SHATTERING THE COLOR BARRIER: BLACK STUDENTS, WHITE

COLLEGES, AND THE STORY OF PROJECT E-QUALITY

AT MOORHEAD STATE COLLEGE (1968-1974)

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Shattering the Color Barrier: Black Students, Whilte Colleges,

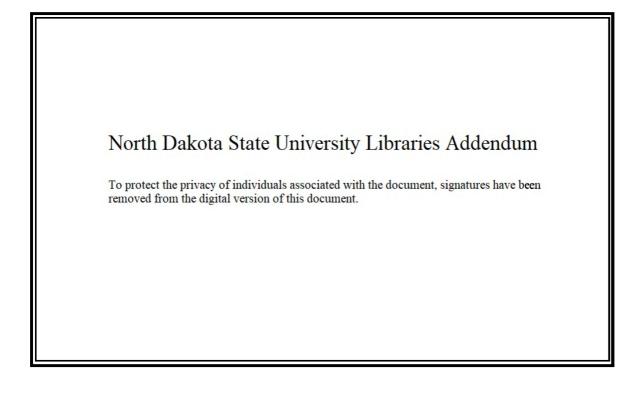and the Story of Project E-Quality at Moorhead State College

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The Supervisory Committee certifies that this *disquisition* complies with North Dakota State University's regulations and meets the accepted standards for the degree of

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ABSTRACT

Vanorny, Hannah Mae; M.S.; Department of History; College of Arts, Humanities, and Social Sciences; North Dakota State University; November 2005. Shattering the Color Barrier: Black Students, White Colleges, and the Story of Project E-Quality at Moorhead State College (1968-1974). Major Professor: Dr. Larry Peterson.

During the late 1960s and early 1970s, many predominantly white colleges began admitting larger numbers of black students. According to a 1974-1975 University of Michigan study, these schools shared similar predisposing factors and went through the same precipitating events on their journeys toward increased black enrollment. In addition, after the new students arrived, all of the schools experienced tension as they encountered similar problems and worked to find solutions. Moorhead State College (MSC), in Moorhead, Minnesota, was a white school that began trying to attract more minority students with a recruitment program called Project E-Quality. The program enrolled over 120 minority students, many of them black, between 1968 and 1974. The influx of black students at MSC had a significant impact on the school population as well as on the surrounding white community. The program helped break down racial barriers and stereotypes, as many whites and some blacks encountered people of a different race for the first time. By voicing grievances, forming their own groups, expressing cultural pride, and fighting for change, MSC black students left a lasting impact on the college.

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

In the fall of 1968, thirty-five black students arrived on the campus of Moorhead

State College (MSC), a predominantly white college in Moorhead, Minnesota. The

students, from Minnesota, Chicago, Detroit, and the Mississippi Delta,[1] were part of a

minority recruitment program at MSC called Project E-Quality. The influx of black

students (along with a few Hispanics and American Indians) represented a new direction

for MSC, which developed the program as a way to do its part in the civil rights movement.

As the black students and MSC whites sized each other up during the first weeks of school

that fall, neither could have predicted the changes that would ultimately occur because of

the project.

MSC's black recruitment plan was not unique. In the late 1960s and early 1970s,

many traditionally white colleges, responding to pressures generated by the civil rights

movement, threw open their doors to black students for the first time. Of course, not all

white schools ultimately followed this course of action; only those colleges that had certain

characteristics in common increased their black enrollment numbers. Before minority

recruitment even began, these schools shared similar predisposing factors and went through

the same precipitating events. After the recruitment programs began, the schools all shared

similar experiences as they went through difficult times and worked to overcome various

problems. Newly arrived black students at white colleges across the country, including

MSC, also shared similar experiences, voicing the same complaints and conveying the

same dissatisfactions with their new schools. They took control of their situations in

similar ways, speaking out when they disagreed with policies, protesting against

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grievances, and trying to enact change at their schools. By forming their own separate

groups, expressing their culture, and taking pride in their heritage, they blazed their own

distinctive path and created their own black identity at the white schools.

Recruitment programs like Project E-Quality impacted more than the black students

who participated in them, however; they also influenced whole campuses and college

towns. Through the interaction that occurred between the races after colleges launched

minority programs, old stereotypes and feelings about racism were brought into the open,

examined, and sometimes changed. At MSC, while racial tension was often high and

various difficulties occurred during the course of the program, Project E-Quality ultimately

resulted in beneficial changes for the people involved. The two college presidents who

initiated the program; the blacks who pushed for more minorities at MSC; the students,

faculty, and townspeople who helped launch the program; the project directors who ran it;

the minority students who took part in it; the white community members who watched the

new students move into their town – Project E-Quality had a significant impact on all of

them.

History

The development of new minority recruitment programs caused an explosion in the

black population at colleges where just a few years earlier the prospect of large numbers of

black students would have been unthinkable. The jump in numbers was striking. As late

as 1954, over ninety percent of black students still attended historically black schools. But

by 1970, about fifty-six percent of black collegians were enrolled in predominantly white

colleges. Federal money, black demands, and the "great spasm of conscience which ran

through the academic world"[2] following the murder of civil rights leader Martin Luther

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King, Jr., all helped compel many white schools to increase their black enrollment numbers. Even though specific black recruitment plans were not created until the 1960s, the movement toward this momentous change actually began much earlier. Its origins can be found in the history of black education and civil rights in the United States.

Until the late 1960s, most colleges in the United States were segregated by color, dictated by law in the south and by established custom in the north. This reality contradicted the long-held notion that colleges were to be places of open and diverse learning, where all scholars could come together and "seek knowledge without hindrance and intolerance."[3] This idea did not apply to black Americans, who were first denied any college education at all and then were forced into separate institutions that usually proved to be inferior in terms of finances and educational quality. However, blacks (and some whites) fought back against this discrimination, skillfully using the courts to eventually put an end to legally segregated schools. Their struggle laid the groundwork for the dramatic increase of blacks at white schools in the late 1960s.

For the first blacks arriving in the United States in the 1600s, the majority of whom became slaves, obtaining an education was illegal. Some slaves did manage to engage in some "clandestine learning," but most received little or no education. Free blacks had a few more opportunities to receive an education, and a tiny number attended some kind of college. Before the Civil War, three black colleges were established in the north: Avery College and Ashmun Institute in Pennsylvania, and Wilberforce University in Ohio. In addition, a few white colleges, such as Oberlin College in Ohio and Berea College in Kentucky, also accepted black students. By 1860, at least twenty-eight blacks had graduated from college.[4]

After the Civil War, several church groups based in the north, most prominently the Baptists, Methodists, Presbyterians, and Congregationalists, established black colleges in the south, such as Clark College (Methodist Episcopal) in Georgia and Shaw University (Baptist) in North Carolina. At the same time, a few more "historically white colleges opened their doors to a handful of blacks." Between 1865 and 1895, about two hundred blacks graduated from predominantly white colleges in the north; however, seventy-five of these attended Oberlin, demonstrating that most white colleges at the time remained almost exclusively white.[5]

The Second Morrill Act in 1890 (which provided federal money for the building of land-grant colleges for blacks), along with the landmark *Plessy vs. Ferguson* case in 1896 (which established the "separate but equal" precedent), set the stage for many years of separate colleges for blacks and whites. Not only did the two races attend different schools, they also focused on very different topics at their respective colleges. Starting in the 1890s and continuing into the first part of the twentieth century, the "doctrine of separate but equal in educational settings was interpreted to emphasize industrial rather than liberal arts training for blacks." Due to prevailing beliefs that blacks were not intellectually cut out for a "traditional literary education," some liberal arts schools for blacks, denied money from the government or white philanthropists, were actually shut down. Other black colleges converted much of their curriculum to training courses in simple crafts and trades. As blacks faced stiffer obstacles to obtaining a liberal arts education at black schools, most white schools persisted in severely limiting or excluding black enrollment altogether.[6]

The tide started turning in the late 1930s and continued into the 1960s. As more

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and more blacks moved from the south into northern cities, they started to demand equality in education. They pushed for an end to segregated schools, charging that while black schools were separate from white schools, they certainly were not equal, as *Plessy vs. Ferguson* had supposedly guaranteed they would be. In the 1930s, lawyers from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and other civil rights groups "began a large-scale attack on legal segregation in education." The idea of integration in education started to gain ground with "several Supreme Court rulings during the late 1940s and early 1950s [that] ruled in favor of admitting blacks to institutions that received federal monies." Integration as the educational ideal finally conquered the old idea of segregation with the *Brown vs. the Board of Education of Topeka* decision in 1954. This landmark case overturned the "separate but equal" doctrine and asserted that racial exclusion in education was unconstitutional.[7]

After the *Brown* case, a few more blacks began to enter traditionally white colleges in the north and even in the south, where some rather dramatic confrontations took place. For example, in 1962, Mississippi governor Ross Barnett refused to allow black student James Meredith to enter the University of Mississippi. In the face of direct defiance of federal law, the Kennedy administration finally had to call in federal marshals to guarantee Meredith's enrollment and to protect his safety.[8] Despite events such as these, however, which threw the issue of college integration into the national spotlight, the actual number of black students in white schools remained very small throughout the 1950s and into the early 1960s.

The Civil Rights Act of 1964, which forbade discrimination based on race in institutions (such as colleges and universities) that received money from the federal

government, represented a major step in the quest to end college segregation. The Act, as interpreted, forced colleges to pay careful attention to the diversity of their student populations when applying for federal money, compelling many of them to change their recruiting practices. This development contributed to the "crumbling of official segregation barriers in the South and the relaxing of nonlegal barriers in the North."[9] By the middle of the 1960s, most traditionally white schools in the nation had become at least somewhat more open to the idea of black students.

Many white colleges, however, especially those located in areas of the north where few blacks resided, did not significantly increase their black enrollment until the late 1960s or early 1970s. Until then, "the racial issue barely intruded on the typical white campus of the North." The big change came with the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s, which played an important role in these schools finally opening their doors to black students. The movement led to significant "changes in prevailing attitudes on the white American campus in the latter half of the 1960s." The black demonstrations, civil rights protests, and anti-black violence of white authorities, observed by the entire nation on television, stirred the consciences of many students and officials at white colleges. At the same time, the race riots exploding in cities across the north brought the plight of poor neighborhood blacks to whites' attention and inspired them to "reach out to those who lived in the inner-city and the rural slums, where they experienced inferior segregated elementary and secondary schooling." Especially after the murder of Martin Luther King, Jr., white college officials began to believe that giving these black youths "access to higher education" was the best way they could contribute to solving the "problem of racial inequality."[10]

As many white students and faculty members grew increasingly critical of "the evil of white racism," black students already at white colleges stepped up pressure on their schools to increase black enrollment. "Implementing desegregation in the universities" became a major goal of blacks during the civil rights movement.[11] They realized that more black students meant a more dynamic black presence at white schools. Black students, influenced in the mid and late 1960s by Black Power and an increasing recognition of the importance of their own unique culture, began asserting themselves on white college campuses. Their demands for more black students on campus played an important role in persuading white colleges in the late 1960s to begin recruiting blacks more aggressively.

The decision to substantially diversify their campus populations by developing black student recruitment programs represented a brand new direction for many white colleges in the north. Most set out on this new path fairly confidently, with students and college officials assuming that after a short period of adjustment, black students would assimilate smoothly into the white student body. Blissfully unaware of the rude awakenings they would later face, both whites and blacks at white colleges were genuinely excited about the new changes opened up to them in the late 1960s. With the beginning of black student recruitment, white campuses were, for the first time, "presented with the legitimate opportunity to participate in a cause that only a few years earlier would have been resisted by many segments of the society."[12] For their part, black students were, for the first time, given the chance to attend predominantly white schools that had been nearly impossible for them to get into just a few years earlier. No one in the late 1960s predicted the profound impact these black students would have on the white colleges they attended. Sobered by the difficulties of achieving peaceful integration and ultimately changed by

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black student activism, these schools were very different places by the time the first classes of blacks graduated in the early 1970s.

Of course, not all predominantly white schools adopted black student recruitment programs in the late 1960s and early 1970s. This fact can clearly be seen by taking a look at the three major white colleges located in the two adjoining cities of Fargo, North Dakota, and Moorhead, Minnesota. While all three schools expressed interest in increasing their black student enrollment, especially after the murder of Martin Luther King, Jr., they initially responded in three different ways. North Dakota State University (NDSU) in Fargo became one of the many schools to develop "no special programs or courses."[13] Some schools chose to develop small minority programs or to strengthen existing ones; Concordia College in Moorhead, which enlarged its black student exchange program with a black college in Virginia,[14] fit into this category. Other schools, such as Moorhead State College (MSC) in Moorhead, developed ambitious new recruiting programs with the goal of significantly increasing the number of black students on their campuses. Schools that followed this third path shared certain similarities which help explain why these schools began increasing black enrollment in the late 1960s. After the first wave of recruitment, these colleges also shared many of the same tumultuous experiences as black students struggled to identify their roles on the newly integrated campuses.

The University of Michigan Study

The book *Black Students on White Campuses: The Impacts of Increased Black Enrollments* (1978) was based on a University of Michigan study that explored the reasons behind the increased black recruitment in the late 1960s and examined the kinds of impacts the new influx of black students had on the white colleges. The Institute of Social

Research sponsored the comprehensive study, which was funded by a grant from the National Institute of Mental Health. A team of faculty and student researchers from the University of Michigan's Center for the Study of Higher Education conducted the study and six of the senior researchers wrote the book. The Michigan team visited four-year traditionally white colleges and universities that had experienced at least a doubling of the percentage of their black students between the fall of 1968 and the fall of 1972.[15]

The study, conducted at thirteen private and public schools in the Midwest, Pennsylvania, and New York in 1974 and 1975, included questionnaires, surveys, and detailed interviews. Ten of the thirteen colleges selected for the study agreed to let their names be used in the book; the other three, wishing to remain anonymous, were given pseudonyms (University of the City, State University, and Metropolitan University). The purpose of the research project, which included two colleges in Minnesota (Carleton College in Northfield and Macalester College in St. Paul), was partly to examine the factors and conditions that had caused the schools to begin recruiting black students, and partly to study the ways that the colleges reacted and changed in response to the new students on their campuses.[16]

Colleges that had developed minority recruitment programs, the Michigan research team discovered, had certain factors in common and went through similar processes in their journeys. First, each college faced particular conditions that predisposed it to move toward an "impending black enrollment increase" and made it more likely that the school would develop a recruitment program; these conditions could be internal or external to the college. Second, each college went through certain precipitating events, defined as activities and occurrences that led directly to active recruitment efforts. Third, after black

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students began to arrive in significant numbers and started to assert themselves on the white campuses, all of the schools experienced similar periods of strife and change.[17] Moorhead State College, while not one of the thirteen schools examined in the University of Michigan study, provides a good case study of a white school that followed the third path toward increased black enrollment. The study helps show how MSC's program of black recruitment did not just spring up out of the blue, or emerge from one particular incident, but was created out of a culmination of supportive circumstances and factors.

The Michigan researchers looked at a number of internal and external predisposing factors that could cause a college to be more open toward the idea of increased minority recruitment. Because external circumstances were not strong at MSC in the late 1960s, the college necessarily depended on internal supportive factors and circumstances to get Project E-Quality off the ground in 1968. The research team noted many positive predisposing internal factors at colleges in their study that could also be applied to MSC. The first was a charismatic and strong leader; the team found that "the commitment and support given by the leaders of the institutions for increasing black enrollments" was very important on the path toward a concrete black recruitment plan. In their study of the thirteen colleges, the researchers found that many leaders of the institutions they examined "were strong proponents of this shift [to a more diverse student population] in their institutions." Their support of the minority recruitment plans was significant because they were "individuals in a position to effect change." In addition, if the leader was respected in the community, his advocacy of increased black enrollment might help generate support not just from the college population, but also from the wider community.[18]

These supportive leaders, mostly college presidents, all publicly demonstrated

through early speeches or direct actions their concern for human rights and/or civil rights issues. The researchers discovered that President Albert Brown of the State University of New York (SUNY) at Brockport had "stressed as early as 1966 that Brockport should begin a search for 'disadvantaged' students" and he continuously "spoke out strongly in favor of a policy of integration." President George Roadman of California State College was characterized as always "acting out of a moral consciousness and concern for the disadvantaged." President Tyrone had a reputation for involvement in the civil rights movement and, in a well-publicized speech to State University in 1966, he stressed "its obligation to provide educational opportunities to underprivileged groups." His successor at State University, Joseph Lane, had been the head of the college's first Human Rights Committee. President Arthur Flemming, who came to Macalester College in 1968, had been known for his concern for civil rights issues during his time as the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW), and also during his tenure as the president of the University of Oregon. And lastly, Father Schmidt, president of Metropolitan University, "was known within his community for his quiet commitment to civil rights."[19]

MSC too had presidents, John J. Neumaier and Roland Dille, who displayed signs of concern for civil rights and were influential in getting Project E-Quality started. Lois Selberg, the first director of Project E-Quality, was also an important figure in developing the program. Along with its leaders, MSC possessed several other internal supportive predisposing factors that paved the way for the beginning of its black recruitment program. The Michigan team found that early activity by a college in the civil rights arena often meant an eventual transition into increased black enrollment. At Carleton, for example, before the college began a comprehensive recruitment plan, the dean had set up an "Ad

Hoc Committee on Negro Affairs to study and make recommendations about the college's efforts on behalf of black students." In addition, the college had set up plans to host some black students from Midwestern universities in the spring of 1968. MSC, too, had done some early work in the area of civil rights; it had tried a small black student recruitment experiment in 1966 and, in the months leading up to King's death, President Neumaier had instructed some of his staff to begin working on an early draft of a black recruitment program. There was also some early black student activism at MSC, with a few black students playing active roles in the college's move toward increasing its black enrollment numbers. Black students already at MSC met with President Neumaier to discuss how to get more black students to attend the college, and later gave talks supporting the project. The Michigan team found that early activism by black students played an important role in several colleges in its study, such as Lewis University, Clarion State College, and Northwestern University.[20]

An internal change in focus at many of the schools in the Michigan research study proved to be a catalyst toward more black enrollment. Schools such as California State University, Bowling Green, and SUNY-Brockport all had recently altered their "institutional mission[s]," changing from state teachers colleges to general liberal arts colleges. Moorhead State College, having just dropped the "Teachers" from its name in 1957, fit into this category also. The change in mission, the researchers asserted, resulted in "a wider service area which included cities with black populations." In addition, the research team found that the expansion of studies associated with broadening a college's institutional focus often "meant the addition of new young faculty open to new ideas, program, and student clienteles." These new faculty members, often "more cosmopolitan"

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and "more liberal"[21] than their predecessors, were more likely to push for and support a black recruitment program; they were also more likely to attract white students who acted likewise.

The Michigan researchers also discovered that trying to maintain or acquire a more liberal reputation also played a role in the eventual addition of more black students at some colleges. For instance, researchers determined that Northwestern University was motivated to increase its minority student population partly out of a desire to "eliminate its conservative image." This may have also been the case at MSC, which was struggling to redefine its image in the 1960s from an "obscure and still sleepy teachers college" to a true liberal arts school.[22]

The Michigan team found that being active in something, even if it was not specifically civil rights, predisposed faculty and students to be more open to a diverse student body. The researchers listed the general activism of "liberal faculty" as internal supportive predisposing factors at Carleton College, California State College, Bradley University, and the University of Missouri-Kansas City. Faculty members at these colleges were active in such matters as civil rights issues, anti-war protests, American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) cases, and campaigns against the discrimination toward Catholics and Jews. MSC, too, had some liberal faculty members, including some who were active in fighting the military draft during the Vietnam War. Especially active students also helped predispose their colleges towards black recruitment programs; in the late 1960s, MSC was considered by some to be "the most activist campus in the area"[23] in terms of student activity. Active teachers and students were very important at MSC in terms of supporting increased minority recruitment, getting Project E-Quality launched, and

combating many of the misconceptions surrounding the new program.

Of course, there were some internal predisposing factors found by the research team that MSC did not possess. Other schools in the study had such supportive conditions as highly regarded athletic reputations, campus human rights committees, and substantial civil rights activities by the faculty. Colleges that had set up early minority programs also proved to be more open to recruiting black students in the late 1960s. For instance, Carleton College's ABC (A Better Chance) program, set up in 1964, consisted of summer sessions held on the campus to prepare young black students for college. This program, the Michigan researchers asserted, "no doubt sensitized some individuals at Carleton to the issues of the larger civil rights movement," which contributed to their later acceptance of an increased black recruitment effort by the school. Although MSC lacked an early minority plan like the ABC program, and did not possess some other internal supportive factors, it is important to note that after 1958 MSC also did not have any of the internal resistive factors found by the Michigan team to discourage increased black enrollment. These were a very high selectivity of students, a tradition of slow change, and low financial resources relative to other schools of similar sizes.[24]

Besides internal factors, the Michigan researchers also examined the outside or external conditions which predisposed "the enrollment increases in the institutions under study." MSC was not strongly influenced by external factors. For example, it did not have any of the external factors that the research team found had caused active support for minority recruitment programs. The two biggest active support factors were some kind of pressure from an outside body (such as the Office of Civil Rights, which compelled California State to admit more minorities) and pressure from local black leaders (which

was a major influence at University of the City).[25]

Despite its deficiency in external active support factors, MSC did have some of the less strong external supportive factors named by the Michigan team as contributing to the development of black recruitment programs. MSC, for instance, was within commuting distance to the more "liberal environment of the Twin Cities [Minneapolis and St. Paul, Minnesota]," which was listed as a plus for Macalester College. The fact that significant competition for black students in the Fargo-Moorhead area did not exist constituted another positive supportive factor. (NDSU and Concordia did not make recruiting minorities an important goal until a few years after MSC had initiated Project E-Quality.) The researchers found that SUNY-Brockport had an easier time recruiting blacks since there was "no competition for blacks in [the] Rochester area." Having an out-of-state black clientele, named by the team as being a supportive factor at Carleton, also applied at MSC. Colleges with small, local black populations were freer to concentrate on recruiting blacks from all over the country without alienating their own black communities. A last external supportive factor at MSC was the possibility of some moral and financial support from sympathetic local businesses and community members. Though MSC did not have nearly the financial support that a college like Macalester did,[26] the fact that just a few area businesses supported a black recruitment program helped encourage MSC to go ahead with its project.

