

LEGACY

A Journal of Student Scholarship

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April Robinson-Kain

The Infamous Madame Hatchett and Her Sons: Great Depression through the Civil Rights Movement

Introduction

During the Great Depression of the 1930s, Johanna Hatchett, an African American woman in Southern Illinois, found herself in a difficult situation to care for her family when her husband and eldest son died unexpectedly. As a historical pattern, the only jobs available for African American women were domestic positions, too, adversely affected by the failing economy.¹ Yet, she sought to sustain her family and help numerous people within her community by exploiting unconventional means of support for her family's remaining members. Hatchett's determination and notorious business practices were well-known throughout Southern Illinois and the country. This essay examines the interconnectedness of race, gender, and class by illustrating the personal and professional struggles of Johanna Hatchett, along with her attitudes toward community during the Great Depression, and the role she played in the desegregation of local schools by guaranteeing access to college educations for her surviving children.

This study of Johanna Hatchett of Number Nine, Illinois, methodically analyses primary and secondary source materials and personal interviews.² These materials include personal diaries, community memorabilia, photographs, and newspaper articles imperative to understanding the lives of the Hatchett family and the culture in which they lived. These sources provide significant detail and insight into the lives, community functions, and importance of race relations during this era. The documents further reveal the values, concerns, and societal conditions some African American women experienced during the Great Depression and up to the Civil Rights Era. Additionally, I interviewed Dayton Franklin, a friend and neighbor

1 Great Depression and World War II, 1929-1945 Race Relations in the 1930s and 1940s." Library of Congress. Library of Congress, 2020.<https://www.loc.gov/teachers/classroommaterials/presentationsandactivities/presentations/timeline/depwwii/race/>.

2 Data collection for primary sources consisted of two repositories: Williamson County Historical Society in Marion, IL and Southern Illinois University Special Collections in Carbondale, IL, and an oral history interview.

of Johanna Hatchett. While memory and remembering often conflict with historical narratives, Mr. Franklin's memories speak primarily about Ms. Hatchett's charitable contributions to her community. Finally, the secondary sources under analysis documented the daily challenges faced by African American women during an era rife with Jim Crow laws, sundown towns, and active Ku Klux Klan community chapters.

Lastly, one significant limitation often faced by historians was the narrow trail of personal records. In the case of Ms. Hatchett, many personal records have been misplaced or destroyed throughout the years. Those who best knew her are now deceased. Nevertheless, Mrs. Hatchett's life's fragmented pieces will significantly enrich our understanding of African American women in Southern Illinois.

African American Women during and after the Great Depression in Southern Illinois

In the United States historiography, a persistent narrative argues that women shouldered the primary role of caring for the children and maintaining the home.³ In the early twentieth century, diverting notions about adolescence and adulthood, where children no longer fit the idea of small adults, there was a shifting view in which childhood became a time of curiosity, play, learning, and fun. Jane Adams described this shift in *Resistance to "Modernity": Southern Illinois Farm Women and the Cult of Domesticity*, noting that as American values became progressively more focused on rearing children, society became more delineated by gender separation industrial production versus household commerce.⁴ These structural transformations placed the responsibility of morality on Mothers whose tasks centered on domesticity, integrity, and obedience to a patriarchal society.

African American mothers had an added burden as they dealt with the devastating forces of racism, oppression, and socio-economic and political isolation, causing a detrimental effect on African American households' viability. This burden was due to a combination of race relations, accepted gender roles, and the need to earn wages. In *Transitioning the Caregiving Role for the Next Generation: An African-Centered Womanist Perspective*, the authors explained that these factors had a remarkably significant impact on economically disadvantaged, mother-only households burdened with intense physical and emotional responsibilities along with diminished social supports

3 "Married Women During the Great Depression." <https://thegreatdepression-family.weebly.com/married-women-during-the-great-depression.html>.

4 Jane Adams, "Resistance to 'Modernity': Southern Illinois Farm Women and the Cult of Domesticity," *American Ethnologist* 20, no. 1 (February 1993): 89–113.

from their community.⁵

In Southern Illinois during the Prohibition Era, African Americans faced the pressures of segregation, Jim Crow Laws, and the activities of the KKK, as noted by Tyler D'Ambrose in *Morality in an Era of Lawlessness: How the KKK and Organized Crime Attempted to Instill their Visions of America during the Prohibition Era*.⁶ D'Ambrose examined the notion of morality through lawful and lawless events carried out by whites under the pretense of moral superiority during the Prohibition Era in Southern Illinois, events ethically problematic. D'Ambrose showed that the idea of morality was used by different groups of men to justify organized crime, the Ku Klux Klan worldview, and law enforcement; each group redefined it to further their ambitions.

While there is a significant number of studies focusing on the lives of African American women in the United States historiography, there is a lack of studies on African American and organized crimes, let alone studies on African American women who owned and operated businesses outside of the law, especially in Southern Illinois.⁷ This study endeavors to bring awareness to the strength and determination (agency) of one African American Woman who ran a successful business, though problematic, as she provided for her family and assisted those in need within her neighborhood during an era of subjugation by the white race.

The Great Depression

The Great Depression ended the United States' post-war prosperity, bringing a degree of suffering unimaginable to many. This suffering was incredibly real for minorities. Investigators from the National League on Urban Conditions Among African Americans (NLUCAAA) reported higher unemployment rates (30 to 60 percent) among Negroes, in 106 American cities than their white counterparts.⁸ During the early days of the depression, African Americans filled unskilled job positions. For example, they fulfilled almost twenty-five percent of household domestics work, but employment positions terminated when employers felt the first strains of depression.⁹

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- 5 Rhonda Wells-Gilbon and Gaynell Simpson, "Transitioning the Caregiving Role for the Next Generation: An African-Centered Womanist Perspective," *Black Women, Gender + Families* 3, no. 2 (Fall, 2019): 87-105.
 - 6 Tyler D'Ambrose, "Morality in an Era of Lawlessness: How the KKK and Organized Crime Attempted to Instill their Visions of America during the Prohibition Era," *Legacy: A Journal of Student Scholarship* Vol. 18, (2018): 39-50.
 - 7 See for example, Rufus Schatzberg and Robert J. Kelly, *African American Organized Crime: A Social History* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1996).
 - 8 Raymond Wolters, *Negroes and the Great Depression* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Corporation, 1970), 84.
 - 9 *Ibid*, 92.

Whites viewed African Americans as expendable based on the history of institutional racism in the United States. As a result, whites tended to give whites jobs or leave the position unfulfilled to save money. African Americans faced systematically higher unemployment rates, fewer job opportunities, greater job insecurities, and lower wages. Deliberate discrimination against African American workers as well as segmented labor markets created an unstable job market. As the number of available jobs decreased, white men received preferential treatment as employers hired them while simultaneously firing African Americans to make jobs available for them.¹⁰ There was an unspoken rule among white employers where blacks were the last hired and the first fired.¹¹

According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, approximately twelve million workers were unemployed in March 1933, while other organizations estimate higher unemployment numbers.¹² Among this number, more than fifty percent of African Americans were unemployed.¹³ These numbers are the basis for the rise in African American activism, which led to the civil rights movement of the 1950-1960s. The suffocating socio-economic effects of the depression touched many African Americans' lives, including the newly widowed Johanna Hatchett, known to her friends as Josie. On March 8, 1892, John and Sarah Smith welcomed the world little Johanna Smith in Cromwell, Kentucky. During the depression, Johanna lived in Number Nine, Illinois (an unincorporated Williamson County area). Young Johanna married her first husband, coalminer Ollie Taylor and had a son, Earl Taylor. The first marriage of Johanna ended in divorce.¹⁴ In 1917, she married her second husband, William Hatchett, in Clifford, Illinois.¹⁵ Soon after their marriage, William was drafted. He completed basic training at Camp Grant and deployed to Germany to fight in WWI.¹⁶ The war ended soon after his deployment, and Private Hatchett returned home.¹⁷

On April 4, 1923, William and Johanna Hatchett purchased a building that

10 Ibid, 91.

11 Christopher Klein, "Last Hired, First Fired: How the Great Depression Affected African Americans," History.com, August 31, 2018.

12 Ibid, 83-84.

13 "Great Depression and World War II, 1929-1945 Race Relations in the 1930s and 1940s." Library of Congress. Library of Congress, 2020. <https://www.loc.gov/teachers/classroommaterials/presentationsandactivities/presentations/timeline/depwwii/race/>.

14 Colp Pride, September 5, 2019, <https://www.facebook.com/search/top/?q=johanna%20hatchett&pa>.

15 Ibid, 7.

16 Ibid, 8.

17 War Department Application for Headstone 1933, Southern Illinois University Special Collections ID:1/10/MSS381,(September 3, 2019).

included a six-bedroom addition to open a boarding house and speakeasy.¹⁸ Before 1930, the Hatchetts placed a red neon hatchet sign on the building's front and opened for business.¹⁹ The sign placement was especially dangerous because this happened during the years of prohibition in the United States. Prohibition made the manufacture, sale, and transportation of alcoholic beverages illegal in the United States from 1920 to 1933 under the Eighteenth Amendment terms.²⁰

Adjacent to the tavern, there was a small house where the family lived.²¹ The 1930 Census listed William (38) and son Earl Taylor (23) as coal miners. Josie, on the other hand, did not appear to hold a countable job (homemaker). Perhaps this was because the Hatchett's had a young son, named William Hatchett Jr., who was four at the survey time.²² In 1930, after the census, the family had another son named Lawrence.²³

As the economic effects of the depression intensified across the United States, the Hatchett family faced much grief and family loss. In February of 1931, Earl Taylor died. He left behind his wife Bernice, and infant son, Earl Taylor Jr. Just ten months later, two days before Christmas, William Hatchett Sr. died at the age of 40.²⁴ The death of William Sr. left Josie, a widow at 42, to care for their two sons William and Lawrence. One can only surmise that Johanna must have been in deep mourning after losing her oldest son and husband. She must have been fearful for the future of her surviving sons.

The townships of Dewmaine, Number Nine, and Clifford were all situated in an unincorporated section of Williamson County, near Colp, Illinois. These majority-black rural communities were one mile west of Herrin and three miles north of Carterville. The origins of this African American enclave began with the opening of the Number Nine Mine. The mine employed many African American miners, including William Hatchett Sr. and Earl Taylor. The mine, and its workers, was a site of racial hatred as white miners referred to it as "nigger nine."²⁵ These semi-cities bordered the sundown towns of Herrin and Carterville, Illinois. Sundown towns were all-white neighborhoods in

18 "Place Cannot Be Used for Any Purpose," *Southern Illinoisian*, January 30, 1957, 1.

19 John Homan, "Colp Was Once an Entertainment Mecca," *Southern Illinoisian*, July 27, 2008, 9.

20 Holland, Webb, "Temperance Movements and Prohibition," *International Social Science Review* Vol. 74, No. 1, (1999): 61–69.

21 Dayton Franklin, Interview by April Robinson-Kain, Digital recording, Herrin, Illinois, September 6, 2019.

22 1930 United States Federal Census § (1930).

23 1940 United States Federal Census § (1940).

24 War Department Application for Headstone, 1933, *Southern Illinois University Special Collections ID:1/10/MSS381*, (September 3, 2019).

25 Dayton Franklin, Interview by April Robinson-Kain, Digital recording, Herrin, Illinois, September 6, 2019.

the United States that practiced segregation by excluding non-whites through a combination of biased local laws, intimidation, and violent behavior.²⁶ Legislation, known as Jim Crow laws, separated people of color from whites in schools, housing, jobs, and public gathering places.²⁷ White public officials, and the general public, justified segregation by citing the 1896 U.S. Supreme Court ruling *Plessy v. Ferguson*.²⁸ The case legally coded “separate but equal” to describe the legal philosophy that bolstered institutional racial intolerance and segregation. By law, segregation was not discrimination so long as the government provided comparable facilities for whites and non-whites: a rarely adhered to practice.²⁹

Some African American Colp residents worked in Herrin under the threat of death if they remained overnight. In *Negro in Illinois*, Brian Dolinar reported that Fred A Henderson, the mayor of Herrin, stated that the city of Herrin “was built by a class of people who did not care to mix with Negroes.”³⁰ For this reason, they would not allow African American’s to live in Herrin. The mayor went on to admit that there was no “written law in this city demanding the Negroes stay out of this territory.”³¹ He believed that it was merely a practice agreed upon by the towns establishing inhabitants. More than twenty-five percent of blacks who found work did so as household domestics.³² As an African American widow existing in an area teeming with racism, Hatchett had few options other than continuing to operate the family tavern or work as a servant in Herrin. No matter her choice, she knew she would have to provide for her two young sons. Work was scarce during the depression; blacks consistently faced discrimination in schooling, housing, and employment during this racial segregation era. Maids, chauffeurs, cooks, and gardeners were easily dispensed with when the pressures of depression were felt, further adding to job scarcity and insecurity.

Hatchett opted to continue to operate the family tavern and boardinghouse to provide for them during the worst economic event in our

26 James Loewen, “Sundown Towns and Counties: Racial Exclusion in the South,” *Southern Culture* 15, no. 1 (2009), 22–47.

27 Stephen Berrey, “Obstacles to Freedom: Life in Jim Crow America,” in Hasan Kwame Jeffries, ed., *Understanding and Teaching the Civil Rights Movement* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2019), 59–72.

28 Jessica Foy, “Plessy v. Ferguson,” in James Ely, ed., *the New Encyclopedia of Southern Culture: Law and Politics* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 115–16.

29 *Ibid*, 115.

30 Brian Dolinar, ed., *The Negro in Illinois; The WPA Papers* (Urbana, Chicago, and Springfield, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2013), 162-163.

31 *Ibid*, 163.

32 Raymond Wolters, *Negroes and the Great Depression* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Corporation, 1970), 92.

country's history, at a time when systematic racism and the Ku Klux Klan dominated Southern Illinois.³³ Mobs of racists regularly murdered blacks in the cruelest of ways. Consistently black bodies ('strange fruit' in the words of a poem and a song made famous by jazz singer Billie Holiday) were left dangling from trees.³⁴ In the nearby counties of St Clair, Perry, Pulaski, Union, and Alexander, whites lynched 46 blacks during the Jim Crow era.³⁵ The Klan was a prominent fixture in Herrin.³⁶ Dailies such as the Daily Jewish Courier reported on the terrorist's operations of the Klan. On July 11, 1924, in an editorial titled "The Ku Klux Klan Terror in Herrin," the daily noted that it is not a fight between the law-abiding element and the lawless element among bootleggers, but a fight between the Ku Klux Klan and the rest of the population which is opposed to the Klan.³⁷ The Klan acted under the pretext of facilitating law and order with deliberate acts of lawlessness and violence. The Ku Klux Klan did not support prohibition because they were devoted advocates of the Temperance Movement. The Klan fought for prohibition because it was in their business to seek their opponents' sins, but not their supporters'. Prohibition allowed the Klan to spread terror under the pretense of eradicating immorality.

The Klan made it extremely hard on black businesses, especially targeting those who were illegally selling alcohol. Despite all odds against Hatchett, an African American widow, and tavern owner during prohibition and the Great Depression, Hatchett Tavern remained opened; it prospered and grew in popularity. At some point, the enterprise became popular as more than a tavern and boardinghouse and became a brothel, known as Ma Hatchett's. Often it was speculated that Hatchett had made payments to both elected officials and the Klan to maintain her business open.³⁸ However, there are no official records to support or nor deny this practice.

The Roosevelt administration (1933 – 1945), primarily through its New Deal policies, worked diligently to aid in the United States' socio-economic

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- 33 Daily Jewish Courier, "The Ku Klux Klan Terror in Herrin," Foreign Language Press Survey, National Endowment for the Humanities, 2019. https://flps.newberry.org/article/5423972_3_1361.
 - 34 Raymond Wolters, *Negroes and the Great Depression*, Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Corporation, 1970), 63.
 - 35 Rigby, David, and Charles Sequin. "Lynching in the United States: 1883-1930." *Futurity*, 2020. http://www.charliesequin.com/lynching_map.html.
 - 36 Equal Justice Institute, "Explore the Map" *Lynching in America*, Equal Justice Institute, 2019, <https://lynchinginamerica.eji.org/explore/illinois>.
 - 37 Daily Jewish Courier, "The Ku Klux Klan Terror in Herrin," Foreign Language Press Survey, National Endowment for the Humanities, 2019, https://flps.newberry.org/article/5423972_3_1361.
 - 38 Dayton Franklin, Interview by April Robinson-Kain, Digital recording, Herrin, Illinois, September 6, 2019.

recovery from the Great Depression. The New Deal, a series of programs aiming to restore prosperity to the American people, created jobs and provided relief for those in need. The Number Nine area benefitted from these programs. The Works Progress Administration financed the enlargement of the Number Nine creek. Unemployed men took jobs manually, widening the creek using pickaxes and shovels. Number Nine's community opened a soup kitchen that served hungry families, a kindergarten program, and conducted literacy classes, all funded by the New Deal.³⁹ In 1933 First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt proclaimed that: "women know that life must go on and that the needs of life must be met."⁴⁰ She attributed the success of seeing families through crises to the "courage and determination" of women.⁴¹ It was this type of fortitude that Hatchett displayed when bringing her family through the desolation of the 1930s.

In the mid-1930s, a young neighborhood boy named Dayton Franklin met Josie (Ma Hatchett) while delivering the *Daily Journal* newspaper in Number Nine. He recalled when all the boys in the area, white and black, wanted to play ball but could not afford to buy balls and bats. Franklin said he knocked on Ma Hatchett's door and explained the situation. He remembered that Ma Hatchett handed him \$50 and said, "buy whatever, if you need more, let me know."⁴² Franklin said that Ma Hatchett saw all people as her family, "white or black, didn't matter."⁴³ He noted that those families would find an envelope with money at their doors when hard times hit families. He witnessed Ma Hatchett placing these envelopes on doorsteps, but she never admitted her charity. "She didn't want [anyone] to know. She was just that kind of lady."⁴⁴ Hatchett knew that much controversy surrounded her business choices and did not want anyone to know that she gave them money. While many locals benefitted from her kindness, others were upset by her business, too. Her granddaughter, Ramelda, noted some of the dangers her grandmother faced included being held at gunpoint by members of the Klan. She said that one Klansman said to the one with a gun, "leave her alone because she was a good woman and paid her debts."⁴⁵

Other than a few instances with the Klan and an understanding with

39 Mary B. Roderick, "Colp/No. 9: A Few Miles and a Different Future," *The Southern Illinoisian*, November 20, 2011, 43.

40 "Married Women During the Great Depression," <https://thegreatdepression-family.weebly.com/married-women-during-the-great-depression.html>.

41 Ibid.

42 Dayton Franklin, Interview by April Robinson-Kain, Digital recording, Herrin, Illinois, September 6, 2019.

43 Ibid.

44 Ibid.

45 Colp Pride, September 5, 2019 *My Memory of Johanna "Ma" Hatchett* <https://www.facebook.com/search/top/?q=my%20memory%20of%20johanna%20hatchett>.

the Sheriff, Ma Hatchett's operated for many years without facing any problems coming from local officials. Franklin suggested that the lack of police or government interference was because she did not live in Colp but in Number Nine. Secondly, because she possibly reached an agreement with the Williamson County Sherriff. In addition, the fact that she was mostly left alone would also suggest an understanding between Ma Hatchett and neighboring whites.⁴⁶ Throughout high school, Mr. Franklin worked for the grocery store in Colp as a delivery boy. He fondly remembers many times when he arrived to work, and there were already orders lined up on the back counter for delivery. He often delivered these purchases to the homes and was told that they did not order the goods, but his boss told him to leave them at the houses regardless.

He noted that he eventually became curious and started asking the grocer, who admitted that Ma Hatchett would buy groceries for families in need, sometimes as much as a month's supply. Franklin reiterated that he was "not saying that she was an angel; she ran a whorehouse."⁴⁷ Those who knew Ma Hatchett were willing to overlook that she operated a prostitution house because she helped many people. Many in the community were protective of her. Ma Hatchett's commitment to her neighbors continued throughout WW2. Her grandson Earl Taylor Jr. and Dayton Franklin were both sent overseas to fight, while her son Junior attended college.⁴⁸ Anonymous grocery deliveries continued throughout the Number Nine and Colp communities, with many never knowing who their generous benefactor was. Whenever Hatchett found out about a family in need, money mysteriously appeared.⁴⁹

By this time, Ma Hatchett's Tavern and brothel had become relatively prosperous. Her establishment's reputation spread much farther than Southern Illinois. It was well-known that many of her girls came from New York and that white men traveled far to keep company with her black girls. While overseas, Franklin was critically wounded and sent to the hospital. By the end of his first month in the hospital, he finally received his mail. He told the story of a nurse delivering his mail and calling out "Dayton Franklin. Number Nine, Illinois package from Ma Hatchet." Men from "New York, California, and Florida" who were in the ward questioned how he knew the "infamous" Ma Hatchett. He explained the neighborhood connection, and the other "guys were in awe" when he received three of four more packages from

46 Dayton Franklin, Interview by April Robinson-Kain, Digital recording, Herrin, Illinois, September 6, 2019.

47 Ibid.

48 James Sprehe, "Fear of Bombings Spreads in Colp, Ill., After Threats to Two Leading Citizens," *St. Louis Post Dispatch*, September 6, 1964, 3.

49 Dayton Franklin, Interview by April Robinson-Kain, Digital recording, Herrin, Illinois, September 6, 2019.

her.⁵⁰

In 1945, Lawrence, Ma's youngest son, started high school and received his first car from his mother. Meanwhile, in Colp, Junior Hatchett, Ma's middle son, organized independent basketball and softball teams to help reacclimate returning veterans to civilian life.⁵¹ Ma Hatchett sponsored those teams.⁵² On October 24, 1946, Junior turned twenty-one. Ma celebrated by purchasing him a bar in Colp.⁵³ Junior achieved some local popularity for his pitching ability in softball. His team often credited him for the team's wins.⁵⁴ All of which added to the notoriety of the Hatchetts in the surrounding area and increased their establishments' popularity.

The Hatchett's business prospered during the 1940s, but the 1950s afforded them much-unwanted notoriety. In February 1951, Mrs. Ressie W. Richardson of Colp filed a lawsuit against Junior for \$15,000. Mrs. Richardson claimed that Junior sold her husband alcohol, which caused him to become drunk. When he arrived home, she claimed that her husband beat her with his fist and a rubber hose before threatening to shoot her.⁵⁵ It is fascinating to note that she did not publicly blame her husband for overindulging, only the tavern owner for continuing to sell the alcohol.

The 1950s proved fully writhed with legal troubles for the Hatchett's. After a raid to Junior Hatchett's Cocktail Lounge, state police found gambling equipment. Junior Hatchett with possession of equipment for illegal gambling. Police seized a Chuck-o-luck game from his establishment.⁵⁶

On October 17, 1955, police raided Ma Hatchett's Tavern. A local daily described these officers as "handsome young men of the Illinois State Police."⁵⁷ There were multiple arrests at the establishment described as a "combination tavern and bawdy house owned by ailing negro (Ma Hatchett) and managed by her son Junior who "drives around in a pink Cadillac." Ma Hatchett's remained opened following the arrests, "because everything goes in Colp."⁵⁸

The above statement reflected the sentiment of that time, "everything

50 Ibid.

51 Colp Pride, September 5, 2019, *My Memory of Johanna "Ma" Hatchett*, <https://www.facebook.com/search/top/?q=my%20memory%20of%20johanna%20hatchett>.

52 Sprehe, "Fear of Bombings", 3.

53 Joe Jurich, "Residents Have Varied Views on Town of Colp; Some Speak Well of Ma's Civic Affairs Work," *Southern Illinoisian*, January 27, 1957, 3.

54 "Russell's Texaco Defeats Benton in 11 Innings," *Southern Illinoisian*, September 14, 1949, 7.

55 "Files \$15,000 Suit Against Colp Taverns," *Southern Illinoisian*, February 22, 1951, 3.

56 Chuck-o-luck is a banking game played with three dice in which players bet that a certain number will appear on one or more of the dice, that the sum of the three dice will make a certain number, or that all three dice will turn up alike.

57 "Ma Hatchett Raid Shakes Colp Industry," *Mount Vernon Register*, October 18, 1955, 4.

58 Ibid.

goes in Colp." With approximately 2,000 people living in the area, all residents knew of Ma Hatchett's. Some were glad about the raid and subsequent arrests, but this certainly was not the end of Ma's business ventures. Juanita Boykin and Mattie Porter were arrested at Ma Hatchett's tavern and charged as "inmates of a house of ill fame." They were arraigned the next day. Junior Hatchett posted a \$400 bond for each woman to be released.⁵⁹ Juanita Boykin was later found guilty and fined \$85.⁶⁰

Just 15 months later, Illinois State Police again raided Ma Hatchett's Tavern and Jerry Joe's Number Nine Club in Colp. On January 19, 1957, Juanita Boykin and Rosella Wilson were arrested at Ma Hatchett's, while a white woman named Kitty Monroe was picked up at Jerry Joe's. Initially, the *Southern Illinoisan* reported that Ma Hatchett had been charged, by State's Attorney Carl Sneed, with operating a disorderly house.⁶¹ The State's Attorney's office decided that because Ma Hatchett was not in the best of health, and reportedly had not entered the tavern in almost three years, to charge her younger son Lawrence Hatchett instead. The State's Attorney, Carl Sneed, charged Lawrence as the "keeper of a house of ill fame." Lawrence eventually pled guilty and paid \$100 and expenses for the verdict. The law allowed a maximum of \$200 fine and or 1-year imprisonment in the county jail. Juanita Boykin was arrested for the second time in this raid and charged with her second offense working as an inmate of a house of ill fame. She was ordered to pay a \$100 fine plus costs. Wilson and Monroe were charged with their first offense as inmates of a house of ill fame. During the initial arraignment, all plead not guilty but later changed their pleas to guilty. It would appear that this was done to try to settle. However, *The Southern Illinoisan* reported that States Attorney Carl Sneed was consulting with County Judge A.R. Cagle about the possibility of revoking the liquor licenses associated with Ma Hatchett's, which is "notorious over a wide area and has been in operation for more than 30 years."⁶²

On January 24, 1957, four days after the raid, State's Attorney Carl Sneed filed a petition to revoke Ma Hatchett's county liquor license. Sneed argued that "the county does not have the power to padlock the taverns [...] revocation of liquor licenses has the same practical effect."⁶³ Officers notified Ma Hatchett of the filed petition. Meanwhile, many voiced their opinion concerning the injustice committed against Ma Hatchett in the Sunday edition of the *Southern Illinoisan*. For these individuals, Ma Hatchett was the victim of the raid. A Colp

59 "House of Ill fame," *Southern Illinoisan*, October 17, 1955, 1.

60 "Number 9 Taverns," *Southern Illinoisan*, January 21, 1957, 3.

61 Ibid.

62 "5 In Colp Vice Raids Plead Guilty, Fined; Officials Studying Liquor License Action," *Southern Illinoisan*, January 23, 1957, 3.

63 "Colp Liquor Licenses," *Southern Illinoisan*, January 24, 1957, 3.

community member admitted that Ma Hatchett operated a tavern and house of ill repute but insisted that “No one was ever more active in civic affairs here and did more to help people.” A neighbor of Ma Hatchett’s refused to comment on her business but said, “she’s been a fine neighbor – never no trouble of any kind.” A prominent Colp citizen noted that there had been “attempts” to shut down Ma Hatchett’s because “everybody knows what it is.” He said, “You can’t fight big money;” and so nothing came of past attempts. Finally, a religious black man pronounced that Ma Hatchett’s business gave the community a “bad name” and that Ma Hatchett didn’t even want “colored people” to go to her place because they “don’t have that kind of money.”⁶⁴

Community opinion was divided. Some felt Ma was providing for the community while others felt that she was dividing it. Two days before the hearing for the revocation petition, William Hatchett (Junior) surrendered Ma Hatchett’s liquor license to commissioner Milo Cardwell. Once he surrendered the license, the State’s Attorney Sneed announced that he would seek an injunction to have the tavern padlocked under the Illinois Public Nuisance Act.⁶⁵

A person identified only as a Murphysboro man wrote a letter to the Southern Illinoisan editor, published on January 30, 1957. The person argued in defense of Ma Hatchett that he had never been to a “cleaner better regulated tavern anywhere in the 37 states and five foreign countries I have visited.” He said that he had seen many affluent men, including “doctors, lawyers, preachers, and businessmen” at Ma Hatchett’s and that “men down deep in our hearts appreciate an evening at Ma’s.”⁶⁶ In the same edition of the Illinoisan, the daily reported that Judge Zimmerman of Williamson County ordered Ma Hatchett’s Tavern closed. The injunction stated that the tavern and adjoining buildings (described as the tavern with a six-bedroom addition and another four-bedroom dwelling connected by a passageway) not be used for any purpose for one year.⁶⁷ The order observed that “Ma Hatchett [could not] even run a grocery store.”⁶⁸

An interesting facet of this story is that public opinion varied widely. Many in the community liked and respected Hatchett because of her business and others despite it. Many were happy that Ma’s business closed, while others thought it was disgraceful to pick on a long-running business and Ma Hatchett. Reverend B.G. Dale of Murphysboro, Illinois, in a letter to the editor

64 Joe Jurich, “Residents Have Varied Views on Town of Colp; Some Speak Well of Ma’s Civic Affairs Work,” *Southern Illinoisan*, January 27, 1957, 3.

65 “Tavern Permits,” *Southern Illinoisan*, January 26, 1958, 3.

66 A Murphysboro Man, “Man Defends Ma Hatchett,” *Southern Illinoisan*, January 30, 1957, 4.

67 “Place Cannot Be Used for Any Purpose,” *Southern Illinoisan*, January 30, 1957, 1.

68 “Ma’ Can’t Even Run a Grocery Store,” *Southern Illinoisan*, February 1, 1957, 1.

of the Southern Illinoisan, stated that he believed that there was “much to gain from closing such an establishment” and implored Colp residents to “enforce the court decision to keep the place closed” which would be in the best interest of the community.⁶⁹ While another Murphysboro man pointed out that States Attorney Carl Sneed, and many of the state police involved in the raids, were members of elite social clubs where gambling and slot machines routinely operated.

Nevertheless, none of those clubs had been raided nor had their liquors’ licenses revoked while blatantly operating against the law. Concerning Ma Hatchett’s, the man pointed out that State’s Attorney Sneed of Williamson County was only interested in persecuting two little taverns owners, in a small community, because they were “operated by Negro people.”⁷⁰ He felt that law enforcement was not interested in broken law; instead, they were only interested in the laws broken by people’s color.

Hatchett Family Involvement during the Civil Rights Movement

While Ma Hatchett’s was now closed, Junior’s other business ventures flourished, but most importantly, his community involvement. In July of 1957, Junior’s New Orleans Club, which featured a sunken dance floor, obtained a private club charter and became known as American Legion Post #951. He also held a prominent position in the community as President of the school board. It is essential to recognize that the fight for school integration in Colp was an ongoing struggle, and Junior led the fight.⁷¹ When Little Rock, AR, during the summer of 1957, faced school desegregation’s pains and struggles, Junior upset many white people and officials by expediting blacks’ integration into white schools in Williamson County.

Racial tensions ran high all over the nation, including Colp, Illinois. The Colp school board was divided along racial lines in its pursuit of integration. The board voted four to three to integrate Colp Attucks (grade school for blacks) and Colp Standard Schools (grade school for whites). The four black members of the school board voted for integration, while the three white members voted against it.⁷² In August, white elementary school pupils boycotted Colp grade school due to black students’ integration.⁷³ By the middle of September, the Colp School Board’s three white members resigned their positions in protest of desegregation. Meanwhile, white families began to move out of Colp or paid \$200 tuition to send their children to non-integrated

69 B.G. Dale, “Terms Ma’s A Blight,” *Southern Illinoisan*, February 1, 1957, 4.

70 Rt. 1 Murphysboro Man, “A Reader Speaks: Blasts Lack of Enforcement on Clubs and Slots,” *Southern Illinoisan*, February 17, 1957, 4.

71 “Appointments to Colp Board Still Pending,” *Southern Illinoisan*, September 9, 1957, 3.

72 “Hatchett Tavern Gets Club Charter,” *Southern Illinoisan*, July 7, 1957, 3.

73 “White Pupils Boycott Colp Grade School,” *Mt. Vernon Register News*, August 27, 1957.

schools in Carterville or Herrin.⁷⁴ Once integration began, white students did not attend the school.

On September 30, 1957, a bomb exploded at The New Orleans Club (American Legion Post #951), causing substantial economic damage to the business of the Colp School Board President, Junior Hatchett. There were no injuries reported in the blast. Arson inspectors believed that six to eight dynamite sticks composed the bomb that destroyed the rear wall, damaging its ceiling and interior.⁷⁵ Lt. Earl Pogue, commander of the Illinois State Police in DuQuoin, quickly dismissed community concerns that the bombing occurred due to school integration. The Lieutenant proclaimed that there was no connection because white children had been boycotting the Colp grade school since the school board voted for desegregation "at the start of the fall semester." He felt that it was more likely that since both "Negroes and White people frequent the tavern," that there could be some who objected to that.⁷⁶

The bombing of Junior's tavern was the first in a string of fires that destroyed Colp businesses, including Ma Hatchett's; all were attributed to arson and burned to the ground. In 1964, another bomb exploded at the Colp Fire station. Junior Hatchett was charged for the bombing, believing that he was retaliating for the bombing of his family properties. However, charges were dropped later. No one has ever been convicted for the crime. Over the next three years, four more taverns were destroyed by fire.⁷⁷ These events illustrate much animosity in the community over the taverns and their role in the community. While dealing with accusations of guilt in the fire station bombing, Junior, his family, and even Mayor Frank Caliper (the presumed intended victim in the fire station explosion) received death threats. Both families reported disturbing phone calls at night, the message always the same: "Beware you, your home, and family are going to be blown to kingdom come."⁷⁸ Junior sent his wife and children to Kentucky out of fear of their safety. His wife, though, refused to stay away for long and soon returned to the family home in Colp.

Conclusion

The Hatchett Family is quite remarkable. They started as a poor mining family in Number Nine. William and Johanna (Josie) saved money to buy a tavern and boardinghouse. When William Sr. passed, Josie was left to care for two small sons. She took her meager holdings and turned them into a

74 "Appointments to Colp Board Still Pending," *Southern Illinoisan*, September 9, 1957, 3.

75 "Bomb Cleanup Started at Wrecked Club," *Southern Illinoisan*, October 4, 1957, 13.

76 "Bomb Night Club in School-Embattled Colp," *The Dispatch*. October 1, 1957.

77 "Fires Led Colp in New Direction," *Southern Illinoisan*, September 5, 1989, 7.

78 James Sprehe, "Fear of Bombings Spreads in Colp, Ill., After Threats to Two Leading Citizens," *St. Louis Post Dispatch*, September 6, 1964, 3.

thriving, although questionable business. Josie openly sold alcohol during prohibition, dealt with threats from the KKK, and operated a prostitution house for almost thirty years while convincing authorities to look the other way. Their story's interesting twist is that she did not hold on to the money her business profited. Ms. Hatchett shared it with neighboring families. She became known to the community as Ma Hatchett and made sure area children had baseball equipment to play with and food to eat. It did not matter who was in need, white or black, if she knew about it, she sought to ease their suffering. She sent both of her sons to college and paid their tuition when many colleges were not accepting black students.

When her son turned twenty-one, she purchased him a business he built into another thriving community club. When he wanted to start community softball and basketball leagues to help World War II Veterans reacclimate to civilian life, she willingly sponsored them. As heart disease started to take its toll, she turned the daily operations of Ma Hatchett's over to her son Lawrence.

Once *Brown v. Board of Education* was ruled on, and integration began, William Junior, who served as the school board president, led the integration of Colp Grade Schools. As pressure rose and the authorities closed Ma Hatchett's, followed by the bombing of Junior's business, the Hatchets stayed, and they persevered. When death threats started and they feared for their lives, they continued to fight for the belief that all men are created equal. It was only once Ma, and Lawrence Hatchett had died that Junior relocated his family to Chicago, where he built a successful financial firm. This family may not have acted within the law's moral and legal boundaries; during this time, the law functioned as if it was made for whites and not for citizens like them.

