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Bryan Jenks

## Students in the Carbondale, Illinois Civil Rights Movement

Jim Crow laws persisted in a large part of the United States even after the overturn of *Plessy vs. Ferguson* by *Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka* in 1954. Many states, both north and south, continued to maintain the Jim Crow laws that kept black people and white people separated. In areas like Southern Illinois, schools had integrated, but many white businesses still maintained white-only service, with the most severe violations taking place in Cairo, Illinois. In the summer of 1962, students at Southern Illinois University (SIU) banded together in an attempt to organize an effort to stop segregation in Southern Illinois, and created the Student Non-violent Freedom Committee (SNFC). This committee helped to coordinate and supervise different protests in the Southern Illinois region, and then later in surrounding states, as well. Locally organized by students, the SNFC helped shape the national civil rights movement, and had a dramatic effect on the effort to end Jim Crow in the Southern Illinois region.

The efforts of groups like the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) helped to create an environment that nurtured the youth of the civil rights movement. In February of 1960, four college students in Greensboro, North Carolina started the youth movement by participating in a sit-in, and within a matter of days the sit-ins had spread to fifteen cities in five southern states, with over fifty thousand students participating

in sit-ins or demonstrations in the following months.<sup>1</sup> Those sit-ins did not have any unifying force except the desire by all involved to do something to change the oppressive policies of the time. They did not coordinate their efforts, however, which was the reason for the formation of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). The goal of this organization was to coordinate the national effort of the youth into a single force that could challenge segregation across the USA. The youth involved in this movement believed in the use of non-violence. They suffered blows, beatings, and verbal abuses, and not strike back—exercising an astounding level of will power and self-control.<sup>2</sup>

Before the 1960s, few civil rights groups participated in large scale protests, but with the awakening of the youth and the formation of the SNCC, non-violent protests became the center of the civil rights movement. The Montgomery Bus Boycott had, up to that time, been the largest coordinated protest of the civil rights movement. Sit-ins and protests from college students almost eclipsed the scale of the Montgomery boycott overnight. While the NAACP and CORE made vital advances in the civil rights movement, the SNCC took the lead in direct action by skillfully coordinating student involvement.<sup>3</sup> The awakening of the youth changed the way that the civil rights movement unfolded. Instead of court battles, most action now took place by local students who followed a non-violent form of protest aimed at integrating the entire nation.

The zeal and passion from the college movement spread across the nation, and groups all around the country formed in response. In the summer of 1962, a group of college students at Southern Illinois University wanted to participate in this nationwide movement. John O’Neal and Mary McCollum first formed a group of peers to look into housing for black people at SIU and in the Carbondale area.<sup>4</sup> The self-run group soon expanded its activities. In early June of 1962, Reverend Blaine Ramsey, of the Word Chapel Church in Cairo, invited a group of

around twenty SIU students to attend an NAACP meeting about discrimination problems in Cairo.<sup>5</sup> A former student from SIU, Mary McCollum, spoke at the meeting and represented the students from SIU. McCollum, a white person and from Nashville, Tennessee, attended SIU in the spring 1962 semester, and planned on returning for the fall 1962 semester. She was a SNCC field secretary, and worked with the Freedom Riders the previous year.<sup>6</sup> McCollum received training in, and had experienced, civil rights activism, and knew how to implement non-violent protests. Her efforts proved invaluable to the protests carried out against segregation in Cairo throughout the summer of 1962.

At the meeting on June 11, the people of Cairo raised multiple concerns about discrimination in their town, and formed the Cairo Nonviolent Freedom Committee (CNFC) with the help and support of the SIU students. Two SIU representatives acted as advisors to this group, one of which was Mary McCollum. Sixteen-year-old Charles Koen headed the committee. Immediately following this meeting there was a ten-day training program where people in the community, mostly high school students, received training in nonviolent tactics.<sup>7</sup> The two advisors from SIU took the lead in the training of Cairo youth in non-violent tactics. While adults and youth formed the CNFC in Cairo, students formed the vast majority of protesters, most of whom were younger than twenty years old.