However, while there were a few external conditions at MSC that predisposed it to create a black recruitment program, the college actually lacked many of the external supportive factors discovered by the team. These mostly involved the small number of black people and institutions in the area surrounding MSC. While, as mentioned, the lack

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of a local black population could be seen as a positive since it allowed the college to take a more national view with its recruitment program, the team found that it was usually a negative factor. The external supportive factors listed by the team that did *not* apply at MSC included: a substantial black local population, a certain amount of civil rights activity in the community, the existence of black institutions in the city, a growing black regional population, and a black urban area within one hundred miles.[27]

While supportive internal and external predisposing conditions made the prospect of increased black enrollment more favorable, certain precipitating events actually got the recruitment programs going. The murder of black activist, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., on April 4, 1968, was the major precipitating incident at many white colleges. One of the senior Michigan study researchers, Zelda Gamson, wrote:

> It is difficult to identify a specific event or an exact year as the clear turning point in the admissions of substantial numbers of black students to white colleges and universities. The murder of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., in 1968 comes closest to playing this role. King's death led to active minority recruitment by white colleges and universities.

Feelings of guilt plagued many white Americans after King's murder by a white man. In the days and months following his assassination, many white colleges throughout the country developed black recruitment programs as part of the growing "national commitment to right the wrong done by over 300 years of oppression of black Americans."[28]

The Michigan researchers found that at Carleton College and State University especially, King's death was "used by major institutional actors as an opportunity for introducing proposals to recruit more black students." At Carleton, where plans to create a more diverse student body had already begun, the assassination compelled retiring

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president John Nason to put forth a detailed black recruitment plan, which included financial aid programs, support services, and the beginnings of a black studies program. At State University, President Tyrone "responded to the news of the assassination by immediately launching major new activities to benefit blacks." He announced these new proposals at a convocation called to mourn King's death. At MSC, too, King's murder was the precipitating event that eventually launched Project E-Quality. A few vague recruitment proposals had already been discussed at the college, but no real action got underway until after the assassination.[29]

Not every college was as dramatically affected by King's death. The Michigan researchers pointed to different precipitating events at some of the other colleges, a few of which were more internal in nature, such as the hiring of a new president (Arthur Flemming) at Macalester College, and heavy faculty pressure for more black students at the University of Missouri-Kansas City. In addition, the granting of money was a precipitating event at some colleges. For example, in 1964, the Rockefeller Foundation gave Carleton, along with six other private white colleges, $275,000 each "to help attract and support underprivileged Blacks." Carleton set up its ABC program with the money, but did not actively start recruiting black students until after King's assassination; however, at other colleges, gifts of money from private donors or the federal government proved to be the major catalysts toward increasing black enrollment numbers. For instance, Northwestern University used the money from a Wieboldt Foundation Grant to launch its black recruitment program.[30]

But no matter what the exact precipitating events were, a majority "occurred during the spring or summer immediately after the Martin Luther King assassination." At that

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time, all of the schools examined in the Michigan study, along with MSC, vowed to start recruiting more disadvantaged black students. Just as these white colleges shared similar predisposing circumstances and went through the same precipitating events on their way to increased black enrollment, so too did they share similar experiences after the black students began to arrive. All of the schools underwent episodes of strong conflict and change following the beginning of the first great wave of black student recruitment.[31]

At first, most white students and faculty members were optimistic about the new recruitment efforts. They generally supported new minority recruitment programs such as Project E-Quality at MSC, the Expanded Educational Opportunities (EEO) program at Macalester, and the Opportunity Award plan at the University of Michigan. However, at each school, disappointment soon set in as "the first year shook many illusions." An admissions staff member at Macalester College reported that "some realities really hit us" after the students actually arrived. Many administrators and faculty members at the white schools displayed "a naïve confidence that the adjustments to the enrollment change would be relatively painless." They were subsequently surprised when the new black students refused to simply slide noiselessly into the white college world. Tensions surfaced quickly after the first arrivals of black students. As unanticipated events occurred on every white campus during the first and second years of recruitment, mistrust and alienation between the races built up.[32] Conflicts were common between black and white students, between black students and white administrations, and between black students and white college communities.

Black Students on the White Campuses

Black students had a number of specific complaints regarding their new colleges.

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Money, or the lack of it, proved to be a major issue at many colleges. The major financial problems that would later plague colleges were just beginning in the 1960s. Many schools assumed that financial resources "would continue to be available for higher education as they had been throughout the decade." However, most colleges soon discovered that they did not have as much money for the new black students as they had originally hoped; for instance, at Macalester, a faculty member acknowledged that the EEO minority program had quickly become "much more expensive than anticipated." Conflicts arose as black students, feeling shortchanged, demanded that the schools keep their promises of sufficient financial aid. In interviews done by Charles Willie and Arline Sakuma McCord during the 1969-1970 school year, black students at four white colleges in upstate New York "contend[ed] that it create[d] false hopes to open the doors of white colleges but not to provide the necessary financial aid."[33]

Blacks also complained about their social lives at the white schools. Many claimed that white social hangouts in the college communities, such as dance halls and restaurants, did not welcome them. They also asserted that campus-sponsored extracurricular activities did not take their interests into consideration. John Centra, author of the article, "Black Students at Predominantly White Colleges: A Research Description," discovered this after administering questionnaires to 249 black students at eighty-three traditionally white colleges in 1968. His results showed that many black students scorned the extracurricular programs at their schools because they reflected the "dominant student culture," which was "white and middle class." Attempts by both races to set up racially integrated social events usually failed.[34] Blacks at most white colleges eventually put together their own social groups and planned their own activities, which typically did not include whites.

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The relationship between black students and the white college community was often an area of great strain. Tension was highest when the town was mostly white. Many community members were fearful that black students would bring unnecessary trouble to their towns. Because of the occasionally violent actions and rhetoric of militant black leaders, some townspeople approached black students with wariness, expecting hostility and danger. Black students easily picked up on this fear of their "blackness" and their culture. It left many of them angry because it forced them to demonstrate that they were not dangerous simply because of the way they looked or dressed as black people. Frederick Harper, who attended a white school as a black graduate student, recorded his thoughts on the matter: "*Being black* is watching whites look upon my natural hair, my mustache, my African garments, my black music and literature, my black community language, and my other symbols of black pride as being deviant." Occasionally, blacks reached out to receptive area whites through various projects; black MSC students, for example, formed a Black Speakers' Bureau to educate white townspeople who wished to learn more about blacks and their culture.[35] For the most part, however, feelings between black students and white community members rarely went beyond mutual suspicion.

Black students at white colleges often targeted a few specific community members as being particularly prejudiced. White policemen were universally criticized by black students. Black students on the predominantly white Wisconsin State University-River Falls campus, for example, asserted that they were "harassed by local police who [were] suspicious and hostile toward them." Black students in numerous interviews also reported that white apartment owners refused to rent to them and that white store workers followed them around while they shopped, convinced that they would steal something. A black

student from Wisconsin State University-Platteville bitterly commented: "A white friend could clean out the display window while the manager watched me."[36]

Interracial dating was another source of high tension; many whites (and some blacks) were vehemently opposed to interracial dating. Blacks who dared to go out on dates with whites in public often faced the wrath of many angry students and community members. The issue proved to be a special problem for black women. Although many whites frowned on any interracial dating, according to reports, it was often more acceptable to them (and to black males) for a black man to date a white woman than for a black woman to date a white man. Black women reported being very unhappy with the double standard. In interviews and surveys, they accused "their men" of ignoring their own race to date white girls. Researcher John Centra related the frustration felt by many black females at the seeming hopelessness of their situation. He described a 1968 *New York Times* survey of seven predominantly white campuses in which one black girl complained: "We can't ask a white boy for a date and you can be sure they don't ask us. With lots of the black boys dating white girls, we just sit around the dorms and get angry." Black males may have dated the opposite race more frequently than black females, but they faced special problems of their own. Whites sometimes characterized them as "black rapists" set on corrupting "innocent" white women. Black students of both sexes at four white colleges in New York reported in surveys that "interracial dating was frequently an uncomfortable situation, due to pressures exerted by [both] black and white students."[37]

On campus, many black students were wary of white teachers, advisers, and counselors. Black students reported that their relationships with white professors were largely negative. They claimed that white teachers and academic advisers discouraged

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them from taking hard courses because they mistrusted the intellectual ability of blacks. One black student, responding to a survey for the National Study of Black College Students, reported being told by her white adviser that she "shouldn't take a certain class because it was extremely difficult and Blacks can't handle difficult classes."[38]

Many black students felt they would be much more comfortable with black professors, counselors, and minority program coordinators. They believed that members of their own race would be better equipped to help with their problems since "white teachers d[id] not comprehend, or refuse[d] to relate to, the black experience." Frederick Harper, writing of his experiences as a student at the predominantly white Jacksonville University in Florida, noted: "*Being black* means going to a white counselor whom I don't trust and who doesn't know how to handle my presence or my problem." There were very few black authority figures of any kind at most white colleges. In a survey of seven hundred black students attending six large, predominantly white colleges, over sixty-seven percent reported "little or no exposure to Black faculty and staff at their universities." One student commented, "I see more Black cleaning people than Black professors and staff members." Some white colleges responded by hiring more black professors, administrators, and counselors, but many others did not because of general declining college enrollments, scarce financial resources, and a relative shortage of blacks available for faculty positions.[39]

In the field of academics, black students often criticized the curriculum, claiming that it was white-biased and did not take black history sufficiently into account. A typical comment was made by a black student at one of the Wisconsin State University (WSU) colleges; she said, "One can secure a liberal arts education at a WSU without ever learning

that American life has a black dimension." Responding to demands from black students, many white schools eventually added black studies and black cultural classes.[40] In addition, black students became instructors at some schools, teaching black history and culture classes to interested whites.

All black students reported that racism was alive and well at the white colleges they attended. Sometimes, this prejudice took the form of racial stereotypes, which were especially common at schools that enrolled very few black students before the late 1960s. As black writer Sarah Susannah Willie discovered, even students attending schools known for their dedication to racial justice were not immune to stereotypes. While attending the largely white Haverford College, a school founded by Quakers that specifically stressed tolerance, Willie was asked by a white student if she would like to join his jazz band because "everyone knows all black women sing." Other times, prejudice took the form of racist incidents. Most black students at white colleges reported at least a few acts of racism; some were overtly racist and some were more subtle. Willie, author of *Acting Black: College, Identity, and the Performance of Race*, found in her interviews with black students at the predominantly white Northwestern University, that nearly all "remembered painful experiences of individual and institutional racism."[41]

Many students described personal episodes of racism, but at least one major public high-profile racial incident also occurred on just about every white college campus between 1967 and 1971. The University of Michigan research team, examining the large number of conflicts at the white colleges in its study, found that "even Macalester and State University, which had the most adaptive initial increase strategies and the most comprehensive programs, had major incidents." Many of the incidents involved violence;

one early example was a tense confrontation that occurred at Northwestern University in the fall of 1967. Black students on the campus had complained for some time that white fraternity students were throwing beer cans down at them from the upstairs windows of their fraternity houses as they walked by, causing injuries. Nothing was done about it until finally "a large-scale altercation" occurred between angry black students and Sigma Chi fraternity brothers, all of whom were white. Two black students were arrested after the fight, which caused more controversy since no whites were similarly arrested.[42]

While an incident like this often caused feelings of tension and fear to settle over a campus, it also inspired some people to voice their feelings honestly on the prejudice and race hatred that existed at many schools. Black students used race-related incidents to express their disgust and frustration with the racism they encountered. White students were divided between those who expressed disappointment at the collapse of race relations, and those who unabashedly agreed with the racist sentiment behind the incidents. These honest admissions occasionally caused more anxiety, but they also sometimes led to renewed expressions of unity and fresh resolves to make positive changes.

By criticizing aspects of the white college system, black students had a major impact on the white schools they attended. Motivated by an increasing pride in their cultural heritage and inspired by the separatist messages of the Black Power movement, black students became increasingly active on their white campuses in the late 1960s and especially in the early 1970s. They formed their own black organizations, set up black cultural events, fought for more control in the programs that affected them, demanded specific changes at their schools, and pledged to defend themselves when necessary against white aggression. Determined to gain recognition as an important and influential group,

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black students changed the white colleges they attended. The authors of *Black Students at White Colleges* concluded: "The presence of black students on white college campuses is shaking the foundations of these institutions."[43]

Usually within two years after the first black recruits arrived at a school, black students began in earnest to organize separate groups that emphasized their distinct culture and celebrated their "blackness." In these exclusively black clubs, black students could engage in social activities that were more to their liking. Black student associations, popular at all white colleges, included such organizations as the Ebony Club, the Afro-American Society, the Afro-American Friendship Organization, the United Black Students, the Black Student Union, S.O.U.L. (Social Organization for Unity and Leadership), the Black Men's Organization, and the Black Women's Organization. More specific groups that focused on the arts or athletics were Mojo Theater, the Gospeliers, Black Genesis, Voices of Soul, the Black Athletes Coalition, and the Black Karate Club.[44]

Through separate black organizations and activities, black students often formed tightly knit groups and established close friendships, leaning on one another for support. Black students at Northwestern, for example, spoke of their black comrades as "kin" and "family," and described the powerful "cohesiveness of the black campus community." However, because of their promotion of strong black unity, black students also faced charges from white students and faculty of being too clannish and "stick[ing] too much to themselves."[45] Many campuses eventually became polarized into two distinct racial camps – one black and one white.

Some black students described their separatist efforts as a method of coping with loneliness, and as a form of defense against the disappointment and stress that often

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resulted from trying to integrate into the white campus world. Catherine, a black student at a white college in New York, provides a common example. She reported that after initial attempts to socialize with white students, she gradually turned away from them and began to look to blacks for the support and friendship she needed. She cited three specific reasons for this development: she was "protected from daily exposure" to incidents of racism, she felt more relaxed and comfortable with other blacks, and she could engage in discussion with other blacks about black issues without worrying about having to educate whites at the same time.[46]

Besides establishing separate organizations, black students also sponsored many "activities representing their ethnic concerns and interests." They began their own newsletters; showed black films on campus; opened up their own book shops; spoke to classes and interested groups both on and off-campus; held black poetry readings; invited black speakers, singers, and entertainers to their schools; set up black arts festivals; and put together black-themed months. Blacks at all white colleges in the late 1960s and 1970s appeared to be quite active. Black students at Carleton College, for example, organized a Black Repertory Workshop Theater, a gospel choir, a dance group, a chapel club, and a literary magazine.[47]

Along with asserting their presence by forming separate groups and planning events that represented their black culture, black students also began to speak up when they disagreed with policies that affected them, often making lists of grievances and demands. They set out to show that they were "no longer willing to suffer peacefully and keep [their] mouth[s] shut" in the face of oppressive conditions at their colleges. Many black demands at white colleges focused on calls for separate facilities, such as black cultural centers, all-

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black dorms, and black social hangouts. Other protest demands included attaining "black recognition" on campus which involved "the addition of courses in black studies, the recruiting of more black students, and the hiring of more black faculty members and administrators."[48] Black students began to demand more control and decision-making power within the minority programs at their schools. They also pledged to defend themselves from white aggression when necessary, with some black students going so far as to actually acquire guns for this purpose.

Black demands had significant influences on white colleges. Most white schools acquiesced to some of the black student demands. For example, nearly every white college that recruited black students built a black cultural center, added some sort of black studies classes, and eventually hired a non-white person to run its minority program. Some colleges went even further, giving black students substantial control over financial and academic decisions that affected them. The University of Michigan team found that black students had a particularly "tremendous impact" at Macalester College in "terms of decision making, staffing, institutional direction, and attitudes." Macalester's Black Liberation Affairs Committee (BLAC) successfully lobbied the administration for a new black cultural center and additional funds for more EEO staff. Blacks at Macalester also successfully pushed the college to establish programs that focused on minority recruitment, academic support, financial aid, and other various black-centered issues.[49]

All white schools that took the third path of actively recruiting black students in the late 1960s and early 1970s were changed in some way by the addition of substantial numbers of black students. Just as these colleges had shared similar predisposing circumstances and precipitating events, they also experienced similar periods of discord

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and subsequent adjustment. A closer examination of one of these white schools, Moorhead State College, can provide a specific example of how this process occurred at one college.

Besides this thesis, there has been one other article written on MSC and Project E-Quality. In 1988, Dr. Arnold Cooper published an essay in *Minnesota History* entitled "Black Students at Moorhead State College, 1968-1972." Cooper, at the time an assistant professor of education at Moorhead State University, presented a general overview of the project in his article. He described the history of the program; the early reactions of white students, faculty, and community members; some of the racist incidents that occurred; the black students' roles, experiences, and activities at MSC; and the end of the program.[50]

Cooper's article is informative, but brief. This thesis takes a more comprehensive look at the project. It analyzes the specific reasons behind MSC's decision to begin recruiting black students, the factors and conditions at the school which made the plan possible, and the tensions and conflicts that developed soon after the black students arrived at the school. While the actions of white students, teachers, and administrators are studied, the major focus is on the black students. Their impact at MSC can be seen throughout the project's story. Among numerous other activities, black MSC students taught a black history class on campus, opened a black book store, set up a Black Expression Month, fought for a bigger role in Project E-Quality, got entangled in a major racial incident involving guns, and presented a detailed list of demands to the college administration.

A careful examination of MSC's journey will reveal the many similarities the school shared with other colleges that took the path toward increased black enrollment, as described by the University of Michigan team in its study. However, MSC's story will also demonstrate that, despite sharing certain conditions and experiences, this school underwent

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its recruitment experiment in a slightly different way due to varying characteristics, such as

the number of blacks recruited and the racial makeup of the town. Looking more closely at

the evolution of Project E-Quality at MSC will provide an example of one school's

particular story. Numerous newspaper articles, along with such archival materials as

interviews, letters, memos, surveys, and committee meeting minutes, will help explain why

one white college in Moorhead, Minnesota, set out to recruit black students in the fall of

1968 and how it became utterly changed by the experience.

[1] "Project E-Quality Reaches Goal," *Valley Times*, 11 September 1968, Newspaper Clippings File, Project E-Quality collection, University Archives (Northwest Minnesota Historical Center), Minnesota State University Moorhead Library, Moorhead, Minnesota. (The Project E-Quality collection is referred to hereafter as E-Q Papers.)

[2] Sarah Susannah Willie, *Acting Black: College, Identity, and the Performance of Race* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 3; quotation from Alan J. Pifer, *The Higher Education of Blacks in the United States* (New York: Carnegie Corporation, 1973), 37-38.

[3] Quotation from Joe Feagin, Hernán Vera, Nikitah Imani, *The Agony of Education: Black Students at White Colleges and Universities* (New York: Routledge, 1996), 1.

[4] Quotation from Pifer, 8; Gordon Morgan, "Introduction: A Brief Overview of Ghetto Education – Elementary to College," in *Black Students in White Schools*, ed. Edgar Epps (Worthington, Ohio: C.A. Jones Publishing Company, 1972), 1-2; Pifer, 9.

[5] Pifer, 12; "Clark College," *Sharing God's Gifts – United Methodist Black College Fund*, 2000, http://www.umcgiving.org/content/BCF/sc_clark.asp (4 June 2005); quotation from Sarah Willie, 13.

[6] Quotation from Sarah Willie, 16; quotation from Pifer, 16, 18; Sarah Willie, 13.

[7] Morgan, 2; quotation from Feagin, 12; quotation from Sarah Willie, 19.

[8] Manning Marable, *Race, Reform, and Rebellion: The Second Reconstruction in Black America, 1945-1990*, 2d ed. (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1991), 67.

[9] Pifer, 26; quotation from Edgar Epps, "Foreword" in *College in Black and White: African American Students in Predominantly White and in Historically Black Public Universities*, ed. Walter Allen, Edgar Epps, Nesha Haniff (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991), xiv.

[10] Quotations from Pifer, 38; quotation from Arnold Cooper, "Black Students at Moorhead State College, 1968-1972," *Minnesota History* (Spring 1988): 23.

[11] Quotation from Pifer, 38; quotation from Marable, 67.

[12] Quotation from Cooper, 23.

[13] Quotation from Marvin Peterson, Robert Blackburn, Zelda Gamson, Carlos Arce, Roselle Davenport, James Mingle, *Black Students on White Campuses: The Impacts of Increased Black Enrollments* (Ann Arbor: Survey Research Center-Institute for Social Research-University of Michigan, 1978), 46.

[14] Carl Griffin Jr., "Black Students in F-M Celebrate Quanza," *Fargo Forum*, 3 May 1970, p. B-7, Newspaper File, E-Q Papers and "Cobbers Begin Exchange Program," *The Concordian*, 4 February 1966.

[15] Peterson et al. 8, 50.

[16] Peterson et al. 8, 48-50.

[17] Peterson et al. 295.

[18] Quotations from Peterson et al. 114, 312.

[19] Quotations from Peterson et al. 114; President Flemming (Macalester) information from Cooper, 23.

[20] Quotation from Peterson et al. 97; "3 Negroes Enter Moorhead State on Aid Offered After Violence," *Minneapolis Tribune*, 13 September 1966, p. 19, Newspaper File, E-Q Papers; Peterson et al. 116-117.

