therefore, we, as black students, have assumed the responsibility of making this truly liberal arts education that’s relevant and as all-encompassing as possible for black students as well as white students.” Mirroring the actions taken over the last year, black students officially took on the responsibility of recruiting black faculty. The letter was signed anonymously by “Interested Black Students,” but was said to be an unofficial statement of BSBA. Shortly after BSBA made an official statement saying, “We have put many hours into an extensive search for qualified candidates only to be thwarted at every juncture by an uncooperative faculty and administration…The intention behind this letter is to inform our faculty, administration, and department heads that Black students are not insensitive to nor unaware of their demonstrated lack of sincerity.”

Lake Forest College continued to verbally express support while failing to exhibit any direct steps other than those led by Black Students for Black Action.

Throughout the 1968-1969 school year, black students repeatedly voiced their growing belief that they must act independently of LFC’s administration. Students’ demand for black professors peaked during the Parent’s Day Banquet on May 24, 1969. According to a memo written by President Cole, “a substantial number of our black students walked into the dining room and stood in an entirely quiet and perfectly orderly manner while one of their number read a statement expressing their collective concern of the present situation regarding the recruitment of blacks for responsible positions on the faculty and in the administrations.” The statement was addressed to both parents and the administration stating, “Because the picture of Lake Forest that is presented to parents is usually distorted, the Black students..."
are taking this opportunity to tell you what’s really happening. The statement goes on to cite the multiple steps students have personally taken to reach out to potential candidates. It also explains the lack of response from current faculty asked to prioritize black hiring and the “non-functional channels” of communication within the administration itself. By disrupting the banquet, BSBA made it clear that they would not allow this issue to quietly disappear.

Following the events during the Parent’s Day Banquet, President Cole and Dean of Faculty William Dunn met with BSBA later in the week to thoroughly discuss BSBA’s demands. The demands included full time black professors with a Master’s degree and concrete plans to pursue a doctoral degree, part-time professors with a minimum Bachelor’s degree and plans for a Master’s, the right to bring candidates to the Lake Forest for an interview with expenses paid by the College, and that the policies outlined remain in place until the “proportion of Afroid faculty is equal to the proportion of Black students on this campus.” President Cole responded to the demands saying that they were “impossible” and that the meeting overall was “not friendly.” President Cole’s response to the charges and demands made by BSBA suggest a sense of disillusionsment. Earlier in the year, President Cole responded to allegations that the administration was not doing enough to hire black faculty. After denying those suggestions, Cole stated, “Over the years we have built up an atmosphere which has been attractive to black students and we hope it shall continue to be so.” However, the statements and overall tone expressed in the Black Rap are a clear indication that campus race relations were not as positive as the administration may have hoped.

After meeting with the General Policies Committee, LFC’s faculty and administration issued a proposal addressing BSBA’s demands. The statement included a position to be created for any qualified black candidate who is approved by both the Black Committee on Black Faculty and the appropriate department. Among several suggested hiring policies was holding interviews with at least one black and one white student. The statement ends stating that these methods will last until the proportion of black faculty is equal to the proportion of black students on campus. After considering the initial demands made by

34 “BSBA’s Statement,” Stentor (Lake Forest, IL), May 30, 1969.
35 Ibid.
37 “Cole says college actively seeking black instructors,” Stentor (Lake Forest, IL), Feb. 21, 1969.

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BSBA and the proposal written by the faculty and administration, BSBA created a revised set of hiring demands which was ultimately agreed upon by LFC faculty. The first demand addressed BSBA’s initial aim, for the number of black faculty members to be equal to the percentage of black students enrolled at LFC. The demands this time specified that these black faculty members be contracted by the spring of 1970. The second point calls for the explicit creation of the position Black Dean of Black Students. Regarding both faculty and the new dean position, the demands include a clause stating that if black students find a qualified candidate, the College is to pay the expense for bringing the candidate to campus for an interview. The new demands sought to affirm the BSBA’s commitment to hiring black faculty, while recognizing the realities and limitations experienced.

In addition to prioritizing the hiring of black faculty, the last of the new demands ensures that black students have a voice in the hiring process. The third demand clearly states, “BSBA must be notified immediately in the event a black candidate is rejected by either a department or the administration.” This specifically seeks to address the multiple claims that the hiring process has been stifled by inadequate communication. When reading their demands during the Parent’s Day banquet, BSBA claimed that they were being told different things by President Cole and Dean Dunn. Responding to BSBA’s accusations, President Cole sympathetically stated that, “the channels of communication have not been as clear as they could have been.”