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Joshua Cannon

Paul McRoy and WCIL: A Look at Local Radio Culture in a College Town, 1950s-1960s

The U.S. of the 1950s had undergone a tremendous social and political change. In the aftermath of World War II (WWII), the U.S. entered a Cold War with the Soviet Union. As a result, the Second Red Scare of the 1950s left America in a perpetual state of fear over the possible incursion of Communists into U.S. society.¹ However, the fear of communism did not impede the development of social movements. The New Left, whose base was the growing number of college students, emerged in this period. They brought progressive ideas on social issues such as civil rights, feminism, gay rights, reproductive rights, gender roles, and drug policy reforms.² These political changes in American society were not limited in their scope. Transformations of American culture reached the entire nation, including the often-isolated Midwest.

Illinois was no exception to the changes that occurred across the U.S. in the 1950s-1960s. Economically, WWII brought about extraordinary economic shifts that benefitted many U.S. industries. The post-war “boom” in the American economy made it possible for veterans to receive a college education should they pursue one. The U.S. introduced the GI Bill in 1944, which allowed veterans free access to higher education as a reward for their service.³ Education growth, economic prosperity, and political change in the U.S. propelled the suburbanization of America. Large numbers of people left city life for smaller suburbs where traffic was not as clogged. This suburbanization of America ushered in the creating of new highways that connected cities with suburbia and rural life.⁴ Due to highways’ growth, America’s incrementally

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- 1 The first Red Scare occurred in the early 20th century as fears over Bolshevism and anarchism arose in the U.S. The extreme level of nationalism during World War I placated to a fear of the incursion of radical ideologies that would cripple the social order of the U.S. Fear and aggression during the first Red Scare was often directed at labor unions whose members were not approving of U.S. entry into World War I.
 - 2 Eric Foner, *Give Me Liberty! An American History, Volume 2: From 1865*, 5th ed. (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2017), 917-919, 1002-1024.
 - 3 Roger Biles, *Illinois A History of the Land and Its People* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois Press, 2005), 252-253.
 - 4 For more information on highways and the interconnectedness of Illinois roads, see Foner and Biles.

connectedness established homogeneous geographical sentiments that eroded differences between rural and city dwellers. These sentiments affected Southern Illinois people as the airwaves challenged their urban and rural life ideas during the age of radio.

The 1950s-1960s brought about unprecedented change and innovation in radio. Broadcasts about the Korean war stirred debate as electronic media started to provide a more accessible format to disseminate information and political ideas.⁵ Radio was the standard for entertainment through the 1950s and 1960s. In 1946, the establishment of the radio station WCIL-AM of Carbondale, Illinois, home of Southern Illinois University (SIU), promoted the aforementioned ideas of political progressiveness and homogeneous feelings between rural and urban areas.⁶ This article shows that through the 1950s-1960s, WCIL-AM, particularly its owner Paul McRoy, played an essential role in shaping Carbondale's cultural and political identity. The case study of WCIL-AM reflects political progressivism that occurred during the 1950-1960s in the U.S. This article's focus takes place as U.S. citizens' identity in rural and urban areas became more homogeneous, due to America's suburbanization, in the city of Carbondale as the number of students attending SIU grew.

Historiography

There is a lack of academic research on the radio in Southern Illinois. To understand the social-political influence of WCIL-AM (Carbondale) in Southern Illinois during the 1950s and 1960s, one must comprehend the radio's role in American culture and its development in the region.

In *The Broadcast Century and Beyond*, broadcasting expert educators in broadcasting Robert L. Hilliard and Michael C. Keith looked at the history of broadcasting in the U.S. from its invention through the 2000s. Hilliard and Keith argued that the period from the 1940s to the late 1960s saw the ever-growing change in broadcasting when television dethroned radio as the American household's primary entertainment source.⁷ Hilliard and Keith noted that "In 1948 a person listened to the radio an average 4.4 hours per day; in 1953 that figure was down to 2.7 hours." This decrease in radio time showed that despite radio loss as the primary source of information, it still commanded a sizeable American entertainment market.⁸

In *Television and Radio*, Giraud Chester, Garnet R. Garrison, and Edgar

5 Robert L. Hilliard and Michael C. Keith, *The Broadcast Century and Beyond*, 5th ed. (Massachusetts: Focal Press, 2010), 127, 163.

6 The name WCIL-AM came from the radio naming conventions of using W or K (W for stations east of the Mississippi river and K for stations west of the Mississippi), and adding it to the city initial and then the state.

7 Hilliard and Keith, *The Broadcast Century*, 133-138.

8 *Ibid*, 146.

E. Willis observed that by 1971 (the end of the period under review), radio airtime for listeners had decreased. Listeners listen only about one and a half to two hours throughout the day. Still, more than ninety-eight percent of American homes owned radios.⁹ Radio had the edge over television concerning portability. Cars had seventy-five million of the 303 million radio sets in the U.S., continuing radio entertainment on wheels.¹⁰

Charles Fairchild, professor of music and the globalization of popular culture, examined in his book, *Community Radio and Public Culture*, community radio, and its global effects. Fairchild argued that access to media was a significant prerequisite to an open and democratic sphere. As a result, radio laid the foundation for the importance of radio to cultural identity.¹¹ WCIL-AM of Carbondale was not a community radio station because advertisers rather than public donations funded its operation. Fairchild noted that community radio's "central problem has always been how to pay for it," WCIL-AM as a private business never had to worry about that.¹² The business model of the station relied on their advertisements rather than listener support. This practice enabled WCIL-AM to have a consumer mindset, and as such, it did not have to appease their listenership fully. The station aired advertisements that directly profited from its sponsors. This increased wealth played into Fairchild's assertion that the radio performed a vital role in a nation's cultural identity: capitalism. In the context of the global Cold War in the 1950s and 1960s, the U.S. was an outlier of consumer capitalism. WCIL-AM perpetuated the idea of capitalism and the nations' cultural identity through its choice of funding.

The analysis of WCIL-AM inextricably correlated the history of radio with that of Illinois of the 1950s and 1960s. Historian Richard J. Jenson's *Illinois A History* chronicled the state from the 1800s until the late 1970s. Jenson noted that Illinois "became more homogeneous" as urban and rural distinctions began to vanish by the 1970s.¹³ This gradual assimilation led to an atmosphere for local Carbondale radio to thrive as Southern Illinoisans felt more of a draw to their northern urban neighbors. Jenson and Illinois Historian Roger Biles noted that higher education began to expand by the 1960s drastically.¹⁴ Biles directly credited this increase to the GI Bill, which paid for veterans' education after World War II. From that point, "Higher education enrollment in Illinois

9 Giraud Chester et. al., *Television and Radio*, 4th ed. (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1971), 5.

10 Ibid.

11 Charles Fairchild, *Community Radio and Public Culture* (New Jersey: Hampton Press, Inc., 2001).

12 Ibid, 139.

13 Richard J. Jenson, *Illinois A History* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1978), 154.

14 Ibid, 156.

increased from 107,000 in 1940 to 164,000 in 1956 and reached 500,000 in the late 1970s.¹⁵ Biles also mentioned Southern Illinois University (SIU) and their expansion in the number of students that attended SIU during the tenure of Delyte Morris.

Furthermore, Biles and Jenson both noted the push for higher education brought an increase of populations to the towns that housed universities. Jenson's work faltered from primarily focusing on Chicago and Northern Illinois. At the same time, Biles' study included the scope of the state of Illinois's entirety. These historians' research coincided with Robert A. Harper's *The University That Shouldn't Have Happened, But Did*. Harper, a professor of geology at SIU during the tenure of then university president Delyte Morris wrote about SIU under the leadership of Delyte Morris which lasted from 1948-1970. He noted that SIU in 1953 was in excellent condition for expansion due to the focus on higher education from the state. The staff at SIU expected an increase in enrollment in the late 1950s and 1960s.¹⁶ Jenson, Biles, and Harper all agreed that all Illinois universities experienced the same phenomenon of significant student enrollment during this period. Students' constant stream gave WCIL-AM a much-needed audience in a geographical area where they lacked financial autonomy. Most jobs centered on agriculture and coal fields blue-collar jobs that did not provide money to donate to local radio stations in Southern Illinois.¹⁷

In "Cultural Production, Media and Meaning: Hillbilly Music and Southern Textile Mills", sociologists William F. Danaher and Vincent J. Roscigno described how "radio was instrumental in developing a collective identity" in the traditional American South (Virginia to Texas).¹⁸ Danaher and Roscigno noted that southern textile mill towns embodied the idea that media transformed identity and behavior through radio and music.¹⁹ Danaher and Roscigno's writing on the same topic in "Media and Mobilization: The Case of Radio and Southern Textile Worker Insurgency, 1929 to 1934" further discussed the importance of radio in southern textile strikes. Danaher and Roscigno posited that local radio stations lost autonomy because of corporate political hegemonies. These controls and policies skewed radio stations' complete autonomy through the Federal Communications Commission

15 Biles, *Illinois A History of the Land*, 263.

16 Robert A. Harper, *The University That Shouldn't Have Happened, But Did*, (Carbondale: Devil's Kitchen Press, 1998), 125, 141.

17 *Ibid*, 10.

18 William F. Danaher and Vincent J. Roscigno, "Cultural Production, Media, and Meaning: Hillbilly Music and the Southern Textile Mills," *Poetics* volume 32, issue 1 (2004), 53.

19 *Ibid*, 54.

(FCC) rulings.²⁰ Both of these articles illustrated the importance of radio in the formation of identity. In sum, radio and radio stations influenced cultural identities through programming and the messages they aired. Radio built cultural identity within communities; similar processes occurred through the U.S. during the 1950s and 1960s.

As mentioned above, the idea supports an imagined community, a term coined by political scientist and historian Benedict Anderson. Anderson believed that the nation as an imagined community linked the concept of print capitalism and national identity. In his study *Imagined Communities*, he explored the idea of nationalism and communities as socially constructed by people who believed themselves to be a part of the larger group. Anderson wrote that print capitalism laid the basis for national consciousness. Base on that idea, it is plausible to imagine how radio further consolidated this notion in Carbondale as part of a homogenous nation-state.²¹ Instead of using printed materials, WCIL-AM used the radio to link members of the Southern Illinois community to the rest of Illinois and the U.S.

Finally, these studies served to broaden the radio concept in the U.S. of the 1950s and 1960s by increasing radio's historiography in Illinois. While broad in their scope, these ideas provided a historical window into the management and distribution of materials embedded with powerful ideas on the airwaves of WCIL-AM's operations during the period under examination. This article contributes to the broader historiography of radio and Illinois, specifically during the 1950s and 1960s. It also contains information regarding the formation of the current identity of Southern Illinois, particularly the regions around Southern Illinois University. This article looks at WCIL-AM as a case study illustrating the vast changes occurring in the U.S. during the 1950s and 1960s to identify how those changes circulated rural audiences; and how this audience responded to change.

WCIL-AM before 1950

The founder of WCIL-AM was Paul McRoy, a native from Carbondale, IL, born on June 25, 1912. McRoy earned his bachelor's degree in Education from Southern Illinois University-Carbondale in 1934. In 1939 McRoy received his master's degree in Philosophy from the University of Wisconsin. While getting

20 Vincent J. Roscigno and William F. Danaher, "Media and Mobilization: The Case of Radio and Southern Textile Worker Insurgency, 1929 to 1934," *American Sociological Review* volume 66, no. 1 (2004): 43-44.

21 Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 2nd ed. (London: Versa, 2006), 44. Print capitalism is a theory on the concept of nation building and nationalism. It states that a group of people who form a community by using the printing press to create a common language and discourse has been influenced by a capitalist marketplace. Therefore, print capitalism is a method of creating imagined communities.

his master's degree, McRoy married Mary Helm in 1937 and had two children (Paul H. McRoy and Ann McRoy). From 1934 to 1943, McRoy was a teacher and director of the Audiovisual Education department in Houston Public Schools. McRoy also served as an instructor at the University of Houston from 1940-1943. In 1943, he joined the Navy for a short stint in which he left as a Lieutenant Commander.²² McRoy returned to Carbondale in 1946, where he announced the plans for the construction of his new radio station in July of that year.²³ The period between the 1920s and the 1950s became known as the Golden Age of radio because there were about 303 million radio sets across America. For McRoy, it was a smart choice to get into the radio station business.²⁴ McRoy's background in education, along with his management skills, from his time in Houston public schools, Audiovisual Education Department, and the Navy, meant his foray into radio was not a foolish choice. The decisive reason for McRoy's venture into radio is not precisely known. However, his background certainly made it a viable career choice.

In August of 1946, McRoy obtained permits for building the station.²⁵ WCIL originally signed on as an AM and FM station due to pressures by the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) to have both signals. However, due to the FM medium's unpopularity, WCIL soon dropped its FM signal except for television.²⁶ The survival of WCIL through our current time shows that McRoy has been a savvy businessman. Not only did he create a radio station during the height of the Golden Age of radio, but he established a radio legacy that had survivability.

Carbondale, Illinois, in the 1940s was a small college town home to some three thousand students. When WCIL launched its broadcasts, it began in the turbulent years of SIU. The university president suddenly left following criticism from faculty, students, and alumni about his poor administrative abilities.²⁷ The fate of SIU was financially bleak when Delyte Morris became president of SIU after the departure of Chester Lay in the mid-Summer of 1948. When Morris inherited SIU leadership, the board had yet to pass a budget for Fall 1948-1950.²⁸ An ambivalent budget combined with the fact that SIU was

22 Carbondale, Southern Illinois University Special Collections Research Center Archives, Southern Illinois Music Archives, [Carbondale, SIUC-SCRCA-SIMA], Box 7, Folder 21.

23 Joseph D. Paris, "Work on Station WCIL in Carbondale Starts in Few Days," *Carbondale Free Press*, July 6, 1946.

24 Chester, *Television and Radio*, 5.

25 Carbondale, SIUC-SCRCA-SIMA, Box 7, Folder 2.

26 Leonard Riggs Jr., "'rockin' radio' 101.5 CIL-FM Blasts From the Past!" [leonardsview.com](http://www.leonardsview.com), accessed April 1, 2019, <http://www.leonardsview.com/wcilpast.html>; Hilliard and Keith, *The Broadcast Century*, 91.

27 Harper, *The University That Shouldn't*, 11.

28 *Ibid*, 19.

in a less prosperous part of the state than any other university in Illinois led to the fear that SIU would close.²⁹ During his tenure, Morris achieved massive success in saving the university with his “vision, leadership, political skill, organizational know-how, and powerful persuasion.”³⁰ Two decades after Morris assumed leadership, Carbondale and its university had transformed radically. SIU had become a major research university, and its reputation pulled in twenty-eight thousand students in 1968.³¹ WCIL-AM reached more people due to the expansion of its business that the university brought with it. It was under Morris’s tenure at SIU that WCIL-AM evolved alongside its growing student population.

The 1950s for WCIL

During the 1950s, WCIL-AM experimented with different programming formats to find a niche on the airwaves; specifically, programming created by students. On January 27, 1950, *The Daily Independent*, a local Southern Illinois daily, reported WCIL hosting a student-led program that furthered WCIL’s connection to children and parents in Southern Illinois. The article described how a group of students from Longfellow Middle School debuted on WCIL and “were in top-form” as they performed over the airwaves.³² Middle schoolers’ “top-form” denoted that they could perform in some form for the community’s entertainment. More important was the potential reaction of parents to this article and the airing of the performance. WCIL used the medium of local student performances to endear themselves to the local communities surrounding Carbondale.

McRoy worked to make his station invaluable to the local community. In 1953, SIU students produced a production aired on February 12, and it revolved around George Gershwin’s “Rhapsody in Blue.”³³ Live performances included multiple SIU students, such as pianist Bill McGuire and George Gershwin,

29 Ibid, 15. When Delyte Morris took over as acting president of SIU in 1948, the state of affairs at SIU was dreary. The inability of the board to pass a budget has been blamed on Chester Lay for ineffective leadership abilities. That, combined with the fact that SIU was the only university in Southern Illinois meant that most students were from the local area and had little money implying that SIU was in a tight spot financially.

30 Ibid, 15.

31 Ibid, 161, 175, 210.

32 Carbondale, SIUC-SCRCA-SIMA, Box 7, Folder 3.

33 “Rhapsody in Blue” was a piece of music written by American Composer George Gershwin in 1924. The piece is known for its mixture of classical music with jazz. The students performed a radio broadcast of the piece along with performing a dramatization of Gershwin’s life. In 1945 Warner Brothers released a film dramatization about Gershwin.

played by Bob Robertson.³⁴ This performance was one of WCIL's first college student productions. WCIL's involvement in the student population at SIU meant that they reached the university audience of Carbondale and the surrounding area.

In 1956, an experimental show eventually named "The Student Workshop" debuted at the station.³⁵ "The Student Workshop" took elementary, high school, and college students in and around Carbondale. The program gave them a stage to perform their music. Paul McRoy produced the show providing students the ability to perform live at no cost to the students.³⁶ McRoy got free performances while also gaining listener support. WCIL received many letters of praise from Carbondale residents and the cities around Carbondale for the program. One woman wrote, "I can't resist writing you a note to tell you how much I enjoyed your program Student Workshop."³⁷ Another fan of the show claimed that the program filled these young performers with "poise and confidence."³⁸ From Anna, Illinois, Mrs. Harry D. Albert wrote, "Our musicians of tomorrow so seldom have an opportunity to perform on the radio while they are just "learning" and it is fine of your station to give them this most needed opportunity."³⁹

WCIL's use of students and residents in their programming meant that they garnered favor with the friends and families of the students who performed on their broadcasts. Since most students who attended SIU were from the Southern Illinois region, WCIL cemented itself as a friend to the region. WCIL continued to receive many local attention and fan letters due to their constant stream of student programming. McRoy's inclusion of local students in his programming schedule enabled the station to endear themselves to the local region within their first ten-fifteen years of broadcasting. WCIL achieved its goal of tying itself to the community. Their programming that oriented itself to displaying local community and student talent allowed listeners to create a sense of identity. Listeners of WCIL-AM were satisfied with the content, and they kept asking for more. Ultimately, WCIL and its listenership were satisfied with the results of the student-focused programming.

Since its birth in the 1940s, WCIL-AM's format and programming reflected a stance on social progressiveness, social justice, and inclusivity. Its hiring practices, for instance, reflected this. In February 1954, the station hired Dick

34 Carbondale, SIUC-SCRCA-SIMA, Box 7, Folder 6.

35 Carbondale, SIUC-SCRCA-SIMA, Box 7, Folder 8.

36 Ibid.

37 Carbondale, SIUC-SCRCA-SIMA, Box 7, Folder 7.

38 Ibid.

39 Ibid.

Smith, the first African American disc jockey in Southern Illinois.⁴⁰ The station had been on the air for eight years prior Dick Smith's employment. Most African Americans in Illinois during the 1940s-1950s lived in or near Chicago. Southern Illinois had a dominantly rural white population; the addition of a black disc jockey to WCIL was a change for mostly white residents. The late 1940s had seen a push for black employment in the mediums of radio and television across the country. The Coordinating Council for Negro Performers was established in the late 1940s to "change the impression of the viewing public to a more realistic image of blacks."⁴¹ This push for equal employment practices for African American performers played a role in Smith's employment at WCIL. McRoy showed a tendency toward progressive thought. Dick Smith's hiring at WCIL paralleled the Civil Rights Movement's emergence after the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* decision. At the same time, the Democratic Party began its fight towards a progressive platform.⁴²

Employment of the first African American disc jockey was not the only progressive move Paul McRoy, and WCIL achieved in the 1950s. WCIL aired the show "You and your Congress," a program designed by SIU Political Science professor Dr. Orville Alexander.⁴³ In a letter to Paul McRoy, Matt Hall, Secretary for the Carbondale Chamber of Commerce, praised WCIL for airing the show. Hall stated that the show instructed residents about the "workings of their government"; he also claimed that listeners became better citizens due to the show.⁴⁴ While Hall's characterized the show as progressing Carbondale's citizens towards higher learning and better citizenship, WCIL airing political programs' deeper implications are visible underneath his comments. WCIL's ability to air political messages over their airwaves meant that the station could disseminate information across the Southern Illinois region. The push for higher education in the 1940s-1970s in Illinois was an effort that included the education of the entire community, in WCIL's case, education about the

40 Carbondale, SIUC-SCRCA-SIMA, Box 7, Folder 6. Radio disc jockey's (DJ's) much like today, are on the air personality that introduces recorded music to the audience and they are often considered radio personalities.

41 Hilliard and Keith, *Broadcast Century*, 119. The Coordinating Council for Negro Performers was formed in the late 1940s to garner jobs for blacks in the entertainment industry primarily radio and television. They wanted to change Americans' perceptions of blacks by getting black actors and personalities into the entertainment industry.

42 Foner, *Give Me Liberty!*, 925. The 1956 Democratic platform was calling for voting rights, desegregation of public schools, multilateral disarmament, more funding for welfare and equal opportunities for employment.

43 L. Broadus, "Alexander, Orville, (1909-1982)," archives.lib.siu.edu, accessed April 1, 2019, <https://archives.lib.siu.edu/?p=creators/creator&id=204>.

44 Carbondale, SIUC-SCRCA-SIMA, Box 7, Folder 7.

workings of state government.⁴⁵ Through his station, McRoy was laying the groundwork for community education via the radio.

The sense of progressive political awareness continued to be part of the radio station in the late 1950s. The Carbondale League of Women Voters (CLWV) promoted their agenda for a council-manager government for Carbondale's city through WCIL's broadcasts in 1958 and 1959.⁴⁶ These broadcasts included a debate over the measure for a council-manager government for Carbondale. Individuals pro or against the measure could speak on air and openly debate the topic through various broadcasts leading to the vote.⁴⁷ Thus, McRoy embroiled his station in political debates around Southern Illinois.

A more direct use of his station for political reasons occurred when McRoy invited Paul H. Douglas, a senator from Illinois, to promote his political ideas.⁴⁸ Serving three terms in the Senate, Douglas was well-known for his liberal ideas in the postwar era.⁴⁹ He was one of many top Illinois politicians who wrote to WCIL in the 1950s, often writing McRoy to thank him for airing their live interviews.⁵⁰ McRoy frequently acquired interviews with top Illinois Democrats and denoted the amount of power and coverage a small radio station could have.

Paul Simon also joined the list of politicians who wrote to the station. Simon contacted WCIL about their airing of his series "Sidelights from Springfield."⁵¹ Simon was a popular Illinois politician from the Democratic Party who served in the Illinois House of Representatives from 1955-1963, Illinois State Senate from 1963-1968, U.S. House of Representatives from 1975-1985, and the U.S. Senate from 1985-1997. He also made an unsuccessful 1988 presidential run. By 1957, he wrote a newspaper column titled "Sidelights from Springfield", which he provided freely to over three hundred newspapers in

45 Biles, *Illinois A History of the Land*, 263.

46 Carbondale, SIUC-SCRCA-SIMA, Box 7, Folder 7. The Carbondale League of Women Voters was founded in 1926, a year after the Illinois League of Women Voters was founded in 1925. The league was created after women received the right to vote from the 19th amendment (The amendment was passed in 1919 and ratified in 1920). Their focus was on local, state, and national level issues. A council-manager government is a form of city government where an elected city council or board of aldermen works on establishing policy for the city along with setting goals for the city.

47 Carbondale, Illinois is now run by a council-manager government.

48 Carbondale, SIUC-SCRCA-SIMA, Box 7, Folder 7.

49 Biles, *Illinois A History of the Land*, 261. Douglas was well known for his Civil Rights advocacy, even taking a stand and voting against the confirmation of James Eastland, a well-known racist, as chairman of the Judiciary Committee. Douglas was also known for his stance on the environment, truth in lending laws and public housing.

50 Carbondale, SIUC-SCRCA-SIMA, Box 7, Folder 7. Other politicians included, Paul Simon, Adlai Stevenson, William G. Stratton.

51 Ibid.

Illinois.⁵² Judging by his letter to McRoy, Simon, in 1959, began to create audio recordings for radio audiences. Simon was an advocate for Southern Illinois, an often-forgotten part of the state. In particular, he supported the children and the elderly. In the mid-1950s, he opposed a state sales tax that would harm low and moderate-income families.⁵³ The majority of WCIL's audience fit into this bracket as all Southern Illinois counties had a lower per-capita income than the rest of the state in this period.⁵⁴ Therefore, Simon was a popular choice for McRoy to put on his station. The "Sidelights from Springfield" show, much like his newspaper column, depicted Simon's view on what was happening in state and local government. This personal appearance meant that people in Southern Illinois who listened to WCIL had straight access to Simon's perspective on politics. The overall effect that Simon's rhetoric had is unknown. However, WCIL played a part in including that rhetoric into their broadcasts, essentially introducing Southern Illinois residents to Democratic policies.

Furthering WCIL's large cast of Illinois politicians, Illinois governor William G. Stratton wrote to WCIL during the 1950s, expressing his gratitude for McRoy's concern over the 1955 SIU budget (Stratton was responding to a letter McRoy had written him expressing his concern over the budget issues).⁵⁵ McRoy's interest in the SIU budget stemmed from his desire to see SIU grow, which directly affected his station. If SIU had financial issues, then challenges would also arise for WCIL. Situated in a relatively small community, SIU was a large employer in Carbondale and the surrounding region. If the financial crisis negatively affected SIU, it eventually would have led to less profit for WCIL. While Stratton merely wrote a thank you note to McRoy; his legacy left a large impact on the state. Residents remembered Stratton for reforming the state court system and saw an increase of highways in Illinois.⁵⁶ These roads helped to demolish the sense of isolation felt by small towns throughout Illinois, which led to the entire state gaining a homogenous atmosphere among urban and rural citizens.⁵⁷ These roads and highways systems benefitted Illinois by increasing the volume of travel that state roadways could handle – this occurred at the same time SIU was growing in the number of students.

52 Eugene P. Trani, "The Man and the Land The Politics of Paul Simon and Southern Illinois, 1950-1973," *The Simon Review* (Occasional Papers of the Paul Simon Public Policy Institute), Paper 18.

53 Ibid.

54 Harper, *The University That Shouldn't*, 10.

55 Carbondale, SIUC-SCRCA-SIMA, Box 7, Folder 7.

56 Biles, *Illinois A History of the Land*, 262. During Eisenhower's presidency, a large push for highways and interconnected roadways was occurring. By the time Stratton left office, over 7,000 miles of highways had been built.

57 Jenson, *Illinois A History*, 154-155.

The postwar boom of the 1950s affected WCIL for the better. Industrial growth, employment, and greater purchasing power had created postwar economic growth in the U.S. Between 1945 and 1950, the per capita income rose by six percent.⁵⁸ In the 1950s alone, per capita income rose fifteen percent.⁵⁹ In turn, this growth transformed the Illinois landscapes as suburbs began to spring up across the state. The federal government mostly paid for highways through the Highway Act of 1956. Metropolitan decentralization was popular as people who moved to the suburbs received numerous incentives such as reduced pricing.⁶⁰

Along with the change in U.S. culture amid suburbanization and the Civil Rights movement, there were also changes in the political realm. In Illinois during the 1950s, the Democratic party pushed for progressive reform. They sought to revitalize the Illinois government by posting dynamic men into leadership positions. Paul Douglas was one of these men, so was Adlai Stevenson (another popular member of the Democrat party of Illinois). The push for liberal-progressive ideas began to spread in the state as they did across the U.S.⁶¹ McRoy involved his station in politics by airing radio segments containing some of the most progressive legislators in Illinois of the 1950s. He used these segments to appeal to his audience, primarily poor rural whites, and created a more educated Southern Illinois region that heard WCIL's broadcasts. This unorthodox education was especially true when considering policies from Paul Simon or Paul H. Douglas – Simon tended towards advocacy for people in Southern Illinois. At the same time, Douglas was popular for his public housing initiatives.

McRoy kept WCIL active in the community through its programming, which brought advertisers and the community's reliance on the station. WCIL aired a program titled "Know Your Illinois" to educate farmers and poultrymen on the Illinois housing board.⁶² One of these radio programs' primary goal was to help educate farmers on building their own homes or how to apply for public housing. In Jackson County alone, there were almost two thousand farms.⁶³ This type of programming meant that farming and housing information was incredibly important to the residents near WCIL. Before this program, in 1949, Congress passed a Housing Act that authorized the

58 In Illinois, per capita income went from \$1,488 to \$1,842.

59 Biles, *Illinois A History of the Land*, 252-253.

60 *Ibid.*

61 *Ibid.*, 261.

62 Carbondale, SIUC-SCRCA-SIMA, Box 7, Folder 7.

63 U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census "Preliminary 1950 Census of Agriculture: Farms, Farm Characteristics, Farm Products," Table for Jackson County, Illinois, November 1, 1951: 41, <https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1950/agriculture-preliminary-reports/41632338v3ch2.pdf>.

construction of 800,000 public housing units due to the growing U.S. population. The Baby Boom that followed WWII increased the U.S. population by thirty million, which expanded the demand for houses.⁶⁴ The program that WCIL aired directly addressed the changing U.S. housing issues based on population growth. Carbondale's community relied on WCIL for important information such as airing local sports games, news about sports, and school cancellations.⁶⁵ WCIL used their station to cement themselves into the community based on their dissemination of information to the Carbondale area.

The 1960s for WCIL

Consistently WCIL used its power as a radio station to broadcast statements, news flashes, and announcements that directly affected the Carbondale area in the 1960s. On November 20, 1961, there was a gas scare at SIU. WCIL helped coordinate authorities' actions by giving live updates on the developing situation and reconnecting families during the event.⁶⁶ Incidents like this secured WCIL to the SIU (which had its radio station) campus and the local area. Students from across Illinois or other states could more easily fit into the local community via WCIL's commitment to the area. WCIL's involvement in a wide variety of broadcasts such as student-centered shows and political broadcasts about state government allowed them to reach a wide mixture of rural residents and local students. In 1962, WCIL even airing Internal Revenue Service (IRS) news releases aimed to educate and inform citizens about their rights and responsibilities during tax season.⁶⁷ The vast amount of information WCIL provided genuinely assisted the Carbondale community, as evidenced by the numerous notes and letters the station received in this period.⁶⁸

Over this decade, WCIL began airing more content that directly appealed to voters. In 1960, there was a campaign for a second fire-station in Carbondale. WCIL utilized the airwaves to support an election supporting the creation of the second fire-station. Soon after, the mayor of Carbondale, D. Blaney Miller, wrote a note to thank WCIL for their assistance in progressing Carbondale's safety.⁶⁹ The growth of Carbondale directly affected WCIL. More people living in Carbondale meant an increasing number of listeners. Based on the letters WCIL received, a good portion of the local political events they endorsed was successful. The airtime WCIL provided to candidates or ballot items was invaluable.

64 Foner, *Give Me Liberty!*, 925.

65 Ibid.

66 Carbondale, SIUC-SCRCA-SIMA, Box 7, Folder 9.

67 Carbondale, SIUC-SCRCA-SIMA, Box 7, Folder 10.

68 Carbondale, SIUC-SCRCA-SIMA, Box 7.

69 Carbondale, SIUC-SCRCA-SIMA, Box 7, Folder 8.

Simultaneously, some endorsements that the station sponsored failed, indicating that WCIL did not have a complete hold on Carbondale's community's thinking. One such failed backing occurred in 1964 when Judge Peyton H. Kunce wrote McRoy to offer his thanks for the ad aired on WCIL. Kunce wrote that he appreciated the "personal and palpable" support of the Appellate Court judge's candidacy.⁷⁰ Evidence suggests that the sponsorship included advertisements and radio interviews. While Kunce did not win the appointment, in 1964, he eventually won and took office in 1970.⁷¹ WCIL's initiatives did not always have the backing of their listenership. This is evident by the failure of the Kunce campaign in 1964. Kunce's loss underscored that WCIL, alone, did not have enough sway among the local community to get him elected. While WCIL played an important role in Southern Illinois locals' lives, it did not hold ultimate influence over their decisions.

The success of WCIL also opened the door for criticisms. While the 1950s saw triumph for WCIL with little to no evidence of complaints, some listeners of WCIL lodged criticisms over the station's content a decade later. On February 11, 1961, McRoy wrote a letter to address a complaint by Mr. George Nathdurft of Oak Ridge, Missouri. Mr. Nathdurft's complaint stated that he did not want any advertisements for "intoxicating liquor" coming into his home. McRoy responded by simply stating that WCIL only carried beer advertising and that McRoy himself refused to carry liquor promotion.⁷² Mr. Nathdurft's letter illustrates the continuous changes in American culture, showing Nathdurft was either man who grew up during the Prohibition Era (1920-1933) or a religious man who saw alcohol as corruptive of men. In contrast, a college campus was a bastion of cultural transformation because it provided a space for exploring new ideas and theories, and Mr. Nathdurft appeared to neither understand nor like these changes. Besides, this letter provides further insight into the coverage area that WCIL reached. According to McRoy, the listenership of the station was around one million people.⁷³ Considering the percentage of American homes equipped with radio sets by 1971 was ninety-eight percent if McRoy's numbers were correct. Many people inside and outside Jackson County heard WCIL.⁷⁴ Jackson County only had 42,000

70 Carbondale, SIUC-SCRCA-SIMA, Box 7, Folder 12.

71 Jeff Smyth, "Retired Appellate Court Judge Dies After Long Illness," *The Southern Illinoisan*, June 9, 2004, https://thesouthern.com/news/local/retired-appellate-court-judge-dies-after-long-illness/article_0ef9f161-179a-5fe3-9daa-d4a338919b27.html.

72 Carbondale, SIUC-SCRCA-SIMA, Box 7, Folder 9.

73 Ibid.

74 Chester, *Television and Radio*, 5.

residents at the time.⁷⁵ Mr. Nathdurft lived in Missouri, which demonstrated that the WCIL audience's scope extended beyond Illinois. McRoy's choice to maintain his station promotions regardless of Mr. Nathdurft's complaint showed his resolve for the growth of WCIL. His progressive beliefs bolstered by a college town environment.

Nathdurft was not the only person to send a complaint to WCIL. Mrs. Joan Carter of Carbondale wrote to WCIL to inform them that she had "written to Congressman Gray" about extending WCIL's airtime.⁷⁶ At the time of Mrs. Carter's letter, there was a bill in Congress that would allow radio stations to operate beyond their normal schedule (from what time to what time), Mrs. Carter's letter intended to convince Congressman Gray to vote for that bill. Mrs. Carter sent a copy of the other letter she had written to Congressman Gray with her letter to WCIL. In her letter to Gray, she mentioned that WCIL needed to extend its operating hours due to the threat of natural disasters. Also, because multiple stations muddled and congested Southern Illinois' airwaves.⁷⁷ Mrs. Carter was very concerned about getting her announcements from WCIL, for herself and others in Jackson county, as WCIL was their main radio station. While SIU had a radio station which worked twenty-four hours a day, that station was FM based.⁷⁸ FM did not become popular until later in the 1960s. In 1960, only eleven percent of people in the U.S. had FM radios.⁷⁹ This low number meant that the majority of the radio audience only listened to AM stations like WCIL. In her letter to Congressmen Gray, Mrs. Carter stated, "for some reason, I do not know, radio reception here, except for WCIL, is very poor and congested."⁸⁰ Poor radio reception implied that during the evenings, no other radio station broadcasted clearly in Carbondale.

In addition, Mrs. Carter also complained about the type of music WCIL played during the day. She pointed out that playing "go" and "twist" music, all the time, scared off women like herself. Carter talked about middle-aged women, mostly stay-at-home mothers; the type of people who would be at home or shopping during the normal daytime hours. Mrs. Carter claimed

75 U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census "1960 Census of Population: Illinois," Advance Reports, Final Population Counts, December 2, 1960, <https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1960/population-pc-a1/15611126ch2.pdf>.

76 AM stations were not allowed to air broadcasts beyond certain hours of the day as to not interfere with broadcasts in other parts of the U.S. In the evening there are shifts in the ionospheric layers (inner most layer of the sky) that would allow AM signals to go hundreds or even thousands of miles. Shutting down operation of an AM station allowed for less interference for stations that could broadcast overnight.

77 Carbondale, SIUC-SCRCA-SIMA, Box 7, Folder 10.

78 Ibid.

79 Hilliard and Keith, *The Broadcast Century*, 164.

80 Ibid.

that the women who had buying power (like herself) were influenced by the commercials that WCIL aired did not want to listen to this new type of music.⁸¹ This new type of music that Mrs. Carter talked about was part of the broader American culture change. African American music crossed over black and white segregation through Elvis Presley, and teenage dance music such as twist and go-go music; music reflecting teen rebellion similar to that of the New Left's ideology for change.⁸² The popularity of new music followed a shift in the popular culture of the time. In order to stay relevant, WCIL had to play what the audience wanted. New music did not take up all WCIL's broadcast hours, but the station wanted to ensure their ability to reach as many listeners as it could. The fact that Mrs. Carter complained about the music played at WCIL, her comment on having buying power, and her letter to Gray that insisted that no other stations can be reached in the Carbondale area supported the unique and important position WCIL held as the dominant station for Carbondale. Thus, people were willing to complain about the station; they still backed its continued survival and growth. This commitment to WCIL was something that the station had been working on since its inception in 1946.