[21] Dave Olson, "The Evolution of Moorhead State," *Fargo Forum-20th Century in Review, 1998-1999*, http://www.in-forum.com/specials/century/jan3/week48.html (6 June 2004); quotations from Peterson et al. 122.

[22] Quotation from Peterson et al. 125; quotation from Ross F. Collins, "Knoblauch," in *The Presidents of Moorhead State University, 1887-1987* (Moorhead: Moorhead State University Office of Publications, 1987), 2.

[23] Peterson et al. 115-117; Polly Miller, "Coyle Sprung," *Mistic*, 20 September 1968, p. 3; quotation from Roland Dille, interview by Lawrence Byrnes, 15 June 1985, #S827 cassette tape, Northwest Minnesota Historical Center, MSUM Library.

[24] Quotation from Peterson et al. 97; Peterson et al. 115-117.

[25] Quotation from Peterson et al. 106; Peterson et al. 107, 108.

[26] Quotations from Peterson et al. 107; Peterson et al. 106-113.

[27] Peterson et al. 107-109.

[28] Quotation from Peterson et al. 11; quotation from Pifer, 29.

[29] Quotations from Peterson et al. 132, 143; Merrill E. Jarchow, *Carleton Moves Confidently into its Second Century* (Northfield, MN: Carleton College, 1992), 1; Letter to Miss Gail Paulson (student) from John J. Neumaier, 11 April 1968, Pres. Neumaier File, E-Q Papers.

[30] Peterson et al. 134, 87; Jarchow, 16; Peterson et al. 92.

[31] Quotation from Peterson et al. 143; Peterson et al. 295.

[32] Peterson et al. 102; James Hedegard, "Experiences of Black College Students at Predominantly White Institutions," in *Black Students in White Schools*, ed. Edgar Epps (Worthington, Ohio: C.A. Jones Publishing Company, 1972), 45; quotations from Peterson et al. 102, 60, 145; Charles Willie and Arline Sakuma McCord, *Black Students at White Colleges* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1972), viii.

[33] Quotations from Peterson et al. 145, 59; quotation from Willie and McCord, 78.

[34] Quotation from John Centra, "Black Students at Predominantly White Colleges: A Research Description," *Sociology of Education* 43, no. 3 (Summer 1970): 336; Sarah Willie, 49.

[35] Quotation from Frederick Harper, *Black Students: White Campus* (Washington: APGA Press, 1975), 22; Letter to the faculty from Gregory Reed, 3 February 1972, Miscellaneous 1972-74, 1988 File, E-Q Papers.

[36] Quotations from *The Black Student in the Wisconsin State Universities System* (Milwaukee: U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Wisconsin State Committee, 1971), 46.

[37] Quotation from Centra, 337; quotation from Willie and McCord, 25.

[38] Quotation from Walter Allen, "The Education of Black Students on White College Campuses: What Quality the Experience?" in *Toward Black Undergraduate Student Equality in American Higher Education,* eds. Michael Nettles, A. Robert Thoeny (New York: Greenwood Press, 1988), 65.

[39] Quotation from Willie and McCord, 106; quotation from Harper, 22; quotation from Allen, 63; Cooper, 27.

[40] Quotation from *Wisconsin State Universities System*, 56; Peterson et al. 149.

[41] Jennifer Patton (site manager), "About Haverford," *Haverford College*, 2002, http://www.haverford.edu/info/hcinfo.html (22 March 2005); quotations from Sarah Willie, 33, 4.

[42] Quotation from Peterson et al. 148-149; James P. Pitts, "The Politicalization of Black Students: Northwestern University," *Journal of Black Studies* 5, no. 3 (March 1975): 295-296.

[43] Quotation from Willie and McCord, 103.

[44] Peterson et al. 203.

[45] Quotation from Sarah Willie, 50; quotation from Peter Vaughan, "Moorhead State – adrift on a burning sea of unrest," *Minneapolis Star*, 16 June 1969, p. 13A.

[46] Quotation from Willie and McCord, 9, 11.

[47] Quotation from Peterson et al. 103, 98.

[48] Quotation from Harper, 8; quotation from Centra, 337.

[49] Quotation from Peterson et al. 104; Peterson et al. 102.

[50] Cooper, "Black Students at Moorhead State College," 23-33.

CHAPTER TWO

The Program

Moorhead State College is located in Moorhead, a city in Northwest Minnesota situated just across the Red River from Fargo, North Dakota. The college started out in 1888 as a teacher-training school called Moorhead Normal School. In 1921, the name was changed to Moorhead State Teachers College, and in 1957, as part of an effort to show that the college now offered more than just teaching degrees, the word Teachers was dropped from the title. The school took on the new name of Moorhead State College, which is what it was called during the duration of Project E-Quality. (MSC changed its name again in 1975, becoming Moorhead State University, and again in 2000, becoming Minnesota State University Moorhead as part of its entrance into the Minnesota State Colleges and Universities System.)[1]

Like many other colleges that began recruiting minority students in the late 1960s and early 1970s, MSC was a predominantly white school located in a predominantly white community. MSC's recruitment program jumpstarted what had been a very slow progression of diversity at MSC. The first black student to enroll at MSC was probably Sebastian Isola Kola-Bankole from Lagos, Nigeria, in 1951. He stayed just one year before transferring to the University of Minnesota. Four years later, Sebastian's brother, Rufus Bankole, also from Lagos, enrolled at MSC. In 1963, another black, Jamaican Allan Brown, enrolled at MSC, graduating in 1965 with a degree in biology. The first American-born black to come to MSC was Gloria West in 1962; four years later she became the first African-American to graduate from the school. During her sophomore year, two other black students arrived at MSC.[2]

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The tiny trickle of black students continued until 1968. During the spring of that year, MSC set its sights on bringing fifty new students to the campus that fall through Project E-Quality, its minority recruitment program. (The program was known by different names [Helping Disadvantaged Minority Students, E-Quality Program, Educational Opportunities for Minority Students] over its duration, but for consistency the name Project E-Quality will be used throughout this thesis). The project, by giving disadvantaged minorities the chance to attain a college education, represented the college's effort to do its part in the civil rights movement. According to an early memo, Project E-Quality was created specifically to offer an opportunity for a college education to "students whose poverty, class, environment and color ha[d] made a good high school education, to say nothing of college, almost impossible."[3]

MSC leaders hoped that Project E-Quality would not only help underprivileged black students get an education, but would also help "further racial cooperation in the Fargo-Moorhead area." Because of the absence of black people in the community, a lot of MSC students knew little about blacks or black culture. Project planners hoped that bringing actual black students to the area would erase existing prejudices and clear up common racial misconceptions held by some local people, many of whom had never personally met any black people. As Carl Griffin, a black student already at MSC, commented: "Whites up here are completely ignorant about black culture. They don't even give it a chance. Maybe this program will wake them up." Griffin was not alone in his opinion; many project supporters believed that whites at MSC would receive as much (or more) education and enlightenment from the incoming black students as the blacks would receive from the whites. Lois Selberg, a key figure in the project's formation and the first

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director of the program, remarked: "Black people…of different backgrounds could contribute a lot to our education and we could contribute to theirs." As preparation for Project E-Quality got underway in the spring of 1968, Selberg and the Project Steering Committee (the group in charge of planning the program) came up with a statement of purpose for the project. The statement conveyed the two general ideas that spurred the development of the program: MSC had a duty to help less fortunate minorities get an education, and exposure to blacks would be good for the nearly all-white MSC student body. The statement of purpose read:

1. We have a responsibility to members of minority groups who are denied educational opportunities because of poverty and discrimination.
2. We have a responsibility to help correct the ills of our society.
3. We have a responsibility to allow our own students to face racial problems directly and to work out intelligent and personal solutions.[4]

Exposure to black culture and allowing "students to face racial problems directly" were seen as important parts of the project because so few blacks lived in the Fargo-Moorhead (F-M) area and even fewer had set foot on the MSC campus. The new black students that began arriving as part of Project E-Quality in the fall found themselves surrounded by white faces. One semester before Project E-Quality, ninety-nine percent of MSC's 4200 students were Caucasian; just seven blacks (along with sixteen American Indians, five Hispanics, and forty foreign students) were enrolled at MSC. With the start of the project, the campus quickly became less homogeneous; the surrounding communities, however, remained very white. In 1970, the town of Moorhead had sixty-nine black residents and 29,422 whites, while Fargo had just thirty-two blacks residing alongside 52,942 whites. In addition to blacks, 353 American Indians, 211 persons of Spanish origin (people who identified themselves on the 1970 census as being Mexican,

Puerto Rican, Cuban, Central American, or South American), and 156 Asians resided in the combined Fargo-Moorhead community.[5]

After the project got underway in the fall of 1968, the number of minority students, especially blacks, increased dramatically and the student body became much more diversified. The initial goal of Project E-Quality had been to recruit fifty minority students for the first year. By September of 1968, thirty-five new black students, eight American Indians, and seven Hispanics were experiencing their first taste of college life at MSC. Each year after that, until 1974, the college continued recruiting minority students. Forty-eight students enrolled in the fall of 1969, around sixty in 1970, forty-nine in 1971, forty-four in 1972, and forty in 1973. By 1974, the last year of active recruitment, there were forty-two project students on the MSC campus.[6]

Although MSC recruited American Indians and Hispanics, the bulk of Project E-Quality students were black. Initially, recruiters purposefully sought out black students. Lois Selberg wrote in an early briefing on the project that the recruiting committee would focus more heavily on recruiting blacks "because they [were] in many ways the most deprived of all minority groups, and because their situation [was] the most explosive." At the end of the first year of the project, however, the committee changed its mind and vowed to make an attempt "to balance applicants from the three ethnic groups" for the upcoming 1969-1970 school year. Its new goal was for one-third of the incoming minority students to be black, one-third to be American Indian, and one-third Hispanic.[7]

The attempts to recruit other ethnic groups did not work out, however; a June 1970 progress report noted that seventy-five percent of the applications still came from blacks. While recruitment committees had no problem finding willing black students, they found it

much harder to convince American Indians and Hispanics to attend MSC, even when they were promised scholarship money. From 1968 until 1972, the American Indian student population at MSC went from eight to thirteen, while the number of Hispanic students never climbed above nineteen at any one time. Many American Indians and Hispanics were concerned with other issues besides college. Some American Indians struggled with the dilemma of staying with their people on the reservations or entering the white world and attending college. Many Hispanic migrant laborers, because they moved around so much, lacked high school diplomas; those who had finished high school often found it more to their economic advantage to continue working rather than to go to college.[8]

Over the years, Project E-Quality often had more applicants than money. The 1970 progress report also noted that applications outnumbered vacancies three to one. The project gained such a reputation that various people and organizations wrote to MSC, wanting to know if the college could fit one or two more black students into its minority program. For instance, in 1971, the South Bronx Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) wrote to MSC to see if the college could provide a full four-year scholarship for one student to attend MSC. The project accepted as many black students like this as it could with its limited budget.[9]

Over 120 students ultimately took part in Project E-Quality. The project, according to its website, acted as a catalyst for Fargo-Moorhead's participation in the civil rights movement by helping "jumpstart discussion on important issues that every community must deal with sooner or later." It brought important social change to the college and to the F-M area by challenging many racist attitudes and dispelling many long-held prejudices prevalent among area whites. Project E-Quality also pushed other colleges in the area,

especially Concordia, to step up their own minority recruitment. By the middle of 1972, Concordia's Office of Intercultural Affairs and its director, Dr. Richard Green, were actively recruiting minority students, planning a May seminar to Africa, and building a new cultural center. (At that time, because of the project, MSC contained over half of the area colleges' minority student population.)[10]

In 1971, amid "financial and administrative concerns," Project E-Quality was transformed into Educational Opportunities for Minority Students (EOMS). At that point, the intense "moral fervor" that had been behind the development of Project E-Quality began to fade. Across the nation, interest in civil rights and student minority programs was down; people were tired of giving money. At MSC, the Office of Student Affairs absorbed the project in 1974, changing it into "a more general type of minority scholarship" program. The change signaled the end of the specific minority recruitment plan known as Project E-Quality. Today, minority recruitment and other related issues are handled by the university's Multicultural Affairs office.[11]

Predisposing Conditions

In common with other white colleges that began recruiting black students in the late 1960s and early 1970s, certain factors and circumstances led up to the development of Project E-Quality at MSC. The specific project did not start until 1968, but the path to increased minority enrollment at MSC began long before that. As the authors of *Black Students on White Campuses* concluded, colleges that began increasing black enrollment in the late 1960s and early 1970s shared many of the same conditions that predisposed them to adopt recruitment programs. These could be internal or external; MSC had more internal predisposing supportive factors than it did external.

Internal Factors

Leaders

A major internal predisposing factor at many white colleges was a charismatic and strong leader. At MSC, leadership was one of the most important factors behind Project E-Quality; the college had several leaders who helped turn an abstract idea for a minority recruitment project into a real program. MSC had two presidents after 1958 – John J. Neumaier (hired in 1958) and Roland Dille (hired in 1968) – who cared about civil rights and were concerned about the college's lack of exposure to the nationwide racial crisis. The attitudes of these two men were important because, as presidents of the college, they were perhaps in the best position to initiate change. They showed in numerous ways their willingness to face head-on tough issues involving human rights, racism, and the role of the college in the civil rights movement.

President John J. Neumaier came up with the general idea for Project E-Quality. Though he left MSC before the project went into action in the fall of 1968, it was his vision that set the stage for the program. The two presidents of MSC before Neumaier had been men of a rather conservative order – they had practiced an "old fashioned" type of leadership, in which they usually maintained a respectable distance from the student body. O.W. Snarr, president from 1941 to 1955, was described as "insecure and stiff." Future Project E-Quality director Lois Selberg commented about him: "He was not a social person, and I believe he did not enjoy contact with students." Alfred L. Knoblauch, president from 1955 to 1958, was also known for his stiffness and "stern style" of leadership.[12] By the time Knoblauch resigned in 1958 after his short tenure at Moorhead State, the college was ready for a change.

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The MSC faculty members that gathered together in May of 1958 to discuss the hiring of a new president wanted someone more accessible, more personable, and more liberal than former leaders of the college had been. They got their wish with the hiring of John J. Neumaier. He represented a new direction for the school. Lois Selberg commented in a 2005 interview that MSC had been like an "old time teachers college" until "Dr. Neumaier came like a bolt out of the blue" and "changed it to something very different." Neumaier was not afraid to buck the status quo. During his tenure at MSC, he was called by various people "a maverick," "a feather-ruffler," "the enfant terrible of Minnesota higher education," "intriguing," "stimulating," "extremely intelligent and highly motivated," and "something of the exotic." Several people in the area really liked him, while others looked upon him with suspicion. Some people in the community considered him an outsider because of his Jewish faith and his liberal stance on many issues.[13]

Born in 1921 and raised in a Jewish family in Nazi Germany, Neumaier was deeply affected by the devastating policies of Nazi leader, Adolf Hitler, and his government's vicious anti-Semitic activities. In 1938, Nazis burned down the synagogue seventeen-year-old Neumaier attended; two years later, concerned for his safety, his parents sent him to the United States. His father eventually followed, but his mother, a well-known Viennese opera singer, was murdered by Nazis in a Polish concentration camp. In the United States, Neumaier took a job in a printing firm and then worked as a nut tapper at Lewis Bolt and Nut Company in Minneapolis. He became an American citizen in 1943 and was drafted by the army; since he spoke German, he was assigned to work in an education program for German prisoners of war. After the war ended, Neumaier went to college, obtaining his undergraduate and graduate degrees from the University of Minnesota, Twin Cities. He

taught philosophy and sociology at Hibbing (Minnesota) Junior College and then served as the school's dean for three years, before moving to Moorhead to take over as the new president of MSC.[14]

Neumaier's early experiences had a profound impact on him. He forcefully rejected the narrow view of life that the Nazis taught, their total disregard for human rights, and their persecution of those who were different. He showed a genuine concern for human rights and demonstrated compassion for all persecuted groups, especially blacks living in the United States in the 1950s and 60s. Because of his own background as a Jewish person in Nazi Germany, Neumaier knew what it felt like to belong to a persecuted race or culture; he knew what a majority could do to a minority that was different in some way. In a speech about the Nazis that he gave to a group of American fourth graders, he explained how "it was just as unreasonable to hate people because they are Jewish, as it is to feel that way about people who are called 'Black' or are of a different nationality." Neumaier's enthusiastic campaign for a program that would help blacks receive a college education was largely influenced by the ideas he acquired growing up. He believed that MSC had a "moral responsibility" to fight for racial equality and human rights – and he believed wholeheartedly that Project E-Quality could make a difference in these areas by providing a college education to minorities who were denied one because of discrimination. According to his successor as MSC president, Roland Dille, Neumaier demonstrated "a real commitment to the education of people who are often forgotten."[15]

At thirty-six years old, John J. Neumaier was the youngest college president in Minnesota when he took over the position at MSC in 1958. In addition, there was only one other Jewish president of a public college in the nation at the time. Although he tried to be

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"very cautious about irritating the community," Neumaier demonstrated through his actions and words his dedication to human rights and racial equality. His ideas on these matters were well known in the community; according to Dille, nobody doubted that Neumaier was interested in civil rights. Neumaier's passions led to the beginning of Project E-Quality. Arnold Cooper concluded that it was Neumaier's "strong and consistent advocacy of human rights" that led to the "energetic recruitment of minority students in 1968."[16]

Like other college presidents of white schools that recruited minority students in the late 1960s and early 1970s, Neumaier demonstrated through early speeches and actions his ideas on human rights and civil rights issues. He was a member of the Governor's Human Rights Commission and the Minnesota Advisory Committee to the United States Civil Rights Commission. While serving as Minnesota state chair of Brotherhood Week in 1960, he gave a speech in which he alerted his audience to the "urgent need for wider attention in reducing and eliminating the tensions and prejudices that deprive individuals and groups of liberty and justice for all." At MSC, he once helped student president Wayne McFarland and several others get released from a Southern jail after they were arrested for taking part in a civil rights demonstration.[17]

During a convocation address to the MSC campus in the fall of 1966, Neumaier hinted at bringing a larger number of diverse students to the campus. He talked of his hope for a world where everyone showed "respect for the dignity of individual human beings regardless of color." He declared: "Institutions of higher education in the area are challenged to give more than lip service to such an aspiration if the people of Fargo-Moorhead hope to live securely, harmoniously and happily with fellow citizens."[18] Project E-Quality represented Neumaier's goal to move beyond mere "lip service" into direct

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action.

Neumaier resigned as MSC president in the spring of 1968 to become president of the State University of New York at New Paltz; however, he continued to work on fundraising and other aspects of Project E-Quality until he left the area in the fall. Along with Selberg and Dille, Neumaier made numerous speeches and wrote many letters trying to drum up support and donations for the program. Before he left, Neumaier donated one thousand dollars of his own money to the project.[19]

The idea of Project E-Quality, thought up by Neumaier, was put into action by the new MSC president, Roland Dille, in the fall of 1968. According to Clarence Glasrud, an MSC English professor at the time, Neumaier "sort of designated [Dille] as his successor," and he "continued many of the trends Neumaier started." Project E-Quality was one of the biggest projects that Dille pursued after Neumaier's departure. Complete responsibility for the program fell into Dille's hands. After Neumaier announced the idea for the project, he told Dille, "I should have talked to you before I guess, but it's your baby now."[20] Dille took on the enormous job of actually putting the program together. This was not an easy task. Over the years he faced community hostility, severe budget problems, racially-motivated gun incidents, and later on the dissatisfactions of the recruited black students themselves.