Universal support for the formation of the CNFC did not exist at SIU. The student council at SIU failed to approve a resolution supporting the CNFC and its campaign in Cairo to end segregation. An article about the decision in *The Egyptian* titled “Student Council Fails” indicates some support for the group in Cairo and its SIU student supporters.<sup>8</sup> Support for the group remained shaky at first, as people remained uncertain of what the group represented at that

point. As the fight dragged on, people began to see that the group would not quit. It gradually began to gain more support from both in and around the community.

The first decisive action took place at a restaurant called Mack's BBQ. A team tested and deemed the business worthy for protest. The facility refused service to the first test group, and when informed of Illinois's public accommodation law they received overpriced food that was inedible.<sup>9</sup> The ensuing protest was non-violent. A picket line holding signs outside the building did not harass or prevent people from entering the business, but a group gradually formed around the protesters. Mary McCollum led the protest, and as the crowd turned violent around them a man charged the group with a knife. McCollum blocked him, and received a knife slash to her thigh that required twelve stitches.<sup>10</sup> Dedication in the face of extreme danger exemplifies how the youth of the civil rights movement were willing to sacrifice anything to achieve their goal of an equal society. The protests continued into July with six protestors arrested, and they finally ended when the owner served food to two black protestors.<sup>11</sup> Soon-to-be Vice President of the SNFC, Jim Adams, was in Cairo supporting the sit-ins when the police arrested him. They charged him with supposedly trespassing on church grounds. In response, *The Egyptian* published an article entitled "Jim Adams Day?"<sup>12</sup> The article supported the student's actions in Cairo, and it commended SIU for recognizing the brave action of one of its students.<sup>13</sup> The support for the protests in Cairo began to grow as more publicity about the event spread, and as more and more students began to rally behind the movement.

Students at SIU continued to travel to Cairo to support the protest. On July 8, the students at SIU formed their own organization, the SNFC, and elected John O'Neal as their president. Prior to the formation of the organization, support from SIU had merely been people acting on their own accord with no governing body. The group stated that their goal was to "coordinate

activities against any racial discrimination they might find in Southern Illinois.” They placed special interest for the summer of 1962 on Cairo.<sup>14</sup> The group helped with the coordination of the efforts by organizing buses to take SIU students to Cairo. However, the group did not limit itself to one town or county. Rather, the group stood against all segregation in Southern Illinois and beyond, which put it at the forefront of student activism in the civil rights movement in Southern Illinois.

The University also began to put its support behind the students, and took precautions to stay on the student’s side. On July 11, Dennis Trueblood, a professor in the Department of Higher Education, wrote to SIU President Delyte Morris outlining his opinion on the incidents taking place in Cairo, and about the SNFC. Trueblood made several important points in his letter to President Morris. He advised President Morris not to try to control the students, but to simply let the student exercise their rights as citizens.<sup>15</sup> Trueblood also recommended that President Morris look into the school’s own discrimination policies.<sup>16</sup> In the past two years the policies had become lax, and two instances of discrimination had occurred.<sup>17</sup> Unintentionally, the SNFC caused the administration at SIU to begin its own self-examination to combat discrimination within the university. Trueblood’s aim was to warn President Morris that the university could be at risk of the student-led group turning on SIU, and that the university should take steps, such as hiring more black staff and enforcing non-discriminatory policies on campus, in order to prevent this from happening. Trueblood acknowledged that the youth would not submit to any control from above, and that any attempt to do so could result in protests against SIU.

The SNFC acted swiftly and decisively in the coming months. They started by helping to organize two protests at the roller rink and swimming pool in Cairo. The pool proved an easier target because the Rotary Club operated it, a national organization with a non-discriminatory

policy. The protests took place from July 14 to July 15, 1962. Police arrested over forty students (three from SIU). Of the forty arrested, only twenty were over the age of seventeen.<sup>18</sup> Seventeen of the students chose to remain in jail, including the three SIU students, and went on hunger strikes in protest of the arrests.<sup>19</sup> One of the three SIU students arrested was Jim Adams, vice president of the SNFC. He organized the hunger strikes in the jail. In response to the arrests, students at SIU held a morale drive where sympathizers wore white arm bands to show support. Students estimated that they distributed over five hundred arm bands.<sup>20</sup> The student population rallied to show their support for their fellow students in jail, for the courage they embodied by going on hunger strikes, and for their dedication to the cause. The jailed students cared more for the movement than they did for their personal health and well-being. The SNFC helped to spread the news of the fight going on in Cairo, and proved essential in organizing the transportation of students to Cairo to participate in the protests. That helped to expand the scope of the action taken in Cairo, to generate support from other towns in the area.