The issue of communication between BSBA, Dean Dunn, and President Cole resulted in the creation of the Coordinating Committee on Black Recruitment, tasked with ensuring that there is clear communication between students, administration, and faculty.

Moves toward more direct communication between black students, faculty, and administration showed some success. James Garrett was hired, officially as the Assistant Dean of Students. However, Garrett’s role at the Lake Forest College was to fill the new position

38 “BSBA revises hiring demands; Faculty agrees to conditions,” Stentor (Lake Forest, IL), June 6, 1969.
39 Ibid.
40 “BSBA's Statement,” Stentor (Lake Forest, IL), May 30, 1969.
41 “BSBA expands demands,” Stentor (Lake Forest, IL), May 30, 1969.
42 “BSBA revises hiring demands; Faculty agrees to conditions,” Stentor (Lake Forest, IL), June 6, 1969.
as the Black Dean of Black Students. To ensure that black students continued to have a voice in the hiring process, BSBA created the Black Student Review Board to meet with candidates for potential faculty positions. BSBA found it necessary to form such a group as the only way to get “a truth and soul view of what is happening on campus.”

In meeting with Garrett, the Black Student Review Board discussed Garrett’s initial impression of Lake Forest College in relation to its black students. The review board told Black Rap that Garrett expressed the feeling that he could form a relationship with Lake Forest’s black students. The review board also said that “He sees Black students here as, ‘…energetic, idealistic and at times, unrealistic...’ However, Bro. Garrett has little intention of inhibiting our initiation of ideas and programs.” BSBA’s review board seemed to be successful in providing new black faculty with an idea of what the black experience is like at LFC. More notably, BSBA proved that there is success in working within the campus’ black community.

When speaking with James Garrett, BSBA explained their concerns and the steps they have taken to change the black experience at Lake Forest College. Garrett shared BSBA’s sentiments to work within the black community at LFC. The Black Student Review Board told Black Rap that, “He believes that we, Black students, should rely primarily on ourselves. He feels that through means of sharing his experiences with us, he’ll be able to provide guidance.” Early in BSBA’s efforts to recruit black faculty, black students were asked what were the benefits of having black faculty. Russell Jackson, who served on the Committee for Black Faculty responded, “What is the benefit of having any faculty member with whom the students feel more intimate relationship beyond the classroom? The academic world extends beyond the classroom.”

Although James Garrett’s position does not include classroom instruction, as Jackson expressed, his presence provides students with a leader who they feel they can relate to more personally.

43 “…a need to have someone here...’” Black Rap (Lake Forest, IL), Feb. 1, 1970. http://collections.lakeforest.edu/items/show/4329
45 “…a need to have someone here...’” Black Rap (Lake Forest, IL), Feb. 1, 1970. http://collections.lakeforest.edu/files/original/34bb205e25227b3cca4fa455a0033b02.pdf.
46 Ibid.
47 “…a need to have someone here...’” Black Rap (Lake Forest, IL), Feb. 1, 1970.
48 “Black students’ discontent mounts over absence of LFC black faculty,” Stentor (Lake Forest, IL), Feb. 21, 1969.

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Lake Forest College’s black students found hope in their new Black Dean of Black Students, however they still struggled to see more black professors. In response to the perceived lack of effort on the administration’s part, LFC’s black students sought to advance efforts independently. President Cole went as far as to assign BSBA with the task of reaching out to department heads. When asked if LFC was working as diligently as possible, Cole stated that BSBA needs to go directly to department chairmen to discuss the possibility of new black faculty.49 While students may have wanted to be a valued and active force in the recruitment process, it was not intended nor logical for LFC’s black students to hold this much of the responsibility. Deborah Frisby, a member of BSBA told the Stentor, “We are students and our contacts with other faculty are limited. We have come up with 15 to 20 names of possible candidates, but the faculty should be able to get far more. One reason for the demands we have presented is to get the pressure off us and where it belongs—on the faculty.”50 Despite the success felt after hiring the Black Dean of Black Students, BSBA struggled to coordinate such a widespread recruitment effort.