As WCIL grew, the idea of adding an FM station became vital to the expansion of the station. FM radio was hardly used in the early 1960s, though there was eventual growth in the FM radio market near the end of the decade. Most AM stations did not need FM in the early days. The common practice of stations with AM and FM capabilities was to air the same information or entertainment over both airwaves. In 1964, the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) began to eliminate AM-FM program duplication.⁸³ That led to stations buying up FM signals to switch their programming to FM for better signal quality. The next year, in 1965, thirty million radio sets were sold in the U.S., a fourth of those sales were FM sets.⁸⁴ These events set in motion WCIL, beginning a push towards FM capabilities. Paul McRoy filed a petition to the FCC on February 20, 1967, to get an FM license to make WCIL a class B

81 Carbondale, SIUC-SCRCA-SIMA, Box 7, Folder 10.

82 Marcie Wallace, "Elvis Presley: A Revolutionist," [lagrange.edu](https://www.lagrange.edu/resources/pdf/citations/2012/11_Wallace_History.pdf), https://www.lagrange.edu/resources/pdf/citations/2012/11_Wallace_History.pdf; Richard Powers, "Teen Dances of the 1950s," [stanford.edu](https://socialdance.stanford.edu/Syllabi/teen_dances.htm), https://socialdance.stanford.edu/Syllabi/teen_dances.htm.

83 The FCC is an agency of the U.S. government that regulates radio and television. It has since expanded to regulating broadband and internet services.

84 Hilliard and Keith, *The Broadcast Century*, 181-185.

station by assigning Carbondale as a class C position.⁸⁵ In 1967, the FCC denied McRoy's request for more wattage. This rejection was because McRoy did not have sufficient evidence to show that Carbondale or the areas around it lacked radio coverage.⁸⁶ A year later, in 1968, the FCC approved McRoy's request for an addition of FM frequency to WCIL's repertoire. This station duplicated the AM shows until the evening when the AM station was forced to sign off while the FM station kept going. It was not until 1976 that WCIL had to split programming into their stations.⁸⁷ McRoy knew that getting the FM station was the future for WCIL. FM did not capture the radio market until 1980. At that point, it had 52.4 percent of listenership that it once had during the Golden Age: AM never recovered.⁸⁸

WCIL ended the 1960s with support going to another local college created for the locals of Southern Illinois.⁸⁹ By supporting another college, WCIL continued to promote the ongoing education of the local people. John A. Logan College had just acquired permanent land in 1969 in Williamson County, adjacent to Jackson County. This new campus meant that more people would be coming into proximity to WCIL's broadcasts. John A. Logan College was founded in 1967 after the passage of the 1965 Illinois Community College Act.⁹⁰ The Act provided more residents of the state with higher education by creating an Illinois Community College Board to educate more people in Illinois. WCIL's promotion of John A. Logan College harkened to the already mentioned push for higher education in not only Illinois but the whole of the U.S. As the 1960s ended, it was clear that WCIL had left an impact on the community of Southern Illinois, along with radio consolidating the idea of a state and national identity.

85 United States, "Decisions and Reports of the Federal Communications Commission of the United States, March 17, 1967 to May 12, 1967," *Federal Communications Commission Reports* volume 7, issue 2, (1968): 848-849. The FCC assigns radio classifications in terms of wattage: a class A station has less wattage than a class C station, which means it reaches a smaller audience than a class C station. Therefore, a class B station is better than a class A station (which WCIL-AM was in 1967).

86 Ibid.

87 Riggs Jr., "rockin' radio" 101.5 CIL-FM Blasts From the Past!", 91.

88 Hilliard and Keith, *The Broadcast Century*, 234.

89 Carbondale, SIUC-SCRCA-SIMA, Box 7, Folder 15.

90 "History," jalc.edu, accessed April 18, 2019, <https://www.jalc.edu/admissions/general-information#history>.

The Overall Effect of WCIL on Carbondale and SIU

WCIL-AM and then FM played a large role in disseminating information to the Southern Illinois region. WCIL-AM was especially crucial as it served as a case study of the massive change in U.S. culture and radio in the 1950s and 1960s. WCIL was a small radio station that furthered progressive ideologies popular in the 1950s and 1960s. The growth of suburbanization in America began to break down the barriers that divided rural and urban life, and radio consolidated a national community's idea.

WCIL was founded in a university town on the rise because of a strong push for education in the 1950s-1970s: a push further accelerated by veterans' returning home and benefiting from the G.I. Bill. While that continued, young people had been encouraged to further their education to move the country toward an educated labor force. WCIL placated to a university and rural audiences, which equated to combining rural and city life through the students who attended SIU. SIU students actively participated in radio broadcasts, bridging the divide that rural residents felt with these students moving into their city. WCIL navigated the political landscape by educating their listening audience via progressive radio messages from progressive liberal Illinois politicians. The extent of their broadcasting reach went beyond a rural community that simply needed a radio station. There were radio stations in surrounding towns such as Marion and Herrin. Nevertheless, WCIL stood out by executing and spreading progressive ideas. WCIL's proximity to the university was the factor that provided its success.

Joshua McCray

African American Education in Southern Illinois and the Dunbar Society

Introduction

Black Americans have a long and vital history in Southern Illinois. However, despite this strong legacy, Southern Illinois schools subjected black students to racial discrimination. Attached to the southern United States both culturally and geographically, the Southern Illinois region had institutionalized racism and discrimination similar to what occurred in the south, a region known for its history of racism and prejudices like slavery and Jim Crow Laws. Southern Illinois communities like Cairo and many others had segregated public school systems.¹ Southern Illinois villages and towns have for generations faced significant racial violence and oppression. Cairo is one of these communities plagued with racial violence and oppression. Throughout Southern Illinois, these towns and villages represented a region within Illinois where the black community experienced numerous obstacles to attending public schools. At Southern Illinois University Carbondale, black Americans had the opportunity to attend the university since its inception, but they still faced a wide range of obstacles due to racial discrimination. Housing segregation, segregated student organizations, and sports teams were just a few of the obstacles black students had to face. This paper argues that in 1925, black students at Southern Illinois University created the Dunbar Society to address blacks' students' plight on campus. The Dunbar society was a student organization that promoted students' literary, social, and athletic abilities at Southern Illinois University. Through the Dunbar Society, black students on campus were finally able to find an outlet and express themselves through academics, athletics, and social pursuits, which helped shape the university's black student population and Carbondale's black community.

Brief History of Education in Southern Illinois

The Dunbar Society had a rich and vibrant history at Southern Illinois University (SIU). It was a black student organization on campus that organized

1 Christopher K. Hays, "The African American Struggle for Equality and Justice in Cairo, Illinois, 1865-1900," *Illinois Historical Journal* Vol. 90, No.4 (1994), 278.

academic and social events, primarily for SIU black students². There is a scarcity of information about the Dunbar Society outside Southern Illinois University walls, nor is their shared history knowledge to many students and faculty. Black life in Southern Illinois helped shape the university's black student population and Carbondale's black community. The Dunbar Society provided black students and members of the black community of Carbondale a social entertainment outlet that previously was unavailable to them through the university and limited and scarce in Carbondale's black community. This paper uses a collection of both primary and secondary sources to paint a picture of what education opportunities existed for black students in Southern Illinois and how these inequities helped lead to the Dunbar Society formation. Primary sources include pictures of members of the Dunbar Society and other SIU student organizations from the Southern Illinois University yearbook. Other primary sources such as newspaper articles from the SIU school newspaper "*The Egyptian*" (now known as the *Daily Egyptian*) used throughout the paper. Secondary sources come from peer-reviewed history journals and a Ph. D. dissertation written by an SIU student regarding black students' impact on the SIU campus.

In his article "The African American Struggle For Equality and Justice In Cairo, Illinois, 1865-1900," historian Christopher K. Hays helps lay the foundation for the history of black education in Southern Illinois. Black education in Southern Illinois is pivotal to understanding the Dunbar Society. Understanding the obstacles in education that black Americans faced throughout Southern Illinois in communities such as Cairo, Carbondale, and Alton are crucial to the Dunbar Society's history and understanding and its formation. Education among African Americans is also particularly true since, during the early years of what is now known as SIU and during the Dunbar Society era, a significant majority of African American students came from the surrounding Southern Illinois region³. Hays talked about Joel G. Morgan and TJ Shores' founding of Cairo's first black school in 1867. Morgan and Shores named the school "The Colored Union School of Cairo⁴." He discussed the progression of racial segregation in Cairo schools and the struggle the African American community endured to end segregation in their community. During the Reconstruction Era, there was a massive influx of blacks from the South into Cairo and Southern Illinois. As the southernmost city in Illinois and right

2 The Little Egypt Chapter of the Afro-American Historical and Genealogical Society and the Graduate History of Photography Seminars (1988-1997), Dept. of Cinema & Photography, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, comps., *In Unity There Is Strength: A Pictorial History of The African American Community of Carbondale, Illinois* (Paducah, KY: Turner Publishing Company, 1999), 54.

3 Ibid, 54.

4 Hays, "The African American Struggle", 278.

along the Mississippi and Ohio rivers, Cairo was a popular destination for migrating blacks. Black migration created a booming economy in Cairo for a few decades as there was plenty of work and high demand for labor.⁵

In another article, Bonita H. Valien, a professor at Fisk University, wrote about educational segregation in Southern Illinois. The article "Racial Desegregation of Public Schools in Southern Illinois" talks about segregation in the city of Cairo, but also school segregation across the state and how it was able to survive past *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) and numerous laws at the state level banning segregation in education based on race or color.⁶ Legal segregation and other racially discriminatory practices in public accommodations across the United States ended with the 1964 Civil Rights Act under President Lyndon B. Johnson.⁷ However, as previously mentioned, racist and segregationist tactics remained through subtle and often covert means such as sundown laws. Education discrimination based on color occurred on the campus of Southern Illinois University, and members of the Dunbar Society and other black students experienced racial discrimination on campus.⁸

The city of Carbondale, Illinois, also had a long and turbulent history regarding black education, related to the black community's general education and the racial segregation they faced in their schools at the hands of the white community of Carbondale. The Little Egypt Chapter of the Afro-American Historical and Genealogical Society wrote the book, *In Unity There Is Strength: A Pictorial History of The African American Community of Carbondale, Illinois*, narrating the black history education both in the community as well as at Southern Illinois University. The Dunbar Society planted its roots in Carbondale's black education system and the surrounding Southern Illinois region. As stated previously, during the university's early years and the beginning years of the Dunbar Society, many African American students at the university hailed from Carbondale or neighboring Southern Illinois communities.⁹ In 1866, Carbondale became the first city in Jackson County to have an all-black school. Once school enrollment started to increase, the local community raised funds to purchase and renovate an official school building. In 1871, the school changed its name to Eastside school, which would later

5 Hays, "The African American Struggle", 265-279.

6 Valien, "Racial Desegregation of Public Schools", 303-309.

7 The Civil Rights Act of 1964 Public Law 88-352, 78 Statute. 241.1964 accessed 7/15/2020, <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/STATUTE-78/pdf/STATUTE-78-Pg241.pdf>.

8 The Little Egypt Chapter and the Graduate History of Photography Seminars, *In Unity There Is Strength*", 54.

9 *Ibid*, 54.

be known as Attucks School.¹⁰ From its inception, blacks were able to attend Southern Illinois University. Former slave Alexander Lane would become the first black student to graduate from Southern Illinois Normal University (now SIU) in 1881. Lane served as the principal of the Carbondale Eastside School from 1881-1891.¹¹ However, black students faced racism and discrimination both in the classroom and around campus. Southern Illinois University also enforced segregation in their sports teams. This discrimination led to the creation of the Dunbar Society.

The Dunbar Society was an organization that became the cornerstone of the black community on campus. It addressed racial inequality on campus by providing opportunities such as sports teams and social events like concerts and a homecoming. Previously, the university had barred black students from attending these functions¹². While the Dunbar Society wanted to bring inclusion and diversity to the SIU campus, the campus administration's mentality still forced the Dunbar Society to operate within the confines of an institutionally racist university. Instead of integrating sports teams, the university only included black athletes with exceptional prowess.¹³ The Dunbar Society was the only choice outside of a church league or community-sponsored sports team. The Dunbar Society specifically designed events so that black students would have an outlet on campus that otherwise would not have been possible.

The Dunbar Society had an enormous legacy and impact on Southern Illinois University. The Dunbar Society was rooted in the struggle against racial discrimination that many black students faced in Southern Illinois. The legal segregation on education throughout Southern Illinois and the discrimination and racism on the Southern Illinois University campus helped shape the Dunbar Society.

Segregation in Southern Illinois Schools

The Southern region of Illinois had a racial legacy like the Southern United States in terms of segregation in education. As mentioned previously, it is crucial to investigate the systemic racism in Southern Illinois education to understand the Dunbar Society and what it stood for. Many Illinois school districts racially segregated their public schools. Segregation in Southern Illinois was ironic since,

10 Ibid, 34.

11 Pamela Smoot, "Alexander Lane: From Slavery to Freedom: The Life of Alexander Lane, Educator, Physician and Illinois State Legislator, 1860-1911" (2012). *The Simon Review* (Occasional Papers of the Paul Simon Public Policy Institute). Paper 29, 10.

12 "Once Upon a Time SIU Homecoming," *The Egyptian*, November 10, 1994.

13 Stalls, Madlyn, "A History of African Americans At Southern Illinois University at Carbondale 1915-1987," (PHD dissertation, Southern Illinois University Carbondale, 1990), 50-51.

in 1874, the Illinois General Assembly passed a law eliminating segregation in public schools. To avoid desegregation, in Southern Illinois schools, the districts deployed two different tactics upholding segregation. The first tactic was that they convinced black children to attend a segregated school regardless of where they lived (known as “black busing”). Southern Illinois public school districts also used a second tactic known as residential segregation. Residential segregation used sundown laws to isolate black communities, forcing black students to attend segregated schools. During the 66th General Assembly (1949), Illinois lawmakers passed an amendment to the Distributive Fund Appropriation Bill (HB no. 1066). This amendment called for the state to withhold all funds to any school that followed a segregationist policy. The Illinois State General Assembly further expanded this amendment in 1951 when state legislators created an additional Amendment, which required all Illinois District Superintendents to present testimony under oath that their school districts comply with state and local segregation laws during their appropriations hearing before the state legislature. Furthermore, in 195, the Illinois State General Assembly passed HR 34 (House Resolution no. 35), which created a legislative committee tasked with investigating school compliance with non-segregation policies established in HB 1066.¹⁴

Christopher K. Hays, the author of “The African American Struggle For Equality and Justice In Cairo, Illinois, 1865-1900,” discussed school segregation in Cairo, the county seat for Alexander County. Hays referenced the first black school in Cairo, “The Colored Union School Of Cairo” (CUSC). Founded in 1867 by Alexander County Superintendent of School Joel G. Morgan and notable black Cairo and Alexander county activist TJ Shores. Mount Orange Baptist Church housed the school. On October 6, 1867, classes formally began, and the Cairo Colored School found its home in the original schoolhouse building that was used by the white “Thirteenth Street Grammar School” founded in 1853. Until the hiring of more qualified teachers, Shores served as a teacher at the school. The school did not charge fees for students’ instruction, and during the school’s first few weeks of having lessons, Cairo’s black community tried to fund the school by hosting a community festival. Although an initial success, this did not last long. The desire to integrate Cairo schools was strong within the black community.¹⁵

On October 11, 1867, after only five days of class instruction, TJ Shores gathered Black parents to the CUSC to demand school integration¹⁶. The fact that after only five days of instruction, parents and Shores grew tired of the accommodations provided at the original Thirteenth Street Grammar schoolhouse speaks volumes for three reasons. First, this uproar in the

14 Bonita H. Valien, “Racial Desegregation of Public Schools in Southern Illinois,” *Journal of Negro Education* Vol. 23, No.3 (1954), 303-304.

15 Hays, “The African American Struggle”, 278.

16 *Ibid*, 278.

community strongly suggested that the fourteen-year-old schoolhouse had become outdated and in a state of disrepair inappropriate to accommodate students for learning. Second, the demands for integration within the African American community only five days after the school opened for instruction show that Cairo's black community strongly believed and wanted an integrated school system that would serve Cairo's community as a united whole. Third, the school did not charge fees for students to attend, and the fact that the school received funds through community donations that ultimately failed showed the discriminatory separate, and unequal mindset that the white residents of Cairo had. White Cairo residents and the respective Cairo public school district specifically wanted to create an institutionally racist separate and unequal education system that would benefit white residents and disadvantage, black residents.

Shores and the black parents argued the Republican Party and white Cairo citizens refused to provide equal funding to CUSC. Although Shores and other notable members of the black community had numerous talks with Cairo officials and leading members of the Alexander County Republican Party, their efforts were futile. Cairo residents used numerous arguments to justify segregation in their schools.¹⁷ The local newspaper, the *Cairo Democrat* on October 17, 1867, stated the opinion of many of the white residents throughout the city:

Every negro in Cairo of ordinary reasoning faculties knows that the time will never come when white and black children will be educated under the same roof, in the same room and by the same instructor. Natural, mental and physical differences and incompatibilities render this impracticable - forever impossible.¹⁸

Cairo's white community believed blacks were inferior and physiologically different from white men and therefore needed education separate from white students. Another common perception held by the white community in Cairo was that it was economically a poor decision to integrate the Cairo schools.¹⁹

The Republican Party, which championed black suffrage and equal rights during the Reconstruction Era, now changed its tune towards blacks. The Alexander County Republican Party argued that black families had little to no taxable property and, therefore, could not afford the fees necessary for their children's education. Alexander County Republican leaders, including Joel G. Morgan, who was Superintendent of Schools for Alexander County

17 Ibid., 279-280.

18 Ibid.

19 Ibid, 280.

and helped establish The Colored Union School of Cairo, argued that blacks should not be allowed to attend integrated white schools because Republican Party officials believed blacks did not contribute to the general welfare and maintenance of schools.²⁰

By the 1870s, Cairo added a black school, "Greeley Grammar School" (GGS). Unlike CUSC, community donations, and tax dollars funded GGS. The school accommodated students from First through Fifth Grade, and a two-story apartment building housed four additional classes. Only five teachers taught at the school with a student body of over 200 students. Greeley Grammar lacked proper funding, although it had a more extensive revenue base than The Colored Union School; it also suffered significant structural issues. There was a shortage of coal during the winter, so classes often were canceled as it was too cold to stay in the classroom.²¹

For roughly another decade, education for blacks did not make any significant improvement. Eventually, black parents had enough and staged a sit-in at Thirteenth Street Grammar School. They refused to leave until the city agreed to improve the black schools. Black parents agreed to end their strike if the school district agreed to integrate the schools. To preserve black votes to the Republican Party and maintain the segregated school system, Cairo officials and key Alexander County Republican Party members agreed to improve the black schools²². However, many white citizens of Cairo reacted negatively. A local woman, Maud Rittenhouse, wrote in her diary:

Cairo would not be Cairo without some excitement on hand. We've got done with yellow-fever, cyclones, small- pox, earth-quakes, and floods, so now we've an insurrection by the colored element. [...] The white people have built them a nice commodious school-house and employed the finest talent the country affords to instruct them [...] Instigated by an ignorant, unreasonable 'preachah', they burst . . . upon our two school buildings yesterday morning and demanded that their school children be entered right with the white ones.²³

The attitude that Maud Rittenhouse showed in her diary was quite common among white citizens in Cairo. Superintendent Joel G. Morgan shared similar views to Maud Rittenhouse, believing it to be an absolute necessity to have schools segregated. The local newspaper, the *Cairo Democrat*, also shared similar views, believing it imperative that whites and blacks be segregated in

20 Ibid.

21 Ibid, 281.

22 Ibid, 282-283.

23 Ibid, 283.

schools.²⁴ However, Cairo's mayor agreed to renovate GGS; he also agreed to build another black school.²⁵

Sumner School (SS) was the first high school built in Cairo for its black students. Although SS only had a principal and three teachers who had initially faced many issues, the school developed into a vibrant educational community. SS emphasized vocational training for its students despite inadequate funding for books, new science equipment, and other school resources. Sumner School had a vibrant extra-curricular community. It had several Glee Clubs, numerous athletic programs, and even a school newspaper, the *High School Autocrat*.²⁶

Some Southern Illinois school districts implemented partial segregation policies. It was not uncommon for communities to have a segregated elementary and junior high and an integrated high school. This case of integration was the case in Alton, Illinois, which had an integrated high school and segregated elementary and middle school. Neighboring Edwardsville and Harrisburg also had a dual segregation policy like the city of Alton. East St. Louis had a segregated education system like Cairo, where the East St. Louis public school district had completely segregated the public-school system. In some instances, public school districts so heavily ingrained into society segregation that the white school administrators forced black high school students to bypass the local high school, cross county lines, and travel over twenty-five miles to attend the segregated school. Although some Illinois public school districts had integrated their high school, many black students faced a wide range of systemic discrimination. After Sparta's public high school's integration, the high school authorities still segregated black students during study hall.²⁷

During the 1949-1951 legislative sessions, there was an effort by several Southern Illinois school systems to end or reduce segregation in education. In some instances, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) even got involved in issuing lawsuits against school districts that were fervently engaged in education segregation.²⁸ Although some Illinois counties eliminated segregation in their education system, the Illinois legislative committee on segregation in Illinois school still had much to say:

Neither the County Superintendent of Schools nor the District Superintendents, nor the School Trustee Boards are doing anything about obeying the law. The parents

24 Ibid, 279-280.

25 Ibid, 283-284.

26 Ibid, 284.

27 Valien, "Racial Desegregation of Public Schools", 304.

28 Ibid, 305.

of colored students fear bodily violence for their children seeking to attend the school nearest their residence.²⁹

Alexander (where Cairo is) and Pulaski counties were two Illinois counties that grossly disobeyed Illinois anti-segregation laws. Failure to follow the was particularly alarming since more than thirty percent of Alexander and Pulaski counties' population was black.³⁰

Black Americans in Carbondale, Illinois

Black Americans have a rich and vibrant history in Carbondale, Illinois. Evidence suggests that blacks have resided in Jackson County since 1806, where there is documentation of the first free blacks moving to Jackson County. The 1870 US census showed that 38.44% of blacks in Jackson County lived in Carbondale. Furthermore, in 1880, Carbondale had the highest increase of black residents in Jackson County. The black population in Carbondale was 283 in 1870. By 1880 there were 597 blacks in Carbondale. There were 125 black households in the city by 1880. Public and personal records indicate blacks were vital to the development of Carbondale since its 1852 founding. The first black school in Jackson County started in Carbondale. Two Baptist ministers founded the school in 1866 in an abandoned shop, then used as a church. As enrollment rapidly increased, a Carbondale church donated a building as a new schoolhouse. By 1871, the newly renovated Eastside School opened its doors for the first time. This newly renovated school is where Alexander Lane, the first black graduate from Southern Illinois Normal University, would serve as principal for ten years. This school eventually became Attucks School, named after Crispus Attucks, a victim of the Boston Massacre. Eastside School or Attucks stayed open until desegregation forced it to close its doors in 1964. A large percentage of blacks from the area attended Attucks school. Carbondale black schools began to experience an overcrowding problem in 1914. The Attucks schoolhouse hosted 250 students housed in only six classrooms. The school district eventually had to rent space from a church to accommodate the high student volume.³¹

Southern Illinois University Dunbar Society

On October 6, 1925, Carl Lee established the Paul Lawrence Dunbar Society. Mr. Lee was a student in the class of 1926.³² The Dunbar Society

29 Ibid.

30 Ibid 304-305.

31 The Little Egypt Chapter and the Graduate History of Photography Seminars, *In Unity There Is Strength*", 4-34.

32 Southern Illinois University Carbondale Special Collections [herein SIUC-SC], Southern Illinois Normal University, *The Obelisk* (Carbondale, IL:1927), 178.

was a student organization that promoted the literary, athletic, and social growth of black students on the SIU campus.³³ The society had a basketball team, a separate homecoming, and sponsored events and other social functions. Also, the Dunbar Society hosted literary debates. Membership in the Dunbar Society quickly exploded, and, by 1926, only a year after its formation, the organization already had forty-three members. Participation of the Dunbar Society in campus events also quickly blossomed. On October 31, 1926, the Dunbar Society partook in the university's homecoming parade with their float, finally proudly displaying black students' contributions to SIU campus life.³⁴ Frequently elections were held to elect members to lead the society leadership. On October 5, 1945, the SIU school newspaper *The Egyptian* discussed the then-recent Dunbar elections. The Dunbar Society held this meeting in Room 107 of the Main Building. The newly elected Dunbar President was Willie Dee Anderson, Vice President Phyllis Ray, Secretary Merdes Weathers, Assistant Secretary Beverly Garner, and their Treasurer Dorothy Syhes.³⁵

The Dunbar Society's mission emphasized racial equality on campus. On May 8, 1942, Earle Brooks, a fellow member of the Dunbar Society, wrote a letter to the editor of *The Egyptian*. In the letter, Brooks discussed a recent undergraduate Student Council election and responded to a recent article "The Problem Again Discussed" by Mr. Watson. In his article, Mr. Watson wrote about the recent election and why black students could not serve on the student council. Brooks opened his letter with a powerful statement, "I speak for the Negro." He eloquently mentioned that he wrote this letter to point out Mr. Watson's published article's numerous flaws. Brooks acknowledged for a democratic system to thrive, there must be fair, equal, and proper representation for the people. However, Brooks noted that their Student Council, particularly their newly elected council, aimed to oppress black students by writing, "The adoption of the system based on our class system would merit the Negro nothing."³⁶ Brooks talked about how the elections stacked the deck against black students. He argued that representation on the Student Council did not represent the people's needs since many black students on campus voted but had no representation within the Student Council. Brooks said a powerful statement to Mr. Watson:

No Mr. Watson, we cannot see it your way. We ask for no segregation, no discrimination, or any other form

33 Madlyn Stalls, "A History of African Americans", 50.

34 SIUC-SC. Southern Illinois Normal University, *The Obelisk* (Carbondale, IL: 1926), 174.

35 "Elects Officers," *The Egyptian*, October 5, 1945, 3.

36 *Egyptian* Staff. "The Egyptian, May 8, 1942." (May 1942), 2.

of the suppression we receive. I am of the opinion that you would again make us the victim of "Yankee Statesmanship."³⁷

If the student council effectively implemented proportional representation, then the Dunbar Society and black students would have supported this wholeheartedly. If given the opportunity to have actual representation within Student Council and student government, then black students and the Dunbar Society would have supported student government. The reason is that proportional representation would have meant that black students would finally have a real voice within the student government and thus would have been able to work together to bring change across the SIU campus that would benefit blacks and SIU students as a whole. They would finally be able to work towards a more fair and equitable university. As the Student Council showed no interest in changing their current constitution and procedures, this meant nothing to black students on campus. Calling the Dunbar Society "the child of segregation,"³⁸ Brooks believed that the Dunbar Society was born out of racial oppression at SIU. He pointed out that the university's slogan "Parity for Southern and Equality" did not apply to black students at SIU. Brooks understood that racial relations would not change overnight. However, without equal representation within the Student Council, it would have been difficult for black students to initiate activities and campaigns to remove racial barriers and eradicate racial discrimination on this campus. Earle Brooks ended his letter:

Give to this child of segregation the Dunbar Society, a means of representing the Negro at Southern. When you cry 'Parity For Southern' remember to give parity to the Negro at Southern. The courts have said that in order to get equity one must do equity. The Negro on this campus joins the cry. 'Parity for Southern.' YOU join the echo 'Parity for the Negro at Southern.'³⁹

Brooks believed that the time for SIU to act on behalf of its students, regardless of color, was overdue. Essentially, in his letter, Brooks argued that it was critical that instead of asking black students to improve SIU, SIU should devote itself to improving the lives of its black students. When Brooks referred to SIU, he meant the entire SIU community, including professors and administrators and not just the student council. Black students had been contributing to the university since its inception. Now it was time for

37 Ibid.

38 Ibid.

39 Ibid.

the university to help black students have a better living environment on the SIU campus.

Dunbar Society Athletics

Black students could not partake in athletics on campus. To counter this, many black students participated in intramural club sports and sporting events and activities in the greater black community in Carbondale and the surrounding area. Many of the black churches in the area had sports teams as well.⁴⁰ However, exceptions were made for students with exceptional athletic capabilities. As a result, there was sporadic participation of black students on sports teams.⁴¹ A black athlete named Kenneth Stokes was a member of the Dunbar Society. Kenneth was also affiliated with the university track team in 1928, according to a school yearbook photo.⁴² The Dunbar Society had its own sports teams, most notably a basketball team. References to the Dunbar's team dated back as early as 1927 when the school newspaper *The Egyptian* published an article describing the recent victory of the Dunbars' against Du Quoin. The Dunbars' gave Du Quoin a tough challenge, reigning superior with a final score of 20-13. *The Egyptian* even noted that the Dunbars' were one of only two teams who arguably challenged Du Quoin during the season truly.⁴³ Some basketball team members included team Captain B. Hines, W. Bowers, J. Hays, and A. West.⁴⁴

A 1930 edition of *The Egyptian* also showed that the Dunbars' participated in intramural tournaments playing high schools and other sports clubs. According to *The Egyptian*, the Dunbars' even played the "Freshman IV" intramural basketball team.⁴⁵ During the same tournament, the Dunbars' defeated the Senior College team, winning 10-7. Noted in the article was the strong potential of the Dunbar team during the tournament.⁴⁶ The Dunbars' faced the "Freshman Group 2," where the Dunbars' decimated their opponents with a final score of 24-4.⁴⁷ In 1930 but in February, the Dunbars' participated and dominated another basketball tournament. In that tournament as early as February 12, the Dunbars tied for second place with the "Road Hogs", with a 6-1 record. The Dunbars' next game in the tournament was the following day

40 Madlyn, "A History of African Americans", 41.

41 Madlyn, "A History of African Americans", 50-51.

42 SIUC-SC. Southern Illinois University, *The Obelisk* (Carbondale, IL: 1928), 217, Southern Illinois Normal University Carbondale Special Collections.

43 "Dunbars Conquer Du Quoin", *The Egyptian*, February 22, 1927, 8.

44 Ibid, 8.

45 "Team Rankings in Intramural Tournament," *The Egyptian*, January 22, 1930, 5.

46 Ibid, 5.

47 "Week's Games and Scores of Intramural Tournament," *The Egyptian*, February 5, 1930, 1.

against the “House of Andusus” team, who had a 4-2 game record preceding their game against the Dunbars.⁴⁸

On January 7, 1932, the Dunbar basketball team had another crushing victory when they defeated the “Mud Wamps” 16-9.⁴⁹ By January 27, the Dunbars were in third place in the National League Division, with a 3-1 record.⁵⁰ The 1935 January 16 *Egyptian* published an article detailing the Dunbar victory against Attucks High School in Carbondale, with a 21-18 victory.⁵¹ During the 1940s, there is little mention of Dunbar athletics in *The Egyptian*. The only mention of Dunbar athletics was on December 21, 1945, regarding an SIU complete intermural basketball tournament.⁵² After 1945 there is no further mention of Dunbar athletics in the school newspaper or the school yearbook. Dunbar athletics had faded away, possibly due to the integration of SIU sports teams. The 1961 SIU yearbook photo for the basketball team shows two black players.⁵³ The image suggested that the university during the late 40s early 50s had begun integrating their sports teams. However, from the vast array of stats and articles detailing their success during the late 1920s and throughout the 1930s, it is accurate to portray the Dunbar Society basketball team as a powerful force to be reckoned with in the black basketball community. Frequent reference to Dunbar basketball games and activities in *The Egyptian* showed that the basketball team was widely popular across the campus for whites and blacks. These frequent references and heavy news coverage also provided evidence to suggest that the Dunbar basketball team’s popularity may have also played a role in the integration of university sports.

Dunbar Society’s Social Events

The Dunbar Society had a rich social history on campus. During their weekly Tuesday meetings, members would bring 25cents to pay for weekend parties.⁵⁴ The Dunbar Society also hosted plays and other theatrical and musical events. In 1936 the Dunbar Society performed a play called “Murdered alive.”⁵⁵ Interestingly all Dunbar social events were self-funded. Frequently

48 “Road Hogs and Dunbars Tied for Second Place. Leaders Clash Tuesday,” *The Egyptian*, February 12, 1930, 2.

49 “Intramural Results,” *The Egyptian*, January 13, 1932, 6.

50 “Intramural Teams Tighten Race for League Titles,” *The Egyptian*, January 27, 1932, 5.

51 Egyptian Staff “The Egyptian, January 16, 1932.” (Jan 1932). 1.

52 “From the Press Box,” *The Egyptian*, December 21, 1945, 6.

53 SIUC-SC. Southern Illinois University, *The Obelisk* (Carbondale, IL: 1961), 131, Southern Illinois Normal University Carbondale Special Collections.

54 Madlyn, “A History of African Americans”, 96-97.

55 Ryan, Daniel Martin, “A Historical Analysis of Women Student Activities during the Inter War Years 1918-1941,” (Ph.D. Dissertation, Southern Illinois University Carbondale, 2014), 34.

the events were funded with members paying for the event outright.⁵⁶ The November 8, 1933, edition of *The Egyptian* mentions a dance the Dunbar Society was holding. Hosted on a Saturday evening in the old university gym, the decorations maintained a strong SIU theme. A Cairo orchestra provided music.⁵⁷ Regular Dunbar meetings occasionally had an event included. The November 9, 1932 issue of *The Egyptian* mentioned that singer Jessie Bill performed at a Dunbar meeting. Bill was a highly acclaimed musician and pianist who was also a member of the Dunbar Society and drew a large crowd of students to listen to him play at the Dunbar meeting.⁵⁸

On February 2, 1932, the Dunbar Society hosted a musical event at a university faculty member's private home.⁵⁹ On Saturday, October 24, 1942, Musician Bob Strong and his band played at the SIU "Swingphony" with the Dunbar Society in attendance. This event took place at Shyrock Auditorium with the Dunbar Society in attendance to consider if they would hire Bob Strong for their homecoming.⁶⁰ The November 8, 1933, edition of *The Egyptian* implies that although blacks had a separate homecoming through the Dunbar Society, they still were able and did participate in the homecoming parade for SIU. Jesse Bell and Lawrence Douglas, both members of the Dunbar Society, won first prize in the homecoming stunt parade.⁶¹ Unfortunately, the article did not mention what constituted the homecoming stunt parade. In 1944, after fighting with the President of SIU to admit black students into the official university homecoming, the Dunbar Society and other student organizations got together and created a fundraiser to hold the first integrated SIU homecoming dance. At this time, the SIU President, Roscoe Pulliam, was also the first President of the University and an alumnus.⁶² Students entirely funded the dance; the university did not provide a single penny. Eventually, a black woman, Hazel Scott, became the first black SIU Homecoming Queen in 1968.⁶³ After integrating SIU's homecoming in 1944, the school newspaper and the school yearbook did not refer to a Dunbar homecoming. This disappearance most likely was because the Dunbar Society and other SIU students campaigned to integrate the homecoming dance funding the first

56 Madlyn, "A History of African Americans", 96-97.

57 "Dance Sponsored by Social Committee Complete Success," *The Egyptian*, November 8, 1933, 1.

58 "Jessie Bill Entertains at Dunbar Society Meet," *The Egyptian*, November 9, 1932, 2.

59 "Faculty," *The Egyptian*, February 10, 1932, 2.

60 "Bob Strong to Give Music 'With Strong Appeal' Saturday Eve," *The Egyptian*, October 23, 1942, 1.

61 Egyptian Staff "The Egyptian, November 8, 1933." (Nov 1933), 1.

62 Southern Illinois University Carbondale. "Roscoe Pulliam." October 16. <https://chancellor.siu.edu/hall-of-chancellors/pulliam.php>.

63 Madlyn, "A History of African Americans", 106.

integrated homecoming entirely by themselves. Like Dunbar athletics, the school newspaper's heavy coverage strongly suggests that the Dunbar Society events were open to blacks and attended by white SIU students and faculty, too.