Trials for the arrested protestors took place on July 20. They ended with the court charging and fining twenty-one people for their actions. When the protestors appealed the charges, the courtroom filled with black people from the town of Cairo, and supporters from SIU, to the extent that people overflowed outside of the courtroom. While the trial took place, the crowd outside sang freedom songs in protest of the trials, showing their unity against the oppression being committed against them.<sup>21</sup> The court charged and convicted the three SIU students. Jim Adams, vice president of the SNFC, was charged \$300, and the two others charged \$100. The three student's cases continued until August 17, but the court released the students from jail six days after their arrest, after they posted bail. Following the trials, the CNFC and the SNFC held a meeting, and afterwards, they organized a march where over three hundred

demonstrators marched silently through the main part of town. Thirty-five of the demonstrators were SIU students.<sup>22</sup> The CNFC and the SNFC kept the pressure on the City of Cairo to make it clear that the fight would not stop until justice and equality existed there. The black people of Cairo joined together to demand that they receive equal rights. The march showed how support for the movement in Cairo gained more and more momentum, as publicity from the non-violent protests continued to reach people. The resolve of the people involved did not falter when the police tried to end their protests. Instead, the SNFC used the arrests as a rallying cry that only strengthened their will to keep fighting. They continued to show their support for Cairo by encouraging its members to travel there to participate in the protests.

The marches and protests attracted attention to SIU. On July 20, 1962, John O'Neal wrote a letter to President Morris reaffirming the purpose of the SNFC. O'Neal did not want the university to see the group as negatively representing the university, but instead as a positive mark on its record. John O'Neal stated, as in the constitution of the SNFC:

We affirm our faith in the ultimate value of every person as asserted by the religious and ethical traditions of our civilizations, and by our present commitment. We affirm our belief in the right of every person to the freedom and respect, implied by this faith regardless of distinctions among persons. We consider racial discrimination contrary to this belief. We affirm our belief in the principles of non-violence as that way of bringing about the social change, while respecting the dignity of those persons who oppose such change. We affirm our duty as students to work toward furthering these ideals and principles in our community and in society as a whole, with the firm conviction that, only by these principles can this or any nation be truly democratic.<sup>23</sup>

The steadfast values the students of the SNFC had in pursuing their goal of equality through non-violent means always remained embedded in how they operated and represented themselves.

John O'Neal admitted to President Morris that the SNFC had been responsible for much of the action taking place in Cairo, but that the SNFC believed what they were doing was a necessity for the community in Cairo.<sup>24</sup> The last line about creating a truly democratic nation demonstrates



how the group saw itself as participating in the larger movement to give equal rights to all people in the United States, and how the group saw itself as performing actions that bettered society as a whole.

Later in the week, a reporter from *The Egyptian* interviewed John O'Neal about the SNFC and their actions in Cairo. The main issue at hand regarded the "violence" that had taken place in Cairo, and why non-violent protests seem to inevitably lead to "violence." O'Neal responded to those accusations by saying that people do not change overnight, and that the protestors had not broken any of their nonviolent codes.<sup>25</sup> He stated that "in terms of violence worked on us, that is something that each individual who participates has to work out for himself. If he is willing to suffer violence and accept it and still maintain an attitude of love and respect, as much as possible then he's ready to participate."<sup>26</sup> The SNFC believed not in creating violence, but in stopping it from happening again by changing the people who brought violence onto them. The protests aimed "to be corrective in terms of that individuals own moral sickness."<sup>27</sup> The SNFC and the larger civil rights movement sought to eradicate racism through the use of non-violent tactics and policies. The act of protesting instead of holding court cases brought the issue to each individual person in Cairo so that they could no longer claim this problem did not exist. By not fighting back and maintaining a friendly, humble, calm, and forgiving attitude the protestors earned respect.<sup>28</sup>