Dille, born in 1924, started out at the University of Minnesota as an English major before being drafted in World War II. He served overseas for a year and a half. He finished his degree after the war and returned to his hometown of Dassel, Minnesota, to teach high school English for one year. Dille then worked toward his Ph.D. degree while teaching English at the University of Minnesota, St. Olaf College, and California Lutheran

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College. He originally applied at MSC because Moorhead was his wife Beth's hometown and because he had heard good things about President Neumaier. Dille started his career at MSC as an assistant professor of English in 1963. He was on the faculty for just three years before moving on to the positions of associate academic dean and then acting academic dean in 1966. During this time, he was very active in various organizations and committees at MSC, helping plan events such as the tri-college Religion and Life Week.[21]

With the departure of Neumaier in the spring of 1968, Dille was appointed to be the new MSC president. He remained MSC president until his retirement in 1994, becoming the longest serving president in MSC history. In 1968, Dille proved right away that he intended to stay on the path that Neumaier had set in front of him. Although his own liberal attitudes did not endear him to all members of the F-M community, Dille's speaking ability helped him a lot. Before the new minority students were set to arrive, he and Selberg talked to numerous groups in the community about Project E-Quality. They explained its purpose and tried to get people to support the new program, especially financially.[22]

Dille proved to be quite adept at giving moving speeches, which induced people to volunteer to help with the project and/or convinced them to open their pocketbooks. One example involved local Jewish businessmen. Since Neumaier was Jewish, and there was a "quite a prosperous Jewish community" in Fargo-Moorhead, Dille invited a number of local Jewish businessmen to dinner one night to speak to them about the project. Neumaier was under a lot of criticism at the time both because of the project and because he was in the process of divorcing his wife to marry his girlfriend. Dille talked to the businessmen about how Neumaier and his idea for a minority recruitment program needed to be

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supported, not belittled. Speaking about Neumaier, Dille asserted: "A man whose mother died in the gas chambers is not going to be awfully responsive to people who are bigots." The businessmen ended up giving Dille a large check for the project.[23]

The rounds of speaking engagements made for some interesting experiences. At some places, like the Jaycees, Selberg could not even eat with the group because she was a woman; she had to wait outside until they were done with their meal before she could speak to them. An awkward situation occurred when black MSC professor Dr. James Condell accompanied Selberg and Neumaier to a local Rotary Club meeting to speak about Project E-Quality. The club, which always sang at its meetings, unwittingly chose to sing "In the Evening by the Moonlight," which contains the line, "In the evening by the moonlight, you can hear those darkies singing."[24]

Through his speeches and fundraising efforts, Dille showed his commitment to the project, enabling its successful implementation in the fall of 1968. As soon as he took over the position of MSC president, he began providing "indispensable support for Project E-Quality." While many people admired him for this, others were not so happy. In the beginning, Dille received telephone calls from people saying they were going to murder his children, and someone covered his car in black paint. Dille, however, continued to provide important support to the project as serious planning for the program got underway and later as the project went through difficult times. He handled crises, criticism, and protests in a calm manner. According to a later director of the program, Sylvia (Maupins) Herndon, nothing "got under his [Dille's] skin" because he was "able to put things into perspective" and he "didn't take anything personally."[25]

Herndon, who served as coordinator of the program from the fall of 1971 to the

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spring of 1973, commented later that the project was the best minority program in Minnesota because of Dille. She said: "He made it clear that this was an important program and that everybody [all of the students] would succeed." As part of her work for Student Services, Herndon toured other campuses and surveyed their minority programs. She found that at many of these schools there was an expectation that the students would fail. In contrast, at MSC, it was not only expected that the students would succeed, but also that they would go on to graduate school (as many of them did). According to Herndon, Dille's "diehard commitment" to the program inspired many MSC faculty members and students to likewise give their support to the project. Dille took an active interest in the program, supporting its students, attending project functions, raising money for the E-Quality fund, and making himself accessible to students and staff. From the beginning, it was clear that the project was as important to Dille as it had been to Neumaier. In a letter to future North Dakota governor George Sinner, Dille wrote about Project E-Quality: "I think that you know how close to my heart this project is."[26]

The most heavily involved faculty member in the program was Lois Selberg who, as mentioned earlier, became the first director of Project E-Quality. As Herndon commented later, the program was "her baby." Selberg, from Rustad, Minnesota, earned her bachelor's degree at MSC in 1947, and then obtained her master's degree from the University of Minnesota. She joined the English department at MSC in 1960. During the 1967/68 school year, she took a break from teaching and went on special assignment for the Tri-State Educational Search for Talent, sometimes called Project TEST. Project TEST was a federal program established to identify and help high school and college students with academic potential who had "discontinued their formal education." Because many of

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the people she worked with in Project TEST were Hispanic, Selberg's work in this program gave her experience in working with minority groups. When Neumaier asked her in the spring of 1968, just before Martin Luther King's death, to turn her focus towards creating a minority recruitment program for MSC, Selberg jumped at the opportunity. She had long been interested in civil rights issues and had once been a member of the NAACP.[27] As the director of Project E-Quality and head of the first committee formed to work on planning the program, Selberg was instrumental in making sure the project went ahead smoothly.

The first thing Selberg did in April 1968 was get together a small group of people to start planning a specific recruitment program. The members of this first committee, which included Dille and Neumaier, soon joined with about forty students and faculty members to form an Advisory Council, which agreed to "proceed with a plan to bring 50 disadvantaged students to the campus next fall." Most of these disadvantaged students, it was thought, would be blacks from ghetto neighborhoods.[28]

Selberg also put together and headed the important Steering Committee, which was in charge of administering the project. Besides Selberg, the Steering Committee consisted of two white students, Student Senate President Wayne McFarland and Carole Johnson; one black student, Carl Griffin; black professor Dr. James Condell, chairman of the Psychology Department at MSC; Dr. Margaret Reed, Associate Professor of Sociology at MSC; Dr. Robert MacLeod, Director of Admissions at MSC; president-elect Dille; and two ex-officio members: President Neumaier and black Concordia student Melvin Hendrix.[29]

During MSC's spring quarter, both the Steering Committee and the Advisory Council met frequently to discuss the upcoming minority program. Members of both groups served on the ten committees formed to prepare for the project; each committee

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handled a specific aspect of the program. As of May 3, 1968, chairpersons for the committees included: Lois Selberg – Local Drives, Jeff Levy – Funds, Dr. Robert MacLeod – Recruitment, Dr. Bella Kranz – Curriculum, Roger Hamilton – Publicity, Dirk Raat – Tutoring Program, Wayne McFarland – Student Relations, Carl Griffin – Cultural Center, Dr. Margaret Reed – Community Relations, and Dr. James Condell – Advising and Counseling.[30]

Early Activity in Civil Rights Issues

Another important internal supportive factor at MSC was early activity in the civil rights arena. In the fall of 1966, Neumaier invited three black youths from a poor section of North Minneapolis to MSC on scholarships. The students had all taken part in riots during the summer of 1966 that had included "vandalism and looting." This small black recruitment experiment demonstrated that MSC was open to the idea of increasing its black enrollment numbers. According to Neumaier, giving young blacks a college education was "one answer to America's current racial strife." Because of disciplinary and academic trouble, the three Minneapolis students stayed at MSC for just one year,[31] but the experiment set the stage for a bigger and more concentrated effort like Project E-Quality.

During the 1967-1968 school year, ideas to increase the number of black students floated around the MSC campus. Neumaier and other MSC officials met with officials from the Urban League, school officials from Minneapolis, and representatives from the United Negro College Fund to discuss different options. Selberg began looking at successful minority programs at other schools, such as one at Luther College in Decorah, Iowa. The Iowa program, which was featured in a *Minneapolis Tribune* story, involved thirty-two black students from Chicago and was noted as being "particularly successful."

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The first mention of a detailed black recruitment plan at MSC took place during a special tribute for Martin Luther King, Jr., held at MSC's Nemzek Fieldhouse on April 8, four days after his death. The keynote speakers at the event were President Neumaier and black student Carl Griffin, president of the tri-campus Afro-American Friendship Organization.[32]

"Galvanize[d]" by King's assassination, Neumaier delivered a passionate and emotional address regarding racial injustice and the role of Fargo-Moorhead in battling it. According to a *Fargo Forum* article describing the speech, Neumaier energized the crowd as he "thundered" at them about the injustice of denying black Americans basic rights simply because of their skin color. He implored each audience member to try to imagine what it would be like "to have a black skin in White America." According to the paper, spectators were sometimes quiet, other times enthusiastic with applause, and occasionally shamed by Neumaier's harsh words describing the bigotry of many white Americans. He "berated White America for helping pull the trigger on Martin Luther King" and told the crowd: "We can feel responsible this morning for the death of a good man." His rhetoric helped energize the crowd in favor of doing something about the "apartheid...practiced not only in South Africa, but in Minneapolis and even in Moorhead and by some of us at Moorhead State College."[33]

President Neumaier urged his audience to think about some important questions: "What can we do to combat racial injustice? What can MSC and the Fargo-Moorhead area do to fight this problem head-on?" His answer planted the first seeds for what would become Project E-Quality. According to the still somewhat vague plan, MSC would battle injustice by offering a college education to young blacks who had grown up in inner-city poverty and attended poor-quality high schools.[34] The small 1966 black recruitment

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experiment, the meetings with black groups like the United Negro College Fund, the exploratory work done by Selberg, and the holding of a King memorial tribute at the college were all important early civil rights activities that helped lead MSC down the path toward Project E-Quality.

Early Black Student Activism

Early activism by black students already at white colleges often played a part in predisposing a school to adopt a diversity program. Selberg mentioned in 1970 that one of the reasons for starting Project E-Quality at MSC was "because of the black demands" for it. At MSC, black student Carl H. Griffin, Jr., played an important role in helping get Project E-Quality started. Griffin, from St. Paul, Minnesota, had attended Willmar Community College before coming to MSC in the spring of 1967. In October 1967, Griffin and two other students met with Dr. Condell and a representative from the United Negro College Fund to discuss ways to get more black students at MSC. In November, Griffin, along with other black students from NDSU and Concordia, formed the tri-college Afro-American Friendship Organization, so that black students at area schools "could all get together and keep communications up on a continuing basis."[35] One of the organization's main goals was to try to get more blacks at the area colleges.

During the winter and spring of 1968, Griffin and other black students attended a series of speeches on civil rights given at Concordia. The lectures were part of "Crisis in Black and White," a race relations institute in which black professors and leaders from around the country came to Concordia for one-week periods as scholars-in-residence. They gave talks, led discussion groups, and taught classes on topics relating to current civil rights issues. According to Griffin, one speaker in particular, Dr. William J. Wilson, struck

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a chord with MSC black students. Dr. Wilson, at Concordia from March 22 to March 29, was an assistant professor of sociology at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst. He also served as co-director of the Program for the Higher Education of Negro Students and as vice president of the Committee for the Continuing Education of Negro Students. During his speeches at Concordia, he "discuss[ed] the problems of Negro education" and spoke of a large minority recruitment program at the University of Massachusetts that had brought 120 black students to the school. MSC black students, impressed by the success of the Massachusetts program (which was known as the Committee for the Collegiate Education of Black Students, or CCEBS), were "quite envious"; they figured they would be lucky if they saw twenty-five more blacks on the MSC campus in the next few years. However, determined to at least try to increase MSC's black enrollment, Griffin got Dr. Wilson to come with him to talk to President Neumaier about starting a similar program at MSC. Neumaier was very interested in the idea, which of course became a reality just five months later.[36] The early actions of Griffin and other black students at MSC got the ball rolling toward the direction of a minority recruitment program.

Griffin, as president of the Afro-American Friendship Organization, shared the stage with Neumaier at the Martin Luther King tribute held at MSC after the murder of the famous civil rights leader. Before Neumaier stood up to give his address that day, Griffin delivered his own emotional speech. Griffin said later that the assassination was frightening and "a great loss." He tried to propel the crowd into action, accusing the mostly white audience members of isolating themselves from the race problems of the country and not doing enough to help. He said:

> This is not the Black man's problem, this is the White man's. There are not enough Whites in this country yet who have made a definite commitment – to correct the

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pathetic conditions of this nation…And what about lilly-white Fargo-Moorhead? YOU – out there? For too long, the people in this very area have sat back and turned themselves away from the conditions of this nation…The important question is will White America do what must be done to correct these conditions. Will you the people of Fargo-Moorhead do what you must do???? Remember time is short and immediate action must be taken. Will Fargo-Moorhead take immediate action? I hope so. You must in order to assure the progress of this land. If you do, this will be the greatest Memorial to Dr. Martin Luther King.

The crowd, according to the *Fargo Forum*, sat in uncomfortable silence throughout Griffin's speech.[37] His words that day helped MSC move further along on its path to Project E-Quality.

Once the actual planning for Project E-Quality got underway, black students already on campus helped out in different ways. According to President Dille, area black students were "very active in Project E-Quality." Two black students, Carl Griffin from MSC and Melvin Hendrix from Concordia, served on the first Steering Committee that planned much of the project. Griffin was also the chairperson of the committee that oversaw the organization of a Cultural Exchange Center for the new students. The Afro-American Friendship Organization took charge of the center, which was located in the basement of the Project TEST center and was to be "student controlled and operated." A number of black students sat on the various committees for the project, helping with things like recruitment, student relations, tutoring, and fundraising.[38]

Some black students gave talks at local events designed to prepare the community for Project E-Quality. For example, black student Melvin Hendrix spoke at a Civil Rights Teach-In held at MSC in late April 1968. The event was held to address the issue of "positive non-violent action by people concerned about discrimination." At the teach-in, Hendrix urged direct action and "blasted the discussion sessions that went no further than

the coffee table circles." He thought Project E-Quality was a great idea because it represented a real action that went beyond just talking about the problem of black inequality. He warned, however, that the program would only work if the entire campus and community got together to make the black students feel welcomed and not out of place.[39]

College Mission Change

A change in curriculum focus, especially from a state teachers college to a more general liberal arts school, helped lead to increased black enrollment at some white schools, including MSC. A college that began focusing on more than just education degrees could attract a wider spectrum of people, which could lead to more liberal teachers and students who were more open to change. At MSC, which began trying to drop its teachers school image in the late 1940s, the change was vital because it led to a new president (Neumaier) who became a key figure in getting Project E-Quality off the ground.

MSC embarked on its mission change when it expanded its courses in the mid-1940s, offering potential students a more complete "liberal arts and professional curriculum." In 1946, the college began offering a Bachelor of Arts (B.A.) degree along with its Bachelor of Education (B.E.). The addition of this new degree marked a big change for the college, which yearned to call itself a real liberal arts school. It made it possible for "Moorhead students to separate a college education from preparation for a career in teaching." Neumaier's hiring in 1958 also represented a move toward a larger emphasis on the liberal arts. Clarence Glasrud, an MSC English professor who had served on the committee to hire the new president, said of Neumaier: "He was a liberal arts man, and we had to be blasted out of the old teaching college doldrums."[40] The new liberal

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faculty members Neumaier brought to the college after his arrival were generally younger than their predecessors and less local, coming from a variety of geographic and cultural backgrounds. Many of these new faculty members were likely to support a black recruitment program, and strong faculty support, of course, made it much easier for MSC to pursue Project E-Quality.

Active Campus: Faculty

A predisposing supportive factor at many colleges was an active faculty. The Michigan researchers discovered that professors (and students) who were committed to causes, even those not related to civil rights, were more likely to support a more diverse campus population. MSC had a number of faculty members who were active in different issues. According to Selberg, there were "quite a few faculty who were interested in…liberal causes," especially protests against the Vietnam War. Sylvia Herndon, a later director of the program, also remembered "some real liberal faculty members" at MSC. According to Dille, the significant number of liberal professors on the MSC campus was partly due to the college's stress on a liberal education. He remarked: "We had a faculty that was dedicated to the liberal arts which meant that you had to think for yourself."[41]

The hiring practices of President Neumaier greatly contributed to the number of liberal professors at MSC. Neumaier actively sought liberal teachers who would not be afraid to challenge the status quo. He got new professors to come to MSC not only by offering a good salary, but also by promising "to encourage creative and independent thinking [among the faculty], without fear of administrative censure." He seemed to court controversial attitudes. In his book, *The Presidents of Moorhead State University, 1887-1987*, Ross Collins wrote that Neumaier "encouraged eccentric professors, and as staff

members recall[ed], liked to hire people who screamed against him." He liked to have people around him with different views, even those who were inclined to disagree with college presidents, such as Dille. When he was hired in 1963 to teach English at MSC, Dille had just come from California Lutheran College, where he not gotten along with the college president, and in fact had led the faculty opposition to get rid of him. Besides hiring liberal professors, Neumaier also increased the number of foreign faculty members at MSC. Some of these men and women had strong opinions, which made for some interesting situations. For instance, a faculty member from India once got into a public fistfight with a professor from China.[42]

Although not all MSC professors were active or interested in hot-button issues of the time, a good number demonstrated their involvement in civil rights and anti-war causes. For instance, in April 1968, MSC associate professor of science, Yvonne C. Condell, wrote a letter to Sister Rita, president of the College of Great Falls in Montana, to protest the school's seemingly negative reaction to a Martin Luther King memorial service. Condell wrote: "My heart is heavy-laden as I read an Associated Press story which stated that: a spokesman for the Student Senate of the College of Great Falls says students are against a memorial service for the late Martin Luther King." Although the spokesman in the story apparently turned out to be unconnected to the Great Falls Student Senate, Condell's letter showed the type of attitude that many MSC faculty had at the time. According to Condell, along with teaching academics, faculty members also needed to teach tolerance and encourage "compassion for mankind."[43]

Along with encouraging civil rights consciousness, several "liberal college professors [at MSC] publicly offered counseling" on how to avoid serving in what they saw

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as an immoral war. Elton Hall, a Philosophy professor, and Brian Coyle, a Humanities teacher, led protests against the Vietnam War and the military draft. Coyle, who turned in his draft card at a Resistance rally in Minneapolis in August 1968, worked at the Fargo-Moorhead Draft Information Center, helping others avoid the draft. He was also an organizer for the Vietnam Action Committee (VAC), which tried to "coordinate the programs of liberal and radical students" at the three area colleges. Coyle was not re-hired at MSC in the fall of 1968, causing a lot of controversy among students, professors, and the administration. Controversy was not altogether uncommon at the college. According to Dille, because there were so many professors and students with strong views on different matters, there was "always debate on issues around here [the MSC campus]."[44]

Those faculty members who were most active were also most likely to support Project E-Quality, since it represented an active response to the problem of inadequate education for minorities – a problem caused by white racism. A supportive faculty was very important in the process of starting a minority recruitment program at a college since they would be teaching and advising the new students. When Project E-Quality was announced, many faculty members gave much needed money to the project. By June of 1968, individual faculty members had given $2,808 in cash and had pledged $1320. Some gave one-time donations while others, like Professor Hazel Scott, pledged to give ten dollars a month for a project student to spend however he or she wished. In a Report on the Faculty Fund Drive, Selberg wrote: "The Moorhead State College Faculty has been very, very generous in their support of E-Quality."[45]

Although financial support was very important, faculty members also donated their time and moral support to the project. In May, the Faculty Senate voted unanimously to

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support Project E-Quality. The *Valley Times* newspaper reported on Project E-Quality: "Faculty and administrative support is almost unanimous. Over half of the faculty members have made financial contributions and have volunteered to tutor or teach remedial classes at no extra salary." According to Selberg, there were "lots of people who wanted to teach the seminars [special humanities classes for the new students]." Those professors who taught the seminars volunteered to do so as overload assignments. Some faculty members also volunteered to act as advisers for the incoming minority students. Neumaier reported in a letter to Donovan Allen, head of the federal work-study program, that "from a large number of volunteers, 14 faculty members have been selected as special advisers."[46] The willingness of some MSC professors to give their money and time to Project E-Quality proved to be very important in getting the program developed and off the ground.

According to Dille, two of the most important faculty members involved with Project E-Quality were Professor of Sociology Dr. Swaran Sandhu from India, and black professor Dr. James Condell. Both men helped plan the project, and then took a special interest in helping the new students adjust once they got to MSC. Dr. Sandhu helped organize the Minority Group Studies program at MSC, while Dr. Condell served as a member of the first Steering Committee and chaired the Advising and Counseling Committee. Dr. Condell, along with Selberg, also taught the black humanities classes. Like Dille, who received threatening phone calls because of his support for the project, Dr. Condell also paid a price, once getting sugar poured in his gas tank.[47]

Active Campus: Students

Like active faculty members, the Michigan researchers discovered that active students were also major supportive predisposing factors in determining whether a college

would increase its minority enrollment. Students already active in various causes were likely to view a black student recruitment program as a positive step in civil rights activism, and so were likely to be enthusiastic about it. Students at MSC were quite active; in fact, by the late 1960s, MSC had acquired a reputation as being "the region's most liberal, protest-prone, college."[48]

Students at MSC in the late 1960s and early 1970s were busy protesting the Vietnam War, spurning the military draft, arguing over women's rights, dismissing all kinds of authority, and calling for greater student involvement in just about every group on campus. Student activism at MSC became especially evident during the first year of Project E-Quality (1968-1969 academic year) when it was noted by some that MSC "students were starting to get a little uppity." In 1969, members of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) at MSC published "a four-point plan of attack" calling for more minority students, elimination of the ROTC (Reserve Officers' Training Corps), a more "relevant curriculum," and an end to "authoritarian policies governing student life," in the school newspaper, the *Mistic*. SDS, a radical student group known for its "condemnation of the Vietnam War, criticism of capitalism, [and] rejection of bourgeois values" was behind many of the protests at MSC. Its actions did not go unnoticed. In an opinion piece in Concordia's student newspaper, *The Concordian*, writer Stephen G. Tweed called MSC's SDS members an "intolerant gang of brats," whose goals were to violently destroy the college structure and "force the administration to kow tow to their obnoxious demands." Tweed, a student at Concordia, expressed his sympathy for Dille for having to deal with SDS and noted with relief that the offending group had not (as yet anyway) reared its ugly head on the Concordia campus.[49]

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Also in 1969, MSC students became involved in a year-long battle with President Dille over censorship and what was appropriate to print in the *Mistic* and the campus literary magazine, *Convivio*. The controversy peaked with Dille's suspension of the *Mistic* in the spring. (Students ran their own independent campus newspaper until 1971 when the college reinstated the *Mistic*, which took a new name, the *Advocate*.) Besides arguing over the student newspaper, MSC students were also quite active in demonstrating against the Vietnam War. In May 1970, they organized a sympathy strike to show support for the four students the Ohio National Guard killed at Kent State University during protests of President Richard Nixon's expansion of the war into Cambodia.[50]

In terms of demonstrations and student protests, it seemed that the MSC campus was the most activist campus in the F-M area in the late 1960s. According to Dille, the difference between the students at MSC and those at NDSU and Concordia "was like night and day." Different reasons have been offered to explain this. Black alumnus Carl Griffin thought Neumaier had a lot to do with it; according to Griffin, Neumaier really made students feel like it was okay to participate in activities and protests in which they believed. Selberg agreed, stating that Neumaier inspired a "tradition of questioning" and encouraged the "expression of ideas." Dille thought the MSC campus was more active because of the college's focus on liberal arts, which inspired people to freely express themselves.[51]

Project E-Quality was partly the result of Neumaier's wish for a more diverse student body. He believed that MSC students were too homogeneous. In the spring of 1968, eighty-two percent of MSC's mostly all-white students came from a one hundred-mile radius of Moorhead. MSC English Professor Clarence Glasrud remarked later about Neumaier: "He thought students going to Moorhead State were too insular - too many came

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from (this) area - and we needed a more cosmopolitan student body if they were going to get a proper education." The project would expose MSC students to people of other races and ethnic backgrounds, allowing them to experience a larger, more diverse world than the one in which they currently lived. Commenting later about why he supported Project E-Quality, Neumaier remarked: "In a town that was practically lily-white...I felt too that our students were deprived – deprived of study with students from other backgrounds."[52]