The Demise of the Dunbar Society

The Dunbar Society was a vibrant organization at SIU for over two decades. However, by the mid-1940s, as SIU began integration at the university level, the Dunbar Society's popularity began to decline. From 1950 onwards, the Dunbar Society does not appear in the school yearbooks. From 1945 until 1989, *The Egyptian* (known as the Daily Egyptian by 1989) never mentioned the Dunbar Society. In 1989 *The Daily Egyptian* daily mentioned that the Dunbar Society morphed into the Black Affairs Council created in 1973. The predecessor to the Black Affairs Council was the Black Student Union created in 1969.⁶⁴ From 1950-1970, the Dunbar Society's legacy practically disappeared until the Black Student Union's formation, thus reviving interest in student rights for blacks on the SIU campus.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the Dunbar Society had a rich history at Southern Illinois University. Leading up to this organization's formation, blacks' education in Southern Illinois differed as they experienced racism, segregation, and poor educational resources. Although at SIU, black students experienced racism and mistreatment, they were able to rise above it and create the Dunbar Society to help deal with SIU's social climate. The Dunbar Society promoted the literary abilities of students via hosted debates, provided entertainment through social activities like theatrical and musical events, including a Dunbar homecoming, which led to the first integrated homecoming solely funded by student organizations, and even provided athletic opportunities for Black athletes who could not play on the university teams. The Dunbar Society battled the impositions of oppression at SIU and fought for equal student opportunities. Today, contemporary student organizations like the Black Affairs Council follow in their footsteps, having benefitted from those efforts, a testament to the Dunbar Society's legacy. The Dunbar Society's creation and significant gains in social and racial equity for black students at SIU acted as a response to the call for parity, promised by the school slogan. By making inroads for black students, it positively affected the entire student population at SIU. Installing real parity instilled real hope in the broader community, illustrating a successful framework for more considerable societal change.

64 Southern Illinois University Carbondale. "History of the Black Affairs Council." October 29. <https://bac.rso.siu.edu/history-of-the-black-affairs-council/>.

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William Brock Renshaw

The Medical History & Use of Psychedelic Drugs

Often in modern societies, psychedelic drugs or substances tend to have a negative stigma surrounding them. The stigma may manifest itself anywhere from music festivals, strange hallucinations, hippies, or mind harming drugs. However, this stigma undermines documented scientific research from the last eighty years, which shows that psychedelics' usefulness medicinally to treat various mental health issues. However, why is it that these mysterious yet medically beneficial substances have had such a negative association in societies worldwide? As psychedelics' visibility grew, fear-mongering, and perceived threats to religious and national identity rather than safety dilemmas or scientific research controlled the narrative around psychedelics. The origin of this negative stigma began during the Spanish Inquisition with the suppression of ceremonial psychedelic use by Mesoamerican Indians, most notably the Aztecs.¹ Another wave of stigma, which has lasted until today, comes forth in the latter half of the twentieth century with President Nixon's Controlled Substance Act and the reaction to the counterculture movement of the 1960s. Recently scientists have faced challenges in their attempts to revitalize research into the potentials benefits of psychedelics medical use because of this negative stigma. As prominent academic and research institutions such as John Hopkins University and the Multidisciplinary Association for Psychedelic Studies (MAPS) conducts studies on a plethora of mental health illnesses, as historians, we should seek to understand how culture has slowed the scientific process of psychedelics' medical use over time.

In contrast, past studies have documented the rise and fall of psychedelics use and the narratives of the people behind them. These, however, are often isolated works, focused on one or two people, or do not consider why psychedelics were made illegal, just advocating for their legality. This paper will seek to reconcile many of these isolated works with various sources to explain why governments and people in positions of authority pushed so hard against the use of psychedelics in any capacity.

1 Albert Hoffman, "Teonanácatl and Ololiuqui, two ancient magic drugs of Mexico," UNODC Bulletin on Narcotics, Issue 1, (1971), 3-4. Accessed September 15, 2020, https://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/data-and-analysis/bulletin/bulletin_1971-01-01_1_page003.html.

This work aims to describe the history of psychedelic drugs, the cause and emergence of the negative stigma surrounding them, and their role in the medical field. Beginning with the ancient tribal and ceremonial use by indigenous people, then moving onto the twentieth-century psychedelic era with the creation of LSD and the banning of psychedelics. Finally, this work will survey the current status of psychedelic drugs in the medical field. This paper will analyze the historical interplay of science, society, and law in the scope of psychedelic substance history with a primary focus on three classic psychedelics: lysergic acid diethylamide (LSD), psilocybin and psilocybin plants (Magic Mushrooms), and the tryptamine compound known as N, N-Dimethyltryptamine (DMT). Secondary attention will be on the lower tier of psychedelic drugs such as ayahuasca, morning glory, peyote, mescaline, and MDMA. The questions will concern the origins of certain psychedelic drugs, how they came to be used by humans, and their religious practices; how different societies, as well as the U.S. government, interacted with psychedelics, and finally, what caused their negative stigma and ultimate unlawfulness, and the revival of psychedelics in the medical field.

Before diving in-depth into psychedelic drugs' historical timeline, necessary and useful terminology is warranted. Firstly, "psychedelic" is defined as or causing extreme changes in the conscious mind, such as hallucinations, delusions, intensification of awareness, and sensory perception.² Psychedelic, as an umbrella term, describes the chemicals and substances that emit psychoactivity in the brain. Secondly, *alkaloids* are a class of naturally occurring organic compounds or plants. Alkaloids can also describe some synthetic compounds that have similar structures to the organic ones. Thirdly, *psychotherapy* is the title given to a particular classification of therapy, which embodies the treatment of a mental or emotional disorder by psychology rather than by consistent medical means. In psychotherapy, psychiatrists use psychedelic substances only a certain number of times to treat patients with mental health issues, and it is usually titled (*psychedelic substance name*) *assisted psychotherapy*. Fourthly, *tryptamine* is a psychedelic compound alkaloid found in these drugs. This compound is a neurotransmitter that releases serotonin or the "happy chemical" in our brains. Lastly, a psychedelic *trip* or experience is the conscious mind's temporary altered state when ingesting psychedelic substances.³

2 "Oxford Languages and Google – English," Oxford Languages. <https://languages.oup.com/google-dictionary-en/>. Accessed on September 15, 2020.

3 Paul Devereux, *The Long Trip: A Prehistory of Psychedelia* (Brisbane, Australia: Daily Grail Pub., 2008), 1.

Prehistory: Ancient Psychedelic Use

Many of the plants considered to be psychedelic predate the written records of history. The prehistory of ancient psychedelic use by humans began well over ten thousand years ago in various parts of the world. Fossil records of psychedelic plants, mainly psilocybin, peyote, and strands of morning glory, with psychedelic properties, can be found in today's Iraq, Europe, and Mexico, and in several parts of South America.⁴ The early or ancient ingestion of psychedelic substances by various cultures was limited to the compounds within plants since no synthetic drugs existed during this time. Psilocybin or magic mushrooms, ayahuasca, morning glories, and peyote are the most prominent psychedelic plants that ancient cultures consumed many centuries ago.

Magic mushrooms contain psilocybin, a psychedelic tryptamine compound found in over 200 types of mushrooms.⁵ Psilocybin is categorized as one of the classics among psychedelic substances and is one of the longest-used drugs in human history.⁶ Ayahuasca is a psychedelic concocted brew made up of individual vines and leaves, which blended to create DMT, one of the most potent psychedelic tryptamines on the planet.⁷ Morning glory is a species of flowers found in Mexico containing psychoactive seeds and can produce a psychedelic state when ingested correctly in liquid form.⁸ Peyote cactus is a slow-growing plant native to Mexico's northern desert areas and containing a substantial amount of mescaline, a naturally occurring pungent psychedelic alkaloid that gives the cactus its psychedelic properties.⁹ All of these substances have similar effects on the human mind and body when consumed. The conscious state of mind that each of these psychedelics exhibits upon the user has nearly indistinguishable psychological and physiologic features based on chemicals released in the

4 Ibid, 12.

5 Gastón Guzmán, "Hallucinogenic Mushrooms in Mexico: An Overview," *Economic Botany* Vol. 62, No. 3 (2008), 404-12. Accessed August 14, 2020.; Tao Lin, "Psilocybin, the Mushroom, and Terence McKenna," *Vice*, (August 12, 2014,) https://www.vice.com/en_us/article/yvqqpj/psilocybin-the-mushroom-and-terence-mckenna-439. Accessed on November 12, 2019.

6 Matthew W Johnson, Peter S Hendricks, Frederick S Barrett, and Roland R Griffiths, "Classic Psychedelics: An Integrative Review of Epidemiology, Therapeutics, Mystical Experience, and Brain Network Function," *Pharmacology & Therapeutics* Vol. 197 (May 2019), 83-5.

7 Gayle Highpine, *et al*, "Unraveling the Mystery of the Origin of Ayahuasca," Ayahuasca Journey, (February 26, 2017), <http://www.ayahuasca.com/amazon/botany-ecology/unraveling-the-mystery-of-the-origin-of-ayahuasca/>. Accessed on November 10, 2019.

8 Devereux, *The Long Trip*, 24.

9 Peter G. Stafford and Jeremy Bigwood, *Psychedelics Encyclopedia* (Berkeley, CA: Ronin Pub., 1992), 103.

brain and the feelings described by anyone who has participated in using these psychedelics.¹⁰

Many ancient cultures consumed these plants as part of mystic or religious ceremonies. Psilocybin experts such as Terence McKenna and R. Gordon Wasson have asserted that medicinal purposes, cultural practices, and the goal of consistently reaching spiritual experiences or a spiritual state are the reasons for these plants' consumption.¹¹ The area of the world containing the most evidence of ancient psychedelic use by Mesoamerican civilizations is in modern Mexico. Of those civilizations: Aztec, Zapotec, Tarahumara, and Mazatec Indians all consumed peyote and psilocybin plants.¹² Historians are unsure exactly how long Mesoamericans used these psychedelic plants due to the destruction of several written records in Mexico by the Spanish Catholic priests during the Spanish Inquisition's active years.¹³ However, anthropologists and ethnobotanists have time estimations based on carbon dating techniques and surviving records by Spanish priests that tell how Mesoamericans used psychedelics. The carbon dating method showed Mesoamerican societies collected the mescaline from the peyote cacti as early as 3780 BC, strongly suggesting these cultures used psychedelics for their mind-altering properties ceremonially.¹⁴

One of the most valuable insights into prehistorical psychedelic use by the Aztec civilization comes from Roman Catholic texts written by eye witnessing Spanish priests. Specifically, Spanish priest Bernardino de Sahagun, who wrote the *Florentine Codex*, estimated that Aztec and Mexica tribes used peyote at least 1,800 years earlier than the sixteenth century. Aztec noblemen assisted Bernardino with his estimation work. The nobleman provided him with written texts, drawings, and phrases of Aztec chronologies that they translated from the Aztec language.¹⁵ In Bernardino's chronicle, he also mentions what the Aztecs called their sacred mushrooms, *teonanacatl*. This term meant "flesh of the gods" when translated.¹⁶ Bernardino's surviving manuscript of Aztec use of psychedelic drugs has provided the world with one of the first-ever written texts of human psychedelic use and practice.

Along with Bernardino, Francisco Hernández de Toledo, a physician to the King of Spain, wrote a guide for the Spanish missionaries coming to

10 David E Nichols, "Psychedelics," *Pharmacological Reviews* Vol. 68, No. 2 (April 2016), 265-7.

11 Devereux, *The Long Trip*, 25.

12 Ibid, 26.

13 Robert A. Byre Jr., "Hallucinogenic Plants of the Tarahumara," *Journal of Ethnopharmacology* Vol. 1 (1979), 25.

14 Devereux, *The Long Trip*, 43.

15 Stafford and Bigwood, *Psychedelics Encyclopedia*, 104.

16 Devereux, *The Long Trip*, 112.

the New World in the mid-seventeenth century.¹⁷ In that guide, Hernández described that the Mesoamerican natives ate various mushrooms that induced a sort of “madness” and put them into a trance-like state.¹⁸ Hernandez also illustrated how the natives consumed the mushrooms, sometimes made into a drinkable beverage with a mixture of agaves and other times eaten with chocolate.¹⁹ Archeological evidence of ancient Mesoamerican artifacts demonstrated how active psychedelic substances were in their cultures. Specifically, there is an Aztec god statue, Xochipilli, which has the figure dressed in *teonanacatl* mushroom caps on his knees and earlobes.²⁰ There is also a group of Mesoamerican Indian artifacts that may shed even more light on the cultural use of psilocybin mushrooms. The “mushroom stones,” as these artifacts are known, were discovered in Mexico, Guatemala, and El Salvador in the early twentieth century. Discovered by A.L. Smith, R.E. Smith, and E.M. Shook, the mushroom stones in Guatemala were the most numerous and most intact out of all the locations.²¹ These little statues depicted a figure sitting down and a mushroom cap emerging out of said figure as if they were one body. Scholars like Maya archaeologist Dr. Stephan de Borhegyi and his anthropologist wife, Dr. Suzanne de Borhegyi, concluded that these stones represent the *teonanacatl* and further conclude that it is highly probable that a few groups of Indians worshipped magic mushrooms.²² Because in *Nahuatl* language, psilocybin mushrooms translate to “flesh of the gods,” many anthropologists and archaeologists (such as Richard Schultes, R. Gordon Wasson, the Borhegyis, J.B. Johnson, among others) have suggested that Aztec religious ceremonies used psychedelic mushrooms. This assertion is further supported by the magic mushrooms imbued on the Aztec statue of Xochipilli and the discovery of other magic mushroom sculptures.²³

During colonial times, the Holy Office of the Inquisition recognized that the Aztecs and other Native peoples in the region used three psychoactive

17 F.J. Carod-Artal, “Hallucinogenic Drugs in pre-Columbian Mesoamerican Cultures,” *Neurologia (English Edition)*, Vol. 30 (January 2015), 43.

18 Carod-Artal, “Hallucinogenic Drugs,” 45.

19 Ibid, 47; U.S. Forest Service. *Plants of Mind and Spirit - Teonanacatl Mushrooms*. 2019. https://www.fs.fed.us/wildflowers/ethnobotany/Mind_and_Spirit/teonanacatl.shtml Accessed on September 15, 2019.

20 Carod-Artal, “Hallucinogenic Drugs,” 45.

21 Robert H. Lister, “The Artifacts of Uaxactun, Guatemala. A. V. Kidder. Publications, Carnegie Institution of Washington, No. 576. Washington, 1947. 76 Pages, 87 Figures,” *American Antiquity* Vol. 14, No 2 (October 1948), 136–37.

22 Stephan F. De Borhegyi, “Miniature Mushroom Stones from Guatemala,” *American Antiquity* Vol. 26, No. 4 (1961), 502-4; Fred Wendorf, “Stephan F. De Borhegyi, 1921-1969,” *American Antiquity* Vol. 35, No. 2 (1970), 194-200.

23 Stanley Krippner, and Michael Winkelman, “Maria Sabina: wise lady of the mushrooms,” *Journal of psychoactive drugs* Vol. 15, No. 3 (1983), 225.

agents: mushrooms, peyote, and morning glories.²⁴ Unlike Bernardino, many other Spanish priests and conquistadors were appalled by Aztec use of these substances; they were seen as heretical in Roman Catholic eyes and associated with the practices of sacrificial rites.²⁵ The Spanish overlords condemned the use of peyote and other mind-altering substances, which made peyote practices a crime, leading to the first anti-drug law of the New World in 1620.²⁶ Because of the ban on these practices, many Indians were tortured and killed by the Spanish during the two centuries of colonial oppression because they did not abandon their ceremonial psychedelic use, among other tyrannical Spanish laws. The Spanish placed indigenous people in a no-win situation. On the one hand, they believed that if they stop using psychedelics to worship their gods, they will face the gods' wrath. On the other hand, if they continued their psychedelic religious ceremonies, they would feel the Spanish empire's wrath.²⁷

The Spanish sought to destroy the peyote practices and mushroom cults of the Mesoamerican Indians. The Roman Catholic Church viewed the Indian's psychedelic practices as a danger to their authority. This challenge to authority center on drug consumption can be understood as an early battle in the now common War on Drugs. Psychedelic plants, as well as their ingesters, were the first casualties.²⁸ It is out of this conflict that the negative stigma began in psychedelic substance history. The Roman Catholic Church's narrative of psychedelic plants as paganism instruments was so significant that it took researchers like R. Gordon Wasson to rescue them from their imposed silence in Mexico centuries later.²⁹ However, by the time researchers like Wasson were on the scene, humanmade substances were leading much of the scientific discussion on psychedelics. The medical community was completely unaware of the similarities between the naturally occurring substances found in Mexico and synthetic psychedelics. But more on that later. The fear of psychedelic substances to institutional authority began with The Roman Catholic Church and the Spanish Inquisition's early War on Drugs. This phenomenon of psychedelics challenge to authority returned within the same framework, but at a different time, with different authorities, different results, and a different fundamental substance: LSD.

Unlike Mesoamerican native practices, the Amazonian people of South America experienced a different, even more tolerant, relationship between

24 Stafford and Bigwood, *Psychedelics Encyclopedia*, 104.

25 *Ibid*, 104-7

26 *Ibid*.

27 *Ibid*.

28 Michael Pollan, *How to Change Your Mind: What the New Science of Psychedelics Teaches Us about Consciousness, Dying, Addiction, Depression, and Transcendence* (London: Penguin Books, 2019), 109.

29 *Ibid*, 59.

their practices and the state. The scattered tribes of indigenous groups along the Amazon region, mostly in Ecuador and Colombia, used ayahuasca for mystical experiences and still do today.³⁰ There is little evidence to trace the timeline of ancient ayahuasca use in the region. The only records of its use do not appear until the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, because of these practices and the interconnectedness of the exchanges of ideas across the Americas, it is plausible that tribal ayahuasca use has been a part of indigenous ceremonies for at least a couple of hundred years. This assertion is further supported based on pre-Columbian rock drawings that depict human visions from ayahuasca experiences.³¹ As stated before, ayahuasca derives from the combination of a vine known as *banisteriopsis* and different types of leaves or bark. However, the main ingredient is *banisteriopsis*; everything else resulted in a mixture with other substances, generally called additives. The combinations of additives and the vine resulted in the making of the compound DMT. This compound has allowed thousands of Amazonian people to have a psychedelic experience that has played an integral role in bringing together their community and connecting these people to a world of spirituality.³²

Psychedelic drugs had a massive role in ancient cultures and societies, as suggested by substantial evidence ranging from cave drawings, artifacts, carbon testing, and written texts. These psychedelic substances were used extensively in modern Mexico and South America's Amazonia regions, but similar substances were used likely in parts of Asia and Europe.³³ Though there are many ancient psychedelic use instances, there are not many records of their presence in periods after the seventeenth century and up until the late nineteenth century. This lack of use or study of psychedelics can be massive, if not entirely, attributed to the negative stigma that the Roman Catholic Church posited in their colonization of the Americas. Despite this, psychedelics would make a remarkable comeback in the twentieth century and showed great medical promise. That promise would soon be unfairly diminished in the latter half of the century under the scope of the negative stigma, as we move on to the psychedelic era.

Twentieth Century Part I: Psychedelic Era

Long after psychedelics vanished as spiritual psychoactive agents for misguided Indians, as colonial Spanish colonial might have it, psychedelic

30 Devereux, *The Long Trip*, 121.

31 Stafford and Bigwood, *Psychedelics Encyclopedia*, 334.

32 Deveraux, *The Long Trip*, 125.

33 Hui-Lin Li, "HALLUCINOGENIC PLANTS IN CHINESE HERBALS," *Botanical Museum Leaflets, Harvard University* Vol. 25, No. 6 (1977), 166; Deveraux, *The Long Trip*, 132.

drugs made an unprecedented return; however, unlike colonial times, they now appeared in the fields of science and medicine. There was a psychedelic rediscovery globally during the twentieth century, calling this period the “psychedelic era.” What sparked this rediscovery? Perhaps one of the most significant inventions of the twentieth century, alongside the atomic bomb, was combining two substances that made up the new compound called lysergic acid diethylamide or better known as LSD. This psychedelic chemical goes by several names worldwide: LSD, acid, Lucy, sunshine, doses, among others. Soon enough, the introduction of LSD impacted the minds of millions. This compound spread across Western civilizations. The man responsible for this remarkable yet unusual invention was Swiss chemist Albert Hoffmann. At the time, the young chemist knew not the impact he would make by creating LSD in 1938, but he and millions of others would soon experience that impact for years to come.

Upon receiving a chemistry degree, Albert Hoffman received employment as a chemist in the laboratories at Sandoz Pharmaceutical, a research company in Basel, Switzerland. Hoffmann emphasized that his career as a chemist intertwined with the origin of LSD, believing this substance would have never been created if he had not accepted employment at Sandoz.³⁴ Even though Sandoz chemists mostly relied on synthetic processing and active creation of chemical substances, Hoffmann preferred the study of natural substances. In 1938 Hoffmann was tasked by Sandoz with performing a systematic research program to find a remedy for pain during childbirth. The end goal of his research program was to develop a substance showing uterotonic activity.³⁵ The study of ergot alkaloids was the main component of Hoffmann’s research. Ergot is a fungus that grows on rye and other cereal species, so it is naturally occurring. The chemical cleavage process isolated the ergot alkaloid nucleus, and this became known as lysergic acid. Hoffmann employed a synthetic procedure to yield new lysergic acid compounds in which uterotonic compounds were not present to see if any of these lysergic acid derivatives demonstrated unique pharmacological properties.³⁶ Thus, the 25th substance in this series of lysergic acid derivatives was created: Lysergic Acid Diethylamide. It was abbreviated as LSD-25 for laboratory purposes. Studies on this substance stopped after seeing that the derivative did not affect uterotonic activity in animal testing. LSD-25 remained shelved for five years, until April 19, 1943.

34 Albert Hoffman, *LSD, My Problem Child: Reflections on Sacred Drugs, Mysticism, and Science* (Santa Cruz, CA: MAPS, Multidisciplinary Association for Psychedelic Studies, 2009), 5.

35 *Ibid.*, 14.

36 *Ibid.*, 15.

Be it intuition or coincidence, but Albert Hoffmann believed there would be a use for LSD-25 in the field of pharmacology and his future research. Hoffmann synthesized the compound again in a tartaric acid salt form. However, this time Hoffman was interrupted by unusual sensations during this experiment. In Hoffmann's own words, he stated:

I suddenly became strangely inebriated. The external world became changed as in a dream. Objects appeared to gain in relief; they assumed unusual dimensions; and colors became more glowing. Even self-perception and the sense of time were changed. When the eyes were closed, colored pictures flashed past in a quickly changing kaleidoscope. After a few hours, the not unpleasant inebriation, which had been experienced whilst I was fully conscious, disappeared. What had caused this condition?³⁷

Hoffmann had accidentally experienced the first psychedelic effects of LSD, in which only one drop was absorbed on the skin of his fingers. That drop of LSD piqued Hoffmann's curiosity to new heights. Specifically, Hoffman was interested in how such a minuscule amount of the substance exhibited its effects on him for two hours. Hoffmann then decided to self-experiment to fully witness the effects of this drug, and without further ado. On April 19, 1943, Hoffman took one-fourth of a microgram of the solution with water, thinking that this small amount would enable him to record his experience, an incorrect prediction. The chemical effects of LSD began to take place within Hoffman's mind, and the origins of the first acid trip have now occurred.

April 19 became regarded as a holiday in some parts of the world, dubbed "Bicycle Day," in honor of when the first effects of Hoffman's acid trip took place during his bike ride home. However, Hoffman did experience a fair amount of fear while under the influence of LSD for the first time.³⁸ The effects only got stronger as time went on, and it seemed like an eternity for Hoffmann. The dosage's strength even made Hoffman believe that he was going insane and had his wife call a doctor to come to examine him. The doctor found no concerning physical abnormalities in Hoffman and believed him to be perfectly healthy. The only unusual feature in Hoffman's physiology was how profoundly dilated his pupils were. Slowly, Hoffmann gained a grip on reality and started to appreciate the effects, having feelings of immense gratitude and confidence that the insanity he thought he was in danger of has passed. The next day, Hoffmann stated that he woke up feeling better than usual, more

³⁷ *Ibid*, 18.

³⁸ *Ibid*, 20.

refreshed, just enjoying his morning simplicities.³⁹ Hoffman's reported positive experience, lack of physical or mental damage, and seemingly improved memory lead him to believe LSD-25 was unique. This self-experiment showed that LSD was psychoactive with unbelievable potency upon the minds of the ingesters, claiming the title as the most potent psychedelic substance in such low doses. Hoffman shared the experience with his colleagues, encouraging them to self-experiment to unlock potential beneficial uses.

LSD became a catalyst for psychedelic rediscovery in the twentieth century. Hoffmann and his team devoted all focus on expanding the research of this substance in the medical field. Their primary contention was that LSD could be used to treat mental health issues and psychological disorders, such as schizophrenia.⁴⁰ The researchers based that thesis upon LSD's mood-enhancing properties. Hoffman's creation was and is unlike any other humanmade substance on the planet. A point in why LSD was accepted at this time by researchers in Europe and eventually the U.S. is because of the credibility of Sandoz Laboratories as a professional, scientific institution, and the credibility of the professional scientists working alongside Hoffman researching this substance. In 1947, after multiple rounds of voluntary human testing, studies were beginning to look promising. Sandoz began to manufacture and sell LSD to those in psychology, psychiatry, chemistry, and investigators to further research the regular use of this psychedelic, which caused LSD to reach the United States finally.⁴¹

A new decade of testing was on the horizon for LSD. The U.S. had bountiful resources going into the 1950s, which meant there was much room for enhanced LSD research. However, there was a process of trial and error in the beginning. For example, psychiatrists modeled the ingestion of LSD to experience schizophrenia and use that information to treat the mental disorder; however, these experiments were unsuccessful.⁴² The experiments failed because of the significant chemical differences in a person's LSD induced state of mind instead of the mind of a person with schizophrenia. The silver lining to this failure allowed researchers to explore more avenues rather than focus on one mental disorder. The 1950s saw an immense amount of studies based on the therapeutic use of LSD, with over five hundred papers published discussing the new psychedelic.⁴³ LSD did a world tour of clinical use, with public medical centers stationed in the US, Canada, and all across Europe's continent.

39 Ibid, 21.

40 Ben Sessa and Michael Winkelman, *Advances in Psychedelic Medicine: State-of-the-Art Therapeutic Applications* (Santa Barbara: Praeger, 2019), 20.

41 Hoffman, *LSD, My Problem Child*, 25.

42 Stafford and Bigwood, *Psychedelics Encyclopedia*, Bigwood, 35.

43 Ibid, 40.

During the 1950s, several researchers mainly used LSD to help treat alcoholism and depression. Specifically, in Canada, at the Hollywood Hospital in Vancouver, B.C., the preliminary tests were quite promising for LSD treating alcoholism. The results show that over thirty percent of the patients that underwent LSD therapy to treat alcoholism were improved and had no desire to keep drinking.⁴⁴ Dr. Humphrey Osmand, a prominent LSD researcher in the 1950s, had better results when treating alcoholics.⁴⁵ Over six years, Humphrey and his team saw that forty-five percent of his patients did not return to alcohol after a year.⁴⁶ Lastly, at the University of Gottingen's Psychiatric Hospital headed by Dr. Hanscarl Leuner, they made use of LSD-assisted therapy for patients with anxiety, depression, and phobias who saw that seventy-six percent of those patients were improving with their mental health issue or recovered "fully."⁴⁷

One of the frightening sides of LSD's history occurs in the 1950s when the U.S. military and CIA found interest in using the psychedelic as a psychological weapon. Due to the Cold War with the USSR, the U.S. government was looking into several avenues to combat the Soviets if it ever came to be a hot war. This led to the creation of project MK-Ultra, a CIA operation with the goal of "investigating whether and how it was possible to modify an individual's behavior by covert means."⁴⁸ The CIA bought all of the LSD that Sandoz had when the project began to ensure that the Soviets had no access to this substance while covert testing was ongoing. Sandoz cooperated and determined to make more LSD after the CIA bought twenty-two pounds or 100 million doses of LSD from the research facility.⁴⁹ Once the CIA had possession of the substance, they began their experimentation. The experiment consisted of CIA agents giving LSD to human subjects, unaware that they had ingested the substance. This experiment was a covert operation, and the main tactic was spiking drinks of the unfortunate participants at restaurants and bars. The CIA tested various people in the general public,

44 Ibid, 80; "Hollywood Hospital program and lecture notes," Purdue University Archives and Special Collections, MSP 90, Purdue University Libraries <https://archives.lib.purdue.edu/repositories/2/resources/128>. Accessed August 16, 2020.

45 "History of LSD: Accidental Discovery, Recreational Use to Microdosing Treatment." Recovery.org, (October 31, 2019), <https://www.recovery.org/lsd-addiction/history/>. Accessed on September 8, 2020.

46 Ibid.

47 Stafford and Bigwood, *Psychedelics Encyclopedia*, Bigwood., 80; Hanscarl Leuner, *Monogr Gesamtgeb Neurol Psychiatr*. Vol. 95 (1962): 1-275.

48 U.S. Committee on Human Resources, *Human drug testing by the CIA, 1977: hearings before the Subcommittee on Health and Scientific Research of the Committee on Human Resources, United States Senate, Ninety-fifth Congress, first session, on S. 1893, September 20 and 21, 1977*, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1977, 206.

49 Stafford and Bigwood, *Psychedelics Encyclopedia*, Bigwood, 43

including prostitutes, mentally ill patients, military personnel, doctors, and the administration's agents. However, in 1966 CIA operatives determined that LSD was too dangerous to keep administering to so many people; it became more challenging to keep this covert operation under wraps.⁵⁰ The CIA did face several lawsuits once the project became public knowledge in 1976, but only a few cases were heard and settled by the authorities.⁵¹

Project MK-Ultra played a significant role in the propaganda for stigmatizing LSD and other psychedelics in American society. The CIA branding LSD as a psychological weapon overshadows the medical benefits it possesses and misguides anyone who is not aware of this psychedelic's properties and research. The CIA caused the public to become skepticism about this substance due to the project resulting in thousands drugged unknowingly, which assumed the unwilling participants had an adverse reaction or experience. On the one hand, people pointed to fear and even death associated with LSD because of the secrecy because of MK-Ultra. On the other hand, the CIA experiments with LSD ironically strengthened the hippie movement of the 1960s by inspiring prominent members of the counterculture movement, such as novelist Ken Kasey.

Kasey had his first experience with LSD at Menlo Park Veterans Hospital. He received seventy-five dollars compensation from participating in the program authorized and funded by the MK-Ultra program.⁵² Ken Kasey's acid experience inspired him to lead his "revolt of the guinea pigs," which entailed Kasey and his camp to distribute LSD to thousands of young people in the Bay Area.⁵³ The CIA had regrettably "turned on the wrong man," and added more fuel to the counterculture movement of the 1960s.⁵⁴ The intervention and management of these trials by the federal government provided the foundations that resulted in a full-on propagandized assault on LSD and other psychedelic drugs in the 1960s, all while paradoxically helping inspire the actors of the counterculture by exposing them to their covert research program.

One of the most profound discoveries with LSD came at the end of the decade in the 1950s; unfortunately, for LSD advocates, this was one of the last legal studies done in the first half of the century. Soon, an ethnobotanist named Richard Schultes studied ancient morning glory seeds in Mexico for the last five years of the decade. During Schultes' studies, something baffled

50 Ibid, 47

51 Ibid, 48

52 Pollan, *How to Change Your Mind: What the New Science of Psychedelics Teaches Us about Consciousness, Dying, Addiction, Depression, and Transcendence*, 206.

53 Ibid,

54 Bruce Shlain and Martin A. Lee, *Acid Dreams: the complete social history of LSD: the CIA, the sixties, and beyond* (New York: Grove Press, 1992), 124.

him about the properties of these psychoactive plants. He was amazed when he noticed the similarities of the properties within morning glory seeds to LSD's properties, as far as effects go. Schultes wanted to find out if the two had any connection. Schultes contacted Hoffmann to see if he could run some tests on the morning glory seeds; Hoffmann's results show that there was indeed a connection.⁵⁵ The connection was that the seeds contained ergot alkaloids, which is an astonishing discovery because a synthesized compound, LSD, shared the same properties as an organic compound.⁵⁶ Ergots also belonged to a different plant kingdom branch than morning glories, making it even more of an exciting find. In 1958 another sagacious connection was found between psilocybin and LSD, based on tests comparing each psychedelic alkaloid. Through this connection, Hoffman was also able to synthesize psilocybin into a pill form by isolating the psychoactive compounds in magic mushrooms.⁵⁷ Today, researchers continue to use Hoffman's synthetic psilocybin method in their work.⁵⁸ Hoffmann had created a substance that shared similar psychedelic effects and properties to naturally occurring plants, the first in this field of study.⁵⁹ No scientist had ever created a substance that shared identical chemical similarities to that of a plant until Hoffman discovered the connection between morning glories, psilocybin, and LSD.

Twentieth Century Part II: Psychedelic Banning

With all the promising research of psychedelics' medical uses in the first half of the twentieth century, what happened that made psychedelics become so taboo and feared in American society? The sixties ushered in a new cultural relationship with psychedelics. During this decade, frequent LSD distribution to research facilities in the U.S. caused the psychedelic to become more accessible to the public. Access also became increasingly alarming to several psychologists, physicians, and government officials. Psychiatrists published several papers in the early 1960s to warn against LSD and other psychedelics recreationally without supervision or adequate knowledge.⁶⁰ Because set and the setting were at the core of the positive psychedelic experience, which simply refers to the frame of mind before taking a psychedelic drug and the environment in which it happens, many recreational users may have had

55 Stafford and Bigwood, *Psychedelics Encyclopedia*, 96.

56 *Ibid*,

57 Hoffman, *LSD, My Problem Child*, 128.

58 Pollan, *How to Change Your Mind*, 83, 113.

59 Hoffman, *LSD, My Problem Child I*, 60-63.

60 "Human Psychedelic Research: A Historical and Sociological Analysis," MAPS. https://maps.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=5468; "adequate knowledge" refers to knowing the effects of psychedelics, understanding the dosage measurements, and knowing about the psychedelic rule of thumb: set & setting.

a harmful or dangerous experience by not being aware of this psychedelic rule of thumb. Several professionals believed that the public lacked enough education to use psychedelics without guidance, leading to potential dangers.⁶¹ These ideas eventually led to stricter regulations by the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) to limiting production and distribution to only certified companies.

The public image of psychedelics, especially LSD, did a complete 180-degree turn from the 1950s to the 1960s. LSD therapy gained much positive press toward the end of the 1950s, and much of that was due to Hollywood personalities participating in LSD therapy. The like Jack Nicholson, Stanley Kubrick, James Coburn, and many more celebrities gave interesting yet positive reports to the media about their LSD experience.⁶² Even within the 1960s, some still expressed puzzlement in the shift from positive to negative psychedelics views. Most notably, Senator Robert F. Kennedy, whose wife, Ethel, had been treated with LSD at Hollywood Hospital in Vancouver, the same hospital mentioned before. Kennedy was in a Senate subcommittee hearing in May of 1966 about the abuses of LSD and the possible defunding of FDA psychedelic research programs.⁶³ During the committee, Kennedy stated, "I think we have given too much emphasis and so much attention to the fact that it [LSD] can be dangerous and that it can hurt an individual who uses it [...] perhaps to some extent we have lost sight of the fact that it can be very, very helpful in our society if used properly ..."⁶⁴ Kennedy's assertions fell on deaf ears, especially when the FDA did respond to why they abruptly canceled all LSD research programs. Apart from Robert Kennedy, Hollywood's psychedelic advocates, and those within the counterculture, it would seem that the media and most of the general public would forget the positive press by the dawn of the new decade; in the 1960s, psychedelics would carry a new negative narrative distorted by propaganda, flawed research, and full-on moral panic.⁶⁵

The 1960s saw great conflict within the United States, and psychedelics exacerbated the decade's turbulence. The wave of young rebel members of the

61 Potential dangers include the possible occurrence of a bad trip, i.e. the development of severe fearful and anxiety states that can lead to suicide; psychic trauma for youths who have underdeveloped characters or those with either pre-existing psychiatric disorders or are genetically linked to severe psychiatric disorders like schizophrenia; and the distortion of reality as a side effect spells out possible harm for the user by not being aware of their surroundings, mental state of mind, or incapacity to perform certain tasks like driving a car.

62 Shlain and Lee, *Acid Dreams*, 62.

63 Pollan, *How to Change Your Mind*, 217.

64 Shlain and Lee, *Acid Dreams*, 93; "When Bobby Kennedy Defended LSD," MAPS, July 11, 2012. <https://maps.org/news/media/3152-when-bobby-kennedy-defended-lsd>.

