

Published July 26, 1996

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The seal of the Illinois General Assembly is centered in the background. It features a shield with a blue field containing a white star, a red field containing a white star, and a green field containing a white star. The shield is surrounded by a wreath of corn and cotton. Above the shield is a banner with the text "1818 AD 1818".

**THE HISTORY OF AFRICAN AMERICANS
IN THE ILLINOIS GENERAL ASSEMBLY
1877-2001**

CURRICULUM GUIDE

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PIONEERS
in the
STRUGGLE

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CURRICULUM

THE HISTORYMAKERS

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
2001

PIONEERS in the STRUGGLE

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Pioneers in Struggle curriculum, video,
and CD-ROM made possible by funds
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INTRODUCTION

The curriculum both complements and enhances the *Pioneers in Struggle* video and CD-ROM by giving teachers and students opportunities to explore in depth the history described in the other media. It encourages students to *become historians* by concentrating on primary sources and offering activities that use brainstorming, analyzing, comparing, synthesizing, and other critical thinking skills. The curriculum also promotes student research and guides them to the resources so they may pursue their own interests in topics related to the political history of the state. Finally, the curriculum encourages students to find meaning and relevance for their own lives through the study of history. The rewards of engaging in primary sources are great—for both students and teachers.

The curriculum not only meets Social Studies Goals 16 established by the Illinois State Board of Education, but also addresses a number of the State's Language Arts goals through its emphasis on reading, writing, interpretation, and presentation. Additionally, many of the topics covered in the curriculum link to U.S. History, the Constitution, and Government classes. The content gives flexibility to teachers who might want to connect a lesson in this curriculum with a point they are studying on the national level: for example, the second half of Unit 1 directly correlates with the Reconstruction Era, but from an Illinois perspective. Finally, while each unit builds on the previous unit, it also can stand on its own. Therefore, whether a teacher decides to cover the entire curriculum, CD-ROM, and video or whether she or he chooses specific units, the classroom will engage in a rich, provocative, and relevant activity.

THEMES AND OBJECTIVES

The history of the United States, like that of other countries, is a history of the struggle for civil rights and full democracy. The struggle of the American colonists against England for self-determination was a civil rights struggle. The framers of the U.S. Constitution made sure to guarantee civil rights to certain Americans, but denied them to women, African Americans, Native Americans and others, who almost immediately began to mobilize to win equality for themselves. This curriculum is about the struggle for civil rights in Illinois with particular emphasis

on the role of African American legislators. Using a chronological structure, we focus on three main themes:

1. The struggle for civil rights and against discrimination both *de jure* and *de facto*. The curriculum opens with the early struggles for basic citizenship, moves to early representation, then to the struggles for equality in public accommodations and employment.
2. The role of the legislative branch in both winning and enforcing civil rights. In addition to exploring how minorities can use the legislative process to create societal change, the curriculum also focuses on the dynamic between elected representatives and the political participation of individuals, communities, and grassroots groups.
3. The historical stages involved in the African American community's struggle to gain sufficient political power to successfully struggle for its own interests. The curriculum traces the development from early leaders, to patron-client relationships, to the professionalization of elected leaders (though still tied to party policy), to independent political action as manifested in the Independent Black Legislative Caucus.

USING THE MATERIALS

Pioneers in the Struggle is composed of three complementary media: the curriculum book, CD-ROM, and video. While each may be used independently, the full richness of the materials and opportunities for research, writing, and critical thinking can best be realized by integrating the three media. The video provides the narrative and is filled with the voices of politicians and historians; the CD-ROM provides biographies, maps, and important dates in history; and the curriculum provides primary sources to help history "come alive." The curriculum does not attempt to address the entire video narrative. Instead, it offers an opportunity to explore in-depth four central themes: citizenship, representation, anti-discrimination, and self-determination. Teachers will find a chart at the end of this introduction that details the ways in which the three media complement each other.

Each unit of the curriculum is composed of the following:

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1. Objectives—both content and skills are covered.
2. Opening Thoughts—these questions provide an opportunity for students to think about the issues in the broadest possible manner. These pre-reading discussions activate the students' curiosity and immediately engage them in the learning experience.
3. Vocabulary—key words and terms are introduced so that students can confidently begin their documentary analysis. It is expected that as students proceed, more vocabulary words will need to be defined. We recommend a "word wall" to encourage students to share new words. See the CD-ROM's glossary as well as standard dictionaries.
4. Essay—complements segments of the *Pioneers in the Struggle* video; sets up the themes which will be presented through primary sources.
5. Primary Sources—first-hand documents give depth and meaning to the narrative and facts. *Students should first go through the process of identifying the document.* This is a standard procedure that all historians follow when using primary sources. We have provided an IDENTIFY THE DOCUMENT form which may be photocopied for each lesson (page 10). A final point should be made about these sources. With few exceptions, they are all edited versions of longer documents. They have been presented or reproduced with any errors in grammar, spelling, or logic which appeared in the original.
6. Questions to Consider (Q2C)—each primary source is followed by questions that encourage students to analyze and reflect upon the content and meaning of the documents. Some questions focus on reading comprehension, others call for analysis or reflection. The questions are deliberately varied so that teachers may select what suits their students best. Q2C may be done by individuals or small groups.
7. DO IT!—these suggestions are opportunities to extend student work into project-based learning. Among the extensions offered is participation in the History Fairs held throughout the State of Illinois.

The format of the curriculum gives maximum flexibility to teachers; as professionals they can best decide which units to use (and when) as well as the particular primary source/Q2C activities within units.

TEACHING WITH PRIMARY SOURCES

Primary sources, and how we interpret them, shape our understanding of the past. Teaching history with primary sources can be particularly exciting, because students are encouraged to engage in the process of historical inquiry rather than simply absorb historical facts. The handful of primary sources presented in these units does not, of course, provide all the information, or even all of the points of view that exist about any of the subjects under investigation. Moreover, the documents may refer to individuals, organizations, or events which are unfamiliar to the students and which remain unexplained, but might be crucial to an understanding of the topic. In short, these units may raise more questions than they answer for students, but that is precisely what the methodology of teaching with primary sources is designed to achieve. Teachers who use primary sources are not expected to know all the answers beforehand, but to encourage questions and join in the act of discovery. Not only do students learn the craft of history, but they learn how to become critical thinkers and better researchers and writers in all subject matters.

A WORD ABOUT LANGUAGE

As discussed earlier, the primary sources which appear in this curriculum are used verbatim. Therefore, students will be confronted with a wide variety of labels for African Americans, a number of which are in disfavor today. The diversity of labels, however poorly this reflects on the history of race relations in America, provides an excellent teaching moment. We encourage you to explore the changing words with your students and discuss *how and why* language changes. Sometimes an identification considered disrespectful in one era may be accepted and preferred in another. (And why/if labels are necessary at all!) For our part, we use “black” or “African American” throughout our text, but historical documents will maintain their original language.

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INTEGRATING THE MEDIA: CURRICULUM CD-ROM VIDEO

Students are encouraged to integrate the media. For each section of the curriculum they may want to:

1. read biographies;
2. explore the timeline to discover what other events were happening locally and nationally during the period they are studying;
3. compare and supplement glossary and vocabulary lists;
4. check the maps to find out what district a particular legislator being studied represents;
5. confer with "How a Bill is Passed" to understand legislation being discussed.

CURRICULUM UNIT	CD-ROM	VIDEO
Unit 1		
Lack of Citizenship	Timeline for historical context of national, state, and local importance	Antebellum Illinois, John Jones and the struggle to repeal the Black Codes
Illinois was a free state but severely restricted the rights of African Americans	Biography of Thomas	Cumulative voting
	Redistricting Maps	
Political activity of John Jones and others carried out despite lack of the franchise	Glossary	
	How a Bill is Passed	
Reconstruction and Illinois actions		
First elected Black legislator		
Issues of representation and participation		
Unit 2		
Early client-patron relationships and the development of professional legislators in representing the Race	Timeline for historical context of national, state, and local importance	Client-patron era
	Biographies of Buckner, Gaines, King, Roberts, Jenkins, Warfield and others	Century of Progress
Fight to improve civil rights—focus on public accommodations	How a Bill is Passed	
Century of Progress	Redistricting Maps	
	Glossary	
Use of legislative procedures to further agenda		
Shift to Democratic Party		

CURRICULUM UNIT	CD-ROM	VIDEO
Unit 3		
The national fight to win a fair employment law, particularly during World War II	Timeline for historical context of national, state, and local importance	Struggle for a statewide FEPC
Organizing in Illinois to achieve a national and state FEPC	Bios of Greene, Davis, Robinson, Smith, <i>et. al.</i>	
Distinguishing strategies among grassroots organization	How a Bill is Passed Glossary Redistricting Maps	
Dynamic between civic groups and elected leaders		
Legislative strategies		
Understanding the legislative process		
Unit 4		
Influence of the modern civil rights movement on African American participation in the political process, including the election of black mayors	Timeline for historical context of national, state, and local importance	From party loyalists to the founding of the Illinois Black Legislative Caucus
Formation of informal and formal caucuses as political strength builds	Biographies of Washington, Braun, Jones, Partee, Ewell, Gaines, Newhouse, Young, <i>et. al.</i>	
Importance of enforcing and monitoring civil rights laws		
Caucus strategies	How a Bill is Passed Glossary Redistricting Maps	

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INTEGRATING THE MEDIA:

- CURRICULUM
- CD-ROM
- VIDEO

PIONEERS in the STRUGGLE

IDENTIFY THE DOCUMENTS

USE A COPY OF THIS
FORM WITH EVERY
PRIMARY SOURCE YOU
ENCOUNTER.

WHAT IS A PRIMARY SOURCE?

A document, article,
interview, photo, print,
report or any other material
created *at the time in
question*. It is first-hand
evidence.

WHAT IS A SECONDARY SOURCE?

An interpretation or opinion
of the past based on the
analysis of primary
sources.

1. What type of document is it?
2. When was it written?
3. Who wrote the document?
4. Who is the intended audience for this document?
5. What is its purpose?
6. What is the historical context of the document? (What else was happening at the time that may have had an impact on the document and event/issue being studied?)
7. Where did the document come from? If an excerpt, do we need to see more of it in order to determine its credibility? Do we need another point of view or more facts to really understand the situation?

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UNIT 1

THE
STRUGGLE
FOR
RECOGNITION



Chicago Tribune, 1888

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OBJECTIVES

The students will be able to:

1. Describe the status of African Americans in Illinois from statehood to Reconstruction and account for the changes.
2. Analyze how the election of the first African American legislator defined issues of representation and initiated the role of black legislators in the civil rights struggle.
3. Explain how cumulative voting and redistricting can affect minority representation.
4. Identify historical issues and relate them to current issues.

The students will be able to:

1. Identify and interrogate primary sources (legal language, editorials).
2. Analyze and practice persuasive writing.

OPENING THOUGHTS

Make a list of rights. Differentiate between those you think are human rights or civil rights. Do these rights apply anywhere in the world? Should they?

What does it mean to be a "citizen" of a country? When or should citizenship ever be denied to a person or groups of people?

VOCABULARY

Citizen: member of a state or a nation who owes allegiance and receives all its rights and privileges

Human rights: rights related to the needs of human beings

Civil rights: rights related to a legal system

Codes: a set of laws

Repeal: to do away with, rescind, annul

Statutes: laws enacted by a legislative body

Franchise: right to vote and hold office as citizens

De Jure and De Facto discrimination: legally-sanctioned and everyday practice forms of discrimination

Representation: acting in place of, or speaking for a community

Reapportionment: based on the 10 year census, the state population is divided into a number of legislative districts

Redistricting: new district lines drawn to match population

The history of the struggle for civil rights in Illinois begins at the very formation of the state. Although Illinois legally was a free state as part of the Northwest Ordinance, an African American in Illinois would have good cause to wonder what “free” meant. When the U.S. Congress created the Northwest Ordinance 1787, it had prohibited slavery in the territory and declared that no state which formed out of the expanse would be accepted in the U.S. if it allowed slavery. [See Map] This did not mean, however, that racist and pro-slavery forces, particularly those who lived in the southern part of the state, were powerless. At the time of statehood, they did all they could to reduce the status of African Americans who might come to Illinois. The new state’s constitution contained an oppressive “Black Code” in its statutes which severely limited the rights of free blacks in the state and permitted indentured servitude. These discriminatory laws were even strengthened before the Civil War. African Americans residing in Illinois could not vote, run for office, testify in court, or move about the territory without posting a bond and holding official papers to prove they were free—in other words, African Americans were not considered citizens.

The leader in the effort to repeal the Black Codes in Illinois was John Jones, a free African American born in North Carolina who migrated to Illinois in 1841 and settled in Chicago as a tailor and anti-slavery activist four years later. Chicago with its anti-slavery reputation was an ideal home: a vibrant free black community existed;

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LESSON ONE ESSAY:

GAINING CITIZENSHIP



The Northwest Territory

PIONEERS in the STRUGGLE

escaped slaves who made it to the city received refuge; and an active abolitionist group existed among the leading white citizens of the city. From their arrival in Chicago through the Civil War, Jones, his wife Mary Richardson Jones, and other free blacks mounted a grassroots campaign to end these discriminating laws. Even though they could neither vote nor hold public office, they still engaged in political activities to gain rights. They worked on the Underground Railroad, held conventions, published pamphlets, and organized petition drives. In 1864, Jones authored a pamphlet to persuade state legislators to abolish the Black Codes and recognize African Americans as citizens of Illinois. The Black Codes were repealed in 1865.

Following the Civil War, the U.S. Congress passed the 13th, 14th and 15th amendments to the U.S. Constitution. After more than 200 years in the United States, African Americans finally gained citizenship and obtained the rights of citizens—among them, the right to vote and hold public office. Illinois followed suit by granting citizenship in 1870. Blacks in Illinois were still subjected to the racist practices of everyday life— called *de facto discrimination*— but the seeds were planted for a strong civil rights movement to bloom.

“An Act concerning Negroes and Mulattoes.

SECTION 1. No black or mulatto person shall be permitted to reside in this State, until such person shall produce to the County Commissioners' Court where he or she is desirous of settling, a certificate of his or her freedom; which certificate shall be duly authenticated in the same manner that is required to be done in cases arising under the acts and judicial proceedings of other States. And until such person shall have given bond, with sufficient security, to the people of this State, for the use of the proper county, in the penal sum of one thousand dollars, conditioned that such person will not, at any time, become a charge to said county, or any other county of this State, as a poor person, and that such person shall, at all times, demean himself or herself in strict conformity with the laws of this State, that now are or hereafter may be enacted; the solvency of said security shall be approved by said clerk. The clerk shall file said bond, and if said bond shall in any condition thereof be broken, the whole penalty shall become forfeited, and the clerk, on being informed thereof, shall cause the said bond to be prosecuted to effect. And it shall be the duty of such clerk to make an entry of the certificate so produced, and indorse a certificate on the original certificate, stating the time the said bond was approved and filed; and the name and description of the person producing the same; after which it shall be lawful for such free negro or mulatto to reside in this State.”

Primary Source Document:
Laws of the State of Illinois
Revised Statutes, 1845
Chapter 74, page 381.

DO IT!

- During the 1840s, the Illinois legislature passed a number of laws designed to further restrict and oppress African Americans. Visit the Government Documents Division at a major library (such as the Chicago Public Library) to find out what those laws were. While you are at the library, look for secondary sources that may address this subject too.