On July 24, *The Egyptian* published three articles written by students showing multiple views held at SIU. One article, titled "Education vs. Demonstrations," argued that authorities should stop the actions taken by students because the upheaval and the drastic changing of culture would only lead to more turmoil. Instead, the article's authors posited, authorities should integrate at a slow pace to let education and social economic gains gradually change the

population.<sup>29</sup> The students who wrote this article claimed to be in support of equal rights, but the article clearly shows they disapprove of the integration attempt in Cairo. The fact that *The Egyptian* published this article revealed that the view shared by two authors of the article was common. Another article in *The Egyptian*, "Questions Need Answering," written by a member of the student council, took a neutral stance on the issue. It stated that students may act as they wish (regarding Cairo), but that the student council was not involved in the movement, nor was it backing the movement.<sup>30</sup> The last article titled "Students are Involved," written by Wendell O'Neal, vice president of the SNFC and younger brother to John O'Neal, called for active support of the demonstrations in Cairo. O'Neal's article contended that "We are involved; each of us, whether white or Negro."<sup>31</sup> Wendell O'Neal spoke directly to each individual student on campus when he said that "I think that it is painfully evident that until each of us realizes his personal involvement in this situation that confronts us that we are shrinking our responsibility and abusing our privilege as people, as Americans, as Individuals."<sup>32</sup> The student body at the end of July did not know where to stand, many simply ignored the problem, and only a small percentage decided to not shrink from their responsibility. However, the movement, compared to where it had started, had grown immensely. The whole campus, the whole city, and much of Southern Illinois knew of the SNFC and the fight taking place in Cairo.

Possibly in response to the publicity to the SNFC and the continued demonstrations in Cairo, Reverend Lockard of Shiloh Baptist Church in Cairo wrote a letter to President Morris, on July 24. The contents of the letter asked two questions. One question asked about what jurisdiction the University has over its students, and the other asked if the actions of the protestors represented only themselves or the University as a whole.<sup>33</sup> The reaction of Reverend Lockard to the actions of the SNFC sheds light on the impact that the group had in Cairo, and

how the students became viewed as a serious threat to segregation there. President Morris drafted a response but never sent it. In it, he stated that the students were not under the control of SIU and that the students did not represent SIU as a whole, but in the ending paragraph Morris said that “The issues being explored in Cairo are critical to the welfare of all mankind.”<sup>34</sup> President Morris, while never directly stating that he backed the movement in Cairo, unofficially supported the efforts of his students, and thought their endeavor was a just one from the beginning.

The efforts of people like Reverend Lockhart and others did not deter the SNFC, and on July 28 the group expanded itself further. They sent a testing team into Murphysboro, Illinois to investigate any discriminatory practices there. Upon finding some discriminatory practices, John O’Neal spoke to the community asking if they wanted to take a stand against segregation. He stated that “We’re here to help you, but we won’t do things for you.”<sup>35</sup> The reason for not protesting themselves remained the same reason why the SNFC helped to form the CNFC—the people needed to change their own mindset in order to make the changes permanent. The people of Murphysboro responded by inviting the SNFC back on August 7, 1962 for a community meeting. They appointed a subcommittee from the SNFC to help organize the people, and they decided to test the swimming pool. The following day they found that the pool did not allow black people to enter. Due to the publicity about Cairo, and for fear of protests from the SNFC, the pool owners and others in the community quickly changed their discriminatory policies.

The SNFC built a reputation as a group that was not afraid to take a stand against discrimination. The sheer determination and commitment of the group made multiple business owners in Murphysboro change their ways without the need to stage public protests. The Murphysboro Nonviolent Freedom Organization (MNFO) formed on August 16, 1962 to continue the fight against segregation and discrimination. A sub-committee formed to study

employment problems and another human relations sub-committee formed to pinpoint goals in order to work toward an understanding with civic and business leaders in Murphysboro.<sup>36</sup> This organization differed from the SNFC and the CNFC in that students did not lead the organization, but students actively participated in this group as facility testers and as protestors. The SNFC continued its role as an advisor and supporter of the MNFO after its formation.