65 Pollan, *How to Change Your Mind*, 211.

counterculture pioneered psychedelics' recreational use in American culture. Due to the increasing access of LSD for recreational use, the psychedelic started to gain a reputation among the youth and pop culture as a wonder drug where one can have a direct spiritual experience. Many youths in the sixties found such an experience incredibly enticing. LSD and other psychedelics quickly became synonymous with hippies, a sector of U.S. society becoming increasingly progressive and anti-government.⁶⁶ Many famous advocates for LSD and other psychedelics like Timothy Leary, Alan Watts, Aldous Huxley, and Richard Alpert were coming from a place of good intention in pushing for psychedelic experimentation. However, their intentions found no traction as some of their reputations, like Leary's, became tarnished in the public eye by advocating for psychedelic substances. In his speech at a hippy festival in San Francisco, Timothy Leary's famous quote became a slogan for those wanting psychedelic use and a banner for those against it; "Turn on, tune in, and drop out."⁶⁷ The famous phrase's meaning meant different things by the traditional American public sector vs. the counterculture's perception, but in Leary's own words, this phrase meant:

Turn on' meant go within to activate your neural and genetic equipment. Become sensitive to the many and various levels of consciousness and the specific triggers engaging them. Drugs were one way to accomplish this end. "Tune in" meant interact harmoniously with the world around you—externalize, materialize, express your new internal perspectives. "Drop out" suggested an active, selective, graceful process of detachment from involuntary or unconscious commitments. "Drop Out" meant self-reliance, a discovery of one's singularity, a commitment to mobility, choice, and change. Unhappily, my explanations of this sequence of personal development are often misinterpreted to mean 'Get stoned and abandon all constructive activity.'⁶⁸

It did not take long for traditionalist Americans and the U.S. government to notice LSD and psilocybin's growing popularity. The more conservative areas of society were quite concerned with the counterculture. Not only were

66 Ibid, 58.

67 Timothy Leary, *Flashbacks: A Personal Cultural History of an Era* (Los Angeles: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1983), 253; "The Mind Explained." Netflix Official Site, September 12, 2019. https://www.netflix.com/watch/81062192?trackId=14170287&tctx=0%2C0%2C42446147-d81a-432d-blad-f7355afc52d9-654080914%2C681cbfda-819a-4039-a597-d203da10d2fb_117023625X3XX1574179206151%2C681cbfda-819a-4039-a597-d203da10d2fb_ROOT.

68 Leary, *Flashbacks: A Personal Cultural History of an Era*, 253-4.

these young people a part of an anti-war movement and anti-establishment, but they were also using mind-altering drugs. There was a divide in U.S. society, and then came a consensus between opponents of the counterculture to demonize psychedelics because they were ruining the youth's minds. Even though nothing could be further from the truth, as there were no instances of or known lethal amounts for the potential of overdose with the classic psychedelics, but there were many dangers of taking them in high doses without guidance.⁶⁹

The media joined the fight against psychedelic drugs to further ignite the hysteria in the adult world. The press went from reporting the positive findings on the medicinal use of psychedelics to demonizing them as agents of terror upon those who ingest them. For instance, *Time* magazine published an interview article of Aldous Huxley in 1954 that talked about LSD in glowing terms, but by 1966 that same magazine published an article titled "Epidemic of Acid-Heads," which highlighted that psychotic illness was the result of LSD ingestion.⁷⁰ Likewise, *Life* magazine published an article in 1966 describing the threatening nature of psychedelics based on false claims, but it is ironic because *Life* also published a magazine in 1957 talking about the potential benefits of psychedelics in the medical field.⁷¹ These examples illustrate the second wave of psychedelic's negative stigma and the media's hypocrisy through the two different articles by *Life* and *Time* magazine. Among many others, these publications shared the blame for spreading the second act of psychedelics' negative stigma, which ultimately ceased their research and beneficial integration into the medical field. In 1966, the Drug Control Amendments forbade the manufacture and selling of LSD and other psychedelics, and all research with these substances abruptly stopped.⁷²

After President Richard Nixon's inauguration in 1969, he firmly came down on psychedelic drugs and other substances with psychoactive properties.⁷³ Nixon's rejection of psychedelics marked the beginning of the government's campaign for a war on drugs as all substance abuse was labeled

69 Hoffman, *LSD, My Problem Child*, 17.

70 Stephen Siff, "Henry Luce's Strange Trip: Coverage of LSD in 'Time' and 'Life', 1954-68," *Journalism History* Vol. 34, No. 3, (Fall 2008), 126-34.; "Epidemic of Acid-Heads," *Time*, March 11, 1966, 44.

71 Gerald Moore and Lawrence Schiller, "A Remarkable Mind-Drug Suddenly Spells Danger: LSD," *Life*, March 25, 1966, https://books.google.com/books?id=-UsEAAA MBAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false; Bert Lahr, "Seeking the Magic Mushroom," *Life*, May 13, 1957, <http://www.psychedelicalibrary.org/lifep2.htm>.

72 "Human Psychedelic Research: A Historical and Sociological Analysis," MAPS.

73 Chris Barber, "Public Enemy Number One: A Pragmatic Approach to America's Drug Problem," last modified June 29, 2016. <https://www.nixonfoundation.org/2016/06/26404/> Accessed on September 8, 2020.

“public enemy number one.”⁷⁴ This classification made a clear statement that drugs and their users did not fit into the U.S. national identity. Psychedelics’ therapeutic potentials became buried under false claims by the media and the U.S. government’s hypocritical stance on these substances. In 1970, The Controlled Substance Act came into existence, which made psychedelic drugs illegal in every way and form. The Act categorized substances into five drug schedules. Violations for the use of Schedule-I substances included criminal prosecution to full-length sentencing, which remains in place today.⁷⁵ Schedule-I described its drugs as without medical use and unsafe to use even under medical supervision, with a high potential for abuse.⁷⁶ The other four Schedules all considered their substances to have the potential for medical use but went in descending order of high, medium, or low potential for abuse. The psychedelics that fell under the Schedule-I category were LSD, psilocybin, mescaline, peyote, and the psychoactive plant known as marijuana.⁷⁷ The U.S. government then applied international pressure for other countries worldwide to do the same, which many of them did.⁷⁸ Today, LSD, marijuana, and peyote remain in the Schedule-I category.

Many of those in psychiatry and psychology contended that the government’s hard stance on psychedelics was due to social considerations during the latter half of the twentieth century. Others have noted that this was because of health concerns, even though any health issues related to psychedelics were rare, as were crimes committed under these substances’ influence.⁷⁹ Therefore, many believe that the government took a hard stance against psychedelics because the officials were trying to dismantle the counterculture movement’s non-conformist attitude. Banning psychedelics may have been the easiest way to turn the world against the counterculture, psychedelics, and cut off their resources to continue fueling the movement. The root cause of psychedelics’ criminalization came from the negative stigma surrounding them, not scientific studies. The government authored the prevailing narrative, one which saw psychedelics as incompatible with the American identity. The stigma began with the Spanish Inquisition, then finalized with the counterculture and The Controlled Substance Act. Nixon’s

74 Ibid.

75 “Drug Scheduling,” DEA, Accessed August 16, 2020. <https://www.dea.gov/drug-scheduling>.

76 Ibid.

77 Ibid.

78 “United Nations Convention on Psychotropic Substances,” *International Legal Materials* Vol. 10, No. 2 (1971), 277.

79 Peter S Hendricks, et al. “The Relationships of Classic Psychedelic Use with Criminal Behavior in the United States Adult Population,” *Journal of Psychopharmacology* Vol. 32, No. 1 (January 2018), 37–8.

Act helped keep actual harmful drugs away from the public, but it did prevent those in American society from access medicinal psychedelic use from mental illnesses. Of course, there are several complex political factors at play with psychedelics in the twentieth century, but one cannot deny that the cultural stigma eclipsed psychedelic drugs' practical medical use.

Psychedelic Renaissance

The sixties and seventies' political climate, combined with U.S. legislative powers, caused psychedelic research to dismantle in full. The War on Drugs abruptly stunted research into psychedelic substances, which are now being studied as uniquely capable tools for treating mental illness. The governmental and a small sector of scientists' claims of psychedelic substances, primarily LSD, possessing harmful properties such as chromosome damage, congenital disabilities, and psychotic episodes, were enough to inspire fear and hatred toward these substances. However, these claims have proven false based upon thousands of studies throughout the years, and so the veil of negative propaganda has slowly lifted from psychedelics in the scientific community and the American public alike.⁸⁰ After almost half a century of clandestine and secretive use, a psychedelic revival once again has returned globally.⁸¹ One prominent contribution to this growing revival would be the difference in generations. Those who were in the counterculture or grew up watching it, now in the workforce, can now loosen the grip of older traditionalist generations that demonized psychedelics. Academic interests and scientific studies in psychedelic research began to trickle forth in the 1990s and 2000s, and by the determination of several scientists, psychiatrists, and activists, we are amid a psychedelic renaissance.⁸²

There are numerous factors in the reason why we are currently in a psychedelic renaissance. One of the first breakthroughs happened in 1990 at the University of New Mexico, which involved the first FDA approved psychedelic research program on healthy human subjects, headed by the University's own Dr. Rick Strassman, a professor, and a psychiatrist. Dr. Strassman sought approval and funding for over two years to study DMT's physiological effects on humans, a powerful psychedelic found in many plants and even in our human bodies in small amounts.⁸³ DMT was the perfect psychedelic substance to use for the first government-approved

80 Lester Grinspoon and James B. Bakalar, *Psychedelic Drugs Reconsidered* (Basic Books, 1979), 129.

81 Stephen Bright, "The Psychedelic Renaissance," YouTube Video, 16:12, July 13, 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Yt35dile6d4>.

82 Ben Sessa, "The 21st Century Psychedelic Renaissance: Heroic Steps Forward on the Back of an Elephant." *Psychopharmacology* Vol. 235, No. 2 (February 2018), 552..

83 Pollan, *How to Change Your Mind*, 48

tests. The government approved the tests because DMT exhibits a much shorter duration of effects than LSD or psilocybin, and DMT was relatively obscure to authorities and the public alike. After the test completion in 1995, Dr. Strassman contended that there were no physiological benefits to taking DMT; instead, the set and setting in which the individual takes it was far more critical due to the results showing that all participants had a mystical or spiritual experience that impacted them profoundly.⁸⁴ Many scholars have even theorized that DMT was a candidate for the origins of religion and spirituality.⁸⁵ Dr. Strassman's DMT research program was of enormous value to scientific research and psychedelic's political image. This study opened the door to the approval of further research into psychedelic medicinal use and played a significant role in paving the way for today's psychedelic studies.

Psychedelic research had even more traction in the twenty-first century than the past decades before. Psychiatrists and scientists are now exploring the old forms of psychotherapy with a growing variety of psychedelic substances. The next two psychedelics to gain momentum in legal-scientific research would be psilocybin and MDMA, better known as ecstasy. MDMA can be semi-grouped into the psychedelic category due to the similar mental releasing effects on the patient in a clinical setting to that of the other classical psychedelics.⁸⁶ Though MDMA does not possess magical or spiritual effects, this substance does contain properties that allow the user to explore and address trauma or painful realities without being overwhelmed by the past's negativity.⁸⁷

Psilocybin was the first psychedelic substance to emerge in the twenty-first century as a study for treating OCD and other personality disorders.⁸⁸ John Hopkins University School of Medicine, one of the top medical universities in the U.S., published the results that were quite positive in psilocybin based treatment for OCD and other mental disorders. Most notably, Roland Griffiths, a Doctor of psychiatry and neuroscience, contended that psilocybin caused mystical experiences and lasting positive personality

84 Rick Strassman, *DMT: The Spirit Molecule: A Doctors Revolutionary Research into the Biology of near-Death and Mystical Experiences*, Rochester (VT: Park Street Press, 2001), 17.

85 Strassman contends that religious experiences closely resemble a DMT experience in Zen Buddhism and in the Hebrew Bible. Many of his patients or participants report having spiritual experiences akin to being in the presence of a higher power or supernatural being(s).

86 Stafford and Bigwood, *Psychedelics Encyclopedia*, Bigwood, 71.

87 Louise Morgan, "MDMA-Assisted Psychotherapy for People Diagnosed with Treatment-Resistant PTSD: What It Is and What It Isn't," *Annals of General Psychiatry* Vol. 19, No. 1 (May 12, 2020), 1-2.

88 Sessa and Winkelman, *Advances in Psychedelic Medicine: State-of-the-Art Therapeutic Applications*, 3.

change.⁸⁹ Psilocybin has also been efficient in clinical trials of subjects with treatment-resistant depression.⁹⁰ Psilocybin carries properties that allow deep, personal insights to enhance mood and social skills, contributing to positive therapy findings for those with treatment-resistant depression.⁹¹

MDMA is most notably used to treat PTSD and addiction. MDMA psychotherapy trials and results are published and continually researched by the well-known scientific organization, Multidisciplinary Association for Psychedelic Studies (MAPS). Both psilocybin and MDMA have successfully treated alcoholism, PTSD, and anxiety.⁹² MDMA has also been used in psychotherapy to assist young adults with social anxiety on the autism spectrum, with results showing a significant and sustained decrease in social anxiety amongst the subjects in the study.⁹³ LSD has also clinically treated anxiety, but extensively to those who are terminally ill.⁹⁴ Psychedelic assisted psychotherapy for patients with terminal diagnoses has been an excellent area for psychedelic medicine for patients and those in the psychiatric medical field. Studies in the 1960s and the 2010s showed that LSD-assisted psychotherapy for terminally ill subjects reduced their anxiety and no adverse side effects, which persisted in the patients a year after the treatment.⁹⁵ Additionally, Psilocybin usage in psychotherapy for patients with cancer has shown patient improvement in mood, fear of death, and quality of life after clinical sessions.⁹⁶

Psychedelic research has emerged from the shadows, and testing is no longer confined to underground experimentation. Today, psychedelic research programs conduct experiments at top-tier universities worldwide, such as Cambridge University, John Hopkins University, Harvard, Yale, and many more.⁹⁷ Scholarly articles and medical journals on psychedelics multiply by the month, providing scientifically rooted information on the powerful healing effects that these substances possess in the field of medicine. There is

89 Ibid.

90 R.L. Carhart-Harris, "Psilocybin with Psychological Support for Treatment-Resistant Depression: Six-Month Follow-Up," *Psychopharmacology* Vol. 235, No. 2 (February 2018), 399–401. doi:10.1007/s00213-017-4771-x.

91 Ibid, 399.

92 Sessa and Winkelman, *Advances in Psychedelic Medicine*, 18-21.

93 Ibid, 21.

94 "LSD-Assisted Psychotherapy," MAPS, Accessed September 10, 2019. <https://maps.org/research/psilo-ld>.

95 Sessa and Winkelman, *Advances in Psychedelic Medicine*, 19.

96 Roland Griffiths, et al. "Psilocybin Produces Substantial and Sustained Decreases in Depression and Anxiety in Patients with Life-Threatening Cancer: A Randomized Double-Blind Trial," *Journal of Psychopharmacology* Vol. 30, No. 12 (December 2016), 1195-97. doi:10.1177/0269881116675513.

97 Sessa and Winkelman, *Advances in Psychedelic Medicine*, 1.

a formal recognition of psychedelics' long-lasting medical potential as mighty agents for the scientific exploration of consciousness and the mind. The implementation of psychedelics in the medical field would help the growing need for improved psychiatric treatments.

However, for the many benefits that psychedelics exhibit in the medical field, the risks for taking such recreational drugs must be known. These substances are not for everyone, and if taken without any prior knowledge of where they came from, their effects, or the legal consequences, then the experience could be quite unpleasant or dangerous. The campaign continues to displace psychedelics from the Schedule-I category, as it is evident that these substances have medicinal values. Hopefully, the psychedelic renaissance we see today will only grow in all parts of the world. For the medical community's benefit, psychedelics' stigma is growing weaker through every article, paper, and piece of research there is today. Furthermore, what is beneficial to the field of medicine is symbiotically beneficial to humankind. By combining today's technology, past research, and ancient cultural wisdom, the world will be able to use psychedelics as a microscope into the human mind.⁹⁸

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"Epidemic of Acid-Heads," *Time*, March 11, 1966, 44. <http://content.time.com/time/subscriber/article/0,33009,899088,00.html>.

98 The term "microscope" here reflects a quote from Alan Watts in his *The Joyous Cosmology: Adventures in the Chemistry of Consciousness*. The quote reads, "If you get the message, hang up the phone. For psychedelic drugs are simply instruments, like microscopes, telescopes, and telephones. The biologist does not sit with eye permanently glued to the microscope, he goes away and works on what he has seen."

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Martin Spitzbergen

American Aggression over National Apathy and Ambivalence

Introduction

Students are restless because they have a feeling of 'powerlessness' in communicating with educational and governmental officials.¹

The authorities are inhuman. They show so much force when dealing with this kind of thing that they end up provoking what they're trying to avoid.²

The 6:00 news one night had a report on one of the killings at Kent State. As the reporter mentioned the fact that some of the dead students were just going to class one of the men [guardsmen] referred to the dead girl as a 'fucking whore who deserved to be killed.'³

The aforementioned quotes published in a 1970's issue of the *Southern Illinoisan* newspaper captured the voices of Southern Illinois University (henceforth SIU) students during a hearing that brought together the university's administration and officials in the Illinois House of Representatives. The first couple of statements illustrate the level of hopelessness and fear felt by student activists in the 1960s and 1970s, fear that possibly fueled the revolts on campus. The last statement, part of the archival records of the Illinois chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union, illuminates the egregious amount of contempt held by some in the 1970s National Guard. While emphasizing the hate against the murdered young woman in the tragedy at Kent State, the statement provides a picture of the deep divide in American society during the Vietnam War era.

1 Morris Library Special Collections. Southern Illinois University Carbondale; Carbondale, IL. "C. Thomas Busch Papers" [herein, MLSC-SIUC-CTBP]: Box 3, Student Activism Folder, 1970.

2 Ibid.

3 MLSC-SIUC-CTBP: Box 3, National Guardsmen Statements, May, 1970.

These accounts form the basis of the argument made throughout this paper. The bedlam that reigned across multiple American universities in the United States in the 60s and 70s, including on the SIU campus in Carbondale, Illinois, led Americans into contentious anti-establishment or establishment conservative factions. Although some were caught in the middle, most Americans were driven into introspection and the political arena between ambivalence and apathy. First time and seasoned participants found themselves at an ambiguous moral crossroads between a rock (American youth) and a hard place (status quo). Multiple accounts of overreaching by American institutions of authority created a 'vacuum' for influential groups of Americans to fall into the subaltern class (voiceless or powerless people), made up of the college-aged American population in the context of constitutional and human rights. Paradoxically, it was the same subaltern class that held power to grant authority to those institutions.

In the 60s and 70s, rapid social change created an opportunity for the United States (henceforth U.S.) government's dominant authoritarian institutions to divide the subaltern class by utilizing the already established conservative and progressives leaning groups. American conservatism at this time was harsh and morally absolutist in its politics, yet their resolve was driven by their insecurity and resentment out of fear of losing their privileged status among Americans.⁴ Unknown to conservatives, this fear provided the hierarchy of government and social authority (the dominant class) with a means to exploit them. Contrarily, progressives promoted socialistic ideals such as the exclusion of privilege among social classes, the expansion of democracy through government intervention such as economic subsidies of welfare, in-turn benefiting the economically weak and disenfranchised in society.⁵ The American Vietnam War events set the stage for a revolt of, and susceptibility to, the status quo set by the American dominant class.

Italian theoretician and politician Antonio Gramsci developed an idea he coined hegemony (one class controlling the another) while imprisoned by the fascist dictator Benito Mussolini in 1926.⁶ He explained this term by first describing its structure. The leadership of the dominant class of society utilizes cultural, moral, and ideological means to coincide with the economic determination of their historical materialism.⁷ Gramsci added that ironically, in order for a dominant power to become hegemonic, they first necessitated

4 Kim Phillips-Fein, "Conservatism: A State of the Field," (Oxford, *Journal of American History*, 2011), 725.

5 Peter G. Filene, "An Obituary for The Progressive Movement," (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), 27.

6 James Lull, *Hegemony* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), 34.

7 *Ibid*, 33.

academic intellectuals such as himself to construct their complex status quo. Intellectuals constructed these systems in such a way as to benefit the dominant class. Additionally, intellectuals forced the subaltern class to believe that the status quo was constructed for their benefit.⁸ In layman's terms, a wealthy dominant class rules by using its economic means to force specific cultural factors, morals, and ideologies onto an entire society through society's available, ideological-producing mediums (tv, newspaper, magazines, religion, political party, schools).

In the turbulent period between the late 1960s and early 70s, American pro-war conservative politicians and their intermediary agencies employed populist language to de-emphasize the differences between themselves and the American conservative. The divide between pro-war conservatives and the anti-Vietnam war, anti-establishment progressives, was cemented. Unfortunately for progressives, the ruling American conservative leadership subjugated their voters into obedient submission, making American democracy a theocratic, authoritarian, hegemonic power.

In the 60s and 70s, SIU students recognized their local society's plot and enthusiastically resisted. Regrettably, those students who did not receive the right to vote until later in 1971 once the Twenty-sixth Amendment passed, their concerns regarding the war and society never materialized. Forced, often violently, into a subaltern position, SIUC students fought against an overwhelming system that left them no real control over their constitutional rights of liberty, freedom, and the pursuit of happiness. When American leadership chose not to heed the incensed student pleas, Salukis used radically anarchistic means to make their voices heard.

Where is the line?

During the 1960s and early 1970s in America, college campuses erupted in protest against the war in Indochina, and SIU student activists sought ways to maintain their resolve. Saluki students were not only concerned with the illegal invasion of Cambodia and Vietnam, but their peers' lives, police brutality, inequality of race and gender, military conscription, College administrators, and national and local government administrations also played a central role in their protests.⁹ Among a large and growing student population, the U.S. government in the 60s and 70s mirrored an oligarchy rather than a democracy, as they dismissed any anti-war grievances as youthful angst. In turn, university students stood steadfastly in bearing the brunt of oppressive tactics from the oligarchic system. Provided with the

8 Ibid.

9 Robbie Liberman, *Prairie Power: Voices of the 1960s Midwestern Student Protest* (Charlotte: Information Age Publishing, INC, 2010), 5-25

before-mentioned social ills, SIU students rightly considered themselves oppressed. The dominant American conservative rule chose to silence the loud and incensed pleas of the student movements by instead opting to increase troops sent to Vietnam and instituted an increase in the U.S. military draft lottery.¹⁰

Scholars have primarily only focused on arson accounts, intense demonstrations, and the non-adherence of the locally mandated curfew on the SIU campus in the late 1960s and early 70s.¹¹ They mention taking over campus buildings and the destructive demonstrations in university and city streets. However, those scholars failed to consider the validity of students' motives for adhering to such actions or what they hoped to achieve. A malicious light has been cast overwriting in favor of SIUC students' tactics, as destructive methods are discouraged.

Fortunately for this paper, the student movement at SIU during this period served as a particular writer's and researcher's material, as it was derived from American student movements and social protesting.¹² Others chronologized the SIUC student movement through the lens of peaceful and legal methods employed by many in the movement.¹³ In the field of Peace and Conflict studies, examples of failing peaceful methods and how, and at what level did they turn violent should be added to the chronology of events. Combining these specific research fields and writings allows the historian to further expand the American student movements' historiography of the 60s and 70s. Additionally, the strengthening resolve amongst the SIU students, made possible by their deep-seated-anger dissatisfaction, and distrust with the status quo, disturbed America's conservative population. Conservatives made this evident by their destructive name-calling of the demonstrating youth, with terms such as hippie, yippie, trouble-makers, and protesters. Yet, students collectively adorned those musings and used them as fuel for their self-determination and motivation behind their struggle.

David P. Barash and Charles Webel argued that root causes of the clash between American conservatism and the progressive student movement could be summarized by examining and proposing theoretical models explaining violent and nonviolent individual and collective behaviors, both

10 Andrew West, *Rolling Thunder in a Gentle Land: The Vietnam War Revisited* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2013), 17-21.

11 Allan Keith, *Turbulent Times* (Illinois: Allan H. Keith, 2002), 1-11.

12 Robbie Lieberman, David Cochran, *We Closed Down The Damn School: The Party Culture and Student Protest at Southern Illinois University During the Vietnam War Era* (Illinois, Peace & Change), 316-331.

13 Allan Keith, "Turbulent Times" (Illinois: Allan H. Keith, 2002), 1-9.

historically and cross-culturally.¹⁴ Barash and Webel asserted that the idea of social injustice and political autocracy were the main forces influencing structural violence. These scholars noted that although the United States began with a war of independence from a monarchy (with human rights being a central focal point), yet during the 20th and 21st century it became an antirevolutionary force and status quo power, reinforcing the argument drawn out by this paper.

The clash at SIUC, between conservatism and the progressive student movement, can be understood by looking at it through a Thoreau/ Marxist style lens. The introduction of this essay illustrated the fears and hopeless feelings felt by the students at SIU. Hopeless and scared, students reverted to what Thoreau coined as *Civil Disobedience*.¹⁵ Written during the period of American slavery, Thoreau makes the case that when the law of man and government are at odds with one another, the individual must follow his or her conscience and, if necessary, disregard human law.¹⁶ Rioting certainly fits this narrative. The cultural contradictions of capitalism noted in Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels's *Communist Manifesto*, and Antonio Gramsci's theories regarding immeasurable power held in society's social structure helped form a visual of the real inequality and helplessness represented in the struggle behind the student movement. Conscription emerged as the antithesis of this theory. Angry, scared, and hopeless, students were imposed upon by the American government's immeasurable power and the general status quo formed by the dominant class. Gramsci's theories coincided with the SIU student demonstration conflicts and his ideas regarding dominating social factors. In a split from traditional Marxist theory, Gramsci contended that economic factors were no longer the determining factors in constructing social class in the twentieth century. Indeed, "ideological influence is crucial now in the exercise of social power," pushing Marx and Engels's theories further into ideology.¹⁷

Gramsci's theories also stressed society's "ideology-producing institutions, in struggles over meaning and power."¹⁸ Adhering to Gramsci's notions of mass amounts of power held by ideological-producing institutions and their immense influence on culture quotes from a young Guardsman disparaging his recently deceased peer serve better to understand the status's weight quo of the era. With the far-reaching ability of the dominant, conservative administration, and its influence on culture through the medium

14 David P. Barash, Charles P. Webel, *Structural and Cultural Violence in Peace and Conflict Studies* 4th Edition, (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publishing, 2014).

15 Henry David Thoreau, *Civil Disobedience*. (New York: Signet Classics, 1980).

16 Ibid.

17 James Lull, *Hegemony*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), 33.

18 Ibid.

of mass media, hateful rhetoric like that became prevalent throughout society, pervading schools, religious organization, politics, and pop culture. Disparaging this Guardsman solely on his disgusting language neglects the root cause as to why he felt that way, to begin with, or why he was so comfortable using that language. Lull interprets critical theorist Stuart Hall's definition of hegemony by first making it clear that hegemony:

is not a *direct* stimulation of thought or action, but, according to Stuart Hall, is a 'framing [of] all competing definitions of reality within [the dominant class's] range bringing all alternatives within their horizons of thought. [The dominant class] sets the limits-mental and structural-within which subordinate classes 'live' and make sense of their subordination in such a way as to sustain the dominance of those ruling over them.¹⁹

Lull adds hegemony "implies a willing agreement by people to be governed by principles, rules, and laws they believe operate in their best interest, even though in actual practice, they may not."²⁰ Making clear the real connection between the status quo, conscription, and student activism at SIU.

In SIUC's *Days of Dissent: A Memoir of Student Protest*, Allan H. Keith explained the student movement at SIUC in 1970 through the multitudes of peaceful tactics used by the students who were attempting to avoid violent conflict while voicing their concerns.²¹ Amid the explosive movement that was occurring, students under the age of twenty-one did not have the right to vote. Therefore, voting their way out of the war was impossible until President Nixon signed a bill mandating voting rights down to eighteen, later in June 1970.²² Illustrated in their book, *"We Closed Down The Damn School": The Party Culture and Student Protest at Southern Illinois university During the Vietnam War Era*, Robbie Lieberman and David Cochran collaborated, Keith, Barash, and Weber's argument that suggests righteousness in the SIU student movement noting that lawfully abiding students continued to pursue peaceful means through the legislature to reconcile the American dichotomy. The student's protests and subsequent riots stemmed from a mixture of groups like the student party culture, student rights movement, and the student New Left.²³

19 Ibid.

20 Ibid.

21 Allan Keith, *Turbulent Times*, (Illinois: Allan H. Keith, 2002), 5-7.

22 David E. Engdahl, *Constitutionality of the Voting Age Statute*, (George Washington Law Review, 1970), <http://heinonline.org>.

23 Robbie Lieberman, David Cochran, *We Closed Down The Damn School: The Party Culture and Student Protest at Southern Illinois university During the Vietnam War Era*. (Illinois, Peace and Change), 316-331.

Those three groups converged into one when SIU announced the construction of a controversial Vietnamese Studies Center in July of 1969.²⁴ Students understood the center's construction by the University administration to follow a path of complicity with the war and the conservative status quo of their country.²⁵ In her book, *Prairie Power*, Robbie Lieberman analyzed the 1960's and 1970's midwestern student movements as a reaction to an amalgam of war, civil rights, and the disease of affluence suggested by the lifestyles of their parents. She noted that the student movements for social change began with a nonviolent methodology and a deep belief in young people's potential to change the world. Conversely, Lieberman argued that from 1965 on, the movement took a turn towards more expressive anarchistic tactical demonstrating methods.²⁶ 1965 was a turning point in the Vietnam War when President Lyndon B. Johnson escalated the conflict with operation Rolling Thunder, increasing the number of combat troops (82,000) sent to Vietnam.²⁷ The increase in deployed combat troops and the demonstrating students at SIU suggests a link between the anarchistic means of demonstrating described by Lieberman and the institution of Operation Rolling Thunder. It served to support Barash and Webel's argument that political autocracy operates as a force influencing structural violence.

When the autocratic system of governments, police, local merchants, and university administrators saw these student movements, they viewed only the damage caused by the movement, neglecting the reasons or the damage to the youth. American leadership's reaction was to end student demonstration by using the National Guard, disparaging remarks against anti-war demonstrations, and pockets of heavy police presence. To match the verbosity of the government's and university administrator's reactions, students grew more violent and more reactive. Numerous accounts of promoting vigilante justice, condescending rhetoric from those in leadership, and horrid police brutality, culminated in the largest and most destructive demonstrations at SIU in May of 1970 coined, "Seven Days in May."²⁸ H.B. Koplowitz, a former resident of Carbondale during the 1960s and 70s, explained the chronology of events during those chaotic seven days that resulted in over \$100,000 in damages to the campus and the city of Carbondale²⁹. Reactive violence from

24 H.B. Koplowitz, "Seven Days in May," in *Carbondale After Dark*, (Carbondale: Dome Publications, 1982), 52-63.

25 Robbie Liberman, *Prairie Power: Voices of the 1960s Midwestern Student Protest* (Charlotte: Information Age Publishing, INC., 2010) 5-23.

26 *Ibid*, 3-11.

27 Andrew West, *Rolling Thunder in a Gentle Land: The Vietnam War Revisited* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2013), 17.

28 H.B. Koplowitz, "Seven Days in May," in *Carbondale After Dark*, (Carbondale: Dome Publications, 1982), 52.

29 *Ibid*, 58.

local merchants, police/ national guard brutality, and dismissive rhetoric from university administrators and local/national government sparked the violent and destructive tactics associated with the Carbondale riot. Unified SIU students from several social groups concluded that the government's laws were antithetical to the laws of men, and rioting became their voice.

**There Must Be Some Kind of Way Outta Here,
Said the Joker to the Thief³⁰**

Before 1972, the military draft (henceforth the draft) was a requirement for all males between 18-25.³¹ The draft enlisted college-age young men under a law created by lawmakers who self-excluded themselves from those requirements.³² Although the draft has waned over the years, all young men's requirement to register in the U.S. remains today as they must register for selective service when they reach the age of eighteen. The fear students felt in the 1960s and 70s of getting killed in war before their late twenties was real. Given that enlistment into the draft is still a requirement, the possibility of a reinstated draft is still a viable possibility.

The *True Republican*, a daily from Sycamore, IL, published an article profiling a young male senior at Northern Illinois University. The article detailed his experience with the draft, upon conscription, to fight in a war that he did not understand.³³ The article described the young man as not afraid of weapons, nor was he afraid to fight if someone were to "call his bluff."³⁴ His response was to convey that he did not subscribe to the "hippie" ideology encompassing many universities of this period. He even suggested that he probably would have enlisted into service during the two World Wars had he been old enough, thus furthering himself from the hippie stereotype.³⁵ However, one reason for his disdain against the draft was because he did not want to waste the degree he had worked hard for, nor did he believe in the war's cause. He saw the draft as a waste of the \$14,000 of tuition he already paid, a wasted education, and a possibility of dying at a young age.³⁶ He did his best to legally avoid the draft by writing letters to the draft board, pleading his case. He sought draft advice counseling from his university draft advisory team.³⁷ Finally, he noted that after the next two semesters, he was to be employed by a state hospital using

30 Bob Dylan, "All Along the Watchtower," track 4, (side 1) on John Wesley Harding, Columbia, 1967, vinyl.

31 Martin Anderson and Barbara Honegger, *The Military Draft: Selected Readings on Conscription*. (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1982), 6-18.

32 Ibid.

33 MLSC-SIUC-CTBP: Box 1, Student Activism and the draft, 1970.

34 Ibid.

35 Ibid.

36 Ibid.

37 Ibid.

his psychology degree. As a result of such employment, he could receive the benefit of being exempt from the draft by law.³⁸

To distance himself further from the “hippie” stereotype, the senior proclaimed that he was “not a hippie who thinks everything is wrong and everything should be changed.”³⁹ When asked about evading the draft by leaving the country, he answered by saying if “someone isn’t satisfied with the federal administration or social system, they should act to change it rather than leaving it.”⁴⁰ This quote highlights this young man’s contrasting ideas about those battling the system that instituted the draft and his desire to avoid the draft. The amalgam of theories provided in this paper’s literature review suggests that this young man’s morals and ideals were influenced by the hegemonic class’s superstructure stimulus on the status quo. The irony in this young man’s situation is a powerful example of those theories. Unfortunately, the overwhelming cowardly stigma imposed on those who did not wish to go to Vietnam was inevitable. This carefully constructed status quo prevented the senior from joining the demonstrating students.

Following President Kennedy’s assassination in 1963, Lyndon Johnson soon took office and passed the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution in 1964.⁴¹ The resolution authorized the U.S. military to take action in Southeast Asia to bolster the global fight the United States waged against communism. After President Johnson left office, President Nixon came into office and escalated U.S. military presence in Vietnam. By citing the 2nd amendment of the United States Constitution, President Nixon gained the legal authority to head all military actions in Vietnam, bypassing a formal declaration of war from congress.⁴² Presidents Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon’s involvement in the Southeast Asian conflict justified their circumvention of international law that forbidding the invasion of a foreign land as a means to combat communism. The conservative faction of American society in the 1970s embraced the presidential administration’s actions in the fight against communism in Indochina. The mass media subsequently fed into the conservative population’s deep-seated “save the world from communism” attitude.⁴³

In 1970, during President Nixon’s first term in office, the SIU campus mirrored larger national patterns regarding anti-war demonstrations,

38 Ibid.

39 Ibid.

40 Ibid.

41 Andrew West, *Rolling Thunder in a Gentle Land: The Vietnam War Revisited* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2013), 137-203.

42 David Alan Bloom. *The Closing of the American Mind*. (New York: Simon and Schuster Paperbacks, 1987), 1-22.

43 Nicole Hemmer, *Messengers of the Right: Conservative Media and the Transformation of American Politics*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016), x-xvi.

struggles for racial and gender equality, and struggles of oppression brought on by autocracy.⁴⁴ Adding to their feelings of oppression, SIU's system of *in loco parentis* put the student's parents' role into university administrators' hands.⁴⁵ Adding to the local growing student unrest on campus was the construction of the Vietnamese Studies Center. Students viewed its construction as a symbol of university administrators' complicity in the Vietnam War.⁴⁶ On May 6, 1970, in a Chicago Daily News issue, one SIU student stated that "student violence stems from those that represent the ills of the nation."⁴⁷ Adding, "campus unrest will not cease until the issues of expansion into the Vietnam War into Cambodia, racism, and the urban crisis of water and air pollution is resolved."⁴⁸ These quotes clarify that the student activists were no longer content playing a minor role in society and intended to change it using whatever means necessary to accomplish the goals noted in the quotes.