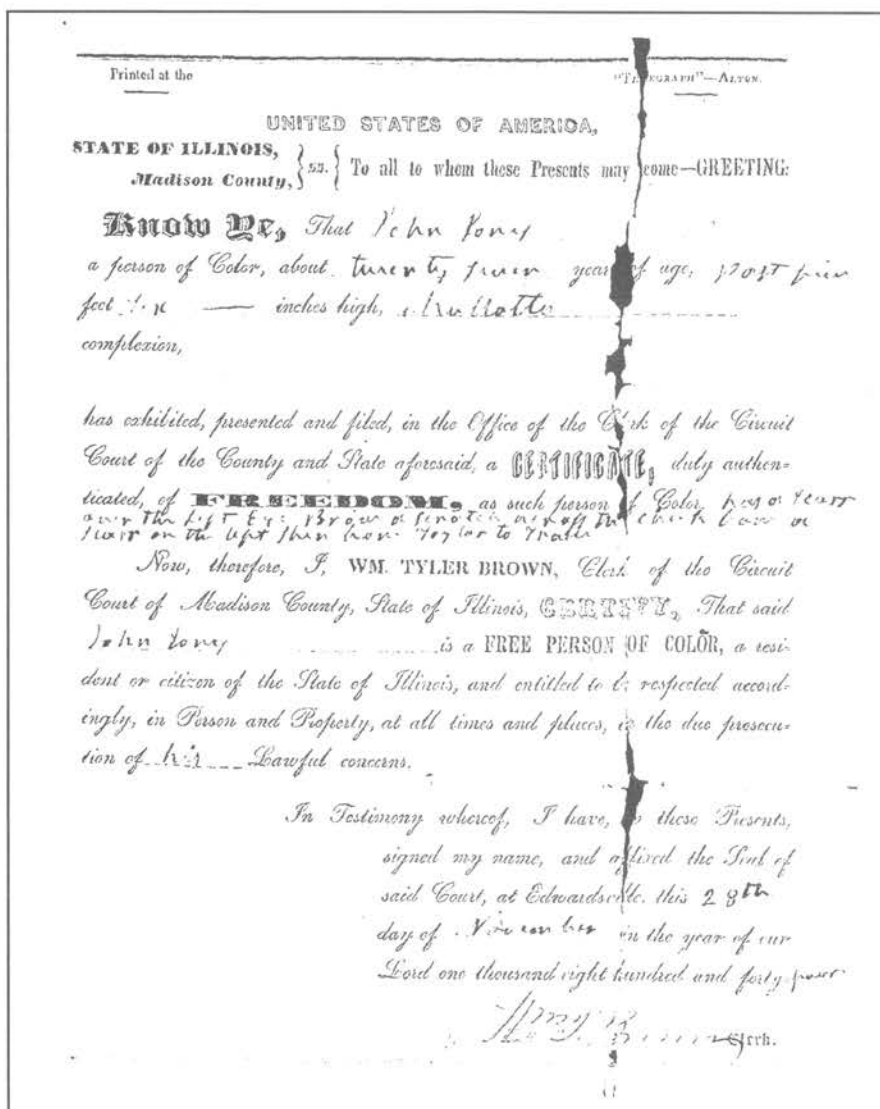
PIONEERS in the STRUGGLE

QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER

Read the Black Codes in the Laws of Illinois (excerpt) and closely study John Jones' certificate.

- **IDENTIFY THE DOCUMENTS**

1. What are the legal requirements forced upon African Americans under this statute?
2. John Jones decided to comply with the statutes and obtain a Certificate of Freedom. Had you been a free black at the time, would you have followed the law in migrating to Illinois? Write an essay, letter to your parents or friends, or a journal entry about your decision. Discuss the pros and cons of compliance for each requirement.
3. In the U.S. today, immigrants who enter this country without the "proper papers" are considered "illegal." In what ways are their situations similar to and different from what the Joneses and free African Americans faced?



TRANSCRIPTION:

Know Ye, That John Jones a person of Color, about twenty-seven years of age five feet ten inches high, mulatto complexion, has exhibited, presented and filed, in the Office of the Clerk of the Circuit Court of the Country and State aforesaid, a **CERTIFICATE**, duly authenticated of **FREEDOM**, as such person of color has a scar above the left eye brow or scratch across the cheek on the left

Now, therefore, I, Wm. Tyler Brown, Clerk of the Circuit Court of Madison County, State of Illinois, **CERTIFY**, That said John Jones is a **FREE PERSON OF COLOR**, a resident or citizen of the State of Illinois, and entitled to be respected accordingly, in Person and Property, at all times and places, in the due prosecution of his Lawful concerns.

In Testimony, whereof, I have, to those Presents, signed my name, and affixed this 28th day of November in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty-four.

Wm. Brown, Clerk

PIONEERS in the STRUGGLE

Primary Source Document:
Certificate of Freedom
Belonging to John Jones,
1844. From the Chicago
Historical Society. Used
with permission.

DO IT!

- Investigate the history of the free black community in Chicago and/or Illinois.
- Investigate the anti-slavery and abolitionist organizations in Chicago and/or Illinois.
- Investigate the Underground Railroad in Illinois.

PIONEERS in the STRUGGLE

Primary Source Document:
"Appeal to the State of
Illinois to Repeal the Black
Laws," October 1864
(excerpt). From the
Chicago Historical Society.
Used with permission.

APPEAL TO THE PEOPLE OF ILLINOIS, TO REPEAL THE BLACK LAWS OF THIS STATE.

ORIGINATOR, EDITOR OF THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE.

Your humble petitioner (though a colored man) most respectfully asks you in your valuable paper, sufficiently large to publish the Black Laws of this our beloved State, together with some of the reasons why they should be repealed. I wish to publish them by columns, accompanying each section with such arguments and facts as may be able to, during the publication of these enactments called Laws. People of the State of Illinois, I appeal to you, and to your Representatives, who will assemble in the city of Springfield in a few weeks, to legislate for a noble and generous people. We ask you in the name of the Great God, who made us all; in the name of Christianity and Humanity, to read from your statute book that code of laws commonly called the Black Laws. We know that thousands of you do not know the effect these laws have upon your colored inhabitants, and you, in your business relations with them, which relations I propose to discuss during the publication of these laws. I quote from the Revised Statutes of 1845, chap. 74, page 281, the first section of which reads as follows:

"§ 1. AS ALL REMOVING NEGROES AND MULATTOES.

"§ 1. No black or mulatto person shall be permitted to reside in this State, until such person shall produce to the County Commissioner of such county where he or she is desirous of settling, a certificate of his or her freedom, which certificate shall be duly attested by the justice of the peace that is required to be done in cases arising under the acts and judicial proceedings of other States. And said such person shall have given bond, with sufficient security to the people of this State, for the use of the proper society, in the penal sum of one thousand dollars, conditioned that such person will not, at any time, become a slave to said society, or any other society of this State, as a poor person, and that such person shall, at all times, defend himself or herself in strict conformity with the laws of this State, that were or may hereafter may be enacted; the violation of said society shall be punished by said clerk. The clerk shall file said bond, and if said bond shall in any condition thereof be broken, the whole penalty shall become forfeited, and the clerk, on being informed thereof, shall cause the said bond to be presented to effect. And it shall be the duty of such clerk to make an entry of the certificate so produced, and submit a certificate to the original certificate, stating the time the

This section is in direct violation of the Constitution of our State, which declares that *all* men are born free and independent, and have an indefeasible right to enjoy liberty and pursue their own happiness. But this section denies the colored man equal freedom, to settle in this State. It is also a gross violation of the Constitution of the United States, the second section of the fourth article of which declares, that the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens of the several States. These privileges and immunities, says Chancellor Kent, are such as are in their nature fundamental, and belong of right to all the citizens of free governments; such as the rights of protection, of life and liberty, to acquire and enjoy property, to pay no higher impositions than other citizens, and to pass through or reside in the State.

Now it may be said by our enemies, that we are not citizens, and therefore have no such rights above mentioned. If being natives, and born on the soil, of parents belonging to no other nation or tribe, does not constitute a citizen in this country, under the theory and genius of our government, I am at a loss to know in what manner citizenship is acquired by birth. Fellow citizens, I declare unto you, view it as you may, we are American citizens; within the meaning of the United States Constitution, we are American citizens; by the facts of history, and the admissions of American statesmen, we are American citizens; by the hardships and trials endured; by the courage and fidelity displayed by our ancestors in defending the liberties and in achieving the independence of our land, we are American citizens.

....People of Illinois! We only ask you for those privileges granted to us by the Supreme Court of the United States, also by the States of Iowa, Wisconsin, Michigan, Ohio, New York, Pennsylvania, and all the New England States, with Louisiana, which has *never denied her free colored inhabitants the right to testify in her courts*. Do not become alarmed. We do not ask the elective franchise, for that the Legislature cannot give. The Constitution of the State defines who shall have that inestimable right. We only ask the Legislature to do what it has the power to do—*repeal the Black Laws*. For the accomplishment of this object, we shall organize Repeal Associations all over the State, and will not be content with less than fifty thousand names upon our petition to the Legislature, for the above purpose.

You ought to, and must, repeal those Black Laws for the sake of your own interest, to mention no higher motive. As matters now stand, you cannot prove by us that this or that man,

(if white,) run into a valuable wagon load of merchandise and destroyed it: therefore you are liable to lose hundreds of dollars any day, if your wagons are driven by colored men, and you know they are, in great numbers. And I thank God the day has come when you will give us employment, notwithstanding you are subjected to a fine of five hundred dollars for so doing. You ought, therefore, to look well to your own interests, and see that no legislative enactments cripple your legitimate business relations with the community at large.

We, the colored people of Illinois, charge upon that enactment, and lay at the doors of those who enacted it, our present degraded condition in this our great State. Every other nation, kindred and tongue have prospered and gained property, and are recognized as a part of the great commonwealth, with the exception of our own: we have been treated as strangers in the land of our birth, and as enemies, by those who should have been our friends. For I do assert, without the fear of successful contradiction, that the colored people of America have always been the friends of America, and, thanks be to God, we are *to-day* the friends of America; and allow me to say, my white fellow-citizens, God being our helper, we mean to remain on American soil with you. When you are in peace and prosperity, we rejoice; and when you are in trouble and adversity, we are sad. And this, notwithstanding proscription follows us in the school-house, and indeed, drives us out; follows us in the church, in the lecture-room, in the concert-hall, the theatre, and all places of public instruction and amusement; follows to the *grave*; --for I assure you, fellow-citizens, that to-day a colored man cannot buy a *burying lot* in the city of Chicago for his own use. All of this grows out of the proscriptive laws of this State, against our poor, unfortunate, colored people. And more than this, the cruel treatment that we receive daily at the hands of a portion of your foreign population, is all based upon these enactments. They, seeing that you, by your laws, have ignored us, and left us out in the cold, think it is for some crime we have committed, and therefore take license to insult and maltreat us every day on the highways and byways as we pass by them. They think we have no rights which white men are bound to respect, and according to your laws they think right. Then, Fellow-Citizens, in the name of the great Republic, and all that is dear to a man in this life, erase those nefarious and unnecessary laws, and give us your protection, and treat us as you treat other citizens of the State. We only ask evenhanded justice, and all of our wrongs will be at an end by virtue of that act. May God in his goodness assist you to do the right. Will you do it?

DO IT!

- Take an excerpt from Jones' argument and give it as a five minute speech. Then take another five minutes to analyze his speech.

PIONEERS in the STRUGGLE

QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER

DO IT!

- Develop a ten minute play using the situation detailed by Jones in which a delivery wagon is robbed and the African American wagon driver could not deliver testimony against the accused white men. What do you think would happen in court? Roles might include the wagon driver, white owner of the wagon, the accused robbers, lawyers, a judge, a newspaper reporter.

• IDENTIFY THE DOCUMENT

1. In making a case for repeal of the Black Laws, explain Jones' arguments in the areas of:

Citizenship and Civil Rights

Economics and Self-Interest

Legality and Consistency with Other Laws

2. Social change is composed of two components: legislative and grassroots organizing. Jones vows to organize "Repeal Associations" to further the cause. What might these grassroots organizations accomplish?

3. In addition to the political rights of citizenship, residency, and ability to testify in court denied in the Black Codes, Jones also cites "proscription" or discrimination in the "schoolhouse, concert halls, church, and even the grave." Are these cases of *de facto* or *de jure* discrimination?

4. According to Jones, how does the *de jure* and *de facto* treatment of African Americans affect the "foreign (white) population" of Illinois?

Six years after African Americans gained citizenship and the right to vote, **John W. E. Thomas** was elected to the state legislature, making him the first black representative in Illinois. Thomas, an educated and politically astute young man, moved from Alabama to Illinois after the Civil War and set up a school to teach black adults and children in Chicago. Involved in church activities and local politics, Thomas ran for representative in the Second Legislative District in 1876. He won by receiving votes from both blacks and whites. Although he was not re-elected in either 1878 or 1880, he was finally returned to the state legislature in both 1882 and 1884. His crowning achievement was the introduction and passage of the **Illinois Civil Rights Act of 1885**.

Thomas' campaigns were helped by the Illinois practice of "cumulative voting" which had been created at the 1870 Illinois Constitutional Convention. Voters were allowed three votes (since each district contained three representatives). They could decide to cast them any way among the candidates, such as three votes to one, one vote to three, etc. This system existed until 1980.

Thomas represents one of the earliest stages of the black community organizing itself to gain political power. In his struggle to win another term to the state legislature, he campaigned that the African American community should be represented by one of their own. He and other black Republicans further argued that the community should expect political appointments and

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LESSON TWO ESSAY:

JOINING THE LEGISLATURE



John W. E. Thomas

PIONEERS in the STRUGGLE



1885 Illinois Civil Rights Act

jobs, just as other ethnic groups in the city had obtained. At the same time, he encouraged black Chicagoans to participate in the electoral process by attending the political meetings in the legislative district. Unfortunately, Thomas' eloquent words were not persuasive enough to marshal the black and white votes he needed to win.

In 1882, the Illinois State Legislature redrew the legislative district based on the 1880 Census. (Reapportionment and redistricting then and now plays a crucial role in ensuring representation and gaining or maintaining power. Therefore, it remains one of the most contentious battles within the state legislature.) Not only did John W. E. Thomas have the opportunity to campaign in a new district that included virtually all of the city's growing African American population, but it also contained less of the white ethnic voters who supported the Democratic party (which sympathized with the southern states at that time). Since the re-election of Thomas in 1882, African Americans in Chicago have always had at least one state representative.

Thomas' Civil Rights Act of 1885 represented a step forward in the ongoing struggle for equal civil rights for ALL of Illinois' citizens. It defined *individual acts of discrimination*, criminalized these acts, and provided for limited penalties to assist in enforcement. The Act was an important, though limited, victory that pointed to the need for even greater civil rights legislation.

To the Colored Voters of the Second Ward:

Gentlemen--You complain of not getting representation and fair treatment from the Republican party, and still you neglect one of the main remedies by which to cure the evil. The Second Ward Republican Club meets every Monday night at 8 o'clock sharp in the vacant store situated at No.[xx] State-street, one door south of Taylor street. Now it is your duty to be there so much so as any other class of citizens. You can there meet the Republicans face to face, and talk matters over, and show them by your presence that you mean what you say about having representation; also that you have an interest in the welfare of the Government and of the party. It is really discouraging to go into these meetings every Monday evening, and find a very large number of whites there, and only a half dozen or so colored men. I appeal to you, if you have any interest at all in your own progress and advancement, to come out every Monday evening to these meetings, and show that you do not mean to have yourselves deprived entirely of representation by two or three unprincipled colored men who are doing all they can against your interest by assisting milk-and-water white Republicans to wrest from you the little you have. The Republicans who are working for the interest of the party and good government want you to come. You will lose but little time in turning out every Monday night for a short time for the meeting opens for business at 8 o'clock sharp, and finishes before 9. So you need not make excuse that you have to be at your society; for the club business can be and generally is finished by 9 o'clock, which is time enough to be at our societies for business. I hope, my friends, I shall not have to appeal to you again to come and look out for your interest....

PIONEERS in the STRUGGLE

Primary Source Document:
"To the Colored Voters of
the Second Ward,"
Letter from
John W. E. Thomas,
Chicago Evening Journal,
September 6, 1878.

PIONEERS in the STRUGGLE

Primary Source Document:
"To the Republicans of the
Second Senatorial District,"
Letter from John W. E.
Thomas, Chicago Evening
Journal, October 8, 1878.

DO IT!

- Do a classroom survey: ask your parents or guardians if they are registered to vote. Then ask them if they last voted in: (1) a national election (president, congress, senator); and (2) a state or local election (mayor, alderman, city/county officials). Gather your data and create graphs to illustrate the participation levels in your classroom.

To the Republicans of the Second Senatorial District:

Two years ago, when candidates for the Legislature were being selected by the Republicans of Cook County, I was selected by the Republican Convention in this Second Senatorial District as one of its candidates for the House of Representatives. Urged by large numbers of my fellow colored Republicans in Chicago, who claimed that, numbering as they did some 1,200 to 1,500 voters, they were entitled to every consideration of political fairness to a representation in the Legislature, I consented to become a candidate. Many prominent white Republicans, with a heartiness for which I feel most grateful, indorsed [sic] my candidacy, and my nomination was secured with little opposition....