Neumaier hoped that MSC students felt the same way he did because they would have the most contact with the new minority students. A positive attitude from MSC students regarding the project was crucial to its success. Most students did not disappoint Neumaier. In the months leading up to the beginning of classes in the fall of 1968, there was no shortage of enthusiasm. In a 1976 interview, black MSC student Carl Griffin mentioned that there were many "committed white students," and that the campus was much more supportive of the project than the community. Likewise, a writer for the *Valley Times* noted: "The leadership of the student body [at MSC]...is enthusiastically committed to E-Quality. Students have organized and led discussion groups and initiated a fund drive. A more than adequate number of students have volunteered to help in every way that has been suggested."[53]

The work behind Project E-Equality came largely from students. Selberg noted that while President Neumaier provided crucial early guidance in getting the project started, it was MSC students and faculty that actually put the program together, with numerous students helping out in different ways. The Student Senate, which originally had pledged to give two thousand dollars to the project, voted to give four thousand instead. Discussion at the Senate meeting "was strongly in favor of the project." The Student Senate remained

a generous donor over the next years, donating $7000 for the 1969-70 school year and $10,000 for the 1970-71 school year. Other student groups, such as Tau Kappa Epsilon and Delta Pi Delta, also gave money to the project.[54]

In addition to groups, individual students gave money, sat on all kinds of committees formed to prepare for the project, and volunteered to act as student adviser friends to the new minority students. As student adviser friends, their task was to make the project students feel welcome and help them with any problems they might encounter as they started their classes at MSC. Although there were certainly students at MSC who disapproved of starting a minority recruitment program, they were drowned out by the enthusiastic supporters of the program. According to Dille, during the spring and summer of 1968, the support level from the campus community "seemed like a hundred percent."[55]

Fighting Misconceptions

Another important predisposing factor at MSC was the ability of Neumaier, Dille, and Selberg, along with some faculty members and students, to lay to rest some of the damaging misconceptions swirling around the proposed project. As word of the planned recruitment program spread through the community, numerous rumors, misunderstandings, and general confusions spread with it. To explain just what the project did and did not entail, members of the MSC campus community set out on a publicity campaign. They talked to citizens, contributed to newspaper articles on the project, and "appeared on at least 15 radio and TV programs."[56]

Many people were confused over which minority groups were to be recruited for the program. Some believed that the project recruitment committee was focusing too much on blacks, at the expense of American Indians and Hispanics. They argued that since the

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two latter groups were more prevalent in the local area, they should be chosen first. An article in the *APEX* (an independent tri-college newspaper published by the *Valley Times* and distributed free of charge to MSC, Concordia, and NDSU students) entitled, "Objectives of Project E-Quality," explained that the majority of the project students would be black because their condition was the most volatile and they were the "most deprived" group. This description echoed Selberg's justification for the higher number of blacks in the program. The article also pointed out that the Bureau of Indian Affairs helped out American Indians with their college finances, while Project TEST similarly aided Mexican-American migrant workers.[57]

The misconception that the newcomers were getting free rides was a particularly heated topic among some. In a letter to the *Mistic*, one angry MSC student, Lyle S. Thorstenson, wrote: "If these people wish to come here, I say fine and welcome them, but have them earn their own way." According to Selberg, many people asked: "Why don't they [the project students] pull themselves up by their bootstraps?" Some believed that the black students should have to work their way through school with no special advantages, just like any white student. Another article in the *APEX*, "E-Quality Question & Answer," stressed that the students were not receiving special treatment or receiving financial favors. They would not be given all-encompassing scholarships, but would instead pay for college using Educational Opportunity Grant (EOG) money, loans, work-study salaries, and grants from a Project E-Quality Fund that was being set up. It was noted that these same financial options, with the exception of the Fund, were "available to any student applying at MSC if he [or she were] in need of financial aid." President-elect Dille added that the financial aid office would look at and consider each student's situation individually, just as it did with

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non-project students. In response to the accusation that the project would use money that would have otherwise gone to local white students, it was pointed out that over one hundred and fifty MSC students were currently receiving financial aid of some form. MSC officials repeatedly claimed in various articles: "We are working with our own local disadvantaged."[58]

Admission standards proved to be another touchy issue. An article in the *Fargo Forum* explained that MSC admissions officers would not base project recruitment standards on high school test scores (which they assumed would be low), but on the potential of each candidate to succeed in college. Trying to dispel rumors that special standards would have to be incorporated for the Project E-Quality students, the article noted that regular MSC admission standards would not have to be changed in any way. As Lois Selberg pointed out at a Project E-Quality informational program she led with Student Senate President Wayne McFarland, many white students with low ACT (American College Test) scores or poor high school grades were accepted at Moorhead State based on other criteria. She asserted that "MSC had accepted other types of evidence of academic potential [besides ACT scores and class rank minimums] for several years." It was these subjective kinds of evidence, such as willingness to learn and letters of recommendation from teachers, that would apply to potential project students. English professor Dr. Clarence Glasrud, also at the informational meeting, added that he did not believe that the program would drag down or lower MSC academic standards.[59]

Some people were confused about why MSC felt the need to initiate a program like Project E-Quality, which would bring fifty minority students to the F-M area. *Fargo Forum* writer Jerry Ruff reported occasionally hearing the comment: "We've never had a

race problem, why import one?" To counter this statement, many project supporters stressed the educational aspect of the project. Selberg asserted that educating intelligent minority students who could not normally afford college was the most realistic way to help them become useful citizens, rather than money-draining burdens on society. Project E-Quality, she and others declared, represented the best way for MSC to get involved in the civil rights movement because a college's responsibility was to educate. Dille commented: "MSC is involved in the project because it doesn't have much to give except our product – education." Some supporters even argued that providing a college education to disadvantaged students was more of an obligation than an option. They claimed that MSC had "a moral responsibility to try and undo the damage" caused by the poor condition of most inner-city schools.[60] Project E-Quality represented the most practical solution to this problem. By explaining the program's purpose and dispelling damaging rumors about it, supporters persuaded many people to back Project E-Quality, which made its development possible.

External Factors

Commuting Distance from the Twin Cities

Although not as numerous as its internal factors, MSC did have some key external predisposing conditions. One was the commuting distance (about 240 miles) between Moorhead and the Twin Cities (Minneapolis and St. Paul, Minnesota). According to the Michigan researchers, the Twin Cities constituted a "liberal environment"[61] in terms of race relations. The distance between MSC and the Twin Cities was feasible for any black college student with a car who wished to escape the mostly white, not-so-liberal environment of Fargo-Moorhead for a weekend. Because there were more blacks and more

specific events for blacks to attend in the Twin Cities than in the F-M area, the relatively short distance between the two areas became a major advantage for MSC when it was trying to recruit black students.

Lack of Competition from Other F-M Schools

The distance to Minneapolis and St. Paul was of course the same for the other two major four-year colleges in the F-M community – North Dakota State University (NDSU) and Concordia College. However, the fact that no competition for black students existed from these two schools was a major external supportive factor for MSC. This was not a planned advantage – an early idea was that all three F-M colleges could participate together in some sort of minority recruitment program. At MSC's memorial tribute for Martin Luther King held on April 8, 1968, President Neumaier talked of the "suggestion that 150 Negro students be brought here - 50 to go to MSC, 50 to Concordia and 50 to NDSU." He asserted that he had "made an official recommendation at the 3-college common market meeting that this [idea] be fully explored" on April 3, the day before King's death. The idea that all three of the colleges would play roles in the recruitment program persisted throughout the spring. In an article in the April 19 edition of the *APEX*, journalist John E. Johnson noted: "The three F-M area colleges have initiated an effort to bring some 150 under priviledged young men and women to this area for an opportunity to taste college life. The current plans are to place 50 of these people in each of the three colleges."[62]

Concordia did not set up a specific black recruitment program, but it did extend its student exchange program with Virginia Union University, a black college in Virginia. During the 1968-1969 school year, as MSC welcomed thirty-five new black students, Concordia opened its doors to ten black students from Virginia Union University during

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the fall semester and eight during the spring semester. Besides the exchange program, Concordia also offered several black studies classes in 1968, such as an African social problem course, and a black rhetoric course. In addition, the school brought in numerous black speakers and formed human response teams, panels made up of black and white students that gave talks at area schools.[63] Despite its increase in black civil rights activities, however, the only black students that Concordia actively recruited were ones from Virginia; that left all other blacks in the country open to MSC recruitment efforts.

NDSU did not pursue any specific black recruitment plan which meant that, in the end, only MSC ultimately took the third path of substantially increasing its black student numbers. Accordingly, when black students looked at the F-M area, they saw only one college with a specific minority program for them that included incentives such as financial help, special ethnic seminars, tutoring programs, a cultural center, and other amenities. The lack of local competition for black students gave MSC an advantage over white schools in other areas that were vying with neighboring colleges for black students.

Moral Support from the Community

Another important external supportive factor was the possibility of support from area businesses and individuals, both in spirit and with their pocketbooks. If the project was to move forward, assistance from the community was needed. Selberg let it be known early on that help was needed from the community. She announced: "In order to give the plan a maximum chance of success, we are…seeking the cooperation, and the financial assistance, of as many citizens of the community as possible."[64]

As word got out about Project E-Quality, a number of community leaders expressed positive interest in the idea. On May 8, 1968, Frank Kent, the Commissioner of

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Human Rights in Minnesota and the first black to lead a state government department, came to Fargo-Moorhead where he met with about seventy local ministers in the morning and then talked with other supporters of Project E-Quality in the afternoon. The support of the community, he told the ministers, was very important in determining whether the project would be a success. Kent warned that, if F-M citizens did not get the community ready, the consequences could be dire; he cautioned: "The young people [black students] will go back to their old communities convinced that the white man truly does not care. It would have then been better to leave them where they are than to build up their hopes in a hopeless effort."[65]

About thirty-five Fargo-Moorhead townspeople, including businessmen, ministers, college professors, college students, and representatives of various civic and political groups, attended the second meeting with Kent. They formed a community relations committee to discuss ways to prepare the community for the arrival of the new minority students. They realized that it might not be an easy task to get the entire area behind the project. One of the committee members, Dr. Donald L. Carlon, a radiologist at St. Ansgar Hospital in Moorhead, noted that "not all those attending the meeting [were] yet fully sold on the program." Kent said that the important thing, however, was that the community recognized its own prejudices and proved willing to work on them. He remarked that it was not realistic or necessary for the area to overcome all of its racial bigotry by September when the new students arrived, as long as the community was working hard to change.[66]

Interested community members met several times during May and eventually formed a smaller seven-member committee which pledged to actively support the program and the incoming minority students. The committee worked to create a larger Council on

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Human Rights, which would include citizens "from both Fargo and Moorhead and from all segments of society." The original seven committee members were: Dr. Donald Carlon; Reverend Paul Hanson, pastor of Trinity Lutheran Church in Moorhead; Ray Klein, manager of deLendrecie's Store in Fargo; Reverend Alden Hvidston, an MSC counselor; James Dickinson, the Moorhead Chief of Police; Sally Hilleboe, a reporter for KVOX radio and KXJB television (Channel 4) in Fargo-Moorhead; and Mary Metzger, a Fargo woman whose husband taught at NDSU.[67]

To gauge the amount of local support that the program could expect to receive, a Project E-Quality community relations luncheon-workshop for area leaders was held May 24 with Frank Kent as the main speaker. The area leaders at the event pledged their support for the program. Margaret Reed, an Associate Professor of Sociology at MSC and one of the organizers of the original community relations committee, wrote a letter to Kent a few days later in which she conveyed her belief that the "community [was] ready to take the ball and...run with it in the whole area of human rights."[68]

Also in May, Minnesota Senator Walter F. Mondale began to promote Project E-Quality. As a spokesman for the state, his enthusiastic support gave the program an added measure of credibility. In a speech delivered to the C-400 Club at Concordia College, he asked audience members to help out with Project E-Quality in any way they could. Mondale spoke of the program as a community project that would involve all area citizens. Discussing the need of the community to come together on civil rights issues, he remarked:

> In the face of deteriorating and exploding cities, a national diagnosis of white racism and 'separate but equal,' and grinding poverty amid the greatest wealth the world has ever seen – right now, we are being asked as a nation whether we will join hands...Joining hands means welcoming 50 disadvantaged young black people to the fantastic educational opportunities that the Moorhead-Fargo community has created.

In addition, in early June, Mondale wrote a letter to Selberg in which he mentioned that he was "very anxious to do all [that he could] to help with this extremely important project."[69] Support from well-known people like Mondale helped convince some ordinary citizens to throw their support (and money) behind the project.

In addition to forming their own groups, some community members joined together with MSC students and faculty to support the new program. From the beginning, the project was intended to be a joint venture between MSC and the F-M community. In the May 1968 *Report to the Alumni Bulletin*, Project E-Quality was described as "a college-community action program," and townspeople served alongside MSC students and faculty on committees formed to work out details of specific aspects of the project, such as the student recruiting process, the building of a cultural center for the new students, financial aid, and the new tutoring programs that were being planned.[70]

In August 1968, the *Valley Times* newspaper could report that although initial response from area citizens had "ranged from hostility to congratulations and offers of assistance," by late summer, many leaders in the community now "approve[d], or at least accept[ed], the goals of the Project." The people on the MSC campus, working hard to make the project a reality, were grateful for the support. For example, in an interview done in 2005, Roland Dille still recalled how helpful the Fargo-Moorhead Foundation, which was made up of local businessmen, had been to the project. This visible show of moral support from some members of the Fargo-Moorhead community helped encourage MSC to develop a minority recruitment program.[71] Although there was certainly opposition to Project E-Quality, the fact that it was not widespread or very vocal made it easier for the

college to forge ahead with its new project.

Financial Support from the Community

Along with moral support, the possibility of financial support from the community

was also an important external supportive factor in determining whether MSC would

develop a minority recruitment program. The project would not have made it past the idea

stage if local people and businesses had not shown a willingness to support the program

financially. Selberg took charge of raising money for the project. The total cost for a

year's education at MSC was estimated in May 1968 to be about $1600 per student. That

amount would cover each project student's "application fee; physical examination; tuition;

student fee; room and board; books and supplies; transportation; and incidental expenses."

The college hoped that federal Educational Opportunity Grants (EOGs), work-study jobs,

grants from a local E-Quality Fund, and various loans (such as National Defense Loans)

would be enough to cover each student. Money for the E-Quality Fund came directly from

the community, as well as from MSC teachers and students. The Fund, according to

Selberg, represented the "participation of the college and the community in the financial

responsibility for the program." Every year, Selberg, President Dille, and others worked on

fund drives to put money in the E-Quality Fund. The *Valley Times* reported that about

three hundred dollars would have to be raised locally for each new student to attend

MSC.[72]

Selberg wanted to raise twenty thousand dollars by the fall of 1968, when the new

students would arrive at MSC. Although students and faculty members donated liberally,

donations from area individuals, businesses, and community organizations were

desperately needed. In interviews, speeches, and articles, as well as at publicity events,

departing MSC president John Neumaier, Selberg, and incoming president Dille, asked for money. A number of community members, swayed by the argument that their money would help black students receive an education and improve local race relations, responded to their appeals. According to Dille, the response of the community was "pretty good" when it came to donating money for the project. By the middle of June 1968, after thirteen minority students had already been accepted into the program, $9700 had been raised, which was nearly halfway to the twenty thousand dollar goal. By July 1, $10,441 had been collected for the project. The total amount raised for the first year eventually hit $24,000, exceeding Selberg's initial hopes.[73]

Project E-Quality benefited from the enthusiasm of some community members to participate in or hold fundraising events for the program. A group of Moorhead women made $1400 with a large rummage sale they organized; a group of local citizens held a city art auction; and another group put on a public auction at the Holiday Mall in Moorhead. Many community members donated various items for the auction, including a pony. Besides groups, countless individuals also gave what they could. One couple from Fargo, Dr. and Mrs. Gerard Obert gave one thousand dollars. Future governor of North Dakota, George Sinner (then of Sinner Brothers and Bresnahan, Casselton) originally planned to donate "72 bushels of grain," but then decided to give one hundred dollars instead. (He did, however, give fifty-six bushels of wheat to the program in 1970, which President Dille intended to sell to the Casselton [North Dakota] Elevator.) Pastor Paul Hanson of the Trinity Lutheran Church in Moorhead proved to be a big supporter of Project E-Quality through the years. As a member of one of the first community support groups for the program, he was involved from the beginning. In October 1969, his church volunteered to

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sponsor a project student with a starting contribution of $500. In April 1971, the Trinity Lutheran Church pledged $300 to the "ongoing work of the Project."[74]

Selberg and Dille wrote many notes to area businesses asking for financial help for the project. They used a combination of persuasion and guilt to get their points across. In an early form letter sent to local businessmen requesting donations, Selberg wrote that the students and faculty who had contributed money had shown their strong conviction "that this program [Project E-Quality], though a modest one, is morally and ethically right as well as realistic and practical." She implored the businesses to demonstrate their own conviction by donating money. Many of the businesses responded. For example, the Honeywell Corporation donated one thousand dollars to the project, while the Apache Corporation and Mr. Verne Espeset from the J.C. Penney Company each gave one hundred dollars. Smaller groups also donated money; a local beet growers association pledged financial help, the Moorhead State College Alumni Association contributed $200, and even children from a Sunday School class at Bethesda Lutheran Church in Moorhead donated money. Selberg asked some local groups and businesses if they would pay for specific items instead of donating money. For instance, she asked the Elks to buy glasses for Project E-Quality students and asked doctors from Dakota Clinic if they would pay for doctors' fees and hospital insurance premiums for the students.[75]

While Selberg corresponded with local groups, Dr. Dille "assiduously cultivated financial support from foundations." Thanks to his work, foundations gave at least ten thousand dollars during the first two years of the project. The Otto Bremer Foundation of St. Paul, for instance, was a steady contributor to the program; it pledged $450 per year for five years for a total of $2,250. The Bing Foundation of Wayzata, Minnesota, sponsored

two specific students, Richard Clerke and Ann Morris, from their freshman through their senior years. Other foundations that gave money included the Phillips Foundation, the Bayport Foundation, the Harold W. Sweatt Foundation, the Goldberg Foundation, and the Al Johnson Foundation.[76]

After obtaining enough money for the first year of Project E-Quality, Selberg continued throughout the next several years to try to raise money for the continuation of the project. She planned fundraising events like basketball games between the College Masters (a black student team) and the MSC Freshman team, choir concerts, and book sales. All of the money from admission sales, ticket prices, and sales of goods went straight to the project. During the last couple years of the project, much of the fundraising was taken over by the black students themselves. For example, in May 1969, the Project Steering Committee, along with a number of minority students, planned a large E-Quality fundraising fair that would "include every possible kind of sale and entertainment." It featured food and beverages; a rummage sale; services such as portrait sketching, manicures, and hair styling; games and raffles; bands, singers, and dancing; and movies. Students also organized and ran the second E-Quality Fair, held in 1970.[77] In addition to the fairs, project students used money from a Black Boutique, a book shop, and the sale of original pieces of art and literature to support themselves and incoming project students.

Eventually, as controversy over racial incidents waxed and enthusiasm for the program waned, local financial support became harder to attain. President Dille, in a 1973 grant proposal to the Minneapolis Foundation asking for $1800 for the program, commented: "The difficulty in raising funds has gotten greater, as the urgency for action that followed upon the death of Martin Luther King has dissipated."[78] Partly because of a

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lack of money, the project kept shrinking until 1974, when it was absorbed into the Office of Student Affairs. In the final analysis, it was money donated by the community that enabled Project E-Quality to get off the ground. After the project began, it was only able to thrive when the community was helping to financially support the program; when the donations dried up, so did the project.

Precipitating Events

Precipitating events were activities and occurrences that led directly to the development of minority recruitment programs. For some schools, this was a large grant of money or heavy faculty pressure to diversify the student population. The most common precipitating event at white colleges in the late 1960s, however, was the murder of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., on April 4, 1968. For many white colleges that had been thinking about increasing the number of black students on their campuses, King's death provided the final push into concrete action. The 1954 *Brown vs. the Board of Education of Topeka* case and the Civil Rights Act of 1964 both helped encourage more black enrollment at white schools, but did not really motivate schools to develop specific recruitment programs. Likewise, many whites sympathized with blacks who were struggling for their civil rights in the south or fighting against poverty in northern urban ghettos, but, again, their sympathy did not translate into direct action. It was not until after the murder of King, respected by many whites for his non-violent stance, that many white colleges began trying to recruit more black students. For colleges searching for ways to get "involve[d] in the nationwide civil rights movement"[79] after King's death, offering disadvantaged minorities a chance for a college education seemed like the best solution.

Assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr.

At MSC, where a committee had already begun to search for new ways to help out underprivileged students, the murder of King compelled the college to speed up the process. According to Dille, "Project E-Quality really came out of the assassination of Martin Luther King." After the murder, MSC, driven "with a sense of urgency" to do something, based its new program on King's legacy. King had spent much of his life fighting inequality and advocating integration at public places, such as schools; Project E-Quality was meant to reflect these ideals by offering a college education at a white school to those minorities "whose poverty, class, environment and color ha[d] worked to deprive them of good schooling."[80]

Up until Dr. King's death, the F-M area had remained relatively unaffected by the black civil rights movement sweeping the country. The absence of black people in the area made it easy for residents to claim that race problems did not exist in *their* community. Many felt the "problem [did] not concern them because [they were] living in a secure area." However, the killing of King changed that for many people. The editor of the *Mistic*, Kenneth Bennett, wrote in an editorial a month after the assassination: "For many of us, one event suddenly opened our eyes, the death of Martin Luther King, the man who led the Negro's struggle for equality."[81] Lingering, undeveloped plans to *do* something about the race crisis in America became top priority in the emotion-filled days following King's death.