Nationally, the clash between conservatism and the "radical" youth, particularly in American universities, climaxed at Kent State University in 1970. The Mayor of Kent called upon the Ohio National Guard to stifle the anti-war demonstrations occurring on campus.⁴⁹ First, guardsmen hurled tear gas canisters at demonstrating students and onlookers alike, injuring several of them. When the confusion in the Guardsmen ranks rattled their defensive nerves, shots were fired, killing four university students. It was only after this tragedy that Americans began noticing what young people were up against. Rhoten A. Smith, President of Northern Illinois University Student Association, recalled this tragedy in an interview in the *Chicago Daily News*. He noted that "When [he] took over as President, the student body opposed participation in antiwar demonstrations."⁵⁰ Also, he mentioned that "immediately following both the Cambodian adventure and the tragedy at Kent State, the student senate voted to abolish the ROTC on campus."⁵¹ He concluded his interview with a call to lower the voting age from 21 to 18 to give the voiceless students a means to control their lives.

Through the conventional political route, SIUC students appealed to the Illinois House of Representatives, pleading that the \$25,000 destruction to university and local storefronts came from "a small minority of radicals, many

44 MLSC-SIUC-CTBP: Box 1, Student Activism Folder, 1970.

45 Lieberman, *Prairie Power*, (Missouri: University of Missouri Press, 2004), 1.

46 MLSC-SIUC-CTBP: Box 1, Vietnamese Studies folder, 1969.

47 MLSC-SIUC-CTBP: Box 1, Student Activism: Campus Unrest, 1970.

48 *Ibid.*

49 MLSC-SIUC-CTBP: Box 1, Kent State, 1970.

50 MLSC-SIUC-CTBP: Box 1, Student Activism News Clippings: Campus Unrest, 1970.

51 *Ibid.*

non-students.⁵² Overshadowing that destruction were multiple accounts of police brutality that encompassed an alarming amount of times, gassing agents were used on students, assaults on students by officers refusing to provide any I.D., and a plethora of recorded arrests for unlawful assembly. All of these were provided to the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) Illinois chapter and produced an image closely resembling that of George Orwell's novel, *1984*.⁵³ In response to those violently oppressive measures, SIUC students took over university buildings, started fires, knocked over trash cans, gathered *en masse* to demonstrate, and local storefronts were vandalized. It is not to generalize or play down the destructive nature of the SIUC student unrest, but it is undoubtedly read as the lesser of the two evils.

Dr. Donald S. Detwiler, an SIU professor and a voice of reason during this period, authored an article in the *Southern Illinoisan*, titled "What is the Meaning of the Mounting Tide of Civic Disobedience and Disorder,"⁵⁴ describing the level of disharmony in America as "growing pains," adding:

Our nation has entered an agonizing period of testing in which we face the unprecedented challenge of institutionalizing the human dignity of a racial caste of former slaves. There is an extraordinary commitment, both public and private, to saving America by realizing its ideals. There is no other way. How can he (Nixon) expect the young people of America to obey the law and respect the existing order when he himself disregards international law and ignores the Constitution by ordering United States armed forces to invade a foreign country without a congressional declaration of war or even consultation of the Senate.⁵⁵

In an attempt to persuade the student movement on campus, Dr. Detwiler concluded his article by writing that, "no matter how lustily the youth of America cry 'power to the people,' they are the minority who cannot succeed with violent confrontational tactics."⁵⁶ However, as the student's peers were being gunned down in anti-war demonstrations, drafted into an unlawful and unpopular war, and with every peaceful means to stop it exhausted, a violent confrontation was their last resort.

The SIU Vietnam riots' story cannot be told entirely without explaining the controversies surrounding one of the catalysts that sparked those seven days in May. The new Center for Vietnamese Studies planned at SIU drove

52 Ibid.

53 MLSC-SIUC-CTBP: Box 2, ACLU Records Folder, 1969-70.

54 MLSC-SIUC-CTBP: Box 1, Town of Carbondale Reactions to Riots, 1970.

55 Ibid.

56 Ibid.

students to question the administration, residents, and government's morals and complicity. They also began to question the center's purpose; those questions turned into conspiracy theories.⁵⁷ Indeed, the grant proposal awarded to SIU in 1969 for planning and constructing the Center for Vietnamese Studies was available for public scrutiny. At first glance, it was easy to comprehend why students questioned the center's purpose. The grant was to be spread out over five years to expound on and provide new research on Vietnamese social, economic, and educational issues in that underdeveloped country. Irregularities throughout the contract required further investigation. For instance, the grant required consultation with "other U.S. universities, AID (Agency of International Development), other U.S. federal agencies, and international and regional agencies."⁵⁸ To avoid foul play, questions on the university's consultations items appeared in the grant summary only as "for the purpose of providing for post-war development of the country." Nevertheless, there was no end date for the war, and the U.S. federal government typically demands a return on \$1,000,000 investments. Another example of irregularities in the grant's language were the copies of the grant's documents labeled with the warnings of "Secret", "Confidential", and "Top Secret."⁵⁹ Traditional federal grants did not require these kinds of labels.

Conclusion

By acknowledging the destruction caused by the student anti-war movement at SIUC, an acknowledgment of social theories and catalysts to the student movement's destruction of property must study. The period between 1965 and 1975 marked a death toll rate of U.S. combat troops in Vietnam at 1,000 casualties a month, totaling 58,220 by wars end.⁶⁰ Not by coincidence, this enraged most social groups in the American youth. Despite the staggering death toll, the pro-war superstructure in society had little room for student complaints, noting that the young Americans were too naïve to understand or that they should perform their American duty and complain afterward. The construction of the Center for Vietnamese Studies served to heighten the level of distrust students had for authority while providing students with a stage to enthusiastically force national acknowledgment of their dissatisfaction with the constructed status quo. These events at SIUC demonstrated a need for further research regarding the attitudes that drive student movements on college campuses. Currently,

57 MLSC-SIUC-CTBP: Box 1, Vietnamese Studies, 1969.

58 Ibid.

59 Ibid.

60 Andrew West, *Rolling Thunder in a Gentle Land: The Vietnam War Revisited* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2013), 137-203.

research on student anti-war protests is narrow because it focuses on the extensiveness of the events leading up to, during that period, and their outcomes. Future research should concentrate on motives for destructive student demonstrations rather than focusing on the demonstrations themselves' chronological events.

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Alexander Summers

Commercializing the 24-hours War: Ford Motor Company versus The World

On June 19, 1966, three Ford GT40 Mk IIs thundered across the finish line at Le Mans, defeating rival team *Scuderia Ferrari*. Over twenty-four hours, three Ford racecars changed the status of Ford Motor Company (Ford) both internationally and in the United States. At Le Mans, Victory linked the United States to racing culture both domestically and abroad and catapulted Ford's brand as a symbol of America's car consumer culture. The twenty-four hours of Le Mans proved which manufacturer was safest and most reliable; the winning company, Ford, saw a noticeable rise in sales following this victory.

Ford's entrance to Le Mans constituted a fundamental change in how motorsport was practiced in the U.S. and worldwide. This article will analyze the company's role in consumer culture before the 1966 Le Mans and after, to show that investment in racing resulted in Ford re-gaining lost market share in the United States. It will also argue that the company advanced consumer safety and technology in consumer cars because of its endurance racing financing.

This article will utilize annual company reports of Ford Motor Company and General Motors to show how dramatic changes in domestic market share have resulted from both legal and illegal racing ventures. By using primary and secondary sources, this article will articulate how Ford's entrance into endurance racing promoted the development of a purpose-built racecar for the road, rather than improvement of an existing road car for track use. Finally, with the use of collected interviews, non-fiction literature, and academic publications, this article will show how Ford advanced consumer car safety and technology based on racetrack experience.

Historiography

The historiography of racing in the United States began in the years after WWII. Largely, scholars have ignored car racing as a field of study except for European road racing. In his article "On the Road to Nowhere? California's Car Culture," R.C. Lutz asserted that a massive influx of young people ("baby boomers") desiring freedom provided by the automobile drove the

American auto industry through the 1950s.¹ However, this study focused more on the economic impact of car culture and ignored the corporate and social influences of racing.

Enthusiast-writers have narrated the history of the emergent racing culture in the United States post-WWII by and large. Although Ford Motor Company was active in sports car racing since the 1970s, scholars paid little attention to this era of its history aside from Levine's *Ford: The Dust and the Glory*, which chronicled Ford's history sportscar racing.² The author argued that Ford Motor Company's birth and subsequent development paralleled motorsport's overall progress in the United States but did not compare Ford to General Motors (G.M.) or other manufacturers. Outside of mass-market publications, almost no studies or articles focus on Ford's triumphant return to the industry in the 1960s.

When Ford announced it would go back to Le Mans in 2016, this prompted the publishing of Preston Lerner's *Ford GT* as well as Matthew DeBord's *Return to Glory* and David Phillips' *A Big Ask* – works intended for mass consumption, written by automotive journalists. In *A Big Ask*, Phillips narrated Ford Motor Company's return to Le Mans in 2016 and explicitly focused on engine technology advancement.³ In his book *Ford GT*, Preston Lerner chronicled the evolution of the Ford GT racecar in a non-academic work that began with Ferrari's refusal to sell in early 1960 and ended with Ford Motor Company's victory at Le Mans in 1969.⁴ Finally, A.J. Baime's *Go Like Hell* linked the legend of Le Mans with a personal history of both Enzo Ferrari and Henry Ford II.⁵ *Go Like Hell* presents the most valuable depiction of the 1966 Le Mans, but little academic work exists to chronicle the event.

The majority of works on Ford Motor Company's victory at Le Mans targeted mass audiences and tried to craft a narrative that explained Ford's victory as a 'blip' on an otherwise non-racing timeline. This article will

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- 1 R.C. Lutz, "On the Road to Nowhere? California's Car Culture," *California History* 1, 79 (2000), 50-51, <https://online.ucpress.edu/ch/article/79/1/50/32044/On-the-Road-to-Nowhere-California-s-Car-Culture>.
 - 2 Leo Levine, *Ford, the Dust and the Glory: A Racing History, 1901-1967* (Warrendale, PA: SAE International, 2001).
 - 3 David Phillips, *A Big Ask: The Story of Ford's Triumphant Return to Le Mans* (Pennsauken, NJ: BookBaby, 2016). Phillips' work narrates Ford Motor Company's partnership with Chip Ganassi Racing and Multimatic Engineering to produce a brand-new Ford GTE racecar. The GTE class is specifically designed for manufacturers to test their production engines and chassis in a regulated race environment. For example, Le Mans 2016 was the first use of Ford's twin-turbocharged 3.5L V6 engine and carbon fiber monocoque.
 - 4 Preston Lerner, *Ford GT: How Ford Silenced the Critics, Humbled Ferrari and Conquered Le Mans* (Boston: Motorbooks, 2015).
 - 5 A.J. Baime, *Go Like Hell: Ford, Ferrari and Their Battle for Speed and Glory at Le Mans* (Boston: Mariner, 2010).

articulate that Ford had a direct and parallel link to consumer culture and the American automotive industry's development that followed its, at times, unsanctioned corporate racing division. Ford's commitment to racing and beating out its corporate and racetrack rivals reveals an otherwise unstudied part of American automotive history.

Ford Motor Company, 1903 to WWII

In the early 1960s, two titans of the automobile industry traveled to hallowed yet neutral ground, a small hamlet in the northwest of France called Le Mans. Le Mans was an eight-mile racetrack-turned-battleground on which the world's most fascinating capitalists, Enzo Ferrari and Henry Ford II, waged war against each other for twenty-four hours, on June 15 and 16. Since 1923, Le Mans hosted the most dangerous race when one in four drivers had a severe accident or died.⁶ Aside from accidents or death, car-related fires were widespread. According to Le Mans-winning driver Brian Redman, half of Le Mans drivers did not wear seatbelts for fear of fire.⁷ The race pushed both man and machine to their limits, and then even further. Formula One champions, who were considered the best and fastest drivers globally, raced alongside sportscar heroes who did not possess the skill or ability to move from everyday production car-based racing to Formula One. Movie stars like Steve McQueen regularly risked their lives for a chance at international fame and glory behind the wheel of a racecar. Le Mans quickly drew two hundred and fifty thousand spectators by 1960, and that figure jumped by almost 50 percent at the end of Ford's tenure at Le Mans.⁸ However, the event garnered even more in manufacturer dollars. By 1960, however, Ford Motor Company achieved just one racing victory.

According to a Ford family legend, Henry Ford raced Alexander Winton in late 1901 to legitimize his Quadricycle and attract much-needed investors to revitalize the Henry Ford Company.⁹ Concluding the race, the Ford Motor Company opened its doors to the public and produced a handful of cars each day. Between June 16, 1903 (the date of Ford Motor Company's incorporation) and July 1905, Ford Motor Company reported profits close to 300 percent, or three hundred thousand dollars (over seven million dollars in today's

6 Brian Laban, *The 24 Hour War*, directed by Adam Carolla (2016; Glendale, CA: Chassy Media / Amazon Distribution Services, 2016), digital.

7 Brian Redman, *The 24 Hour War*, directed by Adam Carolla (2016; Glendale, CA: Chassy Media / Amazon Distribution Services, 2016), digital.

8 "Le Mans 24 Hours 1960," RacingSportsCars.com, August 16, 2010, https://www.racingsportscars.com/photo/Le_Mans-1966-06-19.html. Accessed May 9, 2019.

9 Edsel Ford, "How Did It All Start?" interview by Erich Joiner, *The Return*, Amazon Distribution Services, June 15, 2017.

money).¹⁰ In 1906, Ford was the top-selling brand in the United States.¹¹ Two years later, Henry Ford launched the Ford Model T, a front-engine, rear-drive automobile, large enough for a four-person family that utilized a twenty-horsepower inline-four engine. It was the first mass-produced car marketed toward the middle class equipped completely with interchangeable parts.¹² Ford produced the Model T for fifteen years. During this period, the company developed critical technological coupled with economic means, such as the moving assembly line, the “five dollars day,” one of the first examples of a minimum wage, and opened the largest assembly plant in the world in 1927.¹³

However, during Ford Motor Company’s time of excess, Henry Ford’s son and second-in-command, Edsel, desired to change its organizational culture and structure. When Edsel gained control of Ford in 1919, he envisioned a new breed of college-educated executives running the company. Simultaneously, he sought to revamp the company’s decrepit styling by offering more powerful engines and convenience features like a standardized set of driver’s controls or customizing the vehicle’s cosmetic looks. He also sought to introduce features like hydraulic brakes, electric starters, and die-stamped parts to enable faster, more efficient Ford cars production.¹⁴ During Edsel’s presidency, in 1925, Henry Ford established Ford Germany with a sales office in Berlin and an assembly plant in Westhafen, adding to the assembly plants in Manchester, England, and Cork, Ireland, the first Ford assembly plants outside North America.¹⁵

Although Ford Motor Company had practically monopolized the American market by 1929, Chevrolet was rapidly gaining market share,

10 Articles of Incorporation, June 16, 1903, Ford Motor Company Incorporation Records, Incorporation Records Subgroup, Object ID 64.167.122.1, Collections of The Henry Ford; Harry Barnard, *Independent Man: The Life of Senator James Couzens* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2002).

11 David L. Lewis, *100 Years of Ford* (Morton Grove, IL: Publications International Ltd, 2005), 18-19.

12 David A. Hounshell, *From the American System to Mass Production, 1800-1932: The Development of Manufacturing Technology in the United States* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1984), 218.

13 Baime, *Go Like Hell*, 6. Assembly line: Although Ransom Olds is credited with the development of the assembly line, Ford’s engineers are almost entirely responsible for improvements in the assembly line’s efficiency. “Five dollars Day”: Ford paid his workers about \$2.25 per day, and the rest as a ‘bonus’ for proper behavior, enforced by the Socialization Organization of Ford, to entice them to stay on-the-job. Ford hired about fifty-two thousand men to fill fourteen thousand labor slots before the implementation of the “five dollar day” because worker turnover was so high.

14 “Edsel Bryant Ford Biography,” Ford Motor Company, accessed July 9, 2020, <https://corporate.ford.com/articles/history/edsel-ford-biography.html>

15 M. Smith, “Ford of Britain: Yesterday Today...” *Autocar*, April 18, 1968, 52-54.

growing 15 percent during the Great Depression.¹⁶ Henry Ford refused to innovate, neither stylistically nor mechanically, famously stating, "... the customer can have any color he wants, as long as it's black," and the Model T was so over-produced it cost less-per-pound than butter or bread.¹⁷ Meanwhile, Chevrolet introduced the famous "Stovebolt" and "Standard Six" engines in 1929 and 1933, respectively, to gain a marketing edge over Ford, which utilized a flat-four configuration in all models.¹⁸ Although Ford introduced a new model, the Model A, which implemented Edsel's groundbreaking ideas like hydraulic brakes, a standard three-pedal layout, and more streamlining in the body, buyers looked to G.M. or the import market for luxury models or better styling. During the Great Depression, Ford's market share fell nearly 20 percent, while the parent company of Chevrolet, GM, market share rose from 35.8 percent to 42.1 percent.¹⁹ The likely cause for this discrepancy was both available customization and more options for Chevrolet buyers, whereas Ford offered the Model A as-is from the factory.

Aside from lack of innovation, by the 1940s, Ford Motor Company lacked the necessary corporate organization to conduct its accounting duties efficiently. Edsel Ford's son Henry Ford II remembered that "In one department they figured their costs by weighing the pile of invoices on a scale... Can you believe that?"²⁰ In contrast, during its seizure of the American market, G.M. organized its corporate structure around a central model, where executives made decisions for the company in a "top-down" scenario, unlike Ford Motor Company, where Henry Ford personally made all business, manufacturing and executive decisions. Because of this lack of organization, accountability, or innovation, Ford Motor Company was losing nine million dollars per-month by 1945.²¹ In a market it had created and monopolized, Ford was floundering. On the eve of WWII, it held just 22 percent of the American market.²²

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- 16 D. Rhodes and D. Stelter, "How Automakers Accelerated Out of the Great Depression," BCG. Accessed July 15, 2020, <https://www.bcg.com/publications/2010/growth-automakers-accelerated-out-great-depression.aspx>.
- 17 Harper Leech, "Pound of Auto Cheaper Than Butter Pound," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, July 5, 1926, accessed May 6, 2019, <https://search.proquest.com/docview/180744855/5B695F9315C7445CPQ/3?accountid=13864>. Between 1908 and 1927, the Model T in all its varieties totaled over fifteen million units built and sold. Henry and Edsel Ford drove off the assembly line the very last Model T, VIN 15000000, which remains in possession of the Ford Motor Company at the Henry Ford Museum.
- 18 The Auto Editors of Consumer Guide, "1933 Chevrolet Eagle and Mercury," last modified August 5, 2007, <https://auto.howstuffworks.com/1933-chevrolet-eagle-and-mercury.htm>.
- 19 "Detroit 3 (Domestic Brands) – U.S. Market Share History," *Automotive News*, accessed July 20, 2020, <https://www.autonews.com/article/20090601/OEM/306019739/detroit-3-domestic-brands-u-s-market-share-history>.
- 20 Baime, *Go Like Hell*, 8.
- 21 Brock Yates, "10 Best Moguls," *Car and Driver*, January 7, 1988, 44-49.
- 22 Baime, *Go Like Hell*, 7.

During WWII, Ford halted all civilian vehicle production, choosing instead to produce tanks, bombers, jeeps, and other war effort products.²³ The company's contribution was so vast that President Roosevelt considered nationalizing it.²⁴ However, in 1943, Edsel Ford died, and Henry Ford re-assumed the company's control at seventy-eight.²⁵ There was a genuine possibility that the company would collapse with Henry Ford's death as he had held *de facto* control while Edsel was president, so, on behalf of the company, Henry Ford II was pulled from the Navy in July 1943 and assumed the presidency of the company in 1945 while Ford senior remained chairman.²⁶ Because of his father's untimely death, Henry Ford II had not been properly 'groomed' for the presidency and spent two years 'training' for the position. He took over a Ford Motor Company with no accounting system, no organization, and a worldwide network of factories that needed retooling from bomber to car production.

When Henry Ford II took over, he chose a rallying cry "Beat Chevrolet" as motivation to rebuild the vast Ford empire. To accomplish this lofty goal, Ford II took a page from his father Edsel's book and hired ten college-educated, WWII Army-Air Force veterans called the "Whiz Kids" in 1946.²⁷ The Whiz Kids were a group of Air Force officers who ran "Statistical Control," a logistics and planning agency responsible for coordinating assets, personnel,

23 Nolan, "Willow Run and the Arsenal of Democracy," *The Detroit News*, January 28, 1997, <https://archive.is/20121204140927/http://info.detnews.com/redesign/history/story/historytemplate.cfm?id=73&category=locations>.

24 Samantha Quigley, "Detroit Defied Reality to Help Win World War II," *On Patrol*, Fall 2015, accessed May 9, 2019, <https://www.uso.org/stories/112-detroit-defied-reality-to-help-win-world-war-ii>.

25 The Associated Press, "Edsel Ford Dies in Detroit at 49," *The New York Times*, May 26, 1943, accessed May 9, 2019. <https://www.nytimes.com/1943/05/26/archives/edsel-ford-dies-in-detroit-at-49-motor-company-president-the-only.html>.

26 Steven Loomis, "U.S. Navy, Ford, Henry II, LT," TogetherWeServed, accessed May 6, 2019, <https://navy.togetherweserved.com/usn/servlet/tws.webapp.WebApp?cmd=ShadowBoxProfile&type=Person&ID=524220>. Henry Ford II was a junior grade Command Lieutenant in the Navy and only 26 years old when he became president of Ford Motor Company. He spent two years 'training' for the presidency since he had no real executive experience. His mother, Eleanor Ford, threatened the elder Henry Ford, stating she would sell her company stock (which would have made the Ford family minority owners of their own company) unless Ford II was made president.

27 John A. Byrne, *The Whiz Kids: The Founding Fathers of American Business – and the Legacy They Left Us* (New York City: Doubleday Business, 1993), 112, accessed July 29, 2020. <https://archive.org/details/whizkidsfounding00byrn/page/112/mode/2up?q=1946>.

and information necessary to wage WWII.²⁸ The Whiz Kids joined Ford Motor Company during an awkward transition, as the previous administration despised organization charts and the company only posted a profit when its primary competitor was a horse, not another automobile manufacturer like G.M. At Ford, the Whiz Kids created a lasting business and financial dynasty that influenced every major corporation in the years after their tenure at Ford Motor Company. Utilizing prototype technology like the computer, the group created projection charts and production schedules and centrally organized its global network of plants and dealerships by 1947.²⁹ Reflecting an enduring commitment to lead from the front, the 'new' Ford Motor Company emerged confident and ready to 'beat Chevrolet.'

Ford vs. Chevrolet: Battle for Young Buyers

The first weapon in Detroit's 'horsepower wars,' as the press coined it, was a realization of Henry Ford II's moniker to beat Chevrolet, in that Ford Motor Company trounced Chevrolet to produce the first post-war car in the United States. Revealed personally by Henry Ford II, the 1949 Ford "Shoebbox" had improved streamlined styling, a modern "ladder-style" chassis that allowed a lower floor, a wide wheel-base for comfort enough interior room for a man with his hat on to drive.³⁰ The '49 Ford cost about one hundred million dollars in research and development, and the press hailed it as Henry Ford II's "instrument of conquest."³¹ The 1949 Ford Shoebbox likely saved the Ford Corporation from extinction. The new Model represented a growing sentiment in American interests: high-horsepower, living-rooms-on-wheels. Countering Ford Motor Company's '49 Shoebbox, Chevrolet produced its own Bel Air, a top-of-the-line model in 1950. The two manufacturers fought each other every week for sales, with Chevrolet producing some 1.1 million more cars than Ford through the decade; Ford led in sales only with the 1957 and 1959 model years.³² In 1953, Chevrolet captured the market after launching the Corvette, America's first sports car influenced by European styling; the

28 Frances Acomb, *Statistical Control in the Army Air Forces (USAF Historical Studies)* (Washington D.C.: United States Air Force, Historical Division, 1952).

29 Byrne, *The Whiz Kids*, 106.

30 Baime, *Go Like Hell*, 9.

31 "Young Henry's \$72,000,000 Gamble," *Newsweek*, June 14, 1948, 70.

32 John K. Teahen Jr., "Chevy and Ford have waged a sales battle for a century," *Automotive News*, October 11, 2011, accessed May 6, 2019, <https://www.autonews.com/article/20111031/CHEVY100/310319973/chevy-and-ford-have-waged-a-sales-battle-for-a-century>.

base model was a two-door coupe with an inline-six engine with an optional convertible top, which helped Chevrolet gain 6 percent market share by 1955.³³

In Europe, where Chevrolet had its sights on a 1960 entry into Le Mans, Ford hoped to gain a corporate foothold; the single-deadliest automotive accident occurred at Le Mans. Pierre Levegh, driving a Mercedes 300 SLR, crashed into the grandstands near pit lane, killing eighty-three spectators and the driver.³⁴ Mercedes-Benz feared a public relations disaster and retired from the 1955 Le Mans and racing until 1989.³⁵ Although the race did not stop, the accident led to an immediate ban on all motorsport events in France, Germany, and other European nations. In the United States, a recommendation by the Automobile Manufacturers Association, an unofficial body headed by The Big Three Detroit manufacturers – Ford, GM, and Chrysler – stipulated that the industry would not be racing. To reduce the public's appetite for speed, the companies agreed not to advertise "the specific engine size, torque, horsepower, or ability to accelerate or perform, in any contest that suggests speed."³⁶ Ford Motor Company pulled entirely out of racing, as did the rest of Detroit.

Secretly, however, Chevrolet and Pontiac financed racing programs in National Association for Stock Car Auto Racing (NASCAR). Chevrolet developed, tested and sold road cars converted for racetrack use violating the agreement under the guise of a marine engine program.³⁷ Noticeably,

33 "Detroit 3 (Domestic Brands) - U.S. Market Share History," June 1, 2009, accessed May 6, 2019, <https://www.autonews.com/article/20090601/OEM/306019739/detroit-3-domestic-brands-u-s-market-share-history>. Corvette: The Corvette was named after the smallest class of vessel considered a warship and was produced as a direct result of returning GIs desiring British sportscars and having no American model to choose from. Performance cars were an exclusively European ideal, whereas American cars were focused on size for the family and comfort. The first-generation Corvette, utilizing the 'Blue Flame' inline-six, was regarded as underpowered and handled poorly. Only three hundred were sold in the first model-year. Chevrolet also introduced a brand-new lightweight material called fiberglass to keep the Corvette's weight low while retaining structural rigidity. By 1955, Chevrolet introduced a 4.3L V8 and doubled its sales, while racing on American circuits popularized by returning GIs and sportscar aficionados.

34 Brian Laban, *Le Mans 24 Hours* (London: Virgin Books, 2001), 116.

35 Michael Cannel, *The Limit: Life and Death on the 1961 Grand Prix Circuit* (London: Atlantic Books, 2011), 73, 75.

36 United States Senate Select Committee on Small Business, *Planning, Regulation and Competition: Automobile Industry – 1968, Hearings Before Subcommittees* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1968), https://books.google.com/books?id=Q9YVAAAIAAJ&pg=PA454&lpg=PA454&dq=ford+ignore+industry+ban+on+speed+ads&source=bl&ots=dd1zOBfQYW&sig=ACfU3U3Th-QgQaLchRRvHUFV4O_eGDgGsg&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEWj15qzjz-3oAhWUGM0KHdAjAiiQ6AEwA3oECAwQLw#v=onepage&q&f=false.

37 Baime, *Go Like Hell*, 13.

whenever a Chevrolet won a weekend's NASCAR race, there was a substantial rise in sales. Remarking in the February 27, 1961 edition of *The Detroit News*, Pontiac Dealer Bill Packer commented that, "Back in 1957 when Bunkie Knudsen took over the division, a Pontiac was a good car all right, but it had a reputation for being an old woman's auto. Great for grandmas. Then we started dominating stock car racing. We went way up in sales in just a couple of years."³⁸ G.M. assumed 61.6 percent of the domestic market share while racing was banned.³⁹

Ford Motor Company needed to recapture young buyers who desired speed. The company scrapped the safety agreement and dove in with both feet into NASCAR. In 1963, the first event Ford Motor Company entered was the Daytona Five Hundred, the pinnacle of American stock car racing.⁴⁰ Importantly, Ford Motor Company had equipped its fleet of stripped-out family sedans with the most powerful Ford engine ever, the 427-cubic-inch V8.⁴¹ Seventy-one thousand race fans turned out to watch five fast Ford cruise to victory, placing first through fifth.⁴² Within days, Ford Motor Company took out advertisements in twenty-eight hundred newspapers to promote durability, performance, and speed.⁴³ Conveniently, the Ford Galaxie buyers, which constituted the stock car's base, could option the 427 V8 for an additional cost.

Ford Motor Company realized that winning NASCAR was a way to attract young buyers, and Ford racing drivers transformed the nation's race tracks into action-packed advertisements for the company. Of fifty-one NASCAR races, Fords won twenty-four times, Plymouth nineteen, and Chevrolet recorded a measly eight wins in the 1963 season.⁴⁴ As a result of these wins, Ford gained a full percent in market share while G.M., the largest corporation on Earth that enjoyed its peak market-share in 1962, lost 1.5 percent of the domestic market a year later.⁴⁵ Year-to-year, the Ford Galaxie sold two thousand more units in 1964 than in 1963, and full-page advertisements celebrated the Galaxie's "total performance" in magazines across the country.⁴⁶

38 Doc Greene, "Daytona 500 Results," *The Detroit News*, February 27, 1961: 2, 3B.

39 "G.M. Chunk of Auto Mart at 40 Year High," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, May 21, 1962, accessed May 6, 2019, https://chicagotribune.newspapers.com/browse/chicago-tribune_4351/1962/05/21.

40 Baime, *Go Like Hell*, 32.

41 Wakefield, "Technical Analysis: Portrait of the Le Mans Winner," *Road and Track*, October 1966.

42 *Ibid.*

43 "1963 Fords: Super-Torque Galaxy," DEZO's Garage, accessed July 13, 2020, <https://www.xr793.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/1963-Fords.pdf>.

44 "1963 NASCAR Grand National Results," Racing-Reference, accessed July 13, 2020, <https://www.racing-reference.info/raceyear?yr=1963&series=W>.

45 "U.S. Vehicle Sales Market Share by Company, 1961-2016," Knoema, accessed July 13, 2020, <https://knoema.com/nyscxme/u-s-vehicle-sales-market-share-by-company-1961-2016-discontinued>.

46 David W. Temple, *Full-Size Fords: 1955-1970* (Lake Forest, MN: CarTech Inc, 2010), 86.

Ford-Ferrari Becomes Ford vs. Ferrari

Henry Ford II had beat Chevrolet, and Ford Motor Company sales soared into 1964, producing seventy thousand more cars for the model-year, a 32 percent jump.⁴⁷ However, he wanted to expand the company to Europe, as he envisioned Europe as the next battleground for supremacy for his corporation. Although Henry Ford built three factories in Britain, Ireland, and Germany before WWII, Ford of Germany was third in sales behind Opel (G.M.'s European division) and Volkswagen. Ford Motor Company did not own Ford of Britain until a 1960 buyout, and Ford of Ireland produced less than four hundred cars a day – a far cry from over six thousand cars per week assembled by Genk Body & Assembly, another Ford subsidiary in Europe.⁴⁸ Imagining the world's first global car brand, Henry Ford II needed to prove that even if Ford cars were the best in the United States, they needed to be the best cars in the world to capture the European market. Doc Greene's earlier column, before the interview with Bill Packer, noted:

In European racing, victory can be translated immediately into sales. Buyers over there operate on the rather simple theory that if, for example, in the 24-hours endurance race at Le Mans, five Ferraris finish ahead of the rest of the pack under such grueling circumstances – it's the best car and you ought to buy it.⁴⁹

Although Ford Motor Company had succeeded in the United States, its hardest test would be the European market, which valued a racing pedigree above all else.

In February 1963, a letter arrived at Ford's German division announcing a "small, but nevertheless internationally known Italian automobile factory" for sale.⁵⁰ A brief investigation revealed this was no other than Ferrari, the world's premier sports car company. The easiest way for Ford to gain a foothold in the European market was to buy Europe's premier manufacturer. However, this proved very difficult.

For the first half of the 1960s, *Scuderia Ferrari* dominated Le Mans.⁵¹ Enzo Ferrari, the team's namesake, had built his company for nearly two decades and established his name and *marque brandas* the premier sports car manufacturer and racing team in Italy. By the 1960s, legitimized by numerous victories at Le Mans and in the *Mille Miglia* and *Targa Florio*, grueling

47 Auto Editors of Consumer Guide, *Cars of the Sizzling '60s: A Decade of Great Rides and Good Vibrations*. (Lincolnwood, IL: Publications International, 2002), 182.

48 Oswald Werner, *Deutsche Autos 1920-1945, vol 2* (Stuttgart: Motorbuch, 2001), 412.

49 Ibid.

50 Levine, *Ford, the Dust and the Glory*, 499.

51 Quentin Spurring, *Le Mans 1960-69* (Yeovil, Somerset: Haynes Publishing, 2010), 2.

endurance races stretched across Italy, *Scuderia Ferrari* was the pinnacle of motorsport in all of Europe. Ferrari was the single most-successful racing marque of all time.⁵² However, its success did not come without a cost. Six *Ferrari piloti* (lit. 'pilots') died behind Ferrari cars' wheels between 1953 and 1967.⁵³ Enzo Ferrari himself faced a four-year manslaughter trial for the 1957 deaths of Alfonso de Portago, a piloti, his co-driver, and nine spectators of the Mille Miglia; the courts found him innocent.⁵⁴ Scuderia Ferrari won the Formula One World Championship four times and nine *piloti* fatally died in one stretch.⁵⁵ Ferrari's three syllables were synonymous with success, excellence, and danger.

Whenever Ferrari's offer came before Henry Ford II, he leaped at the chance and sent Ford Product Manager Don Frey to meet with Ferrari.⁵⁶ Starting in February 1963, when the offer was made, Ford sent four different delegations to Maranello, Italy, to meet with Ferrari and organize the buyout of Italy's sacred standard-bearer. On May 21, 1963, Mr. Ferrari met with Don Frey and Ford's legal team to finalize a ten million dollar buyout and create two entities: a Ford-Ferrari division to manufacture customer cars and a Ferrari-Ford division, whose number one priority was Ford participation in Le Mans.⁵⁷ According to Don Frey, Mr. Ferrari had great personal respect for Henry Ford and envisioned a happy alliance between Ford's reputable mass-market abilities combined with his handcrafted approach. Ferrari also showed a keen interest in developing purpose-built engines for the Indianapolis Five Hundred, whereas the Ford delegation showed a lack of interest in Formula One, Ferrari's bread, and butter.⁵⁸ Further, for Ford-Ferrari to consolidate, Mr. Ferrari wanted Ford to sever its relationship with Carroll Shelby and Shelby American. Nixing a race-born and proven relationship was not appealing to

52 "Ferrari Year by Year," Formula 1, accessed July 13, 2020, https://www.formula1.com/en/teams/Ferrari/Year_by_Year.html.

53 "The Fifties and Sixties," Formula 1, accessed July 13, 2020, http://www.formula1.com/inside_f1/safety/a_history_of_safety_in_formula_one/7423.html.

54 Burt A. Folkart, "Enzo Ferrari, Designer-Builder of Sports, Race Cars, Dies at 90," *LA Times*, August 16, 1988, accessed May 9, 2019, <https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1988-08-16-mn-688-story.html>.

55 *Scuderia Ferrari* deaths: 1953, Charles de Tornaco, Bobby Baird, Tom Cole. 1956, Louis Rosier. 1958, Luigi Musso, Peter Collins, Erwin Bauer. 1961, Giulio Cabianca, accessed July 29, 2020, <http://www.motorsportmemorial.org/query.php?db=ct&q=vehbrand&n=Ferrari>.

56 Donald N. Frey, "Frey and Ferrari Spent Hours," interview by A.J. Baime in *Go Like Hell*, 66.

57 Baime, *Go Like Hell*, 67.

58 ArchitectPage, "For Negotiations to Buy Ferrari," SPORTSCARS.tv, accessed July 13, 2020, <http://www.sportscars.tv/Newfiles/66fordbuyferrari.html>.

the Ford delegation.⁵⁹ The Ford delegation asked if they would bring Ford cars to Le Mans, which Mr. Ferrari met with a great pause.⁶⁰ For ten days, the teams negotiated, even going so far as to design and sketch out potential emblems for the new Ford-Ferrari cars. The deal seemed essentially satisfactory to both sides.