Without egotism I may be permitted to say that it was a proud day for me and for the colored people of the great Republican State of Illinois, when, for the first time, and that in the Centennial year, a colored man took his seat in the Legislature of that State which gave to the world the emancipator of my race, the martyred Lincoln....Deeply impressed by the duties of my new position and conscious that I was surrounded by friends anxious and fearful lest I should not well discharge those duties, and by open enemies, who would watch my course in order to criticise and find justification for the oft-repeated assertion that colored men are not qualified for official position. . . .

...as the sole representative of the colored Republicans of Illinois in its General Assembly, I confidently ask and expect at your hands a renomination and a reelection. In closing, permit me to say that my own people are solidly with me. It is their battle more than mine. *I am in earnest, and they are in earnest in asking that the same consideration which is shown to white Republicans, to Irish and Germans and Scandinavian Republicans, be to colored Republicans.*

- **IDENTIFY THE DOCUMENTS**

1. What audience(s) does Thomas address in the letters of September 6th and October 8th? What is the message he is trying to get across to each audience?
2. What two kinds of acknowledgement does Thomas expect from the white political leadership and which will he have to be satisfied with this time?
3. In his September 6, 1878 letter, Thomas calls for greater presence of African Americans at the ward meetings. Why is he so concerned about increasing participation?
4. What can be learned about Chicago's African American community from Thomas' letters?
5. Discuss and rank the qualities you expect from an elected leader. How important are a candidate's race or ethnicity to you?
6. Are the arguments for ethnic representation still valid? How would you defend your viewpoint?

PIONEERS
in the
STRUGGLE

**QUESTIONS
TO
CONSIDER**

DO IT!

- Develop a campaign to encourage voter participation in the African American community for the 1878 election: What message would you use to persuade people to vote; How would you deliver that message? Do the same for a current election. In what way are the two campaigns the same? How do they differ?

PIONEERS in the STRUGGLE

Primary Source Document:
Laws of Illinois, Revised
Statutes, 1886, Chapter
38, Section 22.01-12.

Section 1: Be it enacted by the People of the State of Illinois, represented in the General Assembly: That all persons within the jurisdiction of said State shall be entitled to the full and equal enjoyment of the accommodations, advantages, facilities, and privileges of inns, restaurants, eating houses, barber shops, public conveyances on land or water, theaters, and all other places of public accommodation and amusement, subject only to the conditions and limitations established by law, and applicable alike to all citizens.

Section 2: That any person who shall violate any of the provisions of the foregoing section by denying to any citizen, except for reasons applicable alike to all citizens of every race and color, and regardless of color or race, the full enjoyment of any of the accommodations, advantages, facilities, or privileges in said section enumerated, or by aiding or inciting such denial, shall, for every such offense, forfeit and pay a sum of no less than twenty-five (25) nor more than five hundred to the person aggrieved thereby, to be recovered in any court of competent jurisdiction, in the county where said offense was committed; and shall also, for every such offense, be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof, shall be fined not to exceed five hundred (500) dollars, or shall be imprisoned not more than one year, or both: And, provided further, that a judgment in favor of the party aggrieved, or punishment upon an indictment, shall be a bar to either prosecution respectively.

**“Damages Demanded by a Colored Woman
versus the Proprietors of a Theater
DRAWING THE COLOR LINE
An Octoroon Sues the Owners of the
People’s Theatre Under the Civil-Rights Law”**

Twelve hours were taken by Judge Waterman to think over a point in the civil rights suit of Josephine M. Curry, a prepossessing octoroon of Thirty-fifth street, against Joseph Baylies, George Reed, and Joseph J. Oliver, proprietors of the People’s Theatre. The plaintiff sues for \$500 damages for being refused a seat among the “white folks” in the theater. Under a recent act of the Illinois legislature there is a penalty prescribed for such discrimination, and although there have been several suits instituted under the act, this is the first to reach a trial.

The plaintiff testified that she applied at the box-office of the People’s theater for a ticket of admission. She was given one marked “Colored girl.” She made an objection to this and her money was refunded and the theater treasurer declined to sell her anything else. She induced a white woman to buy her a ticket, which she presented at the theater. She was ushered into a space reserved for colored people. She objected to this and was put out of the theater. She claimed in her declaration that the defendants’ acts held her up to contumely and injured her feelings.

The theater people put in a plea that as a matter of law they had the right to set aside a portion of the theater to be used exclusively by colored people, in the interest of preservation of the peace. If colored people were allowed to sit among the whites disagreements would necessarily arise, and even a breach of the peace might be anticipated. The plan was adopted to preserve order.

The plaintiff was represented by colored lawyers who argued that the civil rights act authorized no such distinctions. The setting aside of a place for colored people was as much a discrimination as the refusal to admit them to the theater at all would be. If a colored man went to a restaurant and was placed in the kitchen to eat would that not be a discrimination as great as the separation of the theater? No such division was made in the public schools, and the law did not contemplate it....

PIONEERS
in the
STRUGGLE

Primary Source Document:
“Damages Demanded by a
Colored Woman versus the
Proprietors of a Theater,”
Chicago Times, March 16,
1888.



“Mrs. Curry, The Plaintiff”
Chicago Tribune,
March 16, 1888

PIONEERS in the STRUGGLE

QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER

• IDENTIFY THE DOCUMENTS

1. What are the specific areas to which this civil rights act applies?
2. What is not covered in the act? What are the ways in which violators can be forced to comply?
3. What ways are the theater owners practicing *de facto* and *de jure* discrimination?
4. What can be learned about race relations in Chicago at the time from the Curry incident?
5. If you were a state legislator, what would you want to add to the Civil Rights Act to strengthen it?

DO IT!

- Write a play based on the incident at the theater and subsequent actions. Be sure to discuss the historical significance of this case in the struggle for civil rights.

PIONEERS
in the
STRUGGLE

UNIT 2

REPRESENT
THE
RACE—
LEGISLATE!



Chicago Defender, 1928

PIONEERS in the STRUGGLE

OBJECTIVES

Students will be able to:

1. Define the historical stages in the development of African American political power.
2. Understand how and why civil rights legislation is strengthened through both extension and enforcement.
3. Identify both *de jure* and *de facto* discrimination in public accommodations and employment.
4. Identify historical issues and relate them to current issues.

Students will be able to:

1. Interrogate and use primary and secondary sources as historians do.
2. Analyze campaign literature, correspondence and newspaper articles.

OPENING THOUGHTS

What does it mean for a young adult to become independent? What does it mean for a community to develop its "political independence?"

When the American Abolitionist Society disbanded in 1870, Frederick Douglass tried to explain that race oppression would raise itself in another form in spite of slavery's defeat in the Civil War and the subsequent constitutional amendments. What did he mean by this warning?

VOCABULARY

Client: a person under the protection or sponsorship of a more powerful person

Patron: a person with power that gives protection, support

Independent: not beholden to an organization or powerful individual

Public accommodations: provisions for eating, sleeping and other everyday needs outside of a private home

Grassroots: ordinary citizens

Enforcement: act of carrying out, executing a law

Resolution: a formal expression of the will of a group

Bill: a proposed law

Between Reconstruction and the Great Migration, African American legislators fought a series of struggles for the recognition and enforcement of civil rights. In this early stage of development, often their strength was based on a client-patron relationship with a powerful white politician. In return some power, black politicians would build support for white politicians, their parties and policies. Yet, without a developed base in grassroots community organizations or a broad network of alliances, the legislator, or “client,” claimed power only as long as his patron had it. For example, under the patronage of white politician Martin Madden, Representative John C. Buckner fought for and won an all black state national guard regiment. When his patron lost political power, however, Buckner's power faded too.

The second stage of political development began in the early 20th century, when the community itself became stronger, bolstered in numbers by the Great Migration (1905-1920). [See Population Table] By the 1920s and 1930s, the African American community of Chicago had made major strides as patron-client relationships gave way increasingly to professional and independent black politicians, though they were still tied to white dominated party organizations. Dr. Charles Branham of the DuSable Museum of African American History characterized the development of black political independence this way: “while often no longer tied to individual white patrons, (they) had a difficult fight ahead of them.... within the dominant conservatism of the age and within the narrow confines of an already established political tradition of subordinating

PIONEERS in the STRUGGLE

LESSON THREE ESSAY:

**SO FAR
WE’VE COME,
SO FAR TO GO**

PIONEERS in the STRUGGLE

group interests to partisan and organizational interests, black legislators vigorously defended black rights and sought to expand civil liberties." It is important, then, to understand the political strength and independence of African American legislators as a process related to the overall development of the community itself.

The burgeoning African American community of early 20th century Chicago provided opportunities for social and political ambitions. While John Jones had engaged in political activity to gain basic citizenship, by 1932 the black community was represented by five African American state legislators and had elected the first African American from the North to the U.S. Congress, Oscar DePriest. Scores of organizations in the 19th century developed into hundreds of groups, including local chapters of the NAACP and Urban League. From client-patron relationships, the community now hosted a number of factions and political bases that vied for power. The irony of being forced to live in a concentrated, segregated section of the city was that African Americans were able to ensure that they were represented in the state legislature by members of the race.

Yet black political power was still limited. The black community found itself often having to vote for white—sometimes corrupt—leadership at the city, state and national levels. In the *Crisis* magazine of May 1928, W.E. B. DuBois wrote, "What happens to us continually is this: If we keep out of politics, we give the whip hand to our enemies. They pass segregation laws, they curtail

liberty....We have got to vote or be enslaved. When we vote we do not have a chance to vote on the real merits of questions...Under such circumstances intelligent voting on the part of the colored men in the United states becomes a...farce. In Chicago they can choose between two things: on the one hand open gambling, bootlegging, prostitution and [Mayor Big Bill] Thompson; and on the other hand segregation, denial of representation, loss of decent jobs and public insult under [Charles] Deneen and the Democrats. What on earth is an honest black voter to do?"

What the black electorate did was focus their political energies where they could elect people who would best "represent the race." In the first two decades of the century, black politicians began to build political organizations of their own, while ordinary black citizens became more involved both at the election booth and in grassroots organizations. African American legislators labored to focus attention on the issues of equality, civil rights and racism as well as to contribute to general issues that confronted the state.

PIONEERS in the STRUGGLE

Secondary Source:
Spear, Allen H., *Black Chicago: The Making of a Negro Ghetto 1890-1920*, University of Chicago Press, 1967, p.12.
(Based on U.S. Census)

Source:
"Executive Committee of the Colored Citizens World's Fair Council," in A Century of Progress Records, Special Collections, University Library, University of Illinois at Chicago. Used with permission.
(Excerpt)

NEGRO POPULATION OF CHICAGO 1850 – 1930

DATE	TOTAL POPULATION	NEGRO POPULATION	PER CENT NEGRO	PER CENT TOTAL POPULATION	INCREASE NEGRO POPULATION
1850	29,963	323	1.1
1860	109,260	955	0.9	265
1870	298,977	3,691	1.2	174	196
1880	503,185	6,480	1.1	68	286
1890	1,099,850	14,271	1.3	119	75
1900	1,698,575	30,150	1.9	54	120
1910	2,185,283	44,103	2.0	29	111
1920	2,701,705	109,458	4.1	24	46
1930	3,376,438	233,903	6.9	25	148
					114

[Partial] List of African American Civic Organizations in Chicago, 1932

Chicago & Northern Association of Colored Women's Clubs	A.M.E. Ministerial Alliance
Chicago Branch, National Ass'n for the Advancement of Colored People	Race Relations Committee of the Chicago Church
Chicago Urban League	Phyllis Wheatley Home
Inter-Racial Commission of the Chicago Urban League	National Negro Medical Association
Cook County Physicians Association	Woman's Board of Provident Hospital
Lincoln Dental Society	Cappa Alpha Fraternity
Associated Negro Press	The DeSable Club
Cook County Bar Association	Wabash Branch Y.M.C.A
Appomattox Club	West Side Douglass Club
Chicago Old Settler's Club	South Side Community Council
Social Service Round Table	National DeSable Society
National Association of Negro Musicians	Eighth Regiment
Delta Sigma Theta Sorority	Colored Citizen's Welfare Association
2nd, 3rd, 4th Wards of Woman's City Club	Baptist Ministerial Alliance
Lillydale Civic Council	International Negro Youth Movement
	Citizen's Committee, Pullman Porter's

VOTE FOR HARRIS B. GAINES

because he stands for—

- H** Honesty and integrity in official life—No more big salary grabs and million dollar experts at the expense of the people.
 - A** All men up and no men down—A job, a living wage and a full dinner pail for every man and woman.
 - R** Right and not might in enforcement of laws—Rioters and bombers of homes must be caught and punished.
 - R** Rule of the people and not of the Bosses—No more boss-picked candidates—A new deal and a square deal to all.
 - I** Industrial development—construction of public work during dull periods to give jobs to the unemployed in time of need.
 - S** Strong men as leaders and not speak-easies and weaklings who betray the interests of the people into the hands of political bosses and powerful interests.
 - B** Better car service and 5c fares on elevated as well as surface lines—Public ownership of car lines and other utilities—a subway for Chicago. Better housing conditions and lower rents.
 - G** Grand old Republican success and party harmony. Greater gratitude—a more liberal policy and a bonus for ex-service men.
 - A** All office holders must live in district and co-operate with people in all constructive movements.
 - I** Independence of the Courts—No back-door judges—Give us justice in the open court—Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty.
 - N** No more high rent and high taxes—Economy and efficiency in government will bring down rent and taxes.
 - E** Equal rights and opportunities for all mankind to earn and to possess and to live where he pleases.
 - S** Strict compliance with Civil Service laws and the strengthening of same to prevent discrimination.
- Social insurance laws to protect the laboring man and woman against the hardships caused by unemployment.

PIONEERS in the STRUGGLE

Primary Source Document:
The campaign brochure of Harris Gaines, 1922. From the Irene McCoy Gaines Collection at the Chicago Historical Society. Used with permission.

PIONEERS in the STRUGGLE

QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER

• IDENTIFY THE DOCUMENTS

1. Gaines is trying to paint a picture of himself and his ideas that will win the support of voters. List three ways that he does this. (HINT: Look at his use of language and his ideas.)
2. What impression do you have of Gaines after reading his brochure? If you had been a voter in 1922, where might you look to find out more about him? Would you vote for him?
3. How would you find out if he won this election?
4. In small groups, analyze Harris Gaines's platform as spelled out in his name. Discuss each point to figure out what the concerns in the community might have been and how Gaines proposed to solve them if elected to the state legislature. Consider what obstacles or challenges he might have faced in addressing the problem. (See sample below. Create your own chart on poster paper.)

DO IT!

- Imagine that you are running for state representative. Use your name, as Gaines did, to create your own political platform. Present it to the class.

Platform (each letter in name)	Concerns, values, or issues in the community are reflected in the platform	Proposed solutions	Possible challenges in reaching a solution
H A R R I—industrial development with public works S G A I N E S	Lack of jobs in the community and lack of private companies willing to give jobs to blacks	Government- created jobs	Some legislators would be against public works. Others would want people in their own area to get the jobs instead.

**LESSON
FOUR
ESSAY:**

**SIGNS
OF
PROGRESS**

In the 1920s and 1930s, a new generation of African American politicians joined the state legislature. Having avoided client-patron relationships, Charles Jenkins, Harris Gaines, and William E. King were seen as being both professional and militant as they sought to secure civil, social, and economic rights for the entire black community. The legislators' efforts were complicated, however, by the shift of black political allegiance at the national level from the Republicans—the party of Lincoln, to the Democrats—the party of Roosevelt. Chicago's black community, however, made the party switch much later than the rest of the nation. The state legislators even survived the 1934 Democratic landslide while many other Republican candidates did not. One way the African American legislators met this new situation was to introduce bills that would ensure that the black citizens throughout Illinois were fairly treated by the state's relief programs and other New Deal initiatives. (Unfortunately, few of these bills received support of the majority.)