Meanwhile, the movement in Cairo became increasingly volatile as the summer progressed. The CNFC and the SNFC continued their protests of multiple businesses in Cairo. On August 10, 1962, President Morris received an anonymous letter from Cairo. The letter was very hostile, with the opening paragraph stating:

Mr. president I just know that you are delighted to send your stuges [*sic*] down to Cairo to disturb the community and create a lot of publicity for your great University, you load them up at the beautiful student center that the tax payers built, and send them down to Cairo to form mobs and try their best to put our business people out of business, (needless to say communistic) [*sic*].<sup>37</sup>

Some people became desperate to keep the status quo in Cairo, and this letter revealed some of the anger and hatred from the racist people there. Other lines from the letter said that “If nothing else we can find out why you send them down here so dirty they stink they are filthy, have them take a bath before the come down they stink up our streets and our jails.”<sup>38</sup> When compared to the letter from the Shiloh Baptist Church a dramatic change in attitude becomes apparent. The tone became very hostile and vengeful, which demonstrates the impact the SNFC had in Cairo. The SNFC successfully broke down barriers, and the people who had resisted them realized that they were losing the fight.

The anger and hatred in Cairo came to a climax on August 17, 1962 during protests at the Roller Rink. Since the July 20 trials, protests continued at the pool, supermarket, and the roller rink. Charles Koen and Mary McCollum led the protest group at the roller rink. The group

encountered the normal racial slurs and comments as they maintained their peaceful conduct. However, the situation quickly turned violent as a crowd gathered around the group. An elderly man struck Charles Koen viciously across the forehead with a black jacket knife, and then proceeded to strike another protestor, Charlene Williams, multiple times across the head, shoulders, right arm, and back as she tried to shield Charles.<sup>39</sup> The hostile crowd quickly surrounded the group and struck multiple protestors with bats, chains, clubs, sticks, and shot at multiple times—several students receiving severe wounds. When the sheriff arrived on scene, McCollum asked for help in finding injured protestors who were still missing, but he completely ignored her. When she asked for help in taking wounded protestors to the hospital, the sheriff told her that “You got them here, you get them back.” Not only did the angry mob violently and maliciously attack the group of protestors, but they received no support from the local sheriff or state police in getting medical help or in looking for suspects in the attack.

The SNFC and the CNFC fought an uphill battle. They fought not only against many of the common people in the town, but also people in authoritative positions in Cairo. The police and city government did not carry out their duties to protect the black and white protestors, or uphold the law. The sheriff finally arrested four men. Clifford Jones took part in the attack, and repeatedly pointed a pistol at the group of students. Nonetheless, the Sheriff ignored that until multiple people directly brought it to his attention, and even then he seemed reluctant to arrest him. Even with those few arrests, the police did not intend to convict any of the men involved. Only with the arrival of the Reverend Blaine Ramsey and Dr. L. C. Holman (state president of the NAACP), did the police bring any real charges against the assailants. In total, seven students went to the hospital for the wounds inflicted upon them by the mob. The oldest student was twenty-two and the youngest was only thirteen years old.<sup>40</sup>

The events of August 17, 1962 affirmed the determination of racist people in Cairo to maintain their power. Yet, as with the other arrests, trials, and setbacks of the summer, the CNFC and the SNFC used the incident to strengthen their cause. The organization sent telegrams to the governor looking for support, and acknowledgement of the situation. On August 20, Charles Koen, John O'Neal, Reverend Ramsey, Dr. Holman, and Roger Nathan met with the governor along with one hundred individuals who were ready to protest if the meeting proved unsatisfactory.<sup>41</sup> The meeting resulted in the governor saying that "the group should continue to demonstrate whenever it was deemed necessary," and the attorney general stated that his office would now prosecute in any case of unlawful segregation.<sup>42</sup> While the violence that happened on August 17 was tragic, the results brought the full support of the State of Illinois.