White guilt, which increased after King's assassination, played a role in speeding the development of Project E-Quality. Carl Griffin called it a guilt felt by a community of people who had been sitting around too long doing nothing as racial problems exploded

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around them. He asserted, perhaps truthfully, that if King had not been murdered, there

would have been no Project E-Quality at MSC.[82] Thus, it was ultimately in an atmosphere

of guilt and urgency that the idea for a minority recruitment project at MSC was formed

and developed into a complete, detailed program.

[1] "Moorhead, Minnesota," *City Data*, 2000, http://www.city-data.com/city/Moorhead-Minnesota. html (22 May 2005); Cooper, 25; "Minnesota State University Moorhead's History," *MSUM News and Publications Online*, http://www.mnstate.edu/publications/history.html (5 June 2004).

[2] "MSUM's First African-American Student Hasn't Forgotten 1962," *AlumNews: MSUM News and Publications Online*, spring 2002, http://www.mnstate.edu/publications/alumnews/spring2002.html (28 May 2005).

[3] Quotation from "Invitation to Workshop and Luncheon: E-Quality and the Community," 24 May 1968, Correspondence 1968-69 File, E-Q Papers.

[4] Quotation from "Project E-Quality," *Minnesota State University Moorhead*, 21 June 2001, http://www.mnstate.edu/equality/ (18 May 2004); quotation from "Disadvantaged Students May Come Here In Fall," *Mistic*, 22 April 1968, Newspaper File, E-Q Papers; quotation from Lois Selberg, interview by author, 23 May 2005, cassette tape, conducted at the Northwest Minnesota Historical Center in the MSUM Library; quotation from "MSC Action Program, 'E-Quality,' Seeks to Aid Disadvantaged," *Report to the Alumni Bulletin*, May 1968, Newspaper File, E-Q Papers.

[5] "Ten E-Quality Students See Their New Campus," *Valley Times*, 22 August 1968, Newspaper File, E-Q Papers; Cooper, 25; *U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population: 1970*, v. 1, Characteristics of the Population, part 36, ND, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1973.

[6] Cooper, 26; "Project E-Quality," http://www.mnstate.edu/equality/.

[7] Quotation from Lois Selberg, "E-QUALITY: Equal Opportunity in Education, Moorhead State College," 2 May 1968, Misc. 1968-70 File, E-Q Papers; quotation from Rose Shaw (secretary), "The Project E-Quality Steering Committee Minutes," 16 April 1969, Steering Committee 1969-1971 File, E-Q Papers.

[8] Lois Selberg, "E-Quality Equal Opportunity in Education Progress Report," 1 June 1970, E-Quality Project Reports File, E-Q Papers; Cooper, 32; Lois Selberg and Roland Dille, interview by author.

[9] Selberg, "Education Progress Report," 1 June 1970; letter to the Registration of Moorhead State College from Raymond Wiggins, Second Vice President of the South Bronx NAACP, 15 March 1971, Pres. Dille File, E-Q Papers.

[10] Quotation from "Project E-Quality," http://www.mnstate.edu/equality/; "Office of Intercultural Affairs (Concordia) newsletter, June 1972, Misc. 1972-1974, 1988 File, E-Q Papers.

[11] Quotations from "Project E-Quality," http://www.mnstate.edu/equality/; Sylvia Herndon, interview by author, 18 June 2005, cassette tape, conducted at Herndon's home in Eagan, MN; "MSUM's First African-American Student Hasn't Forgotten 1962," *AlumNews: MSUM News and Publications Online*.

[12] Ross F. Collins, "Knoblauch," 6; quotations from Collins, "Snarr," 3; Collins, quotation from "Knoblauch," 5, 6.

[13] Quotation from Collins, "Neumaier," 1; quotations from Lois Selberg, interview by author; quotations from Collins, "Neumaier," 4; Roland Dille, interview by author, 23 May 2005, cassette tape, conducted at the Northwest Minnesota Historical Center in the MSUM Library.

[14] John J. Neumaier, "Remembrances of My Mother and My German-Jewish Childhood," *A Voice Silenced*, http://www.mnstate.edu/neumaier/ (7 July 2004); Collins, "Neumaier," 2-3; Roland Dille, interview by author.

[15] Quotation from Neumaier, "Remembrances of My Mother"; quotation from Letter to the MSC campus from John J. Neumaier, 17 April 1968, Pres. Neumaier File, E-Q Papers; quotation from Roland Dille, interview by author.

[16] Collins, "Neumaier," 5; quotations from Roland Dille, interview by author; quotation from Cooper, 25; (information about Neumaier's Jewish heritage from Terry Shoptaugh and Roland Dille).

[17] Quotation from Cooper, 25; "700 Attend Appreciation Program for Dr. Neumaier," *Fargo Forum*, 15 May 1968, Newspaper File, E-Q Papers.

[18] Quotations from "Neumaier Urges Dedication to Rights Cause," *Mistic*, 23 September 1966, p. 1.

[19] "Overview of Project," Summer 1968, Contributions and Fundraising 1968-1970, 1973 File, E-Q Papers; Terry Shoptaugh, "Drafts of Plaques for Campus Buildings," *Minnesota State University Moorhead*, http://www.mnstate.edu/shoptaug/Campus%20buildings.htm (2 June 2005) and Collins, "Neumaier," 10.

[20] Quotations from Dave Olson, "Evolution of Moorhead State"; quotation from Roland Dille, interview by author.

[21] Roland Dille, interview by Lawrence W. Byrnes and Roland Dille, interview by author.

[22] Roland Dille, interview by Lawrence W. Byrnes; Roland Dille, interview by author.

[23] Quotations from Roland Dille, interview by author; Letter to John Neumaier from Jeff Levy, 19 August 1968, Pres. Dille File, E-Q Papers.

[24] Quotation from Lois Selberg and Roland Dille, interview by author.

[25] Quotations from Cooper, 30; Roland Dille, interview by author; quotations from Sylvia Herndon, interview by author.

[26] Quotations from Sylvia Herndon, interview by author; quotation from Letter to Mr. George A. Sinner from Roland Dille, 20 December 1968, Pres. Dille File, E-Q Papers.

[27] Quotation from Sylvia Herndon, interview by author; Roger Hamilton and Melva Moline, News Release from the MSC Information Service, 25 April 1968, Misc. 1968-1970 File, E-Q Papers; quotation from "MSC Action Program," *Report to the Alumni Bulletin*, May 1968; Lois Selberg and Roland Dille, interview by author.

[28] Quotation from Lois Selberg, Faculty Senate Meeting report, 24 April 1968, Minutes of Committees 1968-1970 File, E-Q Papers.

[29] "Project 'E-Quality' Launched at MSC," *Valley Times*, 29 April 1968, p. 1-2, Newspaper File, E-Q Papers.

[30] Letter to MSC Faculty from Lois Selberg, 3 May 1968, Corr. 1968-1969 File, E-Q Papers.

[31] Quotation from Letter to Miss Gail Paulson from John J. Neumaier, 11 April 1968, Pres. Neumaier File, E-Q Papers; quotation from "3 Negroes Enter Moorhead State on Aid Offered After Violence," *Minneapolis Tribune*, 13 September 1966, p. 19, Newspaper File, E-Q Papers.

[32] Cooper, 25; quotation from Lois Selberg, "E-QUALITY: Equal Opportunity in Education," 2 May 1968; Ken Nelson, "Griffin Says, 'Dream Will Not Die,'" *Mistic*, 12 April 1968, p. 1.

[33] Quotation from "Project E-Quality," http://www.mnstate.edu/equality/; quotations from "Neumaier Challenges 'All of Us,'" *Fargo Forum*, 8 April 1968, Newspaper File, E-Q Papers.

[34] "Neumaier Challenges 'All of Us,'" *Fargo Forum*, 8 April 1968.

[35] Quotation from Lois Selberg, "Whatever Happened to Project E-Quality," *Moorhead Independent News*, 19 November 1970, p. 7; quotation from Carl Griffin, interview by Timothy Madigan, 15 July 1976, cassette tape, Northwest Minnesota Historical Center, Minnesota State University Moorhead Library.

[36] "Race Relations Kick off Semester," *The Concordian*, 19 January 1968, p. 5; "Planning for the 1980s: A Status Report Submitted by the Department of Afro-American Studies," *W.E.B. Dubois Department of Afro-American Studies at the University of Massachusetts Amherst*, updated 3 April 2005, http://www.umass.edu/afroam/planning.html (22 July 2005); quotation from "Last of Scholars Reside," *The Concordian*, 22 March 1968, p. 1; quotation from Carl Griffin, interview by Timothy Madigan; "William Julius Wilson," *Harvard's John F. Kennedy School of Government*, 1999, http://ksghome.harvard.edu/~WWilson/FullBio.html (9 November 2005).

In 1972, Dr. William Wilson left the University of Massachusetts to teach at the University of Chicago, where he headed the Center for the Study of Urban Inequality. In 1996, he joined the faculty at Harvard University. He is one of only seventeen professors to hold a Harvard University Professorship (he is a Lewis P. and Linda L. Geyser University Professor), the university's highest professorial distinction. He has received thirty-two honorary doctorates, won numerous awards, and written many publications, such as *The Declining Significance of Race*. He currently heads the Joblessness and Urban Poverty Research Program, which he established in 1996.

[37] Quotation from Carl Griffin, interview by Timothy Madigan; quotations from Nelson, "Dream

Will Not Die," *Mistic*, 12 April 1968; "Neumaier Challenges 'All of Us," *Fargo Forum*, 8 April 1968.

[38] Cooper, 26; quotation from Roland Dille, interview by author; "Project 'E-Quality' Launched at MSC," *Valley Times*, 29 April 1968; Letter to MSC Faculty from Lois Selberg, 3 May 1968; quotation from Gregory Reed, "No Go for Center," *Moorhead Independent News*, 22 October, 1970, p. 6.

[39] Quotation from "MSC Students Hold Civil Rights Teach-In," *APEX*, 19 April 1968, p. 10, Newspaper File, E-Q Papers; "F-M Urged to Back Rights Movement," *Mistic*, 22 April 1968, p. 4, Newspaper File, E-Q Papers.

[40] Quotation from "Minnesota State University Moorhead's History," *MSUM News and Publications Online*; quotation from Clarence Glasrud, *Moorhead State Teachers College: 1921-1957* (Moorhead, Minnesota: Moorhead State University, 1990), 13; Dave Olson, "Evolution of Moorhead State"; Collins, "Neumaier," 5.

[41] Quotation from Lois Selberg, interview by author; quotation from Sylvia Herndon, interview by author; quotation from Roland Dille, interview by author.

[42] Quotation from Collins, "Neumaier," 8; quotation from Collins, "Dille," 1; Roland Dille, interview by Lawrence W. Byrnes; Roland Dille and Lois Selberg, interview by author.

[43] Collins, "Dille," 2; quotations from Letter to Sister Rita of the Sacred Heart (President of the College of Great Falls) from Yvonne C. Condell, 11 April 1968, and Letter to Yvonne C. Condell from Sister Rita, 17 April 1968, Pres. Neumaier File, E-Q Papers.

[44] "Editorial," *Mistic*, 20 September 1968, p. 2; Polly Miller, "Coyle Sprung," *Mistic*, 20 September 1968, p. 3; quotation from Chris Ward, "January 19th Movement Stresses Involvement," *The Concordian*, 12 September 1969, p. 5; quotation from Roland Dille, interview by author.

[45] "Contributions to E-Quality," 14 June 1968, Pres. Neumaier File, E-Q Papers; Letter to Mrs. Selberg from Mrs. Hazel Scott, 5 June 1968, Donations-Corr. 1968-1972 File, E-Q Papers; quotation from Lois Selberg, "Report on Faculty Fund Drive for Project E-Quality," 7 June 1968, Donations-Corr. 1968-1972 File, E-Q Papers.

[46] Quotation from "Ten E-Quality Students," *Valley Times*, 22 August 1968; quotation from Lois Selberg, interview by author; quotation from Letter to Mr. Donovan J. Allen, Chief of the Work-Study Branch of the Federal Division of Student Financial Aid, from John J. Neumaier, 5 June 1968, Pres. Neumaier File, E-Q Papers.

[47] Roland Dille and Lois Selberg, interview by author.

[48] Quotation from Collins, "Neumaier," 8.

[49] Quotation from Carl Griffin, interview by Timothy Madigan; quotation from Richard Shafer, "Spinning the Zip to Zap: Student Journalist Responsibility and Vulnerability in the Late 1960s," *North Dakota Journal of Speech and Theatre* 13, (2000) http://www.edutech.nodak.edu/ndsta/shafer.htm (25 May 2005); quotation from Harvard Sitkoff, *The Struggle for Black Equality*, Revised Edition (New York: Hill and Wang, 1993), 196; quotation from Stephen G. Tweed, "Would-be Radicals Threaten MSC," *The Concordian*, 13 December 1968, p. 3.

[50] Carl Griffin, interview by Timothy Madigan; Carol Braun, "Why is the Mistic Missing?" *Advocate*, 26 October 1972, p. 7, Mistic-News Coverage File, Pres. Dille collection, Northwest Minnesota Historical Center, MSUM Library, Moorhead, Minnesota.

[51] Quotation from Roland Dille, interview by author; Carl Griffin, interview by Timothy Madigan; Lois Selberg, interview by Timothy Madigan, July 1976, #826 cassette tape, Northwest Minnesota Historical Center, Minnesota State University Moorhead Library.

[52] "Ten E-Quality Students," *Valley Times*, 22 August 1968; quotation from Dave Olson, "Evolution of Moorhead State"; quotation from Collins, "Neumaier," 9.

[53] Quotation from Carl Griffin, interview by Timothy Madigan; quotation from "Ten E-Quality Students," *Valley Times*, 22 August 1968.

[54] "College Potential to Be Criteria for 'Project E-Quality' Recruits," *Fargo Forum*, 8 May 1968, p. 17; quotation from "Students Vote $4000 for 'E-Quality,' *Valley Times*, 2 May 1968, Newspaper File, E-Q Papers; Letter to Tom Clark, Student Senate President, from Flora Washington, Secretary of the E-Quality Steering Committee, 1 June 1970, Steering Committee 1969-1971 File, E-Q Papers; Letter to Project E-Quality from Delta Pi Delta, 27 May 1969, Donations-Corr. 1968-1972 File, E-Q Papers.

[55] "Overview of Project," Summer 1968; quotation from Roland Dille, interview by author.

[56] Quotation from "Ten E-Quality Students," *Valley Times*, 22 August 1968.

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[57] Quotation from "Objectives of Project E-Quality," *APEX*, 3 May 1968, p. 5, Newspaper File, E-Q Papers.

[58] Quotation from "Student Vote Demanded," *Mistic*, 10 May 1968, p. 4, Newspaper File, E-Q Papers; quotation from Lois Selberg, interview by Timothy Madigan; quotation from "E-Quality Question & Answer," *APEX*, 17 May 1968, Newspaper File, E-Q Papers; "Ten Students Accepted Under MSC's E-Quality," *Fargo Forum*, 25 May 1968, Newspaper File, E-Q Papers; quotation from "Objectives of Project E-Quality," *APEX*, 3 May 1968.

[59] Quotation from "College Potential to Be Criteria," *Fargo Forum*, 8 May 1968; quotation from "Question & Answer," *APEX*, 17 May 1968.

[60] Quotation from Jerry Ruff, "Project E-Quality: A Living Dream," *Fargo Forum*, 24 November 1968, p. B1, Newspaper File, E-Q Papers; "College Potential to Be Criteria," *Fargo Forum*, 8 May 1968; quotation from "E-Quality Raises $9700; Thirteen Accepted at MSC," *Valley Times*, 17 June 1968, Newspaper File, E-Q Papers; quotations from "Objectives of Project E-Quality," *APEX*, 3 May 1968.

[61] Quotation from Peterson et al. 108.

[62] Quotations from "Neumaier Challenges 'All of Us,'" *Fargo Forum*, 8 April 1968; B.A. Schoen, "APEX is out," *Mistic*, 20 September 1968, p. 9; quotation from John E. Johnson, "Progress on Funding Project," *APEX*, 19 April 1968, p. 2, Newspaper File, E-Q Papers.

[63] Roland Dille, interview by author; Muriel Heard, "V.U. Students Return to Concordia for Second Semester of Exchange," *The Concordian*, 24 January 1969, p. 8; Elaine Melquist, "Minority Student Interest Increases," *The Concordian*, 13 December 1968, p. 5.

[64] Quotation from "MSC Action Program," *Report to the Alumni Bulletin*, May 1968.

[65] "Disadvantaged Students May Come," *Mistic*, 22 April 1968; quotation from "Kent Urges Caution on 'Project E-Quality,'" *Fargo Forum*, 8 May 1968, Newspaper File, E-Q Papers.

[66] Quotations from "Citizens Unit Being Sought," *Fargo Forum*, 8 May 1968, p. 17; "Dr. Donald L. Carlon: Oral History Index," *Heritage Education Commission*, MSC website, 11 August 2004, http://www.mnstate.edu/heritage/OralHistory/medicine.htm (9 June 2005).

[67] Quotation from "7-Man [*sic*] Committee Named to Back 'E-quality Work,'" *Fargo Forum*, 19 May 1968, Newspaper File, E-Q Papers; *Fargo (Cass County, ND) and Moorhead (Clay County, MN) City Directory*, St. Paul: R.L. Polk & Co. Publishers, 1974; "Jim Adelson, Controversial Channel 4 Sports Director Admits to Several Frustrations After 25 Years in Role," *Howard Binford's Guide to Fargo, Moorhead, and West Fargo,* vol. 12, no. 12 (June 1980): 31; "Communication," *Heritage Education Commission* at MSUM, updated 11 August 2004, http://www.mnstate.edu/heritage/OralHistory/communic.htm (14 July 2005); "Dr. Charles Metzger of NDSU Named to Direct Lignite Project," *It's Happening at State* (13 March 1974): 2-3; "Vita" for Charles Metzger, Faculty Files, North Dakota Institute for Regional Studies, NDSU, Fargo ND.

The two women on the seven-member committee were listed in the *Fargo Forum* article (19 May 1968) as Mrs. Peter Hilleboe and Mrs. Charles Metzger; they were probably Sally Hilleboe (Adelson) and Mary Metzger, both of Fargo. Hilleboe later became the first woman in the F-M area to host her own television show. Mary Metzger's husband, Dr. Charles Metzger, was a geology professor who helped develop and direct the Concentrated Approach Program (CAP) at NDSU in 1968. CAP was a special freshman education program designed for academically disadvantaged students; it focused especially on students from small rural high schools, older-than-average students, and war veterans.

[68] Quotation from Letter to Mr. Frank Kent, Commissioner of Human Rights, from Margaret Reed, Associate Professor of Sociology and Social Work, 27 May 1968, Corr. 1968-1969 File, E-Q Papers.

[69] Quotation from "Must Join Together or Face Worse America," *Valley Times*, 30 May 1968, Newspaper File, E-Q Papers; quotation from letter to Mrs. Lois Selberg from Walter F. Mondale, 5 June 1968, Pres. Neumaier File, E-Q Papers.

[70] Quotation from "MSC Action Program," *Report to the Alumni Bulletin*, May 1968.

[71] Quotation from "Ten E-Quality Students," *Valley Times*, 22 August 1968; Roland Dille, interview by author.

[72] Quotation from Letter to Dr. James Moore, Director of the Federal Division of Student Financial Aid, from President John J. Neumaier, 20 May 1968, Corr. 1968-1969 File, E-Q Papers; "Project E-Quality," http://www.mnstate.edu/equality/; quotation from Letter to Friends of E-Quality from Lois Selberg, 26 August 1968, Corr. 1968-1969 File, E-Q Papers; Lois Selberg, interview by Timothy Madigan; "E-Quality Raises $9700," *Valley Times*, 17 June 1968.

[73] Quotation from Roland Dille, interview by author; "E-Quality Raises $9700," *Valley Times*, 17 June 1968; "Ten E-Quality Students," *Valley Times*, 22 August 1968; Roland Dille, Grant Proposal to the Minneapolis Foundation, 16 March 1973, Corr. 1972- File, E-Q Papers.

[74] "Sale makes $1400," *Valley Times*, July 1968, Newspaper File, E-Q Papers; "39 Students Accepted in Project E-Quality," *Fargo Forum*, 1 September 1968, Newspaper File, E-Q Papers; "Auction Sale Planned to Aid 'E-Quality' Fund," *Valley Times*, 29 August 1968, Newspaper File, E-Q Papers; Letter to Mr. and Mrs. Obert from Lois Selberg, 13 October 1969, Donations-Corr. 1968-1972 File, E-Q Papers; quotation from Letter to Mr. George A. Sinner from Roland Dille, 20 December 1968; Letter to Mr. Sinner from Roland Dille, 12 January 1970, Donations-Corr. 1968-1972 File, E-Q Papers; Letter to Miss Lois Selberg from Paul A. Hanson, pastor of Trinity Lutheran Church, 10 October 1969, Donations-Corr. 1968-1972 File, E-Q Papers; quotation from Letter to Lois Selberg from Paul A. Hanson, 6 April 1971, Corr. 1970-1971 File, E-Q Papers.