The World's Fair of 1933 (also known as the Century of Progress), provided an opportunity for black legislators to both enforce the state's civil rights law and exercise considerable parliamentary power in the General Assembly. At the city's World's Fair of 1893, Ida B. Wells and others had struggled unsuccessfully for the inclusion of African Americans. When the Century of Progress was announced, the black community quickly organized to ensure the race did not meet the same treatment. Indeed, there were signs of progress: the president of the Century of Progress assured fairness and appointed an African

American assistant, a color guard composed of black police officers led the opening parade, and unlike 1893, a number of exhibits featured African American progress and contributions to the country. Overall, most black visitors were pleased with the treatment they received from the exhibitors.

Despite these improvements, blacks faced serious discrimination in hiring and equal access to public facilities and restaurants. Although the NAACP, Chicago Urban League, and African American legislators called for action under the state's existing laws, police and courts did little. However, when fair managers and politicians sought to extend the Century of Progress for another year, black legislators seized the opportunity to ensure enforcement of civil rights. Jenkins, Gaines, King, William Warfield, and State Senator Adelbert Roberts held up the enabling legislation for the fair's enormous advertising budget until the General Assembly agreed to pass House Bills 79 and 114. These bills admitted that "open and brazen" racist practices had occurred in 1933 and declared such acts a legal "public nuisance" which would receive immediate attention from the courts. After this adept legislative maneuvering, the *Chicago Defender* crowed "World's Fair Leaders Concede to Demands: Legislators Win in Fight to Protect Race at Exposition" and also noted the respect legislators gained in sectors of the white community by their successful fight. The black legislators' actions demonstrated a growing independence, political savvy, and cooperation with grassroots organizations.

Historians August Meier and Elliot Rudwick wrote about Chicago's African American community and the Century of Progress Exposition 30 years after it occurred. Their article is called a secondary source because it is based on the historians' analysis and interpretation of documents created at the time in question. Those first-hand documents are called primary sources. In this activity, students will take on the role of historians by analyzing and using primary sources from the Century of Progress unavailable to Meier and Rudwick when they first wrote their article. Then they will "revise" the scholarly work based on new information.

1. Read excerpts from the Meier and Rudwick article, "Negro Protest at the Chicago World's Fair, 1933-1934," on pages 41-42.

- a. Make a list of primary sources they used.
- b. Make a list of the different kinds of employment opportunities for African Americans at the exposition. Add any other jobs not mentioned in this excerpt that you think should have been available to African Americans, but may not have been.

2. Letter from the Chicago Urban League to A Century of Progress, January 29, 1934

• IDENTIFY THE DOCUMENT

- a. What job positions does it say should have been extended to African Americans?
- b. Why would the Urban League write such a letter?
- c. This is a primary source. Figure out what is most important about the document. Then create an introductory or summary statement sentence. Find a place to "add" it to the Meier and Rudwick article.

PIONEERS
in the
STRUGGLE

DO IT!

BE A HISTORIAN

PIONEERS in the STRUGGLE

DO IT!

- Become a historian! Select a topic, find a historical question that intrigues you, do the research, make conclusions and present your findings in a final product such as a research paper, exhibit, performance or media documentary. Contact the History Fair office (312-255-3661) for more information.

3. House Bill 79, March 27, 1934

- IDENTIFY THE DOCUMENT
 - a. What mechanisms for enforcement of civil rights legislation are in this document?
 - b. Why might the Century of Progress Manager have a copy of the law in his files?
 - c. This is a primary source. Figure out what is most important about the document. Then create an introductory or summary statement sentence. Find a place to "add" it to the Meier and Rudwick article.

4. Chicago Defender (excerpt), November 10, 1934 and Letter from the Chicago Urban League to A Century of Progress, August 22, 1933

- IDENTIFY THE DOCUMENTS. Then do the same exercise of summarizing the most important information and "adding" it to the Meier and Rudwick article.
5. Based on the introductory essay, excerpts from the Meier and Rudwick article, and primary sources, what conclusions would you reach about the Century of Progress and the black community?
 6. Historians often look at the same primary source and come away with different ideas of what was most important and how to use it in their own articles or books. Should every primary source that a historian looks at be taken as the "truth"? How might a historian figure out if it is credible?
 7. In what ways does a newspaper article differ from a letter as a primary source?
 8. Having completed this activity what do you think would be the most challenging demands of a historian's job? Why?

PIONEERS in the STRUGGLE

Secondary Source:
Meier, August and
Rudwick, Elliot, "Negro
Protest at the Chicago
World's Fair, 1933-1934,"
Journal of the Illinois State
Historical Society, Summer
1966, pp. 166-171
(excerpts).

... More blatant, however, than the inadequate recognition in the fair's exhibits were the patterns of discrimination in employment and public accommodations. With the exception of a handful of Negro policemen and clerks, members of the race received only "boot black jobs" (*Chicago Defender*, May 20, 1933, p. 24, July 21, p. 3, Nov. 10, p. 11, 1934). Early in 1933 exposition president Dawes gave assurances that qualified Negroes would receive consideration for positions as skilled workers, clerks, and watchmen (*Ibid.*, Jan. 28, pp. 1, 2). Nevertheless, few Negroes were allowed to rise above menial labor. A "Race entrepreneur" received the washroom concessions, and shortly afterwards Negroes had "a monopoly on all porter jobs in the toilets." The *Defender* noted that all the model house exhibits "are equipped with Race maids along with other modern articles. They seem to go with the furniture" (*Ibid.*, July 21, p. 3, Nov. 10, p. 11, 1934). A number of Negroes did gain employment as entertainers in stereotyped roles. On the midway Negroes appeared in the "Midget Village," the "Show Boat," and especially in the "Old Plantation Show." Elsewhere on the fairground the celebrated Mundy Choristers gave a hundred concerts during the 1933 and 1934 seasons (*Ibid.*, June 24, pp. 12, 16, Oct. 7, pp. 2, 16, 1933, June 30, p. 9, Nov. 3, p. 10, 1934).

In 1934, as the fair was preparing for its second season, a Negro Republican representative from Chicago, Charles J. Jenkins, told the Illinois legislature that although the Chicago relief rolls were bulging with Negroes, concession operators were hiring whites from all parts of the nation. Hundreds of white men were also employed to repaint the exposition buildings, but not one Negro (*Ibid.*, April 14, 1934, p. 4; *Baltimore Afro-American*, April 28, 1934, p. 9). The only consolation for Negroes was that more of them were hired in unskilled positions than during the first season (*Chicago Defender*, Dec. 1, 1934, p. 11). . . .

... [W]hen Negroes entered restaurants on the fairgrounds, they frequently met all kinds of evasions to discourage their patronage, despite the prior assurances that no racial discrimination would be allowed. At such establishments as Pabst Brewery's Blue Ribbon Casino, the Adobe House, and Casino de Alex, waiters first ignored Negro customers and then frankly informed them that the management did not cater to colored people. At the Century Grill, Negroes were told that vacant tables "were reserved for employees" (*Ibid.*, June 24, pp. 2, 4, July 1, p. 24, 1933; *Pittsburgh Courier*, June 17, 1933, p. 3).

The *Defender*, declaring that a Century of Progress in arts and sciences was worth little "unless our spiritual advancement has kept pace," advised persons experiencing discrimination to obtain redress in the courts on the basis of the Illinois civil rights act (*Chicago Defender*, May 27, p. 4, June 10, p. 14, 1933). However, when the branch of the NAACP took legal action, neither the Chicago police department nor municipal judges showed much interest in enforcing the public accommodations law. For instance, in one case, police officers "lost" a warrant they were to serve against a café owner. After the NAACP attorney appeared in court to request a second warrant, the judge retorted that he "would not issue a warrant for a business man on a charge of this kind without first calling him in and asking him about it" (*Chicago Defender*, May 27, p. 4, June 24, p. 4, July 15, p. 5, 1933).

In July, 1933, Representative Jenkins sought the cooperation of the

PIONEERS in the STRUGGLE

Illinois General Assembly to compel the Cook County state's attorney to enforce the civil rights law. Jenkins reminded his colleagues that the discriminatory restaurants were located on public land which, under provisions of a special legislative act, had been leased to the Century of Progress Corporation. The General Assembly agreed to pass a resolution requesting the state's attorney in Chicago to conduct a grand jury investigation "to determine whether or not there is a general conspiracy among [the restaurants] to persist in said criminal violations" (*Ibid*, July 8, 1933, p. 24). Almost immediately the Chicago NAACP announced its willingness to furnish evidence concerning these allegations of a conspiracy.

About a month later, Representative Jenkins and A.C. MacNeal, president of the Chicago NAACP, requested an interview with Thomas Courtney, Cook County state's attorney. Courtney was unavailable when a large delegation arrived, but its members conferred with his assistant, Grover C. Niemeyer.... The delegation was informed that the county prosecutor would act "in due course, and in the order of importance to other matters pending in the office." After this unsatisfactory interview, Negroes pessimistically concluded that the restaurant cases would be handled only after the fair had ended (*Ibid*, Aug. 26, 1933, p. 1, 2; *Pittsburgh Courier*, Aug. 5, p. 2, Aug. 12, p. 5, 1933).

Although Mayor Edward J. Kelley once again promised to use his good offices to protect all visitors to the fair, Jenkins decided that only stronger legislation would solve the problem. Consequently, after officials announced that the exposition would be held over for another year, Jenkins and two other Negro legislators threatened to block passage of an enabling act to promote the 1934 fair, if Negroes were not guaranteed the same rights as whites in all public accommodations (*Chicago Defender*, Feb. 17, pp. 1, 4, Feb. 24, p. 2, 1934; *Pittsburgh Courier*, Feb. 17, 1934, p. 10). By a House vote of 98-2 and a Senate vote of 27-0, a new law provided that racial discrimination in public accommodations at the fairgrounds would result in the guilty concessionaire's establishment being declared a public nuisance.... The new law appeared to be quite effective, with only a few violations reported (*Chicago Defender*, Sept. 1, p. 4, Nov. 10, p. 11, 1934; *Pittsburgh Courier*, June 15, 1935, p. 2).

Negroes had failed to obtain redress from the Democratic officeholders in Chicago, but were successful in the Republican dominated legislature because in 1933 Negroes by and large still voted for the party of Abraham Lincoln.... But the victory in the state legislature did suggest that with the Negro vote increasing in northern cities, the race could use its political power to secure redress of its grievances and the recognition of its legal and constitutional rights....

CHICAGO URBAN LEAGUE
3031 S. WABASH AVENUE
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
(GRANDPRAIRIE BRANCH OFFICE)



A. L. FOSTER
Executive Director

JANUARY 29
1934

January 29, 1934
Mr. J. Tomlin

Personnel Section
A Century of Progress
Burnham Park
Chicago

My dear Mr. Tomlin:

Last year there was a great deal of criticism of the manner in which the employment of Negroes for the Brooks Contracting Company was handled. Applicants were charged an exorbitant fee and, from what we are able to learn in many instances contracts were not carried through.

We understand that the people for this type of work will be employed directly by the Fair officials, and we offer the services of our Free Employment Bureau which does not require even a membership in this organization for the rendering of service.

We feel very strongly that more colored people should be employed in various capacities this year than there were last year. We refer specifically to clerical work, selling and taking tickets at the gates, street cleaners, chair pushers, etc. In so far as the officials of the Fair employ any of these people, we should like to give serious consideration. We realize that you will re-employ many who worked last year, but we also know that many will not be employees. We should like also to ask your cooperation in securing the name and addresses of the various concessionaires so that we may offer our services to them direct.

Very cordially yours,
CHICAGO URBAN LEAGUE
A.L. Foster, Executive Director

INTER - OFFICE CORRESPONDENCE

DATE: February 14, 1934.
TO: Legal Division
FROM: Mr. J. Tomlin, Personnel Section
SUBJECT: Chicago Urban League

At Mr. Grove's suggestion, I am passing this letter to you for reply, along with some information that may be of value in answering Mr. Foster's questions:

Question #1 - Negroes were employed by A Century of Progress last year in the following capacities:

- Personal attendant to Mr. Dawes - 1 colored man.
- Trustees Lounge - 1 colored man and one colored maid.
- Administration Bldg. - colored maids.
- Building maintenance - (Janitors) A group of colored men of about 75 or 80 were on the payroll of this section throughout the Fair.
- Policemen - 5.

Question #2 - We of course, do not have an figures on the number of Negroes employed by our concessionaires and exhibitors. However, we have been advised by one concessionaire employing many Negroes that they maintained a payroll of from 400 to 600 throughout the summer. . . .

PIONEERS in the STRUGGLE

Primary Source Document:
Letter, Chicago Urban League to A Century of Progress, January 29, 1934.

From A Century of Progress Records, Special Collections, University Library, University of Illinois at Chicago. Used with permission.

Primary Source Document:
Inter-Office Correspondence, J. Tomlin, Personnel Section to Chicago Urban League, February 14, 1934.

(Excerpt) From A Century of Progress Records, Special Collections, University Library, University of Illinois at Chicago. Used with permission.

PIONEERS in the STRUGGLE

Primary Source Document:
Laws of Illinois 58th General
Assembly First, Second
Third Special Sessions, 1933-
1934, p. 113.

COMMISSION TO INVESTIGATE ACTIVITIES OF CENTURY OF PROGRESS EXPOSITION.

1. Appointment of commission.
2. Compensation.
3. Powers.
4. Report of commission.
5. Appropriates \$1,000.
6. Subject to State Finance Act.

(House Bill No. 79. Approved March 27, 1934)

An Act creating a commission to investigate the activities of the Century of Progress Exposition and concessionaries located therein, and making an appropriation in connection therewith.

WHEREAS, The Fifty-eighth General Assembly at the Third Special Session thereof by special Act has permitted the Century of Progress Exposition, a special corporation, to occupy public lands in Grant Park, in the City of Chicago; and WHEREAS, People from all over the World will visit said Century of Progress Exposition and said Century of Progress is a public exposition, open to all alike; and WHEREAS, in 1933, certain of the concessions in said exposition grounds openly and brazenly carried on a policy of discrimination against American citizens because of their race and color; now, therefore,

Be it enacted by the People of the State of Illinois, represented in the General Assembly:

SECTION 1. A commission to consist of five members of the House of Representatives, appointed by the Speaker and four members of the Senate, appointed by the President thereof, is created to investigate the activities of the Century of Progress Exposition and concessionaires located there, and also to investigate the treatment of concessionaries and applicants for concessions by the corporate officials of said exposition.

2. Members of said commission shall serve without compensation, but shall be reimbursed for their actual, necessary and reasonable expenses incurred in carrying out their duties as members of such commission.

3. For the purpose of conducting such investigation, the commission herein named may subpoena witnesses under the signature of the chairman, or, in the event such chairman refuses to act, under the signatures of any three members of the commission, may place under oath and examine witnesses, issue subpoena duces tecum for witnesses and for books, documents, papers, memoranda or things as such commission shall deem necessary for its information in carrying out the object and purposes of this Act. A meeting of said commission may be called by any three members thereof, in the event the chairman thereof refuses or fails to act.

4. Said commission shall report its findings and recommendations for the enactment of laws or amendments to the existing laws as will prohibit discrimination against American citizens because of their race and color, from time to time, to the third special session of the Fifty-eighth General Assembly at which the subject matter of this bill may be lawfully considered or to the next regular session of the General Assembly.

5. The sum of one thousand dollars (\$1,000), or so much thereof as may be necessary, is appropriated to the commission herein created for carrying out its duties under the provisions of this Act.

6. The appropriation herein made is subject to the provisions of "An Act in relation to state finance," approved June 10, 1919, as amended.

... And what, you would like to know, did the Race do while this great fair was in progress? How many...took part in making this the greatest single enterprise in history? What did they contribute to the entertainment of the multitude—the protection? How were they treated? How did they fare inside the gates? How many dark Americans visited the fair during its two terms, and how many were employed there?

YOU GUESS THE ANSWERS

Well, the answers to these questions are not easily available. There were no statistics kept based on races, so I have been told. There are, however, newspaper files to furnish the basis for forming opinions on some of these questions. For instance, The Chicago Defender told you through 1933 of the many cases of discrimination. It mentioned numerous restaurants where Race citizens were either refused service outright or otherwise insulted on the premises. It listed numerous suits which were filed in local courts to break up the insidious practice. It mentioned specifically such places as Old Heidelberg, Pabst Blue Ribbon Casino, Old Mexico, the café in Sears Roebuck building and other places.