The enthusiasm felt after hiring James Garrett diminished, as Lake Forest College’s black students continued in their initial cause. In February of 1970, black students were given 15 minutes during a faculty meeting to discuss what has been done to hire black professors since June of the previous year.51 Dissatisfied with faculty efforts, BSBA issued a statement regarding the meeting. Black students clearly articulated their frustration saying, “It was merely a repeat of what happened last June. That is, the faculty demonstrated again that nothing gets done—nothing happens until they realize that ‘the niggers gon’ act up.’ Well, we are tired of this deranged, pressure-politic mentality and refuse to tolerate any more of this bullshit.”52 The statement goes on to say that, “We want the faculty to know that they are making a dangerous mistake

49 “Cole says college actively seeking black instructors,” Stentor (Lake Forest, IL), Feb. 21, 1969.
50 “BSBA urges more action on hiring black faculty,” Stentor (Lake Forest, IL), June 3, 1969.
51 “BSBA sees faculty action as ‘pacifier,’” Stentor (Lake Forest, IL), Feb. 13, 1970.
52 Ibid.
to think that they can bring issues to the brink, then assume that the ball game is going to be played according to their rules.”

The College may have felt that they were adhering to BSBA’s desires, however there continued to lack any explicit plans to hire black faculty. The discontent among Lake Forest College’s black students continued a week after BSBA’s brief meeting with faculty. On February 21, 1970, black students were still not satisfied with the administration’s efforts. Nine black students went to Dean Dunn, who was acting president at the time, and demanded to speak to him about the lack of progress. According to a summary of the event printed in Black Rap, “In essence, the Blacks were thoroughly disgusted and not inclined to take the posture of waiting, holding lengthy meetings, and further having to prove the legitimacy of the entire idea of Blackness in the educational system.”

Black students became increasingly vocal expressing their dissatisfaction with President Cole, Dean Dunn, and the administration as a whole.

The revised demands produced by BSBA and approved by President Cole and the General Policies Committee the previous year stated that new black professors were to be contracted by the spring of 1970. It stated that “The number of black faculty members for 1970-71 must be equal to the percentage of black students enrolled and of these half must be contracted by the spring, 1970.” In regard to the percentage of black students on campus, the goal was to have five full-time professors by September 1970 and ten contracted by spring of 1971. As of March 9, 1970, 17 interviews for faculty positions were held, including six black candidates. Five positions were offered to black candidates, and three of those candidates accepted offers. Calvin Stewart was hired in the philosophy department, Pauline Slaughter in history, and Egambi Dalizu in government. Each accepted positions to begin teaching in September

53 “BSBA sees faculty action as ‘pacifier,’” Stentor (Lake Forest, IL), Feb. 13, 1970..
55 “BSBA revises hiring demands; Faculty agrees to conditions,” Stentor (Lake Forest, IL), June 6, 1969.
57 “Report to the Faculty: Coordinating Committee on Black Recruitment,” Mar. 11, 1970.

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of 1970. The three faculty positions, as well as the hiring of James Garrett for an administrative position, showed signs that student efforts were slowly paying off. However, the College had yet to meet BSBA’s goal of five full-time black professors by September 1970.

The process of recruiting black faculty to Lake Forest College proved to be a daunting task for LFC’s black students. Although BSBA’s demands were altered and met to varying degrees, students found hope in the few additions made. Egambi Dalizu was set to begin in September 1970, however it appears that he did not teach. In addition to James Garrett in administration, Calvin Stewart in the philosophy department, and Pauline Slaughter in history, Eula Powers was hired as a biology lab instructor and Doris Haynes took a position in educational psychology. The efforts students made through BSBA’s review board proved to be beneficial for both students and the new faculty. Eula Powers told students that she enjoyed seeing students so invested in their own education and wellbeing. The new black faculty seemed to fit black students’ desire to have instructors who can relate to them in both academic and personal ways. The struggle for black students to find and use their voice at a predominately white college proved to be a challenging, yet rewarding process. An article in Black Rap articulates the various feelings saying, “Setbacks, there were many of them, along with frustrations, and for a time it seemed as if the entire venture was worthless. The dedicated students, however, never abandoned their pursuit.” Black Students for Black Action showed that black college students are capable of successfully challenging the status quo at predominately white institutions.

The call for Lake Forest College to hire black faculty resulted in students taking on roles they were ultimately unprepared for. The initial demand for black faculty was brought to LFC’s administration by

60 Ibid.
61 Ibid.
62 Ibid.
Black Students for Black Action during the 1968-1969 academic year. BSBA made efforts to put the issue in the administration’s hands and were even eager to work alongside college faculty and administration. Despite this, LFC’s black students found themselves acting more autonomously than envisioned.63 Between 1968-1970, LFC’s black students acted tirelessly searching for representation despite meager support from the College’s administration. Leading the change, BSBA incited the ripple that would continue to challenge diversity expectations at Lake Forest College.

63 “BSBA urges more action on hiring black faculty,” Stentor (Lake Forest, IL), June 3, 1969.

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