The support from the Illinois government affected other communities in addition to Cairo. After the meeting with the governor, John O'Neal and Charles Koen spoke to the MNFO encouraging them to continue their fight, as well.<sup>43</sup> Barriers swiftly fell in Murphysboro following that meeting with state officials. The CNFC made progress in Cairo, too, with admission granted to black people by the owners of the roller rink, cafes and hotels. They also made significant progress in the independent voter's league, which helped black people obtain a voice in government and to run for office.<sup>44</sup> The achievements accomplished over the summer likewise had effects in Carbondale, Illinois. In October, the student council at SIU passed a resolution (by one vote) supporting student's nonviolent activities against segregation, and for the continued fight to achieve equal rights for all citizens.<sup>45</sup> While only passing by one vote, the resolution shows how the SIU campus began to recognize the importance of the SNFC and their fight against discrimination.

At the end of 1962, the SNFC said that “The Movement has as its goal the enlightenment and freedom of all men, all mankind.”<sup>46</sup> The SNFC did not limit itself to one area or one battle, and in the years to come continued to expand their fight against racial discrimination. The SNFC newspaper created in 1964 reveals how the group continued to expand its reach and prestige. In November of 1964, they launched a campaign to help with the voter registration movement in Mississippi. Ten SIU students went to Mississippi to act as leaders, to help register black people to vote, and to organize protests. Jane Adams, an SIU student and member of the SNFC, became the coordinator of federal projects for the State of Mississippi.<sup>47</sup> The students fought to allow black people to assert their power at the polls, and many gave up a semester of schooling to participate in the movement. In January of 1965, The SNFC continued to wage battles in Carbondale by launching a series of protests against businesses that practiced discriminatory hiring.<sup>48</sup> While protesters did eliminate some areas of blatant discrimination, other areas such as hiring, housing, and pay remained unequal between black and white people in Carbondale. In April of 1965, the SNFC also helped send students to a march on Washington to protest discriminatory voter registration in the United States.<sup>49</sup> The SNFC fought against discrimination at home, and lent its support to the national movement by sending volunteers and financial contributions.

The SNFC made significant breakthroughs against Jim Crow in the Southern Illinois region, and the group expanded to help fight in the larger civil rights movement across the country. The group helped form not only a local organization in Carbondale, but also two other organizations in Murphysboro and Cairo. Together, these organizations reduced segregation in Cairo, and achieved support from the state government. The local SNFC continued to push for integration in nearby states, and also fought for equal employment

opportunities in Carbondale and in surrounding communities. The courageous actions of students like John O’Neal and Marry McCollum helped shape the driving force behind those movements and organizations. Students emerged as an essential force in the effort to end segregation in Southern Illinois. They performed extraordinary acts that helped to shape the local, regional, and national civil rights movements, and formed a solid foundation for the fight to end segregation and discrimination.

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<sup>1</sup> Howard Zinn, *SNCC: The New Abolitionists* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1964), 16.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 14.

<sup>3</sup> “SNCC: Freedom Movement in the South,” Beatrice Stegeman Collection on Civil Rights in Southern Illinois, Special Collections Research Center, Southern Illinois University Carbondale.

<sup>4</sup> *The Egyptian*, June 29, 1962, *Online Archives Daily Egyptian*, Special Collections Research Center, Morris Library, Southern Illinois University Carbondale.

<sup>5</sup> *The Egyptian*, July 24, 1962, Interview with John O’Neal, Beatrice Stegeman Collection on Civil Rights in Southern Illinois, Special Collections Research Center, Southern Illinois University Carbondale.

<sup>6</sup> *The Egyptian*, June 29, 1962.

<sup>7</sup> “SNFC Cairo Southern Roots report,” Beatrice Stegeman Collection on Civil Rights in Southern Illinois, Special Collections Research Center, Southern Illinois University Carbondale.

<sup>8</sup> *The Egyptian*, July 10, 1962, Box 373, University Archives: Office of the President and Student Activities, Special Collections Research Center, Morris Library, Southern Illinois University Carbondale.

<sup>9</sup> SNFC Cairo Southern Roots report.

<sup>10</sup> *The Student Voice*, October 1962, Beatrice Stegeman Collection on Civil Rights in Southern Illinois, Special Collections Research Center, Southern Illinois University Carbondale.

<sup>11</sup> SNFC Cairo Southern Roots report.