Consultation with the files reveals also that the employment situation of 1933 at A Century of Progress was far from satisfactory. There was great shout in the land when it became known that a Race entrepreneur, Sam Hunter, had been given the wash room concessions. Everyone thought that was a good sign – but this was only a beginning. But the sad story ended with this being the beginning and the end of Race employment at the first installment of the fair. Of course members of the Race crept in at various places but so few and far between were any employees who happened not to be connected with washrooms that they constituted a negligible minority; on the staff of fair employees.

The 1933 picture was not entirely dark, however. There was Prof. James A. Mundy and his singers who were throughout the fair; there was Mrs. Annie E. Oliver, who, as president of the National De Sable Society, held forth at her De Sable cabin throughout the fair and passed on to millions of people the thought that the first settler of Chicago was *not* a white man, but a Negro. There was The Chicago Defender's big popularity contest that brought to this city 21 young women from the four corners of the country, and crowned a queen in A Century of Progress with Col. Rufus C. Dawes, president of the fair doing the crowning.

ADAM BECKLEY, AN INSTITUTION

There was Adam Beckley, one of Col. Dawes' secretaries, who, a sole representative of the Race in the fair administration office, stood as a guardian of the rights of his people and performed a herculean task throughout the fair. And for the 1934 fair Mr. Beckley was there again as powerful, as affable, and as generous as before.

There was more expected of the 1934 edition of the fair than the 1933 exposition and as a consequence much more was realized. To begin with our legislators had suddenly come to life on that question of discrimination since the fair was a private enterprise operating on public property. They forced the officials of the fair to agree to hire some members of the Race in other capacities than washroom attendants and they caused to be appointed a commission to investigate all cases of discrimination, with power to order the concession closed if found guilty. This had the desired effect. Not only were fewer cases of discrimination reported, but there was generally a more tolerant attitude... toward Race visitors. . . .

PIONEERS in the STRUGGLE

Primary Source Document:
Chicago Defender
November 10, 1934
p. 11.

PIONEERS in the STRUGGLE

Primary Source Document:
Letter, Chicago Urban
League to Century of
Progress, August 22, 1933.
From A Century of
Progress Records, Special
Collections, University
Library, University of Illinois
at Chicago. Used with
permission.

CHICAGO URBAN LEAGUE
8032 S. WABASH AVENUE
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
TELEPHONE CALUMET 0709-0710-0711



A. L. FOSTER
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

January 29
1934



August 22, 1933

Mr. B.L. Grove
Legal Section
A Century of Progress
Chicago, Ill.

My dear Mr. Grove:

We appreciate very much your letter of
August 10th.

Mr. Daggett has called this office and
assures us that discrimination against
members of the Negro race in the use of
roller chairs will be positively
discontinued.

I think that you should know that Mrs.
Clark, the 76 year old woman who was refused
the use of the chair, has been since that
day and is at the present time under the
care of a physician because of swollen feet
and limbs and other disabilities caused by
walking too much on the Fair Grounds.
Because of this situation Mr. Clark was
forced to cut his vacation a week short and
return with his mother to St. Louis.

It is little less than criminal that stupid
American prejudices should so entirely spoil
a vacation of such people and bring about
such acute physical suffering.

Very respectfully yours,
A.L. Foster

PIONEERS
in the
STRUGGLE

UNIT 3

FIGHTING THE GOOD FIGHT



Survey Graphic, 1942

PIONEERS in the STRUGGLE

OBJECTIVES

The student will understand:

1. The role of grassroots groups and elected offices in creating social change.
2. The difference between *de jure* and *de facto* discrimination.
3. How national, state, local political history are linked.
4. The uses of executive order and acts of legislation.

The student will be able to:

1. Determine voice, perspective, and audience in primary sources.
2. Use reference materials related to state legislation.
3. Analyze different types of primary sources: speeches, newsletters, oral histories.
4. Create graphs and tables to organize information.
5. Identify historical issues and relate them to their current manifestations.

OPENING THOUGHTS

What are the ways that individuals and organizations work to change laws in this country?

In 1893, the American Federation of Labor declared, “the right to work is the right to live.” Does our society recognize “work” as a “right”? What do you think about this statement? Is any kind of work acceptable?

VOCABULARY

Fair Employment: hiring based on education, experience and capabilities; no discrimination

FEPC: the acronym for Fair Employment Practices Commission, a governmental body charged with monitoring non-discrimination in hiring

Executive Order: a law enacted by the president rather than the Congress, used frugally

Act: a formal decision by a legislative body

Mass March: a very large public demonstration which involves walking through streets

Movement: many organizations and individuals struggling for the same goal, employing a variety of strategies

Constituency: the voters in a certain area whom a legislator is representing

As hundreds of thousands of African Americans moved north, built communities, and sought employment, economic and social issues assumed center stage. They found that by being part of the political process—voting, joining organizations, participating in protest or advocacy actions—they could improve their lives. The campaign to gain both decent jobs and fair treatment at the Century of Progress is one example of the growing demand for equality in all facets of life. Although the bill passed by Illinois legislators in 1934 was one of the few in the nation to prohibit discrimination, its specificity to the World's Fair limited its impact in ending *de jure* and *de facto* discrimination. Still, the die was cast: a 20 year struggle began to create an enforceable law to protect citizens from unfair hiring, firing, and promotion practices based on a person's race, nationality (and later, sex). Fought for at the national, state, and local levels, this struggle coalesced around the establishment of a permanent Fair Employment Practices Commission (FEPC).

By the onset of World War II, fair employment for African Americans and other minorities had become a burning civil rights issue. Discontent and frustration had spread throughout communities. Though inroads had been made in both education and union membership, African Americans still found themselves held back by racism in commercial and manufacturing industries. Lester Granger, Executive Secretary of the National Urban League, charged that hiring practices were based on "ideas handed down from a plantation economy."

PIONEERS in the STRUGGLE

LESSON FIVE ESSAY:

A NATIONAL MOVEMENT FOR FAIR EMPLOYMENT

PIONEERS in the STRUGGLE

African American organizations were joined by social, religious, and civic groups across the nation in calling on President Franklin D. Roosevelt to use his executive powers and leadership to abolish discrimination. His administration took a few steps. In 1941, the protests reached a new level: the groups united under a call from A. Philip Randolph, founder and president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, to hold a massive march on Washington on July 4th if Roosevelt did not take official, bold action. A flurry of meetings in Washington and persistent organizing in African American communities resulted in President Roosevelt issuing the historic Executive Order 8802 on June 25, 1941. EO 8802 called for an end to discrimination in defense industries and the federal government, and established a Committee on Fair Employment for the duration of the war. The March on Washington Movement—the first time African American organizations had unified for a singular purpose--had won the first battle in the war to end discrimination.

In 1944, Roosevelt issued a second Executive Order to keep the FEPC functioning, but it was still a wartime measure. After the war—and despite recommendations of President Harry Truman's U.S. Civil Rights Commission to recognize fair employment as a civil right—Southern Democrats allied with Northern Republicans to block Congressional action on the FEPC, calling it a “communist plot.” A permanent FEPC at the federal level was not enacted until the Civil Rights Act of 1964. It became the first federal Civil Rights Act passed since Reconstruction.

EXECUTIVE ORDER 8802

REAFFIRMING POLICY OF FULL PARTICIPATION IN THE DEFENSE PROGRAM BY ALL PERSONS, REGARDLESS OF RACE, CREED, COLOR, OR NATIONAL ORIGIN, AND DIRECTING CERTAIN ACTION IN FURTHERANCE OF SAID POLICY

WHEREAS it is the policy of the United States to encourage full participation in the national defense program by all citizens of the United States, regardless of race, creed, color, or national origin, in the firm belief that the democratic way of life within the Nation can be defended successfully only with the help and support of all groups within its borders; and

WHEREAS there is evidence that available and needed workers have been barred from employment in industries engaged in defense production solely because of considerations of race, creed, color, or national origin, to the detriment of workers' morale and of national unity:

NOW, THEREFORE, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and the statutes, and as a prerequisite to the successful conduct of our national defense production effort, I do hereby reaffirm the policy of the United States that there shall be no discrimination in the employment of workers in defense industries or government because of race, creed, color, or national origin, and I do hereby declare that it is the duty of employers and of labor organizations, in furtherance of said policy and of this order, to provide for the full and equitable participation of all workers in defense industries, without discrimination because of race, creed, color, or national origin;

And it is hereby ordered as follows:

1. All departments and agencies of the Government of the United States concerned with vocational and training programs for defense production shall take special measures appropriate to assure that such programs are administered without discrimination because of race, creed, color, or national origin;

2. All contracting agencies of the Government of the United States shall include in all defense contracts hereafter negotiated by them a provision obligating the contractor not to discriminate against any worker because of race, creed, color, or national origin;

3. There is established in the Office of Production Management a Committee on Fair Employment Practice, which shall consist of a chairman and four other members to be appointed by the President. The Chairman and members of the Committee shall serve as such without compensation but shall be entitled to actual and necessary transportation, subsistence and other expenses incidental to performance of their duties. The Committee shall receive and investigate complaints of discrimination in violation of the provisions of this order and shall take appropriate steps to redress grievances which it finds to be valid. The Committee shall also recommend to the several departments and agencies of the Government of the United States and to the President all measures which may be deemed by it necessary or proper to effectuate the provisions of this order.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

THE WHITE HOUSE,

June 25, 1941.

"Persisting in ideas handed down from a plantation economy, employers still regarded Negroes as a wholly unskilled rural group. They ignored the fact that as early as 1930 there were over a million Negro workers experienced or trained in skilled and white-collar work; that in one year over 50,000 young Negroes had completed trades and industrial courses in vocational and technical schools; and that nearly five thousand others were awarded college degrees in chemistry, engineering, other sciences and the liberal arts.... Commercial employment offices and public employment services reflected the unwillingness of employers to refer or even to register Negro applicants except in domestic and unskilled jobs. Vocational schools also took their cue from industry by discouraging or rejecting Negro youth seeking training for industrial occupations."
Lester Granger, National Urban League

PIONEERS in the STRUGGLE

Primary Source Document:
Executive Order 8802
found in Code of Federal Regulations—The President, 1938-1943,
p. 957.

Primary Source Document:
Lester Granger, "Barriers to Negro Employment,"
Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,
September, 1942.

Primary Source Document:
Program on March on
Washington Movement
Survey Graphic, November
1942, pp. 477-480.

Why Should We March?

By A. Philip Randolph

Though I have found no Negroes who want to see the United Nations lose this war, I have found many who, before the war ends, want to see the stuffing knocked out of white supremacy and of empire over subject peoples. American Negroes, involved as we are in the general issues of the conflict, are confronted not with a choice but with the challenge both to win democracy for ourselves at home and to help win the war for democracy the world over.

...That is why questions are being raised by Negroes in church, labor union, and fraternal society; in poolroom, barbershop, schoolroom, hospital, hair-dressing parlor; on college campus, railroad, and bus. Can hear such questions asked as these: What have Negroes to fight for? What's the difference between Hitler and that 'cracker' Talmadge of Georgia? Why has a man got to be Jim-Crowed to die for democracy? If you haven't got democracy yourself, how can you carry it to somebody else?

What are the reasons for this state of mind? The answer is the discrimination, segregation, Jim Crow. Witness the navy, the army, the air corps, and also government services in Washington. In many parts of the South, Negroes in Uncle Sam's uniform are being put upon, mobbed, sometimes even shot down by civilian and military police, and on occasion lynched...

...Negroes presented themselves for work only to be given the cold shoulder. North as well as South, and despite their qualifications, Negroes were denied skilled employment.

...Now this order [Executive Order 8802] and the President's Commission on Fair Employment Practice, established thereunder, have as yet only scratched the surface by eliminating discriminations on account of race or color in war industry. Both management and labor unions in too many places and in too many ways are still drawing the color line.

...The March on Washington Movement is essentially a movement of the people. It is all Negro and pro-Negro, but not for that reason anti-white or anti-Semitic, or anti-Catholic, or anti-foreign, or anti-labor. Its major weapon is the non-violent demonstration of Negro mass power. Negro leadership has united back of its drive for jobs and justice. "Whether Negroes should march on Washington, and if so, when?" will be the focus of a forthcoming national conference. But the plan of a protest march

has not been abandoned. Its purpose would be to demonstrate that American Negroes are in deadly earnest, and all out for their full rights. No power on earth can cause them today to abandon their fight to wipe out every vestige of second class citizenship and the dual standards that plague them.

Survey Graphic, November 1942

PIONEERS in the STRUGGLE

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lynch law, segregation, and Jim Crow, their right for economic, political, and social equality, thus becomes part of the global war for freedom.

PROGRAM OF THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT

1. We demand, in the interest of national unity, the abrogation of every law which makes a distinction in treatment between citizens based on religion, creed, color, or national origin. This means an end to Jim Crow in education, in housing, in transportation and in every other social, economic, and political privilege; and especially, we demand, in the capital of the nation, an end to all segregation in public places and in public institutions.
2. We demand legislation to enforce the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments guaranteeing that no person shall be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law, so that the full weight of the national government may be used for the protection of life and thereby may end the disgrace of lynching.
3. We demand the enforcement of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments and the enactment of the Pepper Poll Tax bill so that all barriers in the exercise of the suffrage are eliminated.
4. We demand the abolition of segregation and discrimination in the army, navy, marine corps, air corps, and all other branches of national defense.
5. We demand an end to discrimination in jobs and job training. Further, we demand that the FEPC be made a permanent administrative agency of the U. S. Government and that it be given power to enforce its decisions based on its findings.
6. We demand that federal funds be withheld from any agency which practices discrimination in the use of such funds.
7. We demand colored and minority group representation on all administrative agencies so that these groups may have recognition of their democratic right to participate in formulating policies.
8. We demand representation for the colored and minority racial groups on all missions, political and technical, which will be sent to the peace conference so that the interests of all people everywhere may be fully recognized and justly provided for in the post-war settlement.

PIONEERS in the STRUGGLE

QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER

DO IT!

- Organize into small groups: Assume that the MOWM ranked its demands in order of importance. How would you rank these same demands today? Are there any you would delete? Add? Each group can present their program to the entire class. The class should end up agreeing on one program.

• IDENTIFY THE DOCUMENTS

1. Why would President Roosevelt want to avoid a mass march at that time?
2. Why did Roosevelt issue an Executive Order rather than sponsor legislation? Why did he not outlaw employment discrimination in all businesses?
3. The MOWM Program states eight demands. Summarize each demand in a few words. Then determine whether they address social, economic, or political concerns. You might want to do your analysis in the form of a chart.
4. Distinguish between the *de jure* and *de facto* discriminations addressed in the demands.
5. Do you agree with the decision to call off the March on Washington after Roosevelt issued Executive Order 8802? Write an essay or hold a classroom debate.
6. Review the sources used in this lesson. Whose perspectives are missing? What other kinds of documents would you like to see to understand this history?

**LESSON
SIX
ESSAY:**

**THE
STATE
STRUGGLE**

African Americans and white allies would not let fair employment fade after the war--even before the war concluded, organizations began pressing for a permanent FEPC. Organizing was strong in Illinois. In 1941, the Illinois General Assembly passed a bill introduced by Representative Jenkins that prohibited defense industries in the state from discrimination and in June 1942, approximately 16,000 citizens rallied at the Chicago Coliseum to support the establishment of a permanent federal FEPC. Activists realized, however, that they should not put all their eggs into one basket. The NAACP, Chicago Urban League, Chicago Council of Negro Organizations, and other allies committed to social justice kept pressure on state legislators to enact a law as they continued to advocate for national legislation. Little did they know, it would take another 20 years until the state would recognize fair employment as a civil right.

By the mid-1940s, FEPC advocates were working with African American legislators in the Democratic Party rather than the Republican Party. Although a few African American Republicans with deep roots in the community survived the change in party allegiance, most elected black representatives were members of the Democratic Party. The first House bill to set up a statewide FEPC was submitted by Representative Ernest Greene, a Republican, in 1943. All subsequent bills would come from the other side of the aisle. Not only was Greene's bill defeated, but bills offered by Democratic state legislators at each General Assembly until 1961 were defeated too. Political scientist James Q. Wilson found two major reasons for the

consistent defeat of FEPC legislation. In interviews with black legislators, he was told that the Republican-dominated Senate would defeat any bill that made it through the House. One legislator remarked, "The FEPC is a farce." Wilson quotes another legislator who observed, "Let's be frank about that...They [the white Democrats] vote for it because they want to keep the Negro vote and that's a good way to do it. Second, they knew it wouldn't pass...so they don't have to worry about getting it. They are against it anyway, really. Let's not kid ourselves" (74-75).