However, everything changed after Mr. Ferrari wrote, “No, that’s no good!” in the margins of the Italian-version Ford-Ferrari contract. His exclamation was in response to a clause that stipulated Scuderia Ferrari must request Detroit’s permission for more funds, a counterpoint to his request for complete and total autonomy in the construction and management of racing cars.⁶¹ What followed, according to Mr. Ferrari’s personal secretary Franco Gozzi was “a tirade that [he] had never seen or heard before in [his] entire life and have not done so since,” as Mr. Ferrari hurled insult after insult at the Ford delegation using words, Gozzi noted, as those “you would not find in any dictionary.”⁶² After the incident that successfully closed negotiations with Ford Motor Company, Mr. Ferrari turned to Gozzi and said, “Let’s go and eat.”⁶³ With hindsight, this was a mistake for Ferrari, as Ford Motor Company’s entrance to Le Mans effectively broke Scuderia Ferrari’s winning streak. Further, Mr. Ferrari’s rejection of the Ford deal inevitably created their strongest competition to-date. With six consecutive Le Mans wins, 1959-1965, Ferrari and Ford’s falling-out kept Ferrari from winning Le Mans ever again. It took ten years after the failed deal for Ferrari to win another Formula One championship, with Ford-owned or partnered teams placing second through thirteenth.⁶⁴ Ferrari could not hide from Ford, even in Formula One.

Don Frey and the rest of Ford Motor Company’s fourteen-member delegation left with an autographed copy of Mr. Ferrari’s memoir as a parting gift and reported immediately to Henry Ford II in Detroit. When Ford II met with Frey to discuss the company’s next move, Ford II stated plainly, “All right, we’ll beat his ass. We’re going to race him.”⁶⁵ Frey, concerned that the company may not survive, asked Ford II, one of the wealthiest men on the planet, “How

59 At the time of the Ford-Ferrari deal, Shelby American ran a fleet of AC Cobra chassis with Ford V8 engines in American Sports Car circuits. However, personally, Shelby and Enzo Ferrari had an adversarial relationship based on Shelby’s tenure as an endurance racing driver, notwithstanding that Shelby’s Cobras could beat Mr. Ferrari’s cars on the racetrack. Perhaps Mr. Ferrari feared internal competition in the future Ford-Ferrari deal, a practice he was all too familiar with at Scuderia Ferrari.

60 Ibid.

61 Franco Gozzi, *Memoirs of Ferrari’s Lieutenant* (Milan: Giorgio Nada Editore, 2002), 78.

62 Ibid, 79.

63 Ibid.

64 Federation Internationale de l’Automobile, *1976 FIA Yearbook* (Somerset, UK: Patrick Stephens, 1976), 90-91.

65 Donald N. Frey, “We’ll beat his ass,” interview by A.J. Baime in *Go Like Hell*, 68.

much money do you want to spend?" He replied succinctly, "I didn't say anything about money."⁶⁶ Feeling personally slighted and using corporate dollars for personal rivalries, Henry Ford II and Ford Motor Company were coming to Europe to beat Enzo Ferrari and his Scuderia, even if it cost Henry Ford II his wealth and namesake. Europe valued pedigree above all-else, and with the new Corvette dominating the United States and eyeing a Le Mans entry, Henry Ford II needed to effectively act if he wanted to keep Chevrolet in second place. Ford Motor Company lost its 'easy route' into Europe with the walkout of Enzo Ferrari and began to develop a racing program to rival their failed-business partner.

Ford GT40

Ford Motor Company faced several challenges on its planned path to success in European racing. The first problem facing Ford Motor Company's lofty goal of beating Ferrari was a lack of a platform it could develop into a racecar, as Le Mans regulations dictated each entry must center on a production vehicle. Second, all Ford Motor Company's racing experiences were oval-based: NASCAR racing, by tradition, was done on a closed-loop oval raceway. In Europe, town-to-town road racing was the norm, as tracks adhered to the Earth's contours. Further, European circuits demanded lightweight, durability, strength, and agility, all in one road-legal vehicle. Ford's lineup featured none of those variables.

The Twenty-Four Hours of Le Mans, named for the town closest to the newly-designated course, revealed every facet of a car's weakness, and racing at night forced manufacturers to improve flimsy, unreliable electronics.⁶⁷ The winning car was not based on which one could travel fastest, but which one could travel furthest. Thus, the winning car needed to be the most fuel-efficient, durable, and overall the finest engineered vehicle.

The first dynasty of Le Mans was W.O. Bentley (1924, 1927-1930), with cars painted British Racing Green following AIACR (The Association Internationale des Automobile Clubs Reconnus, 'International Association of Recognized Automobile Clubs') rules.⁶⁸ Bentley's dynasty headed other companies such as Alfa Romeo, Bugatti, then Ferrari consistently. After WWII,

66 Ibid.

67 In 1922, two Frenchmen, Charles Faroux and Georges Durand, conspired to test the boundaries of speed and engineering, and designed a track egg-shaped in layout, all on public roads, that was eight miles start-to-finish. Featuring a four-mile straight, multiple hairpin turns and thin country lanes that at times prevented even two-wide racing, Le Mans was the ultimate test of any automobile.

68 Adam Kaslikowski, "A Colorful History of Racing Hues: An Introduction," *Petrolicious*, accessed July 20, 2020, <https://petrolicious.com/articles/the-colorful-history-of-national-racing-hues-an-introduction-1-of-4>.

Ferrari emerged as the greatest of all Le Mans constructors. By 1963, the time of Ford and Ferrari's Maranello meeting, Mr. Ferrari had won Le Mans four times in a row and had developed the third iteration of his *prototipo Ferrari*, (lit: 'prototype Ferrari') the Ferrari P3.⁶⁹ Don Frey reckoned to beat the Ferrari cars; the Ford car's top speed had to be more than two hundred miles-per-hour. "The objective," he recounted, "[was] to have a car running in one year."⁷⁰ In other words, by the 1964 Le Mans.

No invented vehicle, ever, arose to travel on public roads in-excess of two hundred miles-per-hour apart from land-speed record cars in history. Although these speeds were higher than the take-off speed of most conventional light aircraft, according to Roy Lunn, Chief Engineer of Ford Advanced Vehicles, the main problem for such a car was keeping it planted on the ground.⁷¹ Added to Ford Motor Company's technical woes, the company did not possess the technology to build a car capable of defeating the mighty Corvette, let alone a Ferrari.

Carroll Shelby, who had a personal business history with Henry Ford II, took the challenge of constructing the racecar for Ford.⁷² He had built 'powered-by-Ford' Cobras in his Venice Beach garage since 1962 and had personally won Le Mans in 1959 driving for Aston Martin.⁷³ After the race, Shelby claimed that Mr. Ferrari approached and offered him a place on Scuderia Ferrari. Shelby stared Mr. Ferrari down and declined, later

69 Spurring, 2. Ferrari P3: The 'P' designation were a series of prototype sportscars developed by Ferrari. Beginning life as a Ferrari 330, Four 330 LMB (Le Mans Berlinetta) were built in 1963 specifically for racing at Le Mans. The following year, Ferrari modified the 330 P's bodywork and inserted a larger-displacement engine- from 3.3L to a full 4.0L V12, this became known as the P2. The next iteration, the P3, had a totally redesigned chassis that was thirty kg lighter than the P2, and featured a more powerful and lighter-weight V12 engine. The P3 was lower, lighter and more powerful than the GT40s and all *prototipo Ferrari* before it. Of the eighty-four Le Mans since 1923, Ferrari have entered seventy-nine and won nine times. Beginning with the very first Le Mans post-WWII, Ferrari won in 1949, 1954, 1958, 1960, 1961, 1962, 1963, 1964 and 1965. However, the 1965 effort was not on behalf of *Scuderia Ferrari*, but Luigi Chinetti's North American Racing Team (N.A.R.T.). Since 1965, Ferrari has totaled zero wins at Le Mans and largely canceled its *prototipo* division.

70 Don Frey to A.J. Baime, in *Go Like Hell*, 74.

71 Roy Lunn, "Development of Ford Gt Sports-Racing Car, Covering Engine, Body, Transaxle, Fuel System, Suspension, Steering, and Brakes," SAE Technical Paper 670065, 1967, <https://doi.org/10.4271/670065>.

72 Pete Brock, "The Car that Lived Up to Its Legend," *Car and Driver*, July 1, 2001, accessed May 9, 2019, <https://www.caranddriver.com/features/a15138255/the-car-that-lived-up-to-its-legend/>.

73 Quentin Spurring, *Le Mans 1949-59* (Sherborne, Dorset: Evro Publishing, 2011), 344.

citing “internal politics” of the Ferrari team.⁷⁴ He was precisely the talent, and expertise Ford needed, and Shelby held a deep-seated, personal grudge against Mr. Ferrari. He once noted that “That son of a bitch killed my friend Musso, and he killed others too,” referencing the 1957-58 Ferrari team, where six of seven Ferrari piloti tragically died.⁷⁵ Shelby retired from racing in 1960 with a Twenty-Four Hours of Le Mans win under his belt. Then, he opened the Shelby School of High Performance in 1961, where he assembled the Shelby AC Cobra, an A.C. chassis with a Ford ‘Zephyr’ V8, a product of his imagination and design.⁷⁶ The school was Shelby’s first venture into a partnership with Ford.

Shelby raced his Cobras starting in October 1962 at Riverside Raceway.⁷⁷ Although the Cobra did not finish in its first professional entry, the car rocketed past Chevy’s Corvettes and twelve short months later captured the U.S. Road Racing Championship with six wins of eight races.⁷⁸ Ford Motor Company took notice of Shelby’s venture and loaned him \$25,000 to build a racing version of the Cobra, the Cobra 427, in association with Ford Motor Company.⁷⁹ Although the powered-by-Ford Cobras efficiently handled Chevrolet’s Corvettes, based on two years of GT-racing experience, Shelby knew he needed to refine the Cobras to be competitive with Ferrari’s G.T. cars. Therefore, he modified the roadster-style bodywork into an enclosed cockpit that produced less drag and could sustain higher speeds and accelerate quicker. At a 1963 press conference, Shelby announced, “Next year, Ferrari’s ass is mine.”⁸⁰

Ford Motor Company began developing its Le Mans prototype in Europe to gain access to the finest state-of-the-art components. Whatever Ford Motor Company’s vast resources could not buy, they imported from Detroit’s best engineering minds and shipped to Slough, England, the home of Ford Advanced Vehicles. Ford partnered with British firm Lola for three chassis of

74 Common practice for *Scuderia Ferrari* was to pit their own drivers against each other in inter-team rivalries. For example, John Surtees, the 1964 Formula One world champion for Ferrari was removed from Ferrari’s 1965 Le Mans driver line up and replaced by Ludovico Scarfiotti, the grandson of FIAT’s first president, the company which now owned Ferrari. Further, *Scuderia Ferrari* team manager Eugenio Dragoni believed Italian cars should be raced by Italian drivers and suspected Surtees of passing information to British manufacturer, Lola. He brought his concerns to Mr. Ferrari who ordered Dragoni to make Surtees’ life “as hard as possible” to provoke a rupture between Surtees and the *Scuderia*, enabling Surtees’ firing.

75 Michael L. Shoen, *The Cobra-Ferrari Wars 1963-1965* (Paradise Valley, AZ: CFW, 1998), 9.

76 Carrol Shelby, *The Carroll Shelby Story* (Los Angeles: Graymalkin Media, LLC, 1965), 15.

77 Brock, “The Car that Lived Up to Its Legend”, <https://www.caranddriver.com/features/a15138255/the-car-that-lived-up-to-its-legend/>.

78 Ibid.

79 Ibid.

80 Baime, *Go Like Hell*, 77.

the Lola Mk 6 G.T., a car that had all the underpinnings Ford looked for and had utilized a 289-cubic-inch Ford V8.⁸¹ However, in its only Le Mans entry in 1963, the car was hamstrung by its low-revving engine and low-gearing; unfortunately, it did not finish the race.⁸² The Ford test mules incorporated a Lola chassis, Italian gearboxes, English brakes, and an American V8 engine. Finally, Ford baptized these cars as Ford GT40s (G.T. stood for Grand Tourer, forty represented the cars' total height in inches). The first completed GT40 rolled out on April 1st, 1964, eleven months after its conception, and twenty-one days before Le Mans testing.⁸³ Henry Ford II personally unveiled the car to the automotive world on the New York Auto Show opening day. Owing to its globally sourced components, Lee Iacocca touted it as "the world car," it was the embodiment of a Detroit company and the start of global racetrack dominance.⁸⁴

By the 1964 Le Mans test weekend, the racetrack developed and purpose-built GT40 had roughly four hours total running time with no high-speed experience.⁸⁵ During testing, observers noted that the car spun the rear wheels at one hundred and seventy miles-per-hour down the 3.5 mile-long Mulsanne Straight. Any loss of grip or steering at those speeds meant an unavoidable crash for any driver – this exactly happened. As a result, Ford scrapped both GT40s during the Le Mans test weekend, as *The New York Times* reported, "These Fords were new, unbelievably sleek and expensive [...] People who know money think Ford can build a winner. People who know car racing are not so sure."⁸⁶ The Twenty-Four Hours of Le Mans was two months away, and Ford Motor Company had no cars.

Meanwhile, in the United States, Ford Motor Company continued to harness its entrance into European road-racing to capture the young market again. At the 1964 New York World's Fair, Henry Ford II, and Lee Iacocca revealed a gamechanger – the Ford Mustang. The Mustang was the perfect mix of American firepower and European styling, all in one relatively low-cost automobile. *TIME Magazine* described the 1964 Mustang thusly, "With its long hood and short rear deck, its Ferrari flare, and openmouthed air scoop, the

81 *The Ford GT: New Vehicle Engineering and Technical History of the GT-40* (Warrendale, PA: Society of Automotive Engineers International, 2004), 31.

82 Wouter Melissen, "1963 Lola Mk6 GT Ford," Ultimatecarpage, October 17, 2016, accessed May 9, 2019, <https://www.ultimatecarpage.com/txt/258/2/Lola-Mk6-GT-Ford.html>.

83 Roy Lunn, "The Ford GT Sports Car," *SAE Transactions*, vol. 76 (1968): 63, 65-182, accessed April 3, 2020, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/44433788.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3Aadd8f4e0053ebe10b904a89cd70c1024>.

84 Baime, *Go Like Hell*, 92.

85 Karl Ludvigsen, *The Inside Story of the Fastest Fords* (Turin: Style Auto Editrice, 1971), 14.

86 "Le Mans Trials Prove Ford Must Work to Catch Ferrari," *The New York Times*, April 21, 1964, accessed May 9, 2019, <https://www.nytimes.com/1964/04/21/archives/sports-in-europe-le-mans-trials-indicate-ford-must-work-to-catch.html?searchResultPosition=3>.

Mustang resembles the European racing cars that American sportscar buffs [found] so appealing."⁸⁷ Ford Motor Company spent over ten million dollars on advertising and media spots to embed the Mustang into the American psyche and went so far as buying the nine p.m. slot on ABC, CBS, and NBC to reveal the Mustang on television to twenty-nine million Americans.⁸⁸ The day after its release, twenty-six hundred newspapers ran announcement promotions for the Mustang while a 'herd' of Mustangs drove seven hundred and fifty miles from New York to Detroit with one hundred and fifty automotive journalists in hot pursuit, eager to grab the 'first look' at Mustang.⁸⁹ The Mustang was so appealing that, with an original bill for one hundred thousand units, Ford Motor Company sold four times that number of Mustangs during its first year.⁹⁰ The one-millionth Mustang exchanged owners within two years of the car's launch.⁹¹ Ford created a brand-new sales category, the pony car, and the Mustang sat alone for an entire year in the pony car segments until the Chevrolet Camaro, released in 1966, debuted as a direct competitor.⁹² It was an all-out media blitz, and Ford was positioned, again, for greatness.

Le Mans, 1964

"However one looks at it, Ford of Dearborn has set the cat among the pigeons. We are on the threshold of possibly the most exciting racing era in history." So ran a *Sports Illustrated* headline in May 1964.⁹³ Unbeknownst to the public, the GT40 racecar was unproven and unreliable. Ford entered three cars in the 1964 Le Mans, and just five hours in, two had retired. While driving the remaining GT40, Phil Hill managed to set the lap record just minutes before his car retired.⁹⁴ All three Ford prototype cars sat in pit lane as the race ticked over to the halfway mark. It was not a total loss, as Carroll Shelby's Cobras were a full five miles-per-hour faster than the competing Ferrari GTOs; Shelby's Cobras finished fourth overall and top of the G.T. class. Ford of Britain reported forty-one hundred sales in 1964, and a year later, sales spiked

87 "Ford's Young One," *TIME Magazine*, April 17, 1964, accessed April 4, 2020, <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,875829,00.html>.

88 The Auto Editors of Consumer Guide, "1965 1966 Ford Mustang," How Stuff Works, accessed July 14, 2020, <https://auto.howstuffworks.com/1965-1966-ford-mustang.htm>.

89 Ibid.

90 J. Kelly Flory, *American Cars 1960-1972: Every Model, Year by Year* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, 2004), 367-368.

91 Mike Mueller, *Mustang 1964 ½-1973* (Beverly, MA: Motorbooks, 2000), 30.

92 Scott Settlemire, "The Day the Panther Died," GM Heritage Center, accessed July 14, 2020, https://web.archive.org/web/20150715205006/https://history.gmheritagecenter.com/wiki/index.php/The_Day_the_Panther_Died.

93 Gregor Grant, "Ford's up, Jaguar's on deck, Mercedes aims to play," *Sports Illustrated*, May 11, 1964, 68.

94 Spurring, *Le Mans 1960-69*, 2.

almost 20 percent to 4,810 Ford cars sold.⁹⁵ Amidst Ford Motor Company's later domination of Le Mans, sales doubled in 1966 to over eight thousand units. In the U.S., where European racing was unpopular, Ford's market share grew by a measly tenth of a percent.⁹⁶

In the aftermath, a meeting occurred in Detroit to discuss the Ford plan going forward. The Ford Special Vehicles Committee reasoned the Advanced Vehicles team in England would profit from the tested and proven 427-cubic-inch NASCAR engine. Finally, the Committee sent a GT40 to California, into Carroll Shelby's hands.

Shelby American immediately worked to improve the undrivable car. Before the cars could enter Shelby's shop, four hundred and fifty-horsepower engines replaced the stock 289 V8. Then, Ford's aerospace company, Aeronutronic, reequipped some elements of the car. Aeronutronic filled the car's cockpit with the most sophisticated aeronautical equipment to gather data on air pressure and temperature in the car's ductwork.⁹⁷ This process was plausibly the first time computer equipment assisted in the development of a racecar. Phil Remington, the chief engineer of Shelby American, completely redesigned the car's ducting and lubrication systems using computer data.⁹⁸

The 1965 Daytona Continental Two Thousand K.M. race marked the first time Shelby American represented Ford Motor Company. In just two months, the collaboration had developed and put into cars competition a fleet of cars placing first through fifth consecutively.⁹⁹ For the first time in more than forty years, an American car had won an internationally-sanctioned race. A new challenge for Ford emerged as Shelby America decided to use their car fielding under its racing team. Effectively, Ford had no claim to the Daytona Continental results because of FIA regulations, even though the winners drove GT40s and Ford test drivers Ken Miles, Bob Bondurant, and Jo Schlesser claimed first through third.¹⁰⁰

95 James R. McElroy, *Automotive Trade Statistics 1964-80* (Washington, D.C.: United States International Trade Commission, 1981), 19, <https://www.usitc.gov/publications/332/pub1203.pdf>.

96 Ibid.

97 Tony Hogg, "A Look at the Daytona Winner Ford GT-40," *Road & Track*, May 1965.

98 Baime, *Go Like Hell*, 38.

99 Ibid., 143. Daytona Continental Two Thousand: The Daytona Continental began in 1959 as a six-hour, 1000KM race and has historically been a leg of the Triple Crown. By 1962, the time was halved to three hours and the FIA added the track to its World Sportscar Championship, along with the *Mille Miglia*, *Targa Florio*, Twenty-Four Hours of Le Mans, Twelve Hours of Sebring and the Nürburgring One Thousand KM. In 1964, the year of Shelby's win, the Continental was doubled to Two Thousand KM and was roughly half the expected distance of the Twenty-Four Hours of Le Mans and equivalent to the Twelve Hours of Sebring. Two years later, the Continental was extended to a full Twenty-Four hour race.

100 "Jo Schlesser." *Motorsport*, accessed July 15, 2020, <https://database.motorsportmagazine.com/database/drivers/jo-schlesser>.

GT40 Mk II

While Shelby and Ford Advanced Vehicles toiled at improving the GT40, in the United States, Chief Engineer for GT40 Roy Lunn and project manager Don Frey took the suggestion of the Ford Special Vehicles Committee to heart and had, in secret, developed a GT40 with the seven-liter, 427-cubic-inch Ford NASCAR power plant.¹⁰¹ At the Dearborn, Michigan race shop KAR-KRAFT—not a division, subsidiary, or property of Ford Motor Company Roy Lunn and his team developed the seven-liter GT40s, unbeknownst to Don Frey, Carroll Shelby or Henry Ford II.¹⁰² Designated “Mk IIs,” they were the second ‘evolution’ of the GT40 car. Unlike Ferrari at the time, which had improved its ‘250 Le Mans’ road car for each consecutive Le Mans as a *prototipo* Ferrari, Ford’s car was a purpose-built, state-of-the-art racecar for the road.

In its first test, the GT40 Mk II hit a top speed of two hundred and ten miles-per-hour, ten miles-per-hour over the speed Don Frey understood as necessary to beat the Ferraris.¹⁰³ Roy Lunn asked Shelby test driver Ken Miles for his thoughts, to which he responded, “That’s the car I want to drive at Le Mans this year.”¹⁰⁴ For the 1965 Le Mans, Ford Motor Company was riding a wave of hitherto unknown success. In 1965, Ford Motor Company reported all-time-record sales, all-time-record-profit, and all-time-record employment.¹⁰⁵ Under the leadership of Henry Ford II, Ford Motor Company had conquered NASCAR. On May 30, 1965, won the Indianapolis Five Hundred, billed as the greatest spectacle in racing and part of the prestigious “Triple Crown of Motorsport,” an unofficial achievement regarded as winning the three most

101 Baime, *Go Like Hell*, 150. Secrecy: Roy Lunn set up a four thousand square foot shop inside of Kar Kraft, a race shop with one client- Ford Motor Company. Lunn did not use official means to acquire the shop or the tools and components inside. Reportedly, he ‘sweet-talked’ all the machines and prototyping tables from Ford’s manufacturing division. According to A.J. Baime, this was how the entire Kar Kraft shop came together. Further, any official requests Lunn made for machines and tools would have taken years in Ford’s bureaucracy until they were approved. The entire Kar Kraft team was composed of Roy Lunn, two unnamed design technicians, two draftsmen, also unnamed and a secretary.

102 Matt Stone, “Insider Reveals up KAR KRAFT’S Ford Story Far Beyond Boss 429 Mustang,” Ford Performance, accessed July 15, 2020, <https://performance.ford.com/enthusiasts/newsroom/2019/03/kar-kraft-s-ford-performance-story.html>.

103 Baime, *Go Like Hell*, 152.

104 Levine, *Ford, the Dust and the Glory*, 529.

105 “Car Tax Cut Next Logical Step – Ford,” *Chicago Tribune*, February 2, 1964, accessed May 6, 2019, https://chicagotribune.newspapers.com/browse/chicago-tribune_4351/1964/02/02/main-edition.

crucial motor races in one's career.¹⁰⁶ Just Le Mans remained on Ford II's radar, and Carroll Shelby solely held that responsibility.

Le Mans, 1965

By the start of the 1965 Le Mans, Henry Ford II had spent six million dollars in one year (\$39.5 million today) to win one race.¹⁰⁷ Upon the start of the race, team Ford held first and second. However, in the third hour, the first GT40 failed when its driver missed a gear change and destroyed the transmission.¹⁰⁸ By nightfall, a second car retired with blown head gaskets. One-by-one Ford cars retired until only Phil Hill remained in an Mk II GT40.¹⁰⁹ He achieved the fastest-recorded speed at Le Mans, 218 miles-per-hour down the Mulsanne Straight, and the fastest lap in Le Mans history.¹¹⁰ Like clockwork, however, Hill's car retired with a broken gearbox. Ferrari won Le Mans a record fifth time in a row, taking the top three places. A *Sports Illustrated* headline called it "Murder, Italian Style," reinforcing long-standing stereotypes associating Italians with the Mafia, while also excusing Ford's dismal failure in its first Le Mans outing.¹¹¹ Thanks to massive sales of the Mustang insulated Ford Motor Company against its 1965 Le Mans failure. Ford produced over half a million additional cars in the 1965 model-year – at least four hundred thousand Mustangs.¹¹² Ford of Britain's sales after the 1965 Le Mans went up by 50 percent, likely as a result of Ford now competing internationally and showing their racing prowess.¹¹³

Le Mans, 1966

In a 1965 letter to Henry Ford II, Rob Walker, heir to the Johnnie Walker whisky company and owner of a racing team, which fielded one of Shelby's GT40s, succinctly addressed the growing sentiment toward Ford Motor Company. He wrote, "I was very disappointed that Ford Motor Company should make themselves a laughing stock in European motor racing circles, which they undoubtedly did."¹¹⁴ In response, Ford II called a meeting with

106 Baime, *Go Like Hell*, 153. Triple Crown, The Indianapolis Five Hundred, The Monaco Grand Prix and the Twenty-Four Hours of Le Mans are considered the most prestigious races in motorsport. Only one man, Graham Hill, has won "the Triple Crown," however, nineteen others have completed at least two 'legs' of the Triple Crown.

107 John Wyer, *That Certain Sound* (Somerset, England: Foulis Motor Books, 1981), 150.

108 Baime, *Go Like Hell*, 165.

109 Ibid, 166.

110 Spurring, *Le Mans 1949-59*, 176-177.

111 John Lovesy, "It Was Murder Italian Style," *Sports Illustrated*, June 28, 1965, accessed May 9, 2019, <https://vault.si.com/vault/1965/06/28/it-was-murder-italian-style>.

112 Mueller, *Mustang 1964 ½-1973*, 30.

113 McElroy, *Automotive Trade Statistics*, 23.

114 Wyer, *That Certain Sound*, 151.

Shelby, Frey, and Leo Beebe, Ford's first public relations executive, wherein each man had a nametag with one sentence next to their name "Ford wins Le Mans in 1966."¹¹⁵ Frey, concerned with the company's safety, asked Henry Ford II what their fiscal responsibilities should be, to which Henry II replied succinctly, "You'd like jobs next year, wouldn't you?"¹¹⁶ To ensure his message was crystal-clear, Henry Ford II sent a card to the top executives of each department of the company in the summer of 1965. Each card included two items: a Le Mans decal and a message from Henry II himself: "You'd better win."¹¹⁷ There could be no 'Ford of Europe,' as no European customers would change from German or English brands to buy a Ford without a Le Mans win, and Henry Ford II understood this. Now, driven by a grudge against Mr. Ferrari, the only man who had told him 'no,' and incensed at losing in his racing program's first year, Henry Ford II ordered his team back to work.

Immediately after, Ford and Shelby American were back testing the GT40 Mk II at Daytona. Then, having adjusted the suspension to withstand a multitude of bumps in the road's surface while retaining its structural rigidity, the car was flown to Detroit and sculpted in Ford's wind tunnel. Mere millimeters of bodywork shaved off the GT40s allowed air to flow unspoiled over the car – in the 1960s, downforce and aerodynamics were not fully understood, so large there were no wings or spoilers employed on the GT40s. From Daytona testing in August 1966 until brakes testing in January 1967, each reworked piece of the GT40 Mk II maximized efficiency, speed, and durability. One common point of failure, however, centered on the braking system. At the end of the Mulsanne Straight, the Mk II's brake fluid instantly boiled under pressure, eventually shattering the cast-iron rotors.¹¹⁸ Despite braking problems, the Mk II entered the 1966 Daytona Continental and won pole position (fastest qualifying lap) and finished one-two-three in "one of the most perfect drives in history."¹¹⁹ For the first time in history, an American car won a Twenty-Four-hour, FIA [Federation Internationale de l'Automobile] – sanctioned race. Later in 1966, Ford entered the Twelve-Hours of Sebring

115 Carrol H. Shelby, "Ford wins Le Mans in 1966," interview by A.J. Baime in *Go Like Hell*, 173.

116 Larry Edsall, *Ford GT: The Legend Comes to Life* (St. Paul: Motorbooks, 2004), 8.

117 Homer L. Perry, "You'd Better Win," interview by A.J. Baime in *Go Like Hell*, 187.

118 Ford Motor Company, "Ford vs. Ferrari: The origins of the Ford GT40 and the victory at Le Mans in 1966," Ford Corporate, accessed July 20, 2020, <https://corporate.ford.com/articles/history/ford-gt40-origins-le-mans-committee-victory.html>.

119 "Fords 1-2-3 in Daytona," *Chicago Tribune*, February 7, 1966, accessed May 9, 2019, https://chicagotribune.newspapers.com/browse/chicago-tribune_4351/1966/02/07.

and won first and second place.¹²⁰ The stage was ready for a showdown with *Scuderia Ferrari* at Le Mans.

Unfortunately, Ford Motor Company's stunning success in the 1966 season came at a deadly cost. During the Twelve Hours of Sebring, Ford's driver Bob McLean died at the wheel of a GT40.¹²¹ Then, at Le Mans testing just days later, Walt Hansgen, another team Ford driver, died from injuries sustained when he crashed his GT40.¹²² Adding fuel to the fire was Ralph Nader's *Unsafe at Any Speed*, a dogmatic tome of extremism that accused Detroit of "peddling the drug of speed and style."¹²³ First and foremost, Nader wrote that book primarily to critique the Chevrolet Corvair, specifically its swing-axle suspension, which tended to 'tuck' the rear wheels under a hump in the road, resulting in vehicle turnovers. The setup employed by Chevrolet's Corvair required unequal tire pressures front-to-rear – 15psi front and 26psi rear – and Nader argued this differential caused dangerous oversteer.¹²⁴ No one challenged Nader's assertion that these vehicles were 'unsafe at any speed' until 1972 when a study by Texas A&M found that the Corvair possessed "no greater potential for loss of control than its contemporary competitors in extreme situations."¹²⁵ The results of Nader's book, in the interim, devastated the auto industry: U.S. vehicle sales dropped 33 percent from 1966 to 1967, with Chevrolet's sales sagged to their lowest since 1961.¹²⁶ G.M., not satisfied with being dragged through the press, tried to sabotage Nader by questioning his politics, sexuality, and religious views. While surveilling Nader in public, G.M. illegally wire-tapped his telephone and hired a plethora of women to entice

120 Many constructors consider the Twelve-Hours of Sebring an effective test and preparation for the Twenty-Four Hours of Le Mans. The track is extraordinarily bumpy for a racing surface and south Florida's permanent heat and humidity tested a car's reliability effectively.

121 "Bob McLean, Pioneer – Sports Car and Road Racing – Inducted 2003," Greater Vancouver Motorsport Pioneers Society, accessed July 20, 2020, <https://www.gvmps.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/05/BOB-McLEAN.pdf>.

122 Ford Motor Company, "1966 Le Mans Press Release," News release, accessed April 3, 2020, <https://media.ford.com/content/dam/fordmedia/history/products/fordgt-gt40/1966-LeMans-Summary-Press-Release-noting-123-Finish-07-05-1966.pdf>.

123 Ralph Nader, *Unsafe at Any Speed: The Designed-In Dangers of the American Automobile* (New York: Grossman Publishers, 1972), lxxxvii.

124 Csaba Csere, "General Motors Celebrates a 100-Year History of Technological Breakthroughs," *Car and Driver*, September 1, 2008, accessed July 29, 2020, <https://www.caranddriver.com/features/a15143719/general-motors-celebrates-a-100-year-history-of-technological-breakthroughs/>.

125 National Highway Traffic Safety Administration, *Pb 211-015: Evaluation of the 1960-1963 Corvair Handling and Stability* (Washington, D.C.: National Technical Information Service, 1972), <https://ntrl.ntis.gov/NTRL/dashboard/searchResults.xhtml?searchQuery=corvair>.

126 I. Wagner, "US Car Sales 1951-2019," Statista, accessed July 15, 2020, <https://www.statista.com/statistics/199974/us-car-sales-since-1951/>.

Nader into illicit relationships.¹²⁷ For Ford Motor Company's entire tenure, racing legally or illegally, no one had died behind the wheel. Now, Ford was amidst its deadliest yet most successful racing season. In a twist of irony, Ford resembled the very team they wanted to defeat, sending multiple drivers on-track for them to return on stretchers or in coffins. In his autobiography, Carroll Shelby devoted a section to the death of test driver Ken Miles but said little about other deaths behind the wheel of the GT40.

Nader's book ignited a controversy in both the United States and the broader motorsport world. The United States Senate held official hearings over the safety issue in Detroit. As a result, Congress drafted the car industry's first federal regulation, the National Traffic and Motor Vehicle Safety Act of 1966.¹²⁸ Ford had researched and developed several critical safety components through the years, although this did not prevent its racing drivers' deaths. Beginning in 1955, Ford began crash-testing its vehicles and offering seat belts as options.¹²⁹ In 1956, it offered the Lifeguard package, which boasted safety glass in the rearview mirror, a deep-set steering wheel, and optional seat belts and padded dashboard.¹³⁰ Ford updated the Lifeguard package for the 1957 model-year with a new frame, rear child locks, and a hinged hood.¹³¹ Added to its safety record was the Le Mans effort, totally concerned with making the car as aerodynamic and fuel-efficient as possible, introducing lighter yet stronger body paneling and reducing the size of fuel containers, thereby reducing the risk of explosion or fire. A later 2002 study revealed what Ford theorized, in the 1960s, that fuel consumption of crash-involved vehicles was higher than that of vehicles not involved in crashes.¹³² Ford's Le Mans effort represented the most sophisticated study of an automobile ever. The GT40 began life as a racecar, not a production car like many other constructors' entrants. Ford de-tuned its GT40 racecars for road-use to meet homologation rules, whereas other teams beefed-up road cars for racing at Le Mans.

127 Nader v. General Motors Corp., 1970. NY Court of Appeals, 255 N.E.2d 765, http://courtroomcast.lexisnexis.com/acf_cases/9243-nader-v-general-motors-corp-

128 Public Law 89-563, *National Traffic and Motor Vehicle Safety Act of 1966*, September 9, 1966.

129 Richard Johnson, "The Outsider: How Robert McNamara changed the automobile industry," *Invention and Technology Magazine* Vol 23 (2007), accessed July 29, 2020, https://web.archive.org/web/20080331025901/http://www.americanheritage.com/articles/magazine/it/2007/1/2007_1_29.shtml.

130 Auto Editors of Consumer Guide, "1955-1965 Ford Fairlane Crown Victoria," HowStuffWorks, 2007, accessed July 29, 2020, <https://auto.howstuffworks.com/1955-1956-ford-fairlane-crown-victoria4.htm>.

131 "The Story Behind Ford's Exclusive New Lifeguard Design," *Popular Mechanics*, October 1955, 310.

132 N. Haworth and M. Symmons, *Relationship between Fuel Economy and Safety Outcomes* (Melbourne: Monash University, 2002), accessed July 29, 2020, <https://www.monash.edu/muarc/archive/our-publications/reports/muarc188>.