<sup>12</sup> *The Egyptian*, July 10, 1962.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>14</sup> *The Southern Illinoisan*, July 9, 1962, Box 373, University Archives: Office of the President and Student Activities, Special Collections Research Center, Morris Library, Southern Illinois University Carbondale.

<sup>15</sup> *Dennis Trueblood to President Morris*, July 11, 1962, Box 373, University Archives: Office of the President and Student Activities, Special Collections Research Center, Morris Library, Southern Illinois University Carbondale.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>18</sup> SNFC Cairo Southern Roots report.

<sup>19</sup> *The Egyptian*, July 16, 1962, Box 373, University Archives: Office of the President and Student Activities, Special Collections Research Center, Morris Library, Southern Illinois University Carbondale.

<sup>20</sup> SNFC Cairo Southern Roots report.

<sup>21</sup> *The Egyptian*, July 20, 1962, Box 373, University Archives: Office of the President and Student Activities, Special Collections Research Center, Morris Library, Southern Illinois University Carbondale.

<sup>22</sup> SNFC Cairo Southern Roots report.

<sup>23</sup> *John O’Neal to President Morris*, July 20, 1962, Box 373, University Archives: Office of the President and Student Activities, Special Collections Research Center, Morris Library, Southern Illinois University Carbondale.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>25</sup> *The Egyptian*, July 24, 1962.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*



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- <sup>28</sup> *SNFC Nonviolence Key to Dignity report*, Beatrice Stegeman Collection on Civil Rights in Southern Illinois, Special Collections Research Center, Southern Illinois University Carbondale.
- <sup>29</sup> William J. Ball and James M. Bail, *The Egyptian*, July 24, 1962.
- <sup>30</sup> Robert K. Gray, *The Egyptian*, July 24, 1962.
- <sup>31</sup> Wendell O'Neal, *The Egyptian*, July 24, 1962.
- <sup>32</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>33</sup> *Shiloh Baptist Church to President Morris July 26, 1962*, Box 373, University Archives: Office of the President and Student Activities, Special Collections Research Center, Morris Library, Southern Illinois University Carbondale.
- <sup>34</sup> *Drafted response to Shiloh Baptist Church from President Morris September 10, 1962*, Box 373, University Archives: Office of the President and Student Activities, Special Collections Research Center, Morris Library, Southern Illinois University Carbondale.
- <sup>35</sup> *SNFC Murphysboro report: Citizens Take the Lead*, Beatrice Stegeman Collection on Civil Rights in Southern Illinois, Special Collections Research Center, Southern Illinois University Carbondale.
- <sup>36</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>37</sup> *Letter from Cairo to President Morris August 10, 1962*, Box 373, University Archives: Office of the President and Student Activities, Special Collections Research Center, Morris Library, Southern Illinois University Carbondale.
- <sup>38</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>39</sup> "SNFC Cairo Action Report", Beatrice Stegeman Collection on Civil Rights in Southern Illinois, Special Collections Research Center, Southern Illinois University Carbondale.
- <sup>40</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>41</sup> Cairo: Southern Roots.
- <sup>42</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>43</sup> Murphysboro: Citizens Take the Lead.
- <sup>44</sup> Cairo: Southern Roots.
- <sup>45</sup> *Southern Illinoisan*, October 19, 1962, Box 373, University Archives: Office of the President and Student Activities, Special Collections Research Center, Morris Library, Southern Illinois University Carbondale.
- <sup>46</sup> "SNFC Future Proposal: Intensified Student Involvement", Beatrice Stegeman Collection on Civil Rights in Southern Illinois, Special Collections Research Center, Southern Illinois University Carbondale.
- <sup>47</sup> *SNFC Newsletter*, November, 1964 Vol. I no. I, Box 8, Campus Newsletters, Special Collections Research Center, Morris Library, Southern Illinois University Carbondale.
- <sup>48</sup> *SNFC Newsletter*, January, 1965 Vol. I no. 4, Box 8, Campus Newsletters, Special Collections Research Center, Morris Library, Southern Illinois University Carbondale.
- <sup>49</sup> *SNFC Newsletter*, April, 1965 Vol. I no. 7, Box 8, Campus Newsletters, Special Collections Research Center, Morris Library, Southern Illinois University Carbondale.