While activist and civic groups can try to pressure legislators to act or vote a certain way, ultimately, the rarely documented political actions and conversations must take place for a bill to be enacted into law. For example, the first FEPC bill introduced by Greene was written with Corneal Davis, a Democrat, but according to Davis, they decided that Greene would introduce it alone since the Republicans were still in control. Also, Wilson pointed out that many legislators "went through the motions" of supporting the FEPC bills, but "few would labor steadily at the legislative politics required—committee work, personal contacts, and parliamentary maneuvers" (162-163). Still, the questions remain: Why did it take 20 years to pass the FEPC bill? Why was resistance so strong? Sometimes it takes a full-fledged movement to inspire the required legislative actions—as it did in 1961.

....The work we did in behalf of a State FEPC was calculated to extend our state's framework of civil liberties. And here let me make some observations [about] fair employment. In the first place no one expects racial prejudices to banish with the passage of an FEPC law. But its passage would help prevent backward persons from translating their backward tendencies into acts of discrimination in the fundamental matter of earning one's daily bread.

Moreover, peace and brotherhood are not possible either at home or abroad short of full and complete job democracy for all people. This lack is extremely costly.

Elmer Roper estimates that the homage we Americans pay to the smelly God of Racism, costs these United States over four billion dollars annually. What we couldn't do with such a sum for the advancement of brotherhood and understanding!

Regarding us Negro people, we are workers. 98% of us must earn our daily bread. The loaves we can now buy are too small for decent living. Therefore, it is natural, just as natural as living and dying, for us to favor any measure calculated to improve our economic lot. In this connection let me here make clear a related fact; at no time have we Negro citizens favored or advocated any public measure that was not in the best interest of all citizens. Manufacturing and commercial enterprises stand to gain as much from better incomes in Negro families as these families themselves. Forthwith employers should learn to let down their buckets in the potentially vast market represented by the unmet needs and wants of us 14 million Colored Americans.

Finally, we are forced to work for FEPC because we must help educate each and all white employers in Chicago and Illinois. As a group they can't claim too much self-righteousness over the 'white supremacist' of the South; for it is not much less brutal to have a qualified Negro man denied the right to vote in Jasper County, South Carolina than for his potentially qualified sister to be denied a sales clerk job in a downtown Chicago department store.

FEPC is but one major recommendation advanced by the President's Civil Rights Commission's Report, "To Secure These Rights...."

Primary Source Document:
Speech to the Urban
League, 1947, speaker
unknown (possibly A.L.
Foster). Courtesy of the
Chicago Historical Society,
Irene McCoy Gaines
Collection. Used with
permission.

PIONEERS in the STRUGGLE

Primary Source Document:
Chicago Council of Negro
Organizations News Letter,
April 1945, page 1
(excerpt). From the Irene
McCoy Gaines Collection,
Chicago Historical Society.
Used with permission.

CHICAGO COUNCIL OF NEGRO ORGANIZATIONS

3262 Vernon Avenue NEWS LETTER APRIL 1945

KEEP UP ACTION FOR FEPC!!

If your organization has not written as per instructions in our last News Letter to your Congressmen and Senators, do so at once. The Bill is still in the hands of the Rules Committee; Chairman Sabbath (Ill.) has again postponed hearings on the Bill. Write or wire him at once urging immediate hearings. Chances for getting a rule are fairly good. Failing to do so, a petition will be started to bring it to the floor of the House for vote. Write your Congressman urging him to sign such a petition. Watch the newspapers for news regarding HR 2232.

OTHER THINGS YOU CAN DO

Write a letter to the editors of our leading newspapers to be published in the "Voice of the People" column, etc., regarding your views on FEPC and asking support for this measure. Get more of your friends and other organizations to write letters to Congressmen and Senators.

ILLINOIS FEPC NEEDS YOUR SUPPORT

Follow the same procedure in regard to contacting your representatives and State Senator for passage of S.B. 156 introduced by Senator Mills and now in the hands of the Industrial Committee. If New York can pass such a law, Illinois must do so! Your action will help put it through. Wilbur J. Cash is chairman of Industrial Affairs Committee for the Senate; write him at once. Also write a commendatory letter to Sen. Geo. D. Mills and urge him to continue through.

- **IDENTIFY THE DOCUMENTS**

1. What can you tell about the status of the national struggle for the FEPC from the Chicago Urban League speech and CCNO newsletter?
2. What are the political strategies promoted in the newsletter and speech? Compare these to the strategies advocated by A. Philip Randolph.
3. The speaker quotes Elmer Roper's analysis that racism costs the U.S. four billion dollars annually. List the ways in which racism costs society economically.
4. Why did organizations turn to the local and state level for a Fair Employment Practices Act rather than concentrating all their energies for the creation of a national law? What are the costs and benefits of this strategy?
5. What additional ways could citizens advocate for change?

PIONEERS
in the
STRUGGLE

DO IT!

- Investigate current issues before the state legislature. Or, you might want to call an advocacy organization for a cause you support (environment, guns, school reform, property relief) and ask them what bills are in the legislature that need support. Then write to your state representative or senator about the bill.

PIONEERS in the STRUGGLE

DO IT!

TRACK LEGISLATION

One of the tools a historian uses to track legislation is the Reports of the Legislative Reference Bureau (LRB). After each general assembly the LRB prints a summary of every bill introduced for that session, its sponsors, and the dates and actions taken on the bill. These summaries do not provide all the language of a particular bill (or its amendments). Nor do they report on the "unofficial" politics that go into the passage or rejection of a proposal. They do, however, give insights into the legislative process and leads for further research. For more information on how a bill becomes law, consult the CD-ROM.

Below, you will find a sample of the acts introduced over the near 20 year struggle to create a FEPC in Illinois. In some years, more than one bill was submitted; in others, only one side of the House considered legislation. As you read the LRB's reports, keep track of how far each bill goes, who sponsors the bill, as well as changes in the language. You may also want to find out more information about official action taken by the general assembly (such as amendments). To do so, consult the Journals of the House or Senate for that session. At the end of each journal is a table of each bill so that you can track its entire journey. If the act becomes law, such as the FEPC did in 1961, it will be found in its entirety in the Laws of Illinois published after each general assembly.

63rd General Assembly, 1943

H.B. 494. GREENE, E.A.

Establishes the Illinois State Board of Fair Employment Practice, consisting of 7 persons appointed by the Governor, with the consent of the Senate. Makes it the duty of the board to receive and investigate complaints for initiate investigations and make complaints concerning instances wherein the policies concerning policies defined in this Act are not carried out. Provides for hearings on the complaints instituted by the board wherein, discriminations are alleged concerning employment. Authorizes the board to issue such orders to force compliance with the Act as from the testimony it deems just and proper. Permits judicial review from decisions or orders of the board and appropriates \$35,000 to the board for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this Act.

April 27. Introduced. Committee on Appropriations.

May 27. Recommended do pass as amended

June 1. First reading.

June 3. Second reading. Amended.
June 17. Third reading. Passed.
June 18. Senate. First reading. President's table.
June 22. Committee on Industrial Affairs.
June 28. Motion to discharge Committee from further consideration.
Lost.

67th General Assembly, 1951

H.B. 73. FRED J. SMITH, JENKINS, DAVIS, SKYLES, BERMAN, NOBLE, W. LEE, KOSINSKI, DE LA COUR, DE TOLVE, KUKLINSK, BOYLE, HORSLEY, EPSTEIN, JAMES J. RYAN, WEBSTER, KART, ROMANO, NOONAN, RINELLA, ADDUCI, GRANATA, EUZZINO, O'GRADY, PEARSON AND PIOTROWSKI.

Prohibits discrimination in employment because of race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry. Defines unfair employment practices. Creates the Illinois Fair Employment Practice Commission consisting of 5 members appointed by the Governor, with the advice and consent of the Senate, no more than 3 of whom shall be of the same political party, to administer this Act. Fixes the salary of each member at \$7,500 and that of the chairman at \$10,000 annually. Prescribes the powers and duties of the commission and for judicial review of the decisions. Penalty.

Jan. 29. Introduced. Executive Committee.
June 15. Tabled.

The Senate offers a bill with the same language. The sponsors and timetable were as follows:

S.B. 67. WIMBISH, KORSHAK, CONNORS, GRAY, SALTIEL, RYAN, ROTI, GORMAN, LYNCH, LIBONATI, KOCAREK AND MONDALA

Feb. 6. Introduced. Committee on Assignment of Bills.
Feb. 7. Committee on Industrial Affairs.
Mar. 13. Motion to discharge committee. Tabled.
Apr. 18. Recommended do not pass. Tabled. Notice of motion to non-concur in committee report.
Apr. 19. Motion made.
Apr. 24. Motion lost.

70th General Assembly, 1957

H.B. 185 DAVIS, CARTER, WILSON, HAREWOOD, ARMSTRONG, PARTEE, MIKVA, KINNALLY, KAPLAN, RINK, DE LA COUR, LOUGHRAN, PIOTROWSKI, LELIVELT, TOUHY, HURLEY, NAPOLITANO, ROBINSON, J.E. MILLER, FARY, BROUILLET, GRAHAM, GARDNER, NOBLE, W. LEE, COURSE, SIMON, EUZZINO, ROMANO, CARUSO, WILLIAM PIERCE, DIXON, GRANATA, RYAN, SHAPIRO, SCARIANO, SHAW, F.C. PIERCE, FANTA, W.G. CLARK, DUNNE, WOLF, MCCARTHY, CURRAN,

PIONEERS in the STRUGGLE

DO IT!

- Track the hard-fought battles for the FEPC in the 1959 and 1961 legislative sessions. How many bills were submitted and how did they differ? What were the amendments offered?

- Select another law that African American legislators have struggled to pass, such as "Stop and Frisk" or consumer rights. Track the legislation.

LUCAS, LOUKAS, WENDT, CAPUZI, HORSLEY, EDWARD, KORDOWSKI, LENARD, ZLATNIK, SAPERSTEIN, WIKTORSKI, STANFIELD, STOLTEBEN AND SODERSTROM

(Ill. Rev. Stats., Vol. __, p. __)

Prohibits discrimination in employment because of race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry. Exempts employers of 25 persons or less, any religious, fraternal, sectarian, educational or charitable corporation, association or club exclusively social if not organized for profit; and domestic servants in private homes and persons employed in agricultural labor as defined in the Unemployment Compensation Act. Defines unfair employment practices. Creates the Illinois Equality of Employment Opportunity Commission consisting of 5 members appointed by the Governor, with the advice and consent of the Senate, no more than 3 of whom shall be of the same political party, to administer this Act. Members of the Commission shall receive no salary. Prescribes the powers and duties of the Commission and for judicial review of their decision. Penalty. Appropriates \$50,000 to the Commission for the administration of this Act.

Feb. 13. Introduced.

May 2. Recommended do pass.

May 7. First reading.

May 20. Second reading.

May 27. Third reading. Passed.

May 28. Senate.

June 13. First reading. Committee on Assignment of Bills. Committee on Industrial Affairs.

June 25. Recommended do not pass. Tabled.

The Senate offers a bill with the same language. The sponsors and timetable were as follows:

S.B. 129. SMITH, LYNCH, KORSHAK, LIBONATI, GRAY AND CONNORS.

Feb. 13. Introduced. Committee on Assignment of Bills.

Feb. 14. Committee on Industrial Affairs.

May 6. Recommended do not pass. Tabled. Motion to non-concur in Committee Report.

May 7. Consideration postponed.

May 14. Motion lost.

July 21. Approved.

PIONEERS in the STRUGGLE

... I had a Republican friend on the other side of the aisle. I think he was alone. His name was Ernest Greene, Representative Ernest Greene. I brought the bill back [a copy of the fair employment practice bill passed by the New York legislature]. And he was a lawyer. Ernest Greene was a lawyer. We sat down and we read it and we discussed it and we agreed, he and I agreed, that we would introduce the bill. See, a lot of people don't know how the bill was introduced. So I said—at that time the Republicans controlled both the house and the senate. I said, "Ernie, we're—lookie here. If we—if we got any chance of passing this bill, you can pass it better than I can," because we only had a small Democratic minority down there. And we had the minority in the house. I said, "If you would handle it, see, I would cosponsor it with you." I said, "We might get it through."

But we decided that we wouldn't raise too much sand, we wouldn't really—unless somebody would call us to explain it. And then we would try to explain it in an offhand way because we knew if we explained that bill with all of its ramifications we'd never pass it.

So Ernie Greene and I cooked this thing up that he would handle it, I would cosponsor it, but we wouldn't tell anybody but the two of us. Only the two of us knew what the bill really did when it was first put in. The bill passed the house. I didn't say anything and he just a few words. It went on through. "It's just a little bill that says that everybody ought to be treated fair" and blah-blah-blah. And he being a Republican, bingo, the bill passed. Now we still don't say anything. But it's the Fair Employment Practice Bill.

Q: Now this didn't set up the commission at that time then?

A: It set up a commission.

Q: Oh. Yes.

A: But it—but nobody didn't say—so it gets over in the senate. And the same thing was going on over there in the senate. Nobody paid any attention to it. And I went around—like I told him, I'd get the Democrats. And they did. I said, "This is a good bill. It has to do with employment. But, you know, we've got to do something about it, the Democrats." And they said, "All right. It passed the house." So when it came up for third reading in the senate, by that time the Illinois Manufacturers' Association woke up. When it got over in the senate they woke up on the bill. And when the bill came up over there it was defeated by one vote.

... We'd pass it in the house. Send it over to the senate. Senate would thumb their nose at it. You know. We never—I can't tell you how many times they—sometimes they didn't even hear the bill in the senate. Do you hear me? Wouldn't even hear it. Wouldn't even consider it.

But the FEPC didn't go in until I had that filibuster. I led the longest filibuster, for FEPC, that was ever led in Springfield.

Q: Could you describe what occurred in that filibuster?

A: Oh, yes. Now I'm going to tell you the whole story of the filibuster. Well I noticed what some of the whites was doing when they felt that they were being mistreated. They'd take advantage of the old constitution. Now

Primary Source Document:
Corneal A. Davis.
Prepared for the Illinois
Legislative Council by the
Oral History Office,
Legislative Studies Center
of Sangamon State
University, 1984.
(Excerpt)

PIONEERS in the STRUGGLE

the Constitution of 1870 said all bills must be read in full. That means read three times in full. For instance, the University of Illinois' appropriation is as large almost as this telephone directory here. Now to read a thing like that in full would take you a week. Two weeks. What would you get done? . . . I had a Republican friend, black friend, named Bill Robinson who was a pretty brilliant representative, Bill Robinson. . . . I said, "Bill, I've been trying to pass this FEPC." He says, "Yes, it ought to be the law. New York's got it" — he named other states that had it. Several states had it before we did. And Missouri was getting ready to pass it. It come out of the house in Missouri, up in the senate and the fellow from Missouri came, black fellows, said, "We're going to pass it. We've got enough votes to pass it." I said, "My God, now we can't let Missouri here—I consider it a southern state—going to pass this thing before Illinois does." So I said, "Bill, if I state a filibuster will you help me?" He says, "Sure, I'll help you. You better believe it."

And Paul Powell was Speaker. I says, "I'm going to demand that every senate bill that comes over here be read in full three times." I showed him the constitution. I said, "Others do it when they feel like it," I said, "and if ever a man—I've been—for 10 years I've been trying to get this thing and they kill it over in the senate. And I'm going to do it." And he says, "I'm with you." And he was on the Republican side.

First senate bill came over, I said, "Just a minute Mr. Speaker. No, no it's got to be read in full." "Well, we did. We gave the title." I said, "Reading the title of the bill is not it. I want it read in full. I want the constitution to be compiled with, you're ignoring the constitution. I want you to live up the constitution and read that bill in full."