Ford headquarters housed Ford Motor Company's Reliability Laboratory, where teams of engineers worked round-the-clock to improve the GT40 Mk II to perfection. In test room 17D of Ford's Engineering and Research complex, a 427-cubic-inch Ford engine was attached to a multi-million-dollar testbed, which in turn connected to a top-of-the-line computer.¹³³ Utilizing measurements from Daytona's testing in 1965, the computer accurately simulated Ford drivers' shifting patterns and throttle position. The test rig was so elaborate it could simulate the effects of cornering and wind resistance on engine performance, even as it stood still. Changing gear some nine thousand times and simulating pit stops every two hours, the 427 engines were able to run the entirety of Le Mans twice by the end of testing.¹³⁴

By the time Henry Ford II arrived at Le Mans in June 1966, the overall investment in winning Le Mans had totaled three hundred and sixty million dollars from 1963-1966.¹³⁵ However, Henry Ford II was looking to invest another one hundred million dollars in overseas operations, with a new French factory in mind, replacing the factory Henry Ford built near Paris, the same factory sold to French automaker Simca in 1954.¹³⁶ Ford of Europe grew 5-7 percent annually through the 1960s, while Ford grew at half that rate in the United States.¹³⁷ In three years of racing, Ford Motor Company had no wins excepting the 1966 season. However, thanks to the company's massive investment, there was never a better-prepared car for the 1966 Le Mans than the GT40 Mk II. Importantly, to satiate Congress and the safety-conscious public, Ford drivers were ordered to buckle their seat belts before pulling off the starting line.¹³⁸

"We are witnessing the most tremendous 24-hour racing ever put on here at Le Mans, as it has been a battle from the start among four or five cars at the most tremendous pace of all time."¹³⁹ Ford drivers broke the Le Mans lap record no less than five times in one race. By midnight, the Ferraris had crashed out, and Ford cars were first, second, and third in a historic photo

133 Baime, *Go Like Hell*, 212; B.F. Brender et al., "Laboratory Simulation, Mark II – GT Powertrain," Society of Automotive Engineers, paper #670071, 1967, <https://doi.org/10.4271/670071>.

134 Baime, *Go Like Hell*, 212.

135 *The Grand Tour*, episode 6, "Happy Finnish Christmas," directed by K. Robinson, G. Whitehead and P. Churchward, written by Zoe Brewer, aired December 23, 2016, Amazon.

136 A. Thompson, A and M. Sealey, "Simca: Societe Industrielle de Mecanique et Carrosserie Automobile," Allpar, accessed July 15, 2020, <https://www.allpar.com/cars/adopted/simca/>.

137 Baime, *Go Like Hell*, 220.

138 Mario Andretti, "Buckle Their Belts," interview by A.J. Baime in *Go Like Hell*, 230.

139 *Wide World of Sports*, episode 7, "There you can see," directed by Charlie Brockman, aired June 18, 1966.

finish. At the end of the race, five Ford cars finished in the top five slots. Ford Motor Company had beat Ferrari handily and secured its first overall Constructor's championship at Le Mans. Added to victory over Ferrari, Ford celebrated another victory over Chevrolet: Ford Motor Company trailed Chevy in sales since 1961, but after the 1966 season eclipsed their cross-town rivals. From Ford's first entry to Le Mans in 1964 to their first win in 1966, Ford sales in the United States rose by half a million units, a 72 percent leap.¹⁴⁰ Ford of Britain enjoyed monumental gains; from 1966 to 1967, sales rose over 100 percent, from eighty-one hundred units to 16,600.¹⁴¹ In 1968, driven by back-to-back wins, Ford of Britain increased sales again by almost 50 percent, rounding out the decade selling over twenty thousand cars – a massive leap from just forty-one hundred in 1964.¹⁴²

Conclusion

To this day, Ford remains the only American team to win at Le Mans, from 1966-1969 and on the fiftieth anniversary of winning its first Le Mans in 2016. Similarly, Ferrari has not won at Le Mans since. Spurred on by success developing race cars and top-of-the-line technology, Henry Ford II announced an additional ten million dollars for Ford Motor Company's racing budget in 1967. The monies resulted in the GT40 Mk IV "J" Car production, built to comply with new Appendix J regulations introduced by the FIA. The J Car was technology taken to the extreme, as it utilized a novel design of honeycomb aluminum panels bonded together to form a lightweight tub. Like the rest of the GT40's development, the J Car represented a brand-new approach to racing, emphasizing aerodynamics and improved safety features. Through the entrance of Ford into both NASCAR and endurance racing, motorsport thrived. The vast resources of the company catapulted technological and safety measures in racing and consumer cars. Innovations like independent suspension, aerodynamics, four-wheel brakes, wind tunnel testing, and computerized simulation were considered witchcraft during Ford's Le Mans tenure. However, today they are commonplace across motorsport.

Not just cars benefitted from Ford's success. The company became the standard-bearer for the United States, with each entrance into domestic or international racing, as it posted record-setting profits and sales. Thanks to the fact that the GT40 was a Ford Performance parts-bin, Ford Motor Company could also market its racecar as a 'do-it-yourself' project; anyone with a spare twenty thousand dollars (one hundred and fifty-four thousand dollars in 2020) could order the GT40 racecar from their local Ford dealer. Like the Mustang

140 Auto Editors of Consumer Guide, *Cars of the Sizzling '60s*, 262.

141 McElroy, *Automotive Trade Statistics*, 23.

142 Ibid.

in 1964, Ford looked for buyers who wanted European styling with American firepower.

Ford's racing effort reflected an enduring change in motorsport today. Porsche, the new most-successful manufacturer, spends one billion dollars annually developing its Le Mans Prototype. Likewise, The Automobile Club de l'Ouest (Automobile Club of the West [ACO]) opened three new categories for manufacturers, LMP1, LMP2, and LMP3, organized around total revenue spent in research and development. The new Le Mans prototypes are effectively laboratories on wheels, a far cry from a computer-simulated racetrack. When Ford cars crossed the line on June 19, 1966, Le Mans was transformed overnight from a weekend of potential glory to the single most magnificent marketing tool of all time, cementing Henry Ford II and his company's legacy in racing.

Many remember the 1960s as a golden decade for both motorsport and culture in general, and Ford's first Le Mans win inexorably linked the United States to the wider world of motorsport. The 'one-two-three' 1966 Le Mans photo finish ran on the front pages of European newspapers and helped Ford sell more cars to the European market. Driven by personal grudge and a vow to get even with Enzo Ferrari, Henry Ford II's warpath enveloped A-list names in motorsport like Bruce McLaren, Carroll Shelby, Dan Gurney and A.J. Foyt—legends of motorsport who joined a larger team effort to beat the best in the business. Ford harnessed its massive public image to create a double narrative: one that relied on mass-market manufacturing to appeal to the public and another that showed Ford's "total performance" on racetracks in the United States and Europe. Added to that was the understood brutality of racing, one of the most dangerous pastimes available to the public that routinely claimed lives. However, Ford's cars held together on-track, displaying reliability and durability above a performance moniker. After calling it quits in 1969 with four consecutive Le Mans wins, Ford effectively disappeared from European motorsport thanks to the oil embargo of the early 1970s, unless they had suitable partners like Brabham-Ford or McLaren-Ford in Formula One.

When Ford went back to Le Mans on the fiftieth anniversary of its 1966 win, the world went “less than nuts,” according to automotive journalist Sam Smith of *Road and Track*.¹⁴³ The rivalry of Enzo Ferrari and Henry Ford II was gone, as were the hand-sculpted racecars that put Ford Motor Company on the Le Mans podium four times in a row. Racing lost much of its danger and supposed risk, as did the automobile. Ford sales went down between their 2016 Le Mans win and 2017 in the United States. In Europe, Ford registered neither more nor fewer sales from 2016 to 2017. The days of motorsport affecting wider consumer culture may be long gone, as corporations like Ford try to retain what market-share they do have while battling emissions standards, electrification of the automobile, and fewer automobile customers thanks to the proliferation of public transport and ridesharing. Although Ford Motor Company held both the U.S and European auto industries in its hands in the late ‘60s, the industry has moved beyond ‘race on Sunday, sell on Monday’ to globalized brands selling tools for travel or trade to an, at times, uninterested public.

143 Smith, Sam. Adam Carolla’s ‘The 24 Hour War’ Is a Car Movie by Car People That Isn’t Just for Car People. *Road and Track*, January 18, 2017.

David Szoke

Heartland Deluge: Race, Flooding, and the Two Alexander Counties, Illinois

Life and Loss in the Two Alexander Counties, Illinois

In April 2011, the ordinarily quiet towns of southern Illinois harbored an unusual murmur of discussion and intrigue. The flooding Mississippi River threatened to overflow its banks and breach the massive levees straddling its sides. The Army Corps of Engineers struggled between two options: intentionally breach the levee in Missouri and flood 133,000 acres of farmland to alleviate pressure on the Illinois side or allow the destruction of Cairo's by catastrophic flooding. The threat of such calamity in the nearby heartland kept river levels at the forefront of local gossip in my hometown of Murphysboro, located roughly an hour north of Cairo. Though only twelve years old at the time, I could tell there was more to the story than a utilitarian decision over whether to save an Illinois city or fertile Missouri soil. On a visit to Murphysboro's quaint Cindy B's Café shortly before the levee breach, I overheard a conversation between two white patrons: "Why should the farmers have to suffer? Have you ever been to Cairo? They had their chance." These comments reveal a racial dimension when noted that Cairo is a poor, majority-black city. On May 2, 2011, the Army Corps breached the levee, preserving the city of Cairo and destroying the farming village of Pinhook in southeast Missouri. The devastation of Pinhook, however, still meant that a poor, black community had been destroyed.

It appeared that, after one successful Army Corps operation in 2011, Cairo was "*saved*." A more thorough analysis of the Flood of 2011 reveals that this simplistic narrative serves to highlight one climactic and deceptively victorious moment in a decades-long historical trend of decline for the city of Cairo and Alexander County, Illinois. Nestled at the southernmost tip of Illinois between the mighty Mississippi and Ohio Rivers, Alexander County once constituted a haven for commerce and agriculture connecting the northern and southern United States.¹ Today, the county supports virtually no tax base and continues to suffer from chronic flooding issues.

1 John Lansden, *The History of the City of Cairo, Illinois* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1976), 137.

Alexander County hosts two demographically distinct areas: the southern majority-black region, constituting the towns of Cairo and Mounds, and the northern majority-white region, composed of Olive Branch, East Cape Girardeau, and Tamms, among other localities. These two distinct portions of the county, though separated along racial lines, together share similar experiences with flooding, failing infrastructure, and depopulation. In Cairo, decades of racial hostility, white flight, and housing crises have left the city with virtually no business sector. In Olive Branch and the nearby Dogtooth Bend peninsula, flooding has caused rapid population loss and farmland damage. Those who remained have struggled to force any governmental effort to fix the breached Len Small Levee. Ultimately, the chronic flooding in Alexander County exacerbates the material and social issues faced by its citizens, but it is not the root cause. The history of racial unrest in Cairo, government negligence, and problematic flood-control plans have all contributed to the terrible deluge that is slowly sweeping away Illinois' southernmost tip.

The Northernmost City in the South

To understand the collapse of this once prosperous county, one must first understand the history of its county seat, the city of Cairo. The southernmost city in Illinois and the most populated community in Alexander County, Cairo, held an advantageous spot at the confluence of the Mississippi and Ohio Rivers, acting as a crucial junction between the Midwest, Northeast, and South, making the city a booming commercial stop. After the establishment of Fort Defiance during the Civil War, Cairo became a strategic military site to keep control of the heartland interior waterways.² During the late nineteenth century, the advent of the American railway system led to a decline in the importance of riverboat traffic. Though this posed an initial threat to Cairo's commercial relevance, the city avoided an economic deathblow by fostering heavy railway traffic as well.³ These early days saw a city with limitless potential; remarking on Cairo's resilience and geographic position, Union general Clark E. Carr once noted, ". . . Chicago will be a great city, but Cairo will be *the* great city. . . It will be the largest city on this continent, and the time is sure to come when Cairo will be the largest city in the world."⁴ Though this dream of a mighty Cairo may have been overstated, Cairo was a far cry from a dying town in the first half of the twentieth century. Even after the city lost some population after the Great Mississippi River Flood of 1927, it remained a vibrant hub for commerce and manufacturing in Southern Illinois until the 1960s.

2 Lansden, *Cairo*, 128.

3 Lansden, *Cairo*, 221.

4 Lansden, *Cairo*, 281.

The white population of Cairo met the tides of progressive racial change with resistance in the late 1960s. With a roughly forty percent black population in 1967, the city held an image as the northernmost town in the South. Nearly all facilities were segregated, no black residents held positions in city government, and an unspoken employment caste system existed, which reserved most industrial and manufacturing jobs for white workers.⁵ Reverend M. F. Traylor, a prominent black minister in Cairo at that time, spoke to the Illinois State Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights in 1966. There, he remarked that black residents had long desired an end to segregation in Cairo but feared retaliation from white supremacists if they organized for integration. Sensing that the situation would soon come to a boiling point, Reverend Traylor made a grave prediction in his speech to the Commission, stating, "We are going to have unemployment, we are going to have riots, we are going to have trouble here in Cairo."⁶ One year later, his prediction came true.

In Cairo, tensions reached a critical point late in the night on July 15, 1967, when nineteen-year-old Robert Hunt, a black soldier on unofficial leave, died under mysterious circumstances in police custody after being pulled over allegedly verbally attacking the arresting officer.⁷ Three days of civil unrest from the black community followed, firmly asserting that Cairo Police officers murdered Hunt at the station. What began as protests on the 17th of July turned violent that evening as the situation became a riot that lasted until July 19th. In total, six businesses were set on fire, and homes of white residents allegedly were ransacked.⁸ Groups of white townspeople responded in-kind with violence as they targeted peaceful protestors and rioters alike. As the Cairo police failed to quell the situation during the first night, Governor Otto Kerner sent in the National Guard, who left three days later as tensions de-escalated. Two months later, the county coroner and the officers who "discovered" Hunt's body resigned.⁹

In the aftermath of three days of unrest, Cairo's reactionary white factions quickly organized themselves into a militant vigilante squad known as "the Committee of Ten Million," headed by local attorney Peyton Berbling.¹⁰ The Committee was more commonly known as the White Hats in reference to the

5 Paul Good, *Cairo, Illinois: Racism at Floodtide* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1973), 5.

6 Good, *Floodtide*, 13.

7 Kerry L. Pimblott, *Faith in Black Power: Religion, Race, and Resistance in Cairo, Illinois* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2017), 96.

8 Good, *Floodtide*, 16; "Alert Guard After Racial Riots in Cairo: Fire Bombs Thrown, Windows Broken," *Chicago Tribune*, July 18, 1967, 11.

9 Good, *Floodtide*, 15.

10 Good, *Floodtide*, 17.

helmets that members donned while on patrol. Though the group allegedly allowed black membership, all of the roughly 600 members were white Alexander County residents, including many prominent business owners and church figures.¹¹ The White Hats took justice upon themselves from late 1967 to early 1969, intimidating and harassing Cairo's black population while the city government promised to create plans for the slow integration and reform. The White Hats brought an end to the widespread black demonstrations in 1967, but they did not end violence in the city. Throughout 1968 and 1969, it was common for white instigators to target black residents with gunfire, with at least 86 shooting incidents recorded between March and December of 1969.¹² Most of these shootings occurred at or around the all-black Pyramid Court housing projects, where at least one person, Floyd Parker, was shot dead. Residents of Pyramid Court became accustomed to sleeping in their bathtubs during nights of frequent gunfire. The violence was not, however, limited to gunfighting. In July of 1968, white reverend Larry Potts used a baseball bat to murder a black septuagenarian who, he claimed, attempted to rape his wife.¹³

Despite the abatement of widespread rioting in 1968, the White Hats' terror did not stop black Cairo residents from organizing themselves, especially within religious circles. Reverend Charles Koen's United Front, with its operating base in Cairo, was a movement for racial equality with recognition from civil rights leaders nationwide. Because religion played a crucial role in Cairo's movement for racial liberation, Reverend Coen and other black clergymen used the Scripture as a point of focus to support their arguments. In contrast to the radical Marxist theories adopted by some prominent black leaders such as Huey P. Newton, which denounced religion as a means of social reform, Reverend Coen saw the tight-knit myriad of Protestant churches to be the most significant unifying force within the black community.¹⁴ In April of 1969, the United Front began a boycott of white businesses in Cairo, citing the city's half-hearted attempts at integration and continued lawlessness from the White Hats, of whom an estimated 450 had been formally deputized by Cairo or Alexander County law enforcement.¹⁵ Yet, by June, under pressure from Illinois State Attorney General William Scott, the White Hats disbanded. This maneuver by the state was every bit as economical as it was political. Attorney General Scott, now feeling as though the situation could be resolved quietly, stated shortly afterward that Cairo's

11 Good, *Floodtide*, 15.

12 United Front of Cairo, "The History of State Police Activity in Cairo, Illinois from March, 1969," *National Institutes of Health* (1969): 2, <https://www.nlm.nih.gov/exhibition/forallthepeople/img/872.pdf>.

13 Good, *Floodtide*, 17.

14 Pimblott, *Faith*, 116.

15 Good, *Floodtide*, 18.

black community should “show their good faith by lifting the boycott.”¹⁶ This request was met with insult by the United Front, who declared the boycott would continue until substantive integration was seen in Cairo’s businesses and city government.¹⁷ By 1972, community enthusiasm for the United Front’s boycott had significantly waned, and the organization shifted its focus from direct-action tactics to local politics.

Cairo’s population had taken a massive blow in the aftermath of the racial unrest. The city lost nearly one-third of its population by 1972, where over sixty percent of the migrants were white residents.¹⁸ Many businesses that had refused to integrate their staff closed due to the United Front boycott, damaging the town’s small business sector and further population loss. From the 1970s onward, the positive-feedback loop between white flight and job loss led to a dwindling population of 2,188 residents in 2018.¹⁹ Cairo’s perceived radicalization and its reputation as a “black town” provided no opportunity for an economic rebound, and the once-busy riverside streets faded to Rust Belt ruins. To many in the socially conservative heartland, Cairo collapsed into a city in the same esteem as East Saint Louis or Detroit, becoming an abandoned community of “others” surrounded by predominantly white communities. Streets once lined with businesses and quaint homes became inhabited by dilapidated buildings, broken sidewalks, and faded signs. Since the 1990s, the economic downturn has been compounded with frequent flooding events, which have exacerbated Cairo’s financial problems. Each flood, in turn, led to another exodus of migrants leaving the city.

The plight of Cairo continued after the 1960s, though mostly outside the public eye. As businesses began to leave town, demographics shifted to reveal two district groups of residents: older, predominantly white homeowners, and black residents who did not have income available to find housing elsewhere. A large portion of the town’s black population relied upon the Alexander County Housing Authority (ACHA) to provide housing via the World War II-era McBride (formerly Pyramid Court) and Elmwood complexes. Former Cairo mayor James Wilson, in office from 1989 to 2013, accepted hefty grants from the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) for the county housing authority. During Wilson’s tenure as executive director of the ACHA, virtually no renovations were made to the city dwellings, which suffered from pest infestations, plumbing issues, electrical issues, and unsafe

16 Good, *Floodtide*, 20.

17 Good, *Floodtide*, 20.

18 Pimblott, *Faith*, 29.

19 United States Census Bureau, “American FactFinder,” accessed March 12, 2020, https://factfinder.census.gov/faces/nav/jsf/pages/community_facts.xhtml?src=bkmk.

infrastructure.²⁰ Instead, the federal funds appropriated to ACHA supported Wilson's fraudulent spending, paying for trips, gifts, alcohol, and other pleasantries. In 2018, Wilson reached a settlement with HUD to pay \$500,000 for his crimes.²¹ The Elmwood and McBride complexes under Wilson's administration were deemed beyond repair with an estimated \$7,500,000 renovation cost in the aftermath. HUD eventually demolished the dwellings in 2019. The demolition of the complexes displaced 185 Cairo families, fifteen percent of the city's population.²² HUD offered the displaced residents tenant protection vouchers for public housing outside Cairo as the only solution to their housing nightmare.²³ Today, Cairo's population has likely dipped below 2,000 residents, marking a grim milestone in a now six-decade-long migration trend.

The Flood of 2011 and Rural Blackness

After decades of relatively little media attention, Cairo came into the national spotlight, again, during the catastrophic Mississippi River Flood of 2011. Controversy surrounded the town as gradually rising waters forced the Army Corps of Engineers to weigh two options: allow the water levels to overtop the levees in Cairo and flood the city, or breach the levees on the Missouri side of the river and utterly inundate over one hundred thousand acres of fertile farmland in the Birds Point-New Madrid Floodway. Based on the sheer number of residents at risk, the obvious solution was to breach the Missouri floodway levees at the expense of crop and property losses. The Army Corps' announcement to follow through with the floodway plan ignited immense racially charged criticism from local white communities. When asked what lands should be flooded if a decision must be made, former Republican Speaker of the Missouri House of Representatives Steven Tilley said, "Cairo, I've been there. Trust me [...] Have you been to Cairo? Okay, then you know what I'm saying."²⁴ Though Speaker Tilley soon after apologized for the comments, his words surmised the general standpoint of the white rural heartland: Cairo's crumbling infrastructure, poor population, and history of black resistance had rendered the city unworthy of salvation.

20 "The Public Housing Crisis Could be the End for Cairo, Illinois," *VICE News*, September 12, 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I7sqiFjE8hA>.

21 James Long, "Former ACHA Exec. Director Admits to Misusing Funds, Ordered to Pay \$500k," *KFVS 12 News*, November 28, 2018, <https://www.kfvs12.com/2018/11/28/former-alexander-co-il-housing-authority-executive-director-ordered-pay-k/>.

22 "Public Housing Crisis," *VICE News*, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I7sqiFjE8hA>.

23 "Public Housing Crisis," *VICE News*, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I7sqiFjE8hA>.

24 Lisa Song and Patrick Michels, "There Was a Plan to Save This City from Flooding. But When the Rains Came, So Did Hesitance," *ProPublica*, September 6, 2018, <https://www.propublica.org/article/cairo-there-was-a-plan-to-save-this-city-from-flooding>.

By mid-April, water levels began rising to a concerning degree. Late snowmelt from the Missouri and Upper Mississippi watersheds caused the Middle Mississippi to swell and back up tributaries across the basin. By April 21, the Army Corps estimated that the river would overtop the levee at Cairo by May if water levels were not reduced.²⁵ The protocol of the Army Corps in such a potentially damaging flooding situation was to “activate” (i.e., partially destroy with explosives) the Birds Point-New Madrid Floodway across the river from Cairo. The Birds Point-New Madrid Floodway, designed in the 1928 Flood Control Act after the disastrous Mississippi River Flood of 1927, had only been activated once before 2011 during the Flood of 1937.²⁶ With Cairo’s security specifically in mind, allowing the Missouri farmland to flood, the pressure kept off nearby levees. Due to the land’s potentially dangerous position in the floodway, its property values were low. Such cheap land, combined with black landownership restrictions in nearby Missouri towns, made the area a haven for black farmers who eventually formed Pinhook’s village in the 1920s.²⁷

On April 26, 2011, the State of Missouri quickly launched a lawsuit to stop the Army Corps from breaching the floodway levee.²⁸ Since the operational function of the Floodway was reserved in case of a major emergency, the state’s only available arguments were centered around procedural mismanagement and potential violations of the Missouri Clean Water Act, both of which were shot down by U.S. District Judge Steven Limbaugh.²⁹ In the wake of Judge Limbaugh’s decision, all sides looked to the President of the Army Corps’ Mississippi River Commission Major General Michael Walsh, who would personally decide whether to utilize the floodway detonation protocol. On April 25, the Army Corps began preparations to activate the river’s Missouri side’s floodway protocol. By April 29, the legal question behind the operation concluded, and the levees in Cairo began to develop sand boils from the immense pressures of the Mississippi and Ohio, signaling impending levee failure.³⁰ Despite this, Walsh still hesitated to blow the levee. At 10:00 pm on May 2, Walsh gave the order to activate the Floodway, though he acknowledged that this decision would inevitably “. . . create a stir with the public, the press, and politicians.”³¹ These comments reflected a hesitance to

25 Song and Michels, “There Was a Plan.”

26 Michael Grunwald, “Who Controls the Mighty River?” *Time International*, May 12, 2011, <http://content.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,2071109,00.html>.

27 David Todd Lawrence and Elaine J. Lawless, *When They Blew the Levee: Race, Politics, and Community in Pinhook, Missouri* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2018), 25.

28 Lawrence, *Levee*, 126.

29 Lawrence, *Levee*, 127.

30 Lawrence, *Levee*, 129.

31 Song and Michels, “There Was a Plan.”

upset powerful Missouri lawmakers who had already brought the Floodway project into the national spotlight.³² Walsh finally acted five hours after Army Corps officers warned that further delay could cause excessive hazards for the workers handling the explosives. Army Corps leadership's aversion to swift action has been blamed for over \$1,000,000 structural damages to Cairo's levees and buildings. These damages were later paid for by the Army Corps.³³

The story of Pinhook strongly mirrors that of Cairo upstream. Both communities are predominantly black, existing outside the American perception of black culture being inherently "urban." During the 2011 controversy, the loudest voices in the struggle to stop the Birds Point-New Madrid Floodway flood were wealthy white landowners such as R. D. James, the current Assistant Secretary of the Army for Civil Works who owned over 800 acres of Floodway farmland.³⁴ However, the Floodway's primary population—the aged, predominantly black residents of Pinhook—remained outside the public narrative. Those wealthy landowners who received the most media attention, such as R.D. James, had only property in mind when expressing dissatisfaction with the flooding protocol; the citizens of Pinhook, however, never received attention from the press nor vocal legislators. By April 25, the Army Corps was prepping the Birds Point Levee for breaching, yet no one in Pinhook received official notification to evacuate to safety. By April 26, flooding of low-lying areas already blocked off the town's main road.³⁵ The flooding alongside evacuation alerts on local television and radio stations prompted community leader Debra Robinson-Tarver to spearhead the evacuation process herself, rallying local truck owners to assist in evacuating residents. On April 29, official word came from the county sheriff to evacuate the village – two full days after it became inaccessible due to floodwaters.³⁶ When the Army Corps breached the Birds Point Levee on May 2, one-fourth of the Mississippi River's water flow tore through Pinhook and flooded the surrounding 133,000 acres of farmland. All residents self-evacuated to East Prairie, Cape Girardeau, Sikeston, or other local towns. All structures in Pinhook were total losses when the water subsided a month later.³⁷

32 Claire McCaskill, Roy Blunt, and Jo Ann Emerson, "Missouri Congressional Leaders to Obama: Don't Activate Severe Alternative in the Bootheel," *Office of Roy Blunt, United States Senator for Missouri*, June 17, 2011, <https://www.blunt.senate.gov/news/press-releases/missouri-congressional-leaders-to-obama-dont-activate-severe-alternative-in-bootheel>.

33 Song and Michels, "There Was a Plan."

34 *Ibid.*

35 Lawrence, *Levee*, 135.

36 *Ibid.*

37 Lawrence, David Todd, "The Rural Black Nowhere: Invisibility, Urbannormativity, and the Geography of Indifference," *The Journal of the Midwest Modern Language Association*, 48 no. 1 (2015), 227; Lawrence, *When They Blew the Levee*, 135.

The Flood of 2011 perfectly illustrated the effects of government mismanagement and negligence for black communities in Alexander County and downriver in the Missouri Bootheel. For Cairo, the hesitance of Army Corps leadership to enact their protocols led to immense damage to the city's already subpar drainage and levee infrastructure. For Pinhook, government inaction left former residents with no time to gather belongings or form an evacuation plan. Not once was Pinhook mentioned in Army Corps plans regarding the floodway operation, the proceedings of Missouri's legal battle to stop the breach, or the Army Corps' lively Twitter feed in the days surrounding the operation – the only record pointing to the existence of Pinhook was hidden on one single map within the hundreds of pages of court documents.³⁸ Overall, the Army Corps' operations in the Flood of 2011 failed black populations on both sides of the river. In Alexander County, Cairo suffered infrastructure damage due to Major General Walsh's hesitance to act; in Missouri's Floodway region, the residents of Pinhook were entirely forgotten and left to evacuate themselves.

These failures on the part of the Army Corps of Engineers reflect an overarching culture of racism and urbannormativity. Sociologists have described urbannormativity as the idea that urban cities are the default geography of human habitation while subconsciously deeming the importance of rural areas as lesser because of their lower populations.³⁹ An urbannormative view renders rural culture as technologically backward, entirely dependent upon agriculture, and entirely white within the American context.⁴⁰ Black populations, such as Cairo and Pinhook, have been systemically erased from rural America's history and kept outside of public narratives regarding rural issues. Folklorist David Todd Lawrence has suggested that blackness in America has become synonymous with the inner-city "urban," marginalizing black populations that fall outside this perception.⁴¹ This perception extends to the Army Corps' methodology of distributing funding for flood-prevention infrastructure solely based on the protected lands' economic value—placing poorer rural black communities at a disadvantage.⁴² From the physical threat of the river to the cultural invisibility faced by rural black populations, the Flood of 2011 exposed the natural and sociological phenomena driving migration out of the county.

38 Lawrence, *Levee*, 138.

39 Lawrence, "The Rural Black Nowhere," 231.

40 Lawrence, "The Rural Black Nowhere," 222.

41 Lawrence, "The Rural Black Nowhere," 220.

42 116th United States Congress, *Levee Rehabilitation Improvements Act*, H.R.3898, introduced in House July 23, 2019, <https://www.congress.gov/bill/116th-congress/house-bill/3898/text?r=4&s=1>.

The Land of Broken Levees

Ultimately, the Flood of 2011 did not spell doom for Cairo. However, other communities in Alexander County – the “white” towns of Olive Branch, Thebes, East Cape Girardeau, McClure, and Tamms – began to suffer from repeated epic flooding, exacerbated by faulty levees. May 2, 2011, was a fateful day for homeowners in the Birds Point-New Madrid Floodway and for residents of western Alexander County, who suffered the failure of the Len Small Levee. The Len Small breached just a few hours before the Army Corp’s intentional breaching of the Birds Point Levee downriver, completely inundating the Dogtooth Bend peninsula near Olive Branch floodwaters. Soil scientists Dr. Kenneth Olson and Dr. Lois Wright Morton, who jointly published extensive research regarding Alexander County flooding, argued that breaching the Birds Point Levee two or three days earlier could have saved the Len Small Levee from collapse by releasing much of the pressure from the backed-up Mississippi.⁴³ To the residents of the Dogtooth Bend area and nearby Olive Branch, the Army Corps’ botched attempt at saving Cairo meant evacuation and widespread crop loss.

The frailty of the situation in western Alexander County has been compounded by over a century of ill-conceived land management practices. Before the 1880s, the Mississippi-Ohio confluence region had four major natural floodwater storage areas when it overtopped its banks. The largest of these, Big Swamp in southeastern Missouri, once held massive runoff water stores from the Ozarks; after 1905, these waters were diverted straight to the Mississippi, and Big Swamp was cleared for agricultural use.⁴⁴ The other three bottomland areas saw similar developments, all of which were drained and lined with levees. The practice of cutting the river off from low-lying areas with levees left the Mississippi without space to store excess water during flooding, leading to a deepening river channel with less bank erosion, swifter currents, and increased pressure bankside levees during flooding events.⁴⁵ The river, trapped by an extensive network of levees, struggles to meander as streams often do during times of changing deposition, flooding, and tectonic activity. The excess stress on the Len Small Levee resulted from the Mississippi’s attempt to change its course to flow through the low-lying Dogtooth Bend region. In the 1940s, local farmers built the Len Small Levee to

43 Kenneth R. Olson and Lois Wright Morton, “Impacts of 2011 Len Small Levee Breach on Private and Public Illinois Lands,” *Journal of Soil and Water Conservation* 68, 4 (2013), 95A.

44 Kenneth R. Olson and David R. Speidel, “Why Does the Repaired Len Small Levee, Alexander County, Illinois, US Continue to Breach during Major Flooding Events?” *Open Journal of Soil Science* Vol. 10, No. 1 (Jan. 2020), 17.

45 Olson, “Why Does the Repaired?”, 33.

protect Dogtooth Bend's fertile farms. The levee operated well until it breached in the Great Flood of 1993.⁴⁶ Western Alexander County residents remembered the 1993 breach as a solitary accident until the Len Small breached again in 2011. Once again, Len Small levee was repaired to tragically breach a third time in the New Years' Flood of 2015-2016. The issue of chronic breaches has yet to be resolved. According to the Army Corps, a repair operation would not be "viable." The viability of a project relies on the economic importance assessment of the Army Corps. These assessments only consider the value of the land at risk of flooding, totally excluding the value of commercial traffic moving through a particular section of the river. Mike Bost, the House representative for Illinois' 12th Congressional District, introduced legislation to change the Army Corps' viability metric to include commercial traffic value in 2019, though to date, neither has passed his bill.⁴⁷ The federal government has offered to pay eighty percent of the \$16,600,000 repair cost so long as the local levee district covers the remaining \$3,320,000. As of 2020, there are no plans to repair the levee.⁴⁸

The constant flooding and lack of government aid have left many residents feeling hopeless in western Alexander County. After the Flood of 2011, many residents of Olive Branch – an all-white town a few miles north of Dogtooth Bend – pushed to relocate the community uphill, mimicking the relocation of Valmeyer, Illinois after the 1993 flood; this plan was eventually abandoned as negotiations with nearby landowners fell through.⁴⁹ Others sought FEMA grants to fix property damage or buy out their homes, though many waited several years after the flooding for allocated funds.⁵⁰ The chaos surrounding the flooding led to an exodus from Olive Branch, losing an estimated 300 residents between 2010 and 2017. Other Alexander County villages have been affected by the recurring flooding as well: much of Thebes and East Cape Girardeau were flooded in the New Years' Day flood of 2015-2016, and East Cape Girardeau flooded again in 2019. To this day, many Alexander County farmers, especially at Dogtooth Bend, now have massive deposits of sand covering their land, rendering the soil impossible to farm without its removal.⁵¹ Alexander County's rapid depopulation has siphoned

46 Olson, "Why Does the Repaired", 35.

47 116th United States Congress, *Levee Rehabilitation Improvements Act*, H.R. 3898.

48 Patrick M. O'Connell, "Barges Stranded, Levees Breached and a Town in Danger: How the Mississippi River is Dividing a Community – Literally – in Southern Illinois," *Chicago Tribune*, 26 Nov. 2019, <https://www.arcamax.com/currentnews/newsheadlines/s/2299122?mob=0>.

49 Dr. John Remo in personal interview with author, February 12, 2020; O'Connell, "Barges Stranded, Levees Breached."

50 Dr. John Remo in personal interview with author, February 12, 2020.

51 Olson, "Why Does the Repaired," 18.

funds from the tax base, which could help repair the levee or fix the county's flood-battered roadways.

Rural America in Microscale

Although the downfall of Alexander County, Illinois, is inseparably tied to its peculiar geography, it is, in many ways, a perfect illustration of the social and economic struggles faced in rural America. The only "city" in the county – Cairo, the remnant of what was once a commercial nexus of the Mississippi watershed – exemplifies the process of urban collapse. Once marred with racial violence, militant vigilantism, and segregation, those who remained in Cairo faced collapsing local infrastructure and a defunct business sector. Throughout the late 1960s, Cairo's United Front courageously resisted the harassment of the White Hats; despite their efforts, the violence and subsequent white flight trapped the city with a mark of "blackness." In this regard, Cairo faced the same struggle as metropolitan Detroit, Columbus, and Baltimore, as white workers and their capital migrated from racial tension areas, leaving behind dilapidation and economic hardship. Cairo existed outside the binary of American urbannormative society: considered "urban" in its blackness yet "rural" in its geographic location.

Table 1: Population Loss in Alexander County, Illinois Since 2010 ⁵²

City / Town / Village	2010 Population	2018 Population Estimate
Cairo	2,831	2,188
Olive Branch	864	506
Thebes	436	337
Tamms	632	494
East Cape Girardeau	385	300

After repeated flooding from the Mississippi River in 1993, 2008, 2011, 2016, 2018, and 2019, Olive Branch, East Cape Girardeau, Thebes, and Tamms have faced rapid depopulation, each losing over twenty percent of its residents in the last decade (see Table 1). This migration illustrates the flight from rural pressures as agricultural communities struggle to combat the river's unceasing ebb and flow. The two Alexander Counties – Cairo in the south and the smaller white towns to the north – represent two different responses to the hardships of the modern rural Midwest. Today, flooding remains the most significant shared factor in the decline of the two Alexander Counties. Neither community has had the infrastructure nor the funds to fix their dire situation. Alexander County exemplifies rural America in microscale,

⁵² United States Census Bureau, "American FactFinder," accessed March 12, 2020.

https://factfinder.census.gov/faces/nav/jsf/pages/community_facts.xhtml?src=bkmmk

illustrating the racial tensions and isolation felt by black communities and the abandonment felt by struggling farmers facing submerged fields, lacking the political capital to sway the legislators who could fix their housing and flooding crises. The rivers straddling the county's borders, once providing commerce and agricultural abundance, now act as the greatest threat to the livelihoods of those who remain. However, the Ohio and Mississippi are not responsible for the manmade decline of Alexander County; they may be the force which depopulates the humble lowlands for good.

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