[75] Quotation from "Project E-Quality," http://www.mnstate.edu/equality/; Letter to Mr. Neumaier from Raymond Plank of the Apache corporation, 20 June 1968, Donations-Corr. 1968-1972 File, E-Q Papers; Letter to Mr. Verne Espeset of the J.C. Penney Company from Roland Dille, 19 September 1969, Donations-Corr. 1968-1972 File, E-Q Papers; "E-Quality Raises $9700," *Valley Times*, 17 June 1968; Letter to Lois Selberg from Roger Hamilton, Acting Coordinator of the MSC Alumni Association, Corr. 1968-1969 File, E-Q Papers; Letter to the Children of the Bethesda Lutheran Sunday School from John J. Neumaier, 27 August 1968, Pres. Neumaier File, E-Q Papers; Rose Shaw (secretary), "The Project E-Quality Steering Committee Minutes," 24 April 1969, Steering Committee 1969-1971 File, E-Q Papers.

[76] Quotation from Cooper, 27; Letter to Mrs. Selberg from Robert J. Reardon of the Otto Bremer Foundation, 18 September 1972, Corr. 1972- File, E-Q Papers; Letter to Mrs. Selberg from A.J. Kagol of the Bing Foundation, 30 January 1970, Donations-Corr. 1968-1972 File, E-Q Papers; Letter to Mrs. Lois Selberg from Jay Phillips, 15 September 1971, Donations-Corr. 1968-1972 File, E-Q Papers.

[77] Letter to Faculty Members from Lois Selberg, 24 February 1969, Corr. 1968-1969 File, E-Q Papers; quotation from Letter to Faculty and Students, Organization Presidents and other Friends of E-Quality, from Lois Selberg, 26 May 1969, Corr. 1968-1969 File, E-Q Papers.

[78] Quotation from Roland Dille, Grant Proposal to the Minneapolis Foundation, 16 March 1973.

[79] Quotation from "MSC Faculty Votes to Bring 50 Negro Students to Campus," *Fargo Forum*, 25 April 1968, p. 1-2, Newspaper File, E-Q Papers.

[80] Quotations from Roland Dille, interview by author; quotation from "Project 'E-Quality' Launched at MSC," *Valley Times*, 29 April 1968; quotation from "Kent Urges Caution," *Fargo Forum*, 8 May 1968.

[81] Quotations from Kenneth Bennett, "Mistic Urges, 'Live Out Nation's Creed-' Equality," *Mistic*, 3 May 1968, p. 2, Newspaper File, E-Q Papers.

[82] Carl Griffin, interview by Timothy Madigan.

CHAPTER THREE

For most white schools that recruited black students, the first year proved more difficult than expected, demonstrating that peaceful integration was not going to happen automatically on the campuses. Black students, to the surprise of many whites, were not happy with all aspects of the white colleges. After just a few months, the black students began to voice complaints, calling attention to what they saw as the shortcomings and unfair practices of their schools and minority programs. Although not all of their grievances were satisfied, by speaking out about them, the students alerted the white campuses and communities to the various problems and instances of prejudice that they faced daily.

Financial Grievances

At MSC, the lack of money, as well as the way it was handled, drew heated criticism from many of the Project E-Quality students. They maintained that the project did not provide them with enough money to both attend school and maintain living expenses. As black alumnus Carl Griffin asserted in a 1976 interview, the project was chronically short of funds. He was not alone in his opinion; many other black students agreed with Griffin that the program never seemed to have enough money to fully support the minority students in their quest to attain a college education at MSC. Black student Cynthia Wilson put it bluntly when she declared in 1970: "The Project's biggest problem is NO MONEY!!"[1]

From the beginning, it was expected that all of the incoming Project E-Quality students would need financial help because, as Dille remarked, most would "have less money from home than white students." In order to support the new students financially,

MSC students and professors donated substantial amounts of money to the project themselves. The college also asked community members and groups to reach into their pockets and help out. Although the college eventually raised its first year goal of twenty thousand dollars, the project's financial problems never improved. Discussing the project in November 1968, Selberg remarked: "Our greatest problem now is financial."[2]

MSC, along with many other colleges, began to face financial shortages in the early 1970s. Before the second year of the program, federal assistance programs were cut and tuition costs went up sharply, making the project much harder to sustain financially. In a standard donation request letter written in 1970, Selberg stated: "Although the faculty and students of Moorhead State College have been very generous in their financial support of Project E-Quality, our most persistent problem, particularly since this year's tuition increase, has been a shortage of funds." The summer before the third year of the project (June 1970), Hubert S. Shaw, chief of the Educational Opportunity Grants (EOGs) Branch of the Federal Division of Student Financial Aid, wrote to Selberg to inform her that he could not increase MSC's EOG funds. "All available funds," he wrote, "have been allocated and there is no reserve on which I can draw." Acknowledging that it would be difficult for programs like Project E-Quality to survive with limited budgets, he asserted that the federal government could no longer help as much as it once had. In addition to less EOG money, the number of work-study jobs also had to be cut in 1971 and 1972; this development hit project students especially hard since they nearly all depended on work-study jobs for income.[3]

MSC had promised financial assistance to each minority student whom it recruited. When they found that the money was not forthcoming, many students expressed their

anger, claiming that they had been misled about how their college educations were to be paid for. In an article in the *Fargo Forum*, entitled "MSC's Project E-Quality Looks Back on Shaky First Year," black student Quilla Turner said that the project's financial problems were caused by "misinformation given to the kids before they arrived." MSC, he claimed, had falsely implied that everyone would get "four-year scholarship[s]." Black student Isaac Banks likewise later claimed that he had been told that his financial aid would all be taken care of by the school; he was disappointed when he arrived at MSC and realized that the promise had been false. Students also complained that they simply were not receiving enough money to cover all of their college expenses. The amount of aid each student received did not, they argued, cover the cost of expensive textbooks, nor did it provide enough money for students to take any credits over the twelve-credit minimum. Another complaint was that work-study jobs, which had been promised to all to the project students, were not provided for everyone until the first semester was already half over. Black student Cynthia Wilson commented: "I got my job about the fifth week of school. That's about $120 I wasn't able to earn." In addition, many Project E-Quality students resented the patronizing attitudes shown by some financial donors. The students felt as if the donors expected them to be exceedingly grateful. Some people, the project students suspected, gave money not out of a desire to help them get an education, but to "ease their [own] consciences." The lack of money was characterized by the project students as a major "visible cloud on the horizon for Project E-Quality."[4]

There was always a lot of controversy at MSC over just where the money was supposed to come from to pay for the minority students' educations and who was responsible for raising it. The blend of funds from different sources – the college, the

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community, the project students themselves (they were supposed to chip in with money earned from summer jobs) – caused great confusion. During the fall of 1970, a particularly tumultuous time for Project E-Quality at MSC, project students sought clarification on the issue. At a tense Steering Committee meeting held with President Dille in his office in November 1970, black student Greg Reed asked Dille point-blank where the burden of raising funds for the program fell, with "the administration or the E-Quality students?" Dille answered: "The school/administration will take the responsibility of funding for E-Quality."[5] While this seemed to clear up the question of who was in charge of fundraising, it did not stop complaints because the students believed that MSC was not trying hard enough to provide enough money for each project student.

Areas of contention included money for such things as long distance phone calls, books for classes, and transportation so that students could go home occasionally. Money continued to be a troubling issue for Project E-Quality throughout its years of existence; there never seemed to be enough of it and its absence created bitterness between the project students and the college administration. At a minority student meeting in 1971, the students present were asked to respond individually either positively or negatively to the statement: "With the exception of getting together, the major problem minority students face on this campus is 'financial.' Twenty-one out of twenty-three students said yes to the statement.[6] It may have been difficult to say which side was right (the project's financial status remained confusing and unclear throughout its duration), but it was not hard to see that the project students were unhappy with their financial situations.

Social Life Grievances

Dissatisfaction with their social lives was a major complaint voiced by black

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students at white colleges in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Project students at MSC were no exception. Feeling excluded from and unwelcomed at many college and community social events, they complained that outside of their classes, they were often bored and had unsatisfying social lives. This problem was even more pronounced at schools like MSC, which were located in nearly all-white towns. Black MSC alumnus Carl Griffin mentioned in a 1976 interview the feeling of isolation that resulted from being part of a minority group on a white campus in a white town in a white state. Many of the MSC black students, coming from all-black neighborhoods, experienced a form of culture shock when they got to Moorhead and found themselves suddenly surrounded by a "sea of white faces" in a "strange environment."[7]

This did not mean that black students avoided all social events and white-dominated extracurricular activities at MSC. A number of them did participate in various things and some even held important leadership positions. Timothy Tweedle was elected to the Student Senate in the fall of 1968, Carl Griffin was a frequent writer for the *Mistic* during the 1968-1969 school year, Isaac Banks played football during the 1969-1970 school year, Cynthia Wilson served as a dormitory resident assistant during the 1970-1971 school year, and Val Maxwell was elected to the Student Senate in the winter of 1971. In addition, several black students at MSC were members of the Varsity Choir, one was soloist with a stage band, and another won an award at a student art show for his painting.[8]

Despite these few examples, however, most black students did not join fraternities, sororities, academic clubs, or other white student groups in very large numbers. Many did not feel comfortable or even welcome in these organizations. For example, Carl Griffin mentioned that while it was not stated outright, "it was pretty clear that blacks were not

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welcome in any of the fraternities or sororities [at MSC]." Off campus, black students felt

they could not go anywhere without being noticed and attracting attention. They told

reporters that they were sometimes treated like strange visitors from another planet. Black

Concordia student Benjamin Echols commented: "When a Negro comes into a church they

stare at you like a miracle just happened." Another black student, Barbara Cullins, said:

"When I first got here it was like a mirage. I'd go downtown, and everybody would be just

staring at me; I couldn't help but think, 'Hey, I don't belong in this place.' I stayed in my

dormitory room alone all the time, wouldn't hardly leave it."[9]

Feeling shut out of community activities and organizations, many black students

echoed Carl Griffin's remark that there was "nothing for them [black students] to do" and

"nowhere for them to go" in Fargo-Moorhead. Three months into the first year of the

project, three black students told *Fargo Forum* reporter Jerry Ruff that "they felt Fargo-

Moorhead le[ft] something to be desired as far as their social li[ves] [were] concerned."

They felt unwelcome at white student hangouts and were asked to leave campus parties. In

evaluations filled out by project students in 1969, the category, Social Life, received the

lowest ratings along with Relations with Fargo-Moorhead Community. The problem

continued throughout the program. In 1970, students were still commenting on how their

social lives were "kinda dead."[10]

Black students at MSC eventually responded to their feelings of social isolation by

developing their own social activities, forming their own separate groups, and creating their

own hangouts. For example, some black students threw their own parties at hotels, black

student Jim Spalding talked about starting his own black fraternity, and the campus

Cultural Exchange Center turned into a place where blacks could gather and socialize

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together. According to black student Isaac Banks, card games were a favorite social activity at the Center because they required no money and no transportation. The Center, originally "set up to facilitate exchange" between the races, became "almost exclusively a meeting place for blacks." Even though it earned them charges of being too cliquish,[11] many black students found that these all-black endeavors fulfilled an emptiness in their social lives.

Community Grievances

Some members of the F-M community were against the idea of Project E-Quality from the start, long before the new black students began their classes in September 1968. Neumaier, Dille, and Selberg all acknowledged this fact. At a farewell appreciation dinner held for him in May 1968 at MSC, Neumaier admitted that there had been some unfriendly rumbling from some members of the community involving Project E-Quality. He commented: "I have received criticism from some whom I have considered friends."[12]

At a meeting of the Moorhead Kiwanis Club during the summer of 1968, Dille dismissed early rumors that widespread opposition to the project existed, but did admit that some people had threatened to take back some proposed football scholarships if MSC went ahead with its new minority program. He also said that "some of the project coordinators at MSC had received 'harassing' anonymous telephone calls." Later on, in a 1985 interview, Dille mentioned that at first the move to bring minorities to Moorhead had not been "very popular in the community," and that there had been some sniping directed toward the college for inviting "divisive elements" to town.[13]

Selberg, too, noted that although there were many supporters of the project in the community, there was also a certain amount of resistance. She encountered some of this

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when she visited community groups to explain the upcoming project during the spring and summer of 1968. For instance, at one event, a waitress said to her, "I don't want any niggers living next door to me." In a 1976 interview, Selberg said she believed most of the early community criticism of the program had been based on fear. She thought that there was "quite a bit of hostile reaction" at first because most F-M residents had never met a black person before. They had visions of blacks overrunning the town. According to Selberg, most of this fear dissipated after the black students arrived.[14]

Disapproval over Project E-Quality also came from the political community. Along with Senator Walter Mondale's enthusiastic endorsement of the program came some not-so-enthusiastic comments from North Dakota Representative Mark Andrews. In June 1968, he wrote a letter to Selberg, expressing his views on MSC's proposed minority program. He wrote: "My view was then [since he attended a question and answer session on the project] and is now, that carting minority groups around the country to prove a point without regard for the wants and needs of the individuals concerned is wrong and it will not serve to bring about the racial harmony we are all seeking."[15]

Black students already at MSC and Concordia were wary of community reaction to the upcoming Project E-Quality. In a May 1968 article in the *Fargo Forum* titled "Moorhead Negro College Students Know About Race Prejudice in F-M," they discussed the racism they had experienced from community members. The article began with the lines, "Racial prejudice in Fargo-Moorhead? Talk to a few of the Negro students at the local colleges." In the article, some talked about the difficulty of trying to find local jobs; MSC student Carl Griffin wryly commented: "It's mighty funny when you can make it to a place five minutes after a phone call and find the job is taken." Concordia student Avis

Smith said she resented being followed by store employees "as if she were a known shop-lifter" while shopping in area stores. MSC student Eddie Foreman discussed the problem of trying to rent an off-campus apartment. He said: "I find it quite hard to get a room. I was turned down in several places. They say the rooms are filled and the next day a white guy comes in and gets it." Other black students talked of being called derogatory names, like Aunt Jemima or nigger, by people passing them on the street.[16] Their comments made it clear that they did not expect the community to be very supportive of the project or the minority students that it would bring into the area.

Some white students expressed disappointment with the community for not embracing the upcoming project. MSC Student Senate president Wayne McFarland, speaking at an informational meeting on Project E-Quality, remarked that he was "shocked to learn at MSC of the prejudice existing in the Fargo-Moorhead area." He claimed that he had "received a number of telephone calls from community acquaintances of long standing that [had] stunned him with their attitude about his work on the project." Another white student, MSC student senator Ken Nelson, wrote a letter to the *Mistic* in which he attacked his hometown of Fargo-Moorhead for its negative attitude regarding the project. He wrote:

> When we started thinking about this proposal I had serious doubts about the way the students would react. I was sure, however, that our Christian community would welcome a chance to help these disadvantaged students. I guess, I was wrong; the students are willing to help and the community wants to keep these people tied down to the slums and ghettos. I thought and I still think that we should help these people. Is our willingness to help limited and separated by race? Let's help our race – the human race. However, until this happens, I can no longer be proud of my city.[17]

Early reaction from the F-M area as a whole did not seem very promising. An article in the May 3 edition of the *APEX* looked at the topic of community support for the

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new recruitment program. The article defended the project and tried to explain the reasons behind it, but the giant front-page layout of the newspaper was what caught one's eye. On either side of the words, "PROJECT E-QUALITY: THE ANSWER?" stood two large thermometers, the first measuring community commitment and the second measuring racial temperature.[18] The former was very low, while the latter was filled to the top; obviously the artist believed that the community was not behind MSC's new minority program because of boiling racial tensions.

The black students who arrived in Moorhead in the fall of 1968 as part of Project E-Quality did not feel welcomed by the community. Although some families invited the students over for dinner, black MSC student Jim Anderson expressed the thoughts of many of his black classmates when he remarked at the end of the first year of the project: "I think as a whole the students are not wanted [by the community]." Black project student Isaac Banks likewise noted later that the community had not been very welcoming when he had arrived as part of the first Project E-Quality class in the fall of 1968. Some students claimed to find "open prejudice and hostility" among community members. In an article in the *Minneapolis Star* summarizing the first year of the project, black student Greg Reed said that "cars had swerved toward black students as they crossed streets" and "threatening phone calls had been received." In an earlier article on the project, black student Sam Bradley gave a personal example of being threatened while crossing a street in town. He said that while he had been out walking, "a car [had]swerved as if to hit him" and the driver had yelled an obscenity at him. Besides incidents of racism, some students resented the way that community members put pressure on them to "teach" them about black culture. They felt that they "were brought up here to perform on a white man's stage."

Some project students, such as Isaac Banks, simply wanted to attend school and had no interest in educating whites. Project students expressed their overall dissatisfaction with the community in a spring 1969 survey of their experiences at MSC; they gave a very low ranking to the entry: Acceptance by the Community.[19]

Noted incidents of racism from community members occurred occasionally over the subsequent years of the project. For instance, in 1972, black MSC student Rochelle Callendar was told that in order to be hired as a ward clerk at Dakota Hospital in Fargo, she would have to "tone down her hair style a 'wee bit.' Sylvia Herndon, the project coordinator at the time, wrote a letter of complaint to the hospital, but Callendar was ultimately not hired even though she agreed to "make her hair less 'bouffant.'[20]

The students' relationship with the community did not improve markedly during the duration of the project. Part of the problem was the lack of black residents in both Fargo and Moorhead. In a July 1972 letter to a Mr. Jasper Browder from Mississippi who had expressed interest in sending some black students to MSC, the project's financial director, David Johnson, wrote: "I'm sure you know from students already here that there is not a supportive Black community in Moorhead...In an all white community those problems [of racism] can be more difficult to deal with than in other places where the racism is more out in the open."[21] A general lack of understanding probably also tainted relations between black students and the F-M community. Neither group had enough close contact with the other to be able to discount or get over long-standing suspicions and stereotypes.

Interracial Dating Grievances

Interracial dating was a major issue of contention at nearly every white college that recruited black students in the late 1960s and early 1970s. (*Loving v. Virginia*, in which

the Supreme Court declared it unconstitutional to restrict marriage because of race, had only been decided in June 1967.) Both black and white students had strong feelings on the topic. Sex is always the most volatile and sensitive aspect of race relations, and at MSC interracial dating proved to be one of the most divisive issues to come out of Project E-Quality. MSC black students were aware of white hostility to the idea of interracial dating. *Fargo Forum* reporter Wendy Ward noted in an article examining the first year of the project that "inter-racial dating seemed to be more of a hang-up with the whites than the black students." Many of the black students believed that it would be too dangerous to even try to date a white student. Black student Greg Wilson remarked: "I wouldn't go anywhere in this town alone with a white girl. It wouldn't be safe." Some students claimed that the interracial dating issue caused irrevocable damage to the project. In an article on Project E-Quality in the *Minneapolis Star*, a black MSC student "pinpointed white reaction to interracial dating as the principal cause of the failures of the program [Project E-Quality]."[22]

As at other white schools, it was more common and acceptable at MSC for black men to date white woman than for black women to date white men. This double standard sometimes angered black women who felt slighted by black men. Local reporter Kathy Kraft explained that at MSC more black men dated white women than the other way around because there were more black males than females at the college. She also noted how white women who dated black men at MSC were punished by white society. In an April 1969 article in the *Fargo Forum*, Kraft wrote: "There simply are not enough black women for black men to identify with -- no real problem unless black men date white women. Some of the white women who date black men have received 'obscene' phone

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calls and been blackballed socially…There has been little dating between black women and white men." In addition, the situation had the potential to create harmful tension between black and white women at MSC. A white student, Gloria Thompson, acknowledged this in a 1970 campus newspaper article about the project. She remarked that on campus "the black women are suspicious of the white women" because they see the white women as "edging up close to get at [their] men."[23]

Blacks were angered at the way that interracial dating seemed to ignite such intense and extreme responses among some whites. In an essay entitled, "Reflections of an Equality (ha!) Student," black MSC student Ran Bradley expressed the irritation many blacks felt at these overblown reactions. "Reflections" was originally submitted to *The Fat Giraffe*, MSC's campus literary magazine, but was rejected because the editors feared that the essay might put the future success of Project E-Quality at risk. However, the staff decided to send copies of the essay to all MSC faculty members because they believed it was a "sincere and genuine reflection of one student's frustrations with the whole situation a Project E-Quality student must face." On the topic of interracial dating, Bradley commented in his essay:

> Fall quarter was beautiful. Everyone, (almost), accepted (excepted) us (fronted off)…we began to mingle and mix and associate and acquaint and socialize with each other…then…the (cardinal/common) sin was committed…we took out: white girls (black guys, white guys, black girls). Mothers and fathers gasped and threatened, sisters and brothers rejoiced and spat. Friends () dropped their jaws, smiled and cursed.[24]

Clearly the issue of interracial dating was a hot topic at MSC during Project E-Quality. The uproar it caused among some whites was a major grievance for black students (some of whom did not support interracial dating either). However each person felt on the

issue, there was no doubt that the touchy topic was a source of great tension among black students, white students, and the F-M community.

Teachers and Academics Grievances

A grievance for many black students was the lack of black professors, advisers, counselors, and minority program directors at the colleges they attended. Black students believed that members of their own race would be more suitably equipped to help them deal with their experiences at the white schools. White teachers, they charged, often taught from a white perspective and did not understand black students' views on many topics. Black students had reason to complain; there were few black faculty members at most of the white schools they attended in the late 1960s and early 1970s, including MSC.