. . . . And so Paul Powell wouldn't call any of the senate bills. He called all the house bills. I didn't bother the house bills. But every time he called a senate bill, I'd jump up. All right. Then Senator Smith, Fred J. Smith, my senator, he came over to the house and he said, "Come outside, I want to talk with you." I said, "Outside? Can't you talk in..." "No, you come on out." So I went on out there in the hall. When I got out there I saw these fellows standing in front of the door to the senate, just a bunch of them, group of senators were standing in front of the door over in the senate, looking. Because they'd sent him, Senator Smith, over there. And he says, "Now you're raising hell over here and sending us—you're having a filibuster and you've got all the senate bills tied up over here and a lot of them fellows over there, they're their bills. And they're my friends and they sent me over here to talk to you." He says, "Now I'm talking to you. I'm telling you you're raising sand over here and got all their bills tied up," and then he says, "and if you keep them tied up, I'll do something about that FEPC over there. Did you hear what I said?" And I caught on to what—he wanted them to see him talking to me, and he went on back over. (laughter) Said, "Talked to him."

Q: Oh, I see. So he was giving you the dickens but not what they thought.

A: Yes. And that's what happened. Now, they thought to embarrass me. My bill that I sent over there—oh, no they wasn't working on that, they worked on another one. They fixed up one themselves.

Q: Who was they in that case?

A: Oh, a bunch of them. Senator Arrington and a whole bunch of them. They used him and they took my bill. They took my bill and when the bill got back, it was not my bill but they amended it and did a whole lot of things to it so it didn't look like my bill, see? And when it came back over to the house—they passed it and they sent it back over to the house and I looked at it. It had a deescalating clause that this bill would not affect any business that hired less than 100 people, you had to hire 100 people before it could become a law. Now that's the first thing they knocked out of it. Or they had so many I don't—forget all the things. But I went over it and went over it.

Paul Powell sent for me. "Well, you've got that senate bill back over here. What you going to do with it, Deacon? You going to pass it or what you going to do?" He said, "They're betting over there you ain't going to accept this bill with all the amendments." I said, "I know they are, Paul." I said, "Just give me a little time. I'm going to make a study of it."

I took that bill, prayed over it, like I do over everything, and all that sort of thing and I got that feeling that I ought to accept it because if I didn't accept it—if I took anything out that they'd put in there—it would have to go back to the senate. And when it went back to the senate they were not going to pass it. They were going to say that they passed an FEPC bill, sent it over there to me and I killed it. See, I prayed to the man up there upstairs, my God. But they weren't figuring I was going to do that with it, see.

So I don't know, there was only two or three of us in there—I think Senator Partee or some of them—I know Kenny Wilson was in house there. I sent for my fellows and told them, "Look, fellows. I know this bill is weak as ice water. I know it ain't the bill I sent over there. They've taken a lot of stuff out of it and did everything with it, but I'm going to accept it. Now tell you why I'm going to accept it. I'm going to accept it, let Governor Kerner sign it, and every year that I'm down here—that the Lord and my people leaves me down here—I'm going to amend the bill and make it a great law. I'm going to amend it every year and make it the kind of bill I want it to be. Now I don't know what you fellows think about me accepting it. You might criticize me."

They said, "Look, you've been down here longer than any of us, and as you say, if you cross one t and dot one i it'd have to go back to the senate and if it goes back to the senate they're not going to pass it again. They're going to say they sent a bill over there and you wouldn't take it."

I said, "That's exactly what they're going to say." I anticipated what they were going to say. What they were going to do to me.

... And I went back and I said, "Call the bill, Paul, when you get ready." And he called it. I forgot the number of the bill. I got it at home. And he went called it and I said—and the Illinois manufacturers almost fell dead when I did this—I got up and said, "I move that we concur in all the senate amendments." That's all it took to pass it. And I moved. Nobody said a word. And we concurred in every senate amendment and FEPC became a law.

PIONEERS in the STRUGGLE

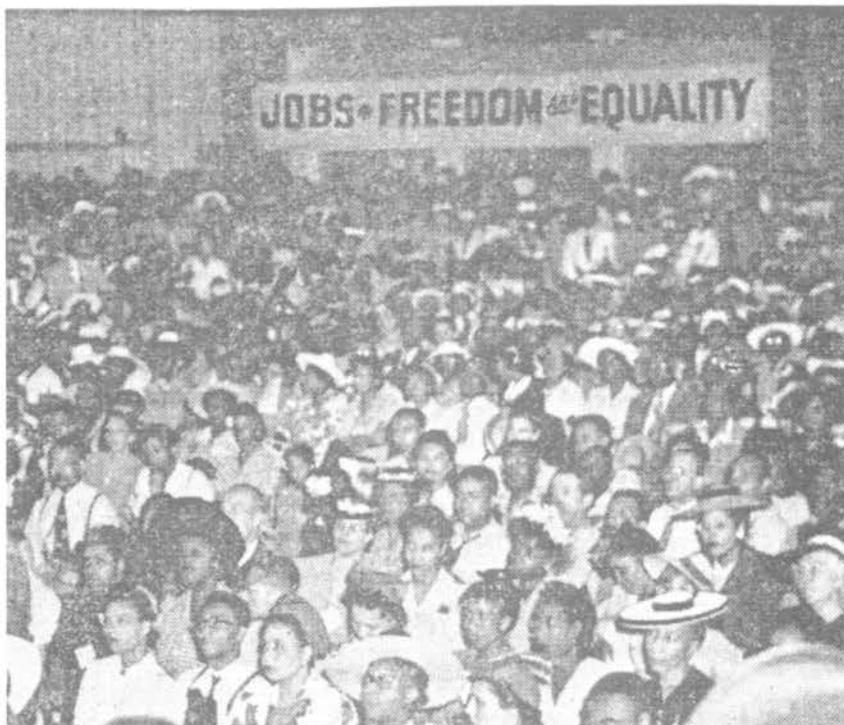
QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER

DO IT!

- Did Representative Davis amend the bill as he swore to do? Who were the legislators involved in efforts to strengthen the FEPC law over the years? How successful were they?

Representative Corneal Davis was called “Deacon” by the African American members of the Illinois State Legislature. Davis, the first black Democrat elected to the state legislature, was first elected in 1943. His career in the General Assembly spanned nearly 40 years, throughout which he was a staunch proponent for civil rights.

1. How would you go about confirming Representative Corneal Davis’s version of the passage of the FEPC in 1961?
 - a. Go through the text and highlight the portions where you think you might want to find another source of evidence to prove, disprove or add to Davis’s remarks.
 - b. Brainstorm: what primary sources would you want to check?
2. The oral history was conducted by Horace Waggoner. If you had been the interviewer, what additional questions would you have asked Representative Davis about the struggle for passage of an FEPC Act?
3. What kinds of legislative strategies does Davis use over the course of nearly 20 years to get an FEPC Act passed into law for Illinois?
4. What is happening in the country in 1961 that might have added pressure to pass an FEPC during that session of the Illinois General Assembly?



Survey Graphic, 1942

PIONEERS
in the
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Unit 4

GAINING
AN
INDEPENDENT
VOICE

PIONEERS in the STRUGGLE

OBJECTIVES

OPENING THOUGHTS

VOCABULARY

The student will be able to:

1. Understand the particular way that demands for equal rights may challenge both the status quo and those who defend it.
2. Describe the formation of a political caucus and alliances within the State legislature.
3. Understand the need for oversight of government functions by independent political groups and the ways in which that oversight is carried out.
4. Utilize primary sources, such as caucus memos and other government documents to identify issues of the time.
5. Construct a timeline to keep track of developments in a protracted struggle.
6. Analyze the affect of nationwide political struggles on local struggles (and *vice versa*).
7. Identify historical issues and relate them to their current manifestations.

How does a group work to change the system--or even to hold the system accountable for its ideals and promises--when the group is systemically excluded from an equal exercise of political power and when its demands would require radical political and cultural restructuring?

Caucus: an organization (formal or informal) of individuals with similar interests and agendas who work in concert to achieve those goals

Oversight: the monitoring of an agency's or organizations' activities, etc.

Appropriation: a sum of money designated for a particular purpose

Self-determination: the act of deciding and getting for oneself (individuals and communities) needs or wants

One hundred years after John Jones agitated for an end to the Black Codes, three quarters of a century after John Thomas became Illinois' first African American legislator and introduced the Civil Rights Act, thirty years after Jenkins, Gaines, Warfield, and Roberts successfully held up the Illinois legislature until equal rights at the World's Fair were addressed, the Independent Black Legislative Caucus (IBLC) was formed in the state legislature.

The modern civil rights movement that surged forward in the sixties brought forth new political concepts (or long-standing concepts applied in new ways) including black power, affirmative action, and self-determination. A recognition that racism perpetuates itself both historically and systemically generated a movement for African Americans to independently organize themselves to advance the needs of their community and hold the larger society accountable for its promises of equality. One outcome of the movement is that over the past 20 years the black community has organized itself and its allies to elect African American mayors in Los Angeles, Detroit, Atlanta, New York, Washington, D.C., Gary and Chicago (in 1982). Additionally, in the 1960s and '70s, black politicians became less reliant on the party machine for their base of power and more willing to stand apart from party leadership, particularly on civil rights issues. Historian and political scientist Charles Branham characterizes the change that occurred among black legislators: "By the sixties politics had opened up.... independent critics of the Daley-led Democratic organization emerged. First Charlie Chew and Richard

PIONEERS in the STRUGGLE

LESSON SEVEN ESSAY:

THE ILLINOIS BLACK LEGISLATORS CAUCUS

Newhouse, later Harold Washington, Jesse Madison and Carol Moseley-Braun.”

Black legislators knew, however, that political independence and the advancement of civil rights would best be realized when they worked together. The Independent Black Legislative Caucus began as an informal group in the 1960s, but by 1976 they had elected officers, a program of action and a single organizational voice. The National Black Congressional Caucus was also formed during the same period. The formation of caucuses within a legislative body is not uncommon. Representatives forge alliances across party or regional lines when they feel that the general legislative body is not adequately responsive to their needs, or when they have common interests in particular legislation or issues.

Fifteen years after its founding, Harold Washington became convener of the IBLC at the same time that the state was trying to “dump” 3000 unresolved complaints before the Fair Employment Practices Commission. This issue, among others, demonstrated the need for black legislators to not only work together to initiate and pass progressive civil rights legislation, but also to monitor compliance by a bureaucracy that was still vulnerable to systemic and institutional racism, unable or unwilling to enforce even existing civil rights legislation. The IBLC continues today.

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ILLINOIS STATE SENATE



HAROLD WASHINGTON
SENATOR
18TH LEGISLATIVE DISTRICT

COMMITTEES:

JUDICIARY II, VICE-CHAIRMAN
HIGHER EDUCATION
INSURANCE AND LICENSING
PENSIONS, PERSONNEL AND
VETERANS AFFAIRS

MEMBER:

LEGISLATIVE REFERENCE BUREAU

TO: All Black Members of 81st Illinois General Assembly
FROM: Senator Harold Washington
SUBJECT: Function of the Illinois Black Legislative Caucus and Role of Convener for 1979-80 - An Outline
DATE: January 9, 1979

BACKGROUND

For at least the past fourteen years, Black legislators have operated with some degree of unity in both the Senate and the House of the Legislature. Blacks in each House functioned more or less as a study group, sharing information, dividing responsibility among members, rallying around certain issues and in a loose sense, coordinating activities between the two Houses. During the latter part of 1976, a majority of the Blacks in the House formalized their caucus and selected Raymond W. Ewell as pathfinder convener. He did a marvelous job. They also incorporated under the "not-for-profit" laws of the State of Illinois. During 1977 the House Caucus, merged with the Black senators, reincorporated, conducted regular meetings and adopted (during the spring of 1978) a legislative package for joint effort. The success of that effort, which included revision of the Title I state funding formula and a transfer of the State E.E.O. program to a separate agency, was gratifying. Formalized inter-House cooperation was clearly to our advantage in a General Assembly composed of strong interest groups—all of whom have their own priorities.

At the time of the House-Senate merger, it was agreed that the convenership should rotate between the two Houses each biennium. Consequently, the convener of the years 1979-80 will be selected by the Senate Blacks from among its members. On December 15, the six Black Senators unanimously selected me to fill that post for the next two years.

I wish to briefly outline, for your consideration, my conception of what our caucus should be about and the role of caucus convener.

1. LIMIT OF CAUCUS ACTIVITY

I do not see the Black Caucus (as a caucus) becoming involved in outside political activity unless by unanimous agreement. Such activity,

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Primary Source Document:
Letter to Members of the Illinois Black Legislative Caucus, 1979. From the Harold Washington Archives. Courtesy of the Special Collections Department, Chicago Public Library.

PIONEERS in the STRUGGLE

commitments which should not clash. I do not see the Caucus (as a caucus) becoming involved in issues outside of state government unless by consent. This too can create endless friction.

I view the Black Caucus as a group of elected leaders whose concern is that Illinois state government, (its Legislature, Executive and Judiciary) together with all its agencies, bureaus, commissions, etc., functions in the best interest of our community. I see us as innovators for and watchdogs over state government—particularly during the next four years.

2. CRITICAL ISSUES

It is clear that on the State level many of the laws and safeguards which we Blacks have so carefully constructed over the past years to guarantee the rights of our people are in jeopardy. It is also clear that the conservative climate in this state will make additional progress in the areas of health, penal reform, housing, educational funding, welfare, mental health, employment and business opportunities for our people very difficult. The Bakke case alone challenges our mettle. It is also clear that unless we deal with such problems they will go unattended. It follows that we must pool our talent, experience and numbers (fifteen in the House and six in the Senate) and as a group direct our efforts toward certain priority goals. In short, we have arrived at a point where institutionalization, (organization, expertise, stated goals, visibility and clear accountability) is called for. The Caucus must be strengthened.

This does not mean that the Caucus should attempt to dictate or control the activities of its members or to carry on a vendetta against either Party. We were each elected to represent our constituents as we deem best, utilizing whatever sources, political or otherwise as we see fit. It does mean that in the areas above designated we must search for and agree upon certain priorities which we can work for as a group.

3. FUNCTION

It is fundamental that the Caucus should, well in advance of the session, adopt a priority package. But as a group we can also assist each individual, particularly the newer members, in developing their own legislative packages.

There is, however, one crucial and critical area which each of us deals with on a daily basis but which now commands our unified attention: Black

unless agreed upon can be a source of real friction.

legislators in Illinois and throughout the country agree that even more important than dealing with legislation is the need to expand and intensify our oversight functions over state agencies which administer the laws we pass. For example, our Black legislators have devised and passed the best E.E.O., F.E.P.C., Public Contract and Affirmative Action laws in the country. However, the problems these laws are designed to resolve do not abate. Why? Lack of commitment on the part of chief executives and agency heads has scuttled our best efforts. How could 3,000 F.E.P.C. cases be dismissed for lack of timely processing and we not know they were in jeopardy? We should have known well in advance and raised hell. Also, many of our programs have not been adequately funded and have thus frustrated good administrators and disillusioned many of our people who saw hope in our programs. We must study the appropriation process more closely and become more hard-nosed on the money.

The oversight function should thus be one of our main priorities if not our prime commitment during the coming sessions.

4. ORGANIZATIONS

We should, therefore, develop strong ad hoc oversight committees and intensify our committee investigation and interrogation of agencies and agency heads. Ad hoc committees, chaired by our members, with civilian advisers could cover such areas as: education, health, prisons, E.E.O., housing, employment, taxes, revenue, etc. Each ad hoc group should oversee certain agencies, check offices and installation, talk with employees and agency heads, conduct hearings and investigations, suggest changes, recommend legislation, keep Caucus members informed and ballyhoo the hell out of what we are doing.

In short, our function is to make our Caucus the focal point for discussion of problems confronting Blacks, the poor and other minorities who look to state government for answers. There is a vacuum which we can fill.

5. STAFF

Obviously, this calls for staffing which should be a key function of the next convener to develop immediately. Each ad hoc chairman should utilize his own office staff as much as possible. However, within available limits, the Caucus staff should assist each legislator on an equal basis. Caucus staff could assist in press statements and press conferences; time, place and logistics of meetings;

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mailings, contact of expert help and witnesses travel arrangements, etc.; research.

6. FUNDING

Our annual "soul dinner" and the 1977 Black Legislative Dinner has established our ability to raise several thousand dollars annually. It could be expanded and promoted to increase the yield. Also, after having sounded several businesses I sincerely believe that an on-going solicitation program will bring a steady and lucrative return from many such businesses.

In the meantime, Caucus expenses can be kept well within the funds raised at our last affair. We should avoid the necessity of any member having to defray expenses from his own pocket. We should, of course, maintain our present rigid system of prior approval before disbursing funds.

7. FUNCTION OF CONVENER

I do not see the function of the convener as that of setting policy or of speaking for the Caucus unless directed to do so. Rigid adherence to that principle is a must.

I do not see the function of the convener as that of projecting himself as a leader. We are all leaders and the focus should be upon whichever member or members are actually engaging in a caucus function at a given time.

I see the role of convener as an administrator, a coordinator, an experienced legislator whose role is to assist each member in developing his program as that member and the Caucus sees fit.

I think the early morning breakfast should be continued on a minimum semi-monthly basis either in Springfield or Chicago with agendas in the hands of each member at least forty-eight (48) hours in advance.

The above comments on the need for the Caucus to become strongly institutionalized. (The function of the Caucus, organization of the Caucus, staff, Caucus funding and role of the convener) are of course mere outline and call for detailed discussion, amendment, revision and of course, adoption by the Caucus. They are, therefore, an agenda item for your consideration.

We, all of us, are in a position to build an institution dedicated to making state government respond to the many needs that our community demands.

- IDENTIFY THE DOCUMENT

1. Consider the section "Background."

- a. List the steps in the growth and formation of the IBLC.

- b. Why do you think it developed from a "study group" to a formal caucus, composed of both senators and representatives? What does Washington mean by institutionalization?

- c. Why do they need a "convener?"

2. In the section entitled "Critical Issues," what are the areas, according to Washington, that need immediate attention and make the caucus necessary?

3. Consider the section entitled "Function."

- a. What is involved in developing a "legislative package?"

- b. What function does Washington say is more important than dealing with legislation? Why? Does this seem an odd thing for a "legislator" to say? What example does Washington give to demonstrate his position here?

4. Consider the section called "Organizations."

Washington calls on the IBLC to develop oversight committees. What will the committees do? Why are they necessary?

PIONEERS in the STRUGGLE

QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER

DO IT!

- Create a "legislative package" for the Caucus today: What issues should be addressed? What new laws are needed? What enforcement? What oversight? Who do you think will come together to support the legislation?

PIONEERS
in the
STRUGGLE

THE ILLINOIS LEGISLATIVE
BLACK CAUCUS
PRESS RELEASE

Contact: (For immediate release)
Rep. Raymond Ewell, Convener September 29, 1978

GOVERNOR THOMPSON FOUGHT BLACK LEGISLATIVE CAUCUS PROGRAM

In a statement today the Illinois Legislative Black Caucus, composed of Rep. Corneal Davis, 29th Dist.; Sen. Kenneth Hall, 57th Dist.; Rep. Raymond W. Ewell, 29th Dist.; Rep. Eugene M. Barnes, 29th Dist.; Rep. Lewis A.H. Caldwell, 24th Dist.; Sen. Charles Chew, 29th Dist.; Sen. Earlean Collins, 21st Dist.; Rep. Emil Jones, Jr., 28th Dist.; Sen. Richard Newhouse, 24th Dist.; Rep. Jesse D. Madison, 21st Dist.; Rep. Peggy Smith Martin, 26th Dist.; Sen. Fred Smith, 22nd Dist.; Sen. Harold Washington, 26th Dist.; and Rep. Wyvetter H. Younge, 57th Dist., said:

"We, the members of the Black Illinois Legislative Caucus declare that James Thompson as Governor of the State of Illinois has not only failed to assist in the promotion, passage and implementation of legislation, law and programs designed to assist Black Citizens, but in many instances has actively worked against Black interests and the programs of the Black Caucus.

1. The Governor's public statement made on Saturday, September 16, 197[?] that he had worked for two years to improve the equal opportunity laws of the state for Blacks is untrue. The facts show precisely just the opposite.

The Black Legislative Caucus Bill that he signed into law on September 16, merely transferred the Equal Employment Office from the Department of Personnel to a separate agency. This bill was opposed by the Governor's office, his legislative leaders and most of his Republican legislators. Members of the Illinois Black Legislative Caucus were not present at that signing.

2. In 1977 the Black Legislative Caucus succeeded in increasing the appropriation of the F.E.P.C. by an additional \$300,000 in order to reduce its backlog of 2,500 cases, most of them filed by Black workers who claimed discrimination; Governor Thompson vetoed the appropriation; we overrode the veto but the Governor refused to spend the funds. The result was that in the spring of 1978 the Supreme Court dismissed 3,000 predominantly Black F.E.P.C. cases because of delay in processing.

3. The present chairman of the F.E.P.C. from Southern Illinois appointed by the Governor, fired many long-term competent Black employees of the F.E.P.C. for obvious political reasons. This disrupted the office, reduced its morale, decreased its efficiency and led to an increase in the backlog.

Primary Source Document:
Press Release from the
Illinois Legislative Black
Caucus, 1978. From the
Harold Washington
Archives. Courtesy of the
Special Collections
Department, Chicago
Public Library.

4. Representatives from the Governor's Bureau of the Budget sabotaged Black Caucus legislation which would have brought funding of the F.E.P.C. to an adequate level with no cost to the state. The legislation provided for a small charge on those contractors who are regulated by the state, similar to the practice in the insurance industry.

5. The Governor's Bureau of the Budget also defeated the Black Caucus Bill which would have set aside \$150 million in contracts for small businesses—including minorities. Under Black Director Roland Burris, many Blacks received state contracts. This program has been curtailed under the present Governor.

6. Governor Thompson's chairman of the Illinois Racing Board refused to carry out the practice of negotiating with race track owners for racing dates for qualified Black racing associations. This placed in jeopardy \$32 million per year which had been handled by Black racing groups. Under constant pressure by the Caucus some concessions have been made.

7. Instead of building at least one of the two new prisons in the Cook County area where relatives of Black inmates could visit at low cost and where Blacks could participate in construction of the new prisons and where potential Black prison employees could be recruited, the Governor chose to build both prisons downstate.

8. The number of Black state employees on the middle management level has been significantly reduced during the last two years under Governor Thompson. Fewer Blacks work in meaningful positions.

9. The meager tax refund bill, supported by the Black Caucus and vetoed by the Governor would have given a small refund to tens of thousands of low income Black renters and home owners in our community with no disruption to local services and little cost to the state.

10. The Department of Children and Family Services has under its charge many Black children from broken homes—all poor. The state had for years provided college grants to some of these deserving children. Governor Thompson discontinued these grants, dashing the aspirations of young Blacks for higher education and a more productive life.

Under Governors Otto Kerner, Richard Ogilvie and Dan Walker, Blacks made real progress in the area of fair employment and increased our share of state business for Black contractors. Each made significant contributions and Illinois was in the forefront of those states which were expanding opportunities for minorities and women.

Governor Thompson clearly lacks the commitment to Black progress that past Governors displayed in the vital areas of employment and business

PIONEERS in the STRUGGLE

Primary Source Document:
Press Release from
Representative Charles
Gaines, 1979. From the
Harold Washington
Archives. Courtesy of the
Special Collections
Department, Chicago
Public Library.



Representative Charles E. Gaines
Room 2011, William C. Stratton Bldg.
Springfield, Illinois 62706

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE GOVERNOR THOMPSON MEETS WITH BLACK LEGISLATORS

Springfield, IL - March 14, 1979

In response to a request by State Rep. Charles E. Gaines (R-29), Governor James R. Thompson invited all the Black legislators to meet with him Wednesday, March 14, 1979 at 3:00 p.m.

The following Black legislators availed themselves of this opportunity to confer with Governor Thompson about legislation and executive actions by the Governor that they felt would strongly effect the Black community:

Representative Wyvetter Younge
Representative Carole Moseley Braun
Representative Charles E. Gaines
Senator Harold Washington
& Senator Kenneth Hall

Several of the Black Democrats who did not attend this meeting had previously informed Rep. Gaines that they were not attending because Rep. James Taylor, the Assistant Democrat Majority Leader had to be in Chicago and could not attend.

Rep. Gaines states that he feels that the meeting was healthy and constructive because it gave Black legislators an opportunity to inform the Governor in person, rather than through an aide, what they felt was good or not so good for the Black Community.

Rep. Gaines further states that as the only Black Republican in the Illinois General Assembly, he felt that it was vital for the Governor to be able to distinguish between Black Democratic legislators speaking for the Democrat Opposition Party and Black Democrats speaking as concerned Black elected officials on behalf of Black people, as they were and did at this meeting, arranged by Rep. Gaines.

Governor Thompson explained to the legislators in attendance that he was remiss in not consulting with them before the proposed merger of the Civil Rights Agencies, but since final plans had not been decided upon he would see that they had an opportunity to discuss this vital matter with his staff and hopefully an agreeable plan could be arrived at.

Governor Thompson agreed to meet again with Black legislators Wednesday, March 21, 1979 at 3:00 P.M., at which time he hoped all those not in attendance today would be present. He accepted statements and suggestions from the legislators present and authorized Al Robinson, his Special Assistant for Minority Affairs to contact as many of the absent legislators as he could to get

Press Statement

March 29, 1979

Contact: Senator Harold Washington
(217) 782-8802

Governor Thompson is preparing legislation merging several state agencies dealing with the question of equal employment opportunities in both the public and private sector for minorities, women, etc. Under the general heading of a state civil rights commission agencies such as the Fair Employment Practices Commission, EEO and Human Relations would be combined. We have strong reservations regarding such legislation for the following reasons:

- (1) Inadequate time exists between now and the conclusion of this session for interested legislators to adequately study such a far-reaching proposal which they have not seen.
- (2) No input has to this point been permitted from strong interest groups, including the Black legislators, within the General Assembly who have been responsible for practically all civil rights legislation which has gone into the statutes of Illinois for the past fifteen years.
- (3) Such a merger presupposes that sound fiscal, employee and program audits and oversights have been undertaken by some responsible governmental body. We know of no such study. Practically all members of the Black legislative delegation have been the recipients over the past several civil rights agencies speaking to the inadequacies of these agencies. Unfortunately, the Fair Employment Practices Commission, EEO office, two of the several agencies involved in the merger appear to be in a state of total chaos.

The Fair Employment Practices Commission for the past several years has evidenced serious administrative failures. Many long-term employees of the agency have been released during the past two years for no sound apparent reason. Under-funding of the agency was in large part responsible for the approximately 3,000 cases which were dismissed due to "termination of jurisdiction." Nothing has been done initiatory powers which were designed to deal with plant-wide and/or industry-wide patterns of discrimination within the private sector. The Public Contracts Division which for several years evidenced remarkable growth and efficiency has been seriously crippled. The EEO Commission simply lacks a positive track record.

Further when we look at the disparities that exist in state agencies regarding percentage of minorities and women in middle management, average wages and the low percentage of Black men hired—we realize that these problems cannot be resolved with cosmetic mergers. Thorough study is needed to explain why these factors exist, not in a void, but also in relation to the effectiveness of state agencies dealing with employment training and placement as well as economic development programs.

At this point we must say that the proposed merger is premature and request that the Governor assist us in conducting a six month study covering such areas as civil rights, employment training and placement and area economic development.

Representative Raymond Ewell, Senator James McLendon, Representative Eugene Barnes, Senator Kenneth Hall, Representative Carol Braun, Senator Richard Newhouse, Representative Wyvetter Younge Senator Earlean Collins, Senator Harold Washington

PIONEERS in the STRUGGLE

Primary Source Document:
Press Release from the
Illinois Black Legislative
Caucus, 1979. From the
Harold Washington
Archives. Courtesy of the
Special Collections
Department, Chicago
Public Library.

PIONEERS in the STRUGGLE

QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER

DO IT!

- Discuss the differences between an internal memo and a press statement or release (such as audience, credibility, purpose). Select one of the press releases used in this activity and re-write it so that it becomes a private memo for a select group of legislators.

- **IDENTIFY THE DOCUMENTS**
 - Make a timeline listing the date, subject and purpose of each document.
1. Review the ways in which the press release of September 29, 1978 says that the Governor has worked against "Black interests and the programs of the Black Caucus."
 - a. According to the release, what was the governor's role in causing a backlog of 3,000 unaddressed cases by the FEPC?
 - b. How could you check to see if the characterization of the Governor's actions was accurate? What MORE would you need to find to authoritatively document this argument? Who would you want to interview?
 2. Consider the issues in points 4-10. Create a table using these issues. Describe the nature and extent of the problem as it existed in 1978 and as it exists today. What progress has been made or not made?
 3. One of Harold Washington's first acts as convenor of the IBLC was to schedule an official meeting with Governor Thompson. Why did Representative Gaines set up the meeting with the Governor rather than Washington? What did Representative Gaines think it was important for the Governor to understand? Why?
 4. In Washington's press release of March 29th, he calls on the Governor to assist the IBLC in what task?
 6. What caucus members are still in politics 22 years later and what are their positions?

FOUR ESSENTIAL RIGHTS

THE RIGHT TO SAFETY AND SECURITY
OF THE PERSON



THE RIGHT TO CITIZENSHIP
AND ITS PRIVILEGES



ALL AMERICANS



THE RIGHT TO FREEDOM
OF CONSCIENCE AND EXPRESSION



THE RIGHT TO EQUALITY
OF OPPORTUNITY

U.S. Civil Rights Commission, 1947

PIONEERS
in the
STRUGGLE

CONCLUSION

PIONEERS in the STRUGGLE

This curriculum tells the story of the African American struggle in Illinois for civil rights, equality, and political power within the context of the state legislature. Within that overall narrative are several subordinate story lines that describe specific historical processes. We see three distinct processes:

Process One

- a. The struggle to be recognized as citizens with equal protection under the Constitution develops into—
- b. The struggle to gain a political voice, the right to elect political representatives (and to run for office) to advance the interests of the community develops into—
- c. The struggle to apply the principles of equality to gain equal opportunity in public accommodations, employment, and other areas of everyday life.

Process Two

- a. The struggle often begins with broad legal statements of political rights as in the Emancipation Proclamation, and 13th, 14th, 15th amendments to the Constitution.
- b. This may begin to limit *de jure* discrimination. However, without enforcement of laws, discrimination may continue. This is called *de facto* discrimination. *De facto* discrimination is enabled by a system of ideas, beliefs, and prejudices which are part of the culture, perpetuated by both individuals and institutions.
- c. Weak civil rights laws are often strengthened over time by expanding their scope and mechanisms of enforcement.
- d. One of these mechanisms is that of a “commission” to which complaints may be brought, investigated and monitored.

Process Three

- a. The process of moving from a silenced and marginalized position to one in which people gain their political voice is the process of political empowerment.
- b. The process of political empowerment is a combination of grassroots activity and legislative action.
- c. Struggling minority communities may go through a stage in which they need the sponsorship of the

- dominant community to participate in the political process.
- d. The client-patron relationship will give way to greater independence as the community grows, but still one in which minority leadership may be tied to and supported by the party organization.
 - e. Over time, and with parallel action of a mass movement or grassroots organizations, the elected leadership may become independent of the mainstream political parties, begin to take action, make decisions and form alliances. This may become a strong challenge to the status quo.

The primary source documents, Q2C, essays, and activities work to reflect these three processes. Upon completion of the curriculum, students should be able to describe these processes and create timelines documenting the changes over the past 150 years. They should also begin to apply what they know about the struggle for citizenship and political empowerment to the historical experience of other peoples. Finally, they should be able to relate historical issues to today's concerns. *Pioneers in the Struggle* is not only history, but civics education as well. Students who are able to engage in these distinct modes of critical thinking are more likely to become stakeholders and participants in society.

PIONEERS in the STRUGGLE

SOURCES

Materials used to create this curriculum are available to the public for further research at the following institutions:

University of Illinois at Chicago Special Collections
A Century of Progress Records

Chicago Historical Society

John Jones and the Irene McCoy Gaines Collections
(See also: Earl B. Dickerson and the Claude Barnett Papers)

Chicago Public Library

Harold Washington Archives
State of Illinois Documents: *Illinois Blue Book, Legislative Reference Bureau, Journal of House, Senate, Laws of Illinois*
Chicago Defender, Chicago Evening Journal, Chicago Inter-Ocean,
Chicago Tribune, (microfilm)
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