Since few faculty members were hired at all between 1968 and 1972 at MSC because of declining enrollment, the college could not make hiring more black faculty a priority. During Project E-Quality, only four black professors taught at MSC; two were hired in 1965, one in 1972, and one more in 1974. Nevertheless, Dille asserted later that the college "tried very hard" to hire black professors; unfortunately, lack of money and MSC's location in the white city of Moorhead hampered efforts. Still, black project students kept up the pressure for hiring more black professors. In November 1968, just three months after the students arrived at MSC, a black student seminar was held to discuss the subject of teaching at MSC. Education professor Bella Kranz spoke at the event. The black students at the seminar, along with Kranz, encouraged MSC to hire more black faculty members. They stressed the need for black teachers, arguing that they had "something special to bring to the classroom."[25]

Many black students preferred black advisers and counselors to help them with

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class selection and personal issues. Some felt that a white person, no matter how sympathetic, could never understand what they were going through as black students attending white colleges. At MSC, each student in Project E-Quality was assigned a faculty adviser who had been chosen from a pool of volunteers. Dr. James Condell, a black professor and chairman of the Project E-Quality Advising and Counseling Committee, tried to help his white colleagues better advise black students by providing them with a list of suggestions. He suggested, for instance, that advisers should possess a "willingness to become fully informed about minority groups" and also that they should develop the "ability to accept the underlying suspicion/hostility of minority students who, in the past, have been severely let-down and damaged psychologically by white counselors and advisors."[26]

Many students at MSC pushed for a minority project director. In June 1969, at the end of the first year of the program, *Fargo Forum* writer Wendy Ward reported that several of the project students wanted the program to be taken over by a minority person. Black student Cynthia Wilson commented, "Mrs. Selberg wasn't oriented to the group of people [project students] she was taking over." Even Selberg herself remarked after the first year of the project, "I wish we could have a minority person directing some parts of the program now in my charge. We are trying to hire someone without success to date." Although most students seemed to believe that Selberg was doing the best she could, despite her "whiteness," they felt that a minority director would be more in tune with their needs and thoughts. Black student Billy McCann expressed what many were thinking when he said: "I think she (Mrs. Selberg) did her bit. I like her. She seems like a nice person…[but]…I think Project E-Quality should be run by, like, a BLACK professor…who knows what

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being black is." As at other white schools that had minority recruitment programs, MSC was eventually able to support the black students' requests in this area. MSC hired several new black project coordinators (Dorothy Green in 1970, Sylvia Herndon in 1971, Joe Daniels in 1973, and Melvin Hendrix in 1974) after Selberg stepped down as director and took the new position of Coordinator for Special Projects.[27]

The addition of black students on white campuses changed the curriculum of the schools. Although Project E-Quality, by bringing fifty minority students to a white campus, turned out to be a social experiment, its original objective was education. Its goal was to provide a college education to those students who were denied one because they did not have enough money and/or because their high schools had not prepared them academically for college. Many black students, especially when they first arrived at white colleges, needed academic help to catch up to other students. This was also true at MSC. To be admitted to Project E-Quality, a student had to rank among the upper fifty percent of his or her high school class; score a twenty or better on the ACT; *or* provide other evidence of potential college ability (such as recommendations, recent improvement, a willing attitude, etc.). To accommodate the minority students who needed extra help, MSC added to its curriculum special tutoring programs, along with other academic aids offered on a non-credit basis, such as remedial English courses and reading improvement classes.[28]

Despite the academic help offered, many black students found it hard to get used to the expectations of white professors at MSC. Isaac Banks, a black project student from Mississippi, attested to this in a 2005 interview. He said that it took him a long time to adjust to what his teachers wanted. He claimed that while he usually *knew* class material as well as white students, he simply presented it differently than they did. For instance, he

remembered a teacher writing on one of his papers that although his ideas were good, he did not phrase them in the right way. This was frustrating for Banks, who complained that project students were not given enough instruction regarding what was expected of them in the classroom.[29]

Some black students were unhappy with the content of the classes they took at white colleges, maintaining that most textbook authors ignored the black role in United States history and culture. MSC black students claimed that "text books misrepresent[ed] actual American history." Student Carl Griffin commented: "White people ought to realize that in the early 1900s whites used to go into Negro areas and burn homes. They lynched. They shot women in the streets. And they never wrote about that in the history books." Black students at MSC, asserting that the classes they took ignored the black experience and failed to demonstrate a black awareness, advocated black studies classes. They felt it was important for them to learn about their own history and culture. MSC black student Timothy X remarked:

> It's necessary to have a thorough understanding of yourself before you can learn about other people. I think this is…why black studies courses are important. Black people need this knowledge of themselves, and they aren't going to get it from conventional history and cultural courses. As far as traditional history books go, we don't exist.[30]

Responding to black student demands for more classes relevant to their identity and history as a cultural group, a number of new classes and academic programs were developed at white colleges. At MSC, the first new classes were a series of seminars that all new project students were required to take. The seminars, each of which had no more than ten students of the same ethnic group, consisted of a sequence of three-credit humanities classes (Humanities 101, 102, 103). The classes concentrated on each minority

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group's history, culture, and current condition. Each seminar was designed to teach students verbal and writing skills, while at the same time delving deeper into "subject matter relevant to [their] own mode[s] of life and world-view." For instance, black students discussed black history, black writers, and any books, magazines, television shows, songs, or movies that depicted blacks. Because they allowed them to study their own history and culture through a black lens instead of a white one, the project students generally liked the seminar classes, giving them a high rating. Many characterized them as "the most beneficial part of the project." This did not mean that all students were happy with the seminars. To some, the class objectives seemed too haphazard and the instructors (some of them after the first year were minorities themselves) too domineering and meddlesome. Black student Ran Bradley, in his essay, "Reflections of an Equality (ha!) Student," wrote: "The seminars seem to be a cross between a black history course, a theoretical political science class, and a remedial English class (do you want me to teach you how to talk, walk, eat, sleep, dress, shit?)"[31]

A larger response to black demands for more minority-themed classes began with a proposal put forth in early 1969 to begin a series of minority group studies at MSC. An ad-hoc committee of the Institute For Minority Group Studies, which included two project students (Greg Reed and Harold Finn) and two faculty members (James Condell and Edith Stevens), spearheaded the proposal. Because of the belief that there was "an increasing need for the student body to know more about the history and culture" of the project students, the classes in the Institute would be open to white students. The new minority group studies program began offering classes in the winter of 1969-1970, with the option of attaining a minor in Minority Group Studies or a minor in Afro-American Studies (in

1972, minors were added in American Indian Studies and Mexican-American Studies).[32]

Besides general Social Science and Humanities survey classes, many specialized courses were also offered through the Institute, such as History 354: National Histories: Nigeria or English 438: Black Voices. The classes instilled pride in the minorities on campus and taught white students about the background of the diverse students brought to the campus through Project E-Quality. The Institute's stated objectives included:

> 1. To help minority students develop an understanding of their history, their culture, and themselves
> 2. To assist non-minority students in developing a meaningful approach to the study of minority group life.

The Institute remained separate from Project E-Quality, but the two of course worked very closely together. By December of 1972, the minority-themed classes had become so popular with the student body that more classes had to be added and more faculty members hired.[33]

Along with taking new classes that stressed their history and culture, black students became academic instructors themselves. They developed and taught "A Primer for Honkies," a black culture class offered to whites as part of MSC's Free University program.[34] By participating in black studies classes and teaching the Honkies class, black students at MSC played active roles in their educational experiences. They felt a great sense of achievement at being able to succeed academically at the white schools. In a 1969 survey of project students, the item, Feeling of Success: Academic Achievement, scored very high ratings.[35]

The students' "feeling of success" translated into good grades. As a whole, minority students who were part of Project E-Quality did very well academically.

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According to Dille, compared with the rest of the student body, a larger percentage of project students finished college and a larger percentage went on to graduate school. The students' retention rate remained "higher than the rest of the student body" throughout the years of the project, and their cumulative GPA (grade point average) went up each quarter. A July 1970 progress report stated that the project students' cumulative GPA was 1.91 at the end of the 1969 spring quarter, 2.12 after the 1969 fall quarter, 2.19 following the 1970 winter quarter, and 2.58 after the 1970 spring quarter. By June 1971, ninety percent of the current students in the program had GPAs of 2.00 or better. A December 1972 progress report noted that the rate of academic failure for project students was less than ten percent. In the spring of 1972, the first group of Project E-Quality students (twenty-two of the original fifty) graduated from MSC, receiving degrees in history, elementary education, sociology, mathematics, business administration, speech, and theater.[36]

Grievances Concerning Racism

Major Incidents: Spring 1969

Most of the racism that black students complained about on white campuses consisted of smaller, more subtle incidents. However, at least one high-profile conflict happened at nearly every white college that recruited black students. MSC was no exception; in the spring of April 1969, two highly publicized racist incidents occurred that heightened racial tension on campus and in the community. In the first incident, three black project students pulled out guns in a confrontation with a group of white students in Snarr Hall on the MSC campus. One of the students shot a blank into the floor. Three days later, a black student (not a Project E-Quality student) reported being shot at as he drove back to campus after a date. To many black students at MSC, the incidents were

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simply a magnified example of the kind of racism they faced every day.

The first event, which became known as the pizza incident, began early on the Thursday morning of April 17, 1969. Around 1:30 A.M., four black students, residents of Snarr Hall, ordered a pizza. When the pizza arrived, a white student asked the blacks if he could have a piece. This much of the story was later agreed upon by both sides. After that, the black and white students involved in the incident disagreed on just what exactly started the tense confrontation that followed. Both sides acknowledged that the situation quickly turned into a racially-motivated fight, with each side "accus[ing] the other of making racial remarks."[37]

Apparently, the blacks who had ordered the pizza never gave a slice to the white student who had asked for one. Instead, an argument began between the blacks and some white students who had been in the dorm lobby at the time that the pizza was delivered. These whites admitted later that "they had had maybe two beers, but not enough to cause trouble." The blacks claimed that they were harassed by the white students, but one of the white students retorted that the blacks had actually harassed him, calling him a "white Bastard." When another black student who was a part of the group that had ordered the pizza showed up, things turned ugly. The white students apparently "interpreted his arrival as reinforcements," and in retaliation, one of the white students left and returned with about twenty or so white reinforcements of his own. At that point, the name calling and racist "talk grew more belligerent," as just four or five blacks faced about twenty-five whites. According to the blacks involved, some of the whites eventually threatened to beat up the blacks if they crossed an imaginary line that one of them drew on the floor. It was after this threat that a gun suddenly went off.[38]

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It was later agreed upon that one of the black students had pulled out a handgun and shot a blank into the floor. The Snarr Hall resident hall manager took the gun away after the shot while most of the students hurried back to their rooms. The incident, as hot and tense as it had been, was over at that point. It was determined afterward that two other blacks at the scene had also been carrying guns, but did not shoot them. The black students later asserted that the gunshot had been necessary to break up the dangerous white mob which was threatening their safety. Former project student Isaac Banks still maintained thirty-six years after the fact that the shot had "probably prevented something bad from happening." The white students involved in the pizza incident, however, claimed that the situation had been nearly under control before the black students brought out guns.[39]

The three black students that had allegedly brandished guns were Jerrel Guy, Harry Broadfoot, and Richard Younge, all Project E-Quality students from Minneapolis. Younge was the student who had shot the blank at the floor. All three were arrested the following Friday afternoon and charged with aggravated assault "without intent to inflict great bodily harm," a felony; no white students were arrested in the incident. The three black students were put in the county jail for just a few hours before they were each appointed a lawyer and released. All three eventually pleaded guilty to simple assault. Younge and Guy were given ninety-day jail sentences while Broadfoot received a lesser sixty-day sentence. (There was still confusion as to whether he had actually had a gun during the incident.) None served jail time, however, because their sentences were deferred "for one year on condition of good behavior." In addition, none of the three was expelled from MSC.[40]

Early on the Sunday morning (April 20) after the Thursday pizza incident, a second serious incident involving a gun occurred, this one much more malicious. Floyd Thomas,

an MSC black student, was driving back to his dorm room in Ballard Hall after a date when he said his car was fired upon at the intersection of Twentieth Street and Eighth Avenue in Moorhead. He reported that after headlights from a car parked the wrong way on the street had shone on him "in an apparent attempt to blind him," four bullets had slammed into his black convertible in what appeared to be an attempted murder. Two of the bullets "struck near the driver's seat inside the car" with one hitting the steering column and the other hitting the inside of the driver's door. It was determined that the gun used had probably been a .32 or .38 caliber automatic pistol. Thomas had not been involved in the earlier Snarr pizza dispute and was not associated with Project E-Quality, but it was widely assumed, as Moorhead Chief of Police James Dickinson commented, that there were "probably racial implications" in this latest incident. Most students agreed with Dickinson; student Gloria Thompson was quoted in a later newspaper article: "The shooting incident – was it a racial incident? NOTHING BUT."[41]

Many black students were upset that only blacks had been arrested in the pizza incident, since they maintained that white students had started the confrontation. Black students believed "that the actions of the black students [had] prevented both harm to themselves and the mob they faced." They saw the black student arrests as prejudice on the part of the local policemen and community. In his 1969 essay, "Reflections of an Equality (ha!) Student," Ran Bradley expressed the sentiment of some of his fellow black students regarding the arrests. He wrote:

> The cats that started the shit are still walking around everyday, unharmed, no conscience bothering them, no reprimand, hand spanking or anything. They are white. The cats that were (attacked, confronted, approached, accosted) were charged with aggravated battery, possible expulsion from school, degraded by the whole (WHITE) community (ha!).

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Many black students believed that arresting white students along with the blacks would have caused an uproar in the community. Black student Cynthia Wilson noted in 1970 that the arrests had "pacified the white community." She said: "If they had arrested some white students, the community would still be burning about it."[42]

Black students saw both the pizza incident and the shooting at Floyd Thomas' car as just a few of the many racist acts committed by whites over the past year. In the April 25 edition of the *Mistic*, MSC minority students released a "Minority Student Statement," in which they told the black students' side of the pizza incident and recounted episodes of racism on the MSC campus. The many racist incidents demonstrated, they wrote, why a black student might "feel the need for a gun on campus." The students mentioned a number of different racist acts that had been committed against black students. These acts included: a black student had been terrorized for associating with a white woman; another black was hassled by a carload of white students, one of whom threw a can that hit him; two black students, on separate occasions, were told that whites were hunting for them with guns; and at least three blacks reported cars veering toward them.[43]

Some black students hoped that the incidents would make whites realize the depth of racism that existed at MSC. In an article in the *Minneapolis Tribune* entitled, "Shots Awaken Moorhead State to Racism," an unnamed black freshman commented: "Those honkies [white students] have finally got around to realizing that there's racism here. There could be another confrontation...and if happens again, the shots won't be blanks." In the same article, Carl Griffin remarked that what he feared most was that "white students might forget the incidents and what they mean." Black students wanted whites to stop being apathetic and take notice of the smaller racist acts that occurred often on campus.

They wanted whites to take some responsibility and act. As Dille said later in a speech following the incidents, whites needed to realize that they had "a stake in the great racial problem."[44]

White students' reactions to the two incidents were mixed. Many reiterated their support for the black students and Project E-Quality; some also used the incidents to remind their fellow students of the reality of racism at MSC. Others, however, claimed that the incidents proved that the black students had indeed brought trouble to the area. *Mistic* editor David Brawthen was one of those who made it clear that he supported the black students involved in the pizza incident. Claiming to be speaking for a concerned group of white students, he remarked:

> We are disgusted by the way the White community has trumped up the incident to display the Blacks' actions of self-defense as criminal actions...WE FIND ABSOLUTELY NO FAULT IN THE ACTIONS OF THE THREE ACCUSED BLACK STUDENTS. We feel their action during the incident and since have been totally justified, have been non-violent, and even prevented violence. Rather than accuse them we commend the entire Black community. We pledge our full assistance in their actions to prove their innocence and to show the white community the injustice and absurdity of their actions, and their violence.[45]

Wayne McFarland, the student body president during the 1968-1969 school year, supported the black students as well. He wrote a letter to the *Mistic* expressing his confidence in Project E-Quality and reminding everyone that race hatred, which was clearly alive and well in Fargo-Moorhead, needed to be continually battled against. Noting that the incidents brought to light the racism that existed at MSC and in the community, he wrote: "It is self-delusion to believe that the hatreds that infect our country are not to be found here. Since the original incident at Moorhead State College, black students have received repeated threats on their life...God help us, all the terrible insanity of race murder

walks through our community."[46]

White students in the Moorhead State chapter of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) also wrote a letter to the *Mistic*. The group contended that the charges against the blacks in the pizza incident should be dropped immediately because they had drawn their guns in self-defense. SDS also argued that the subsequent attempted murder of Floyd Thomas should be completely investigated and an arrest made. The group, making it clear that it was firmly on the side of the blacks in the incidents, ended its letter with this unambiguous statement: "We deplore the hostile attitudes and violent actions of the white community against black students…we will support them in their efforts to achieve justice. We encourage all white students to do the same."[47]

Other white students at MSC used the incidents as an excuse to express their own racist attitudes. Two students, James Maxson and Dennis Romanini, wrote an editorial in which they claimed that the black students that had taken part in the pizza incident should be kicked out of school. They wrote: "There was fear that there would be trouble with the arrival of black students. These fears were justified by the recent shooting incident in Snarr Hall."[48]

Their editorial was an exercise in politeness, however, compared to another letter in the *Mistic* written by a white student, Blaine Kruger, who described himself as a "bigoted southerner and damned proud of it." In his angry letter, he accused blacks of exaggerating their slave history; he quoted a book passage which implied that "ignorant and superstitious" blacks had actually benefited from slavery because they had become educated and civilized through it. He blamed MSC for bringing disaster to the campus and to the community. Kruger wrote: "I felt that from the conception of 'Project E-Quality'

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that somebody was asking for trouble and now by Christ you've got it and don't know what to do with it."[49]

The project experienced some of its most trying times during the weeks and months following the two incidents. The local media played up the two incidents. The Saturday (April 19) after the arrests in the pizza incident, the *Fargo Forum* ran a front page story on the incident. The comprehensive piece included a large picture of the three accused black students standing in the background of the Clay County Law Enforcement Center with Moorhead Chief of Police, James Dickinson, standing in the foreground. The media kept the story alive by interviewing anyone on the MSC campus who would discuss the pizza incident. In addition, over the next few months, *Forum* reporters carefully followed the story of the three black students who had been arrested, detailing their various court appearances. After the second incident, a striking photo of the front right window of Floyd Thomas' car with two bullet holes in it appeared on the front page of the *Fargo Forum*. The *Mistic* called the media coverage of both incidents "sensationalistic" and "not in the best interests of racial harmony within this community." Dille agreed, later claiming that the *Forum* blew the incidents out of proportion.[50]

Still, there was no doubt that the incidents had touched a nerve on campus and in the community; they made people question their racial attitudes as well as the viability of the project. Black students used the period of heightened racial awareness to make others aware of the racist attitudes present in the area. Some white students got the message, while others countered that the pizza incident showed that blacks were dangerous gun-toting individuals. The result was a somewhat confused and often divided community. A cartoon by student Denny Miller in the April 25 edition of the *Mistic* laid out the situation.

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In the sketch, a man representing the white community is shown telling a black man to "get out of town by sundown." Behind the black man is an SDS student standing with his hand resting protectively on the black man's shoulder. Standing ambiguously in the background are two men representing the local clergy and educators. The line on the bottom of the cartoon reads: "Moorhead: Where do you stand?"[51]

On the Monday (April 21) following the second major racial incident at MSC, President Dille called a general convocation at Nemzek Fieldhouse on the MSC campus. He believed that the college needed to confront the incidents directly. Speaking in front of about three thousand students and faculty, both black and white, he urged the audience to provide continued cooperation and support for Project E-Quality and its participants. He appealed for an end to the violence and misunderstanding between the different races at MSC, pleading: "Let me ask you not to cultivate hatred. Let me ask you to be slow to anger and quick to understand." He blamed the incidents on white racism, declaring: "We would sadly delude ourselves if we refused to see that at the root of our problems lies racial tension." Project E-Quality and the minority students involved in it, Dille maintained, had successfully triumphed over many obstacles in its first year, and they needed continued support to silence those citizens who were against the program. He declared:

> That there are those in the community that do not approve of Project E-Quality, we know. But we have not thought that they would prevail. That there are those in the community who are vicious, we know. But we have not thought that they would prevail. That there are those in the community who treat those who work for this Project with obscene snickers, we know. But we have not thought that they would prevail.

He urged students and faculty not to give up on the project, which he proclaimed was as important as ever one year after Martin Luther King's death. Dille's speech received a

standing ovation and demonstrated once more his support for the project. A college president who stood up for the ideals of his minority program, even in times of strife, could only help the chances of that program's success. Dille also got to showcase his talent for giving memorable speeches. One of the lines in his speech, "It is we who must learn that if we do not join white hands to black we will join bloody hands to bloody," [52] was quoted in countless articles and became the new favorite phrase of project supporters.

There is some evidence that, after the incidents, whites did realize how difficult it was for black students to adjust to an all-white college and community. Reporter Mike Hill of the *Minneapolis Tribune* wrote that the incidents "awakene[d] many to the realization that racial tensions have been running high on the campus." White students suddenly became very interested in black issues. A local bookstore that sold minority-themed books (probably the Browser Bookshop in the Moorhead Holiday Mall) sold more books after the incidents than it had in the entire previous year, and the number of whites attending the student-led black culture course "A Primer for Honkies" doubled. While black students were glad that white students were finally realizing that racism was a problem at MSC, they also knew that the newfound white interest would probably not last forever. They were resigned to the fact that the white student body would soon be "back to its apathetic self."[53] The two high-profile incidents at MSC that had awakened whites and angered blacks were not everyday occurrences, of course. Most acts of racism at white colleges were smaller and much more subtle in nature.

Incidents of Racism on Campus

All black students who attended white colleges in the late 1960s and early 1970s encountered racism from other students on the campuses. At MSC, students complained of

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campus racism both before and after the two big racist incidents in the spring of 1969. While there was no other real violence besides the two big incidents and no injuries were reported, black students reported facing racist comments and attitudes from whites almost daily. Unlike many places in the southern United States where the racism was more direct, black students agreed that the racism at MSC was usually of a more subtle type. As one unnamed black student commented: "You'd be surprised at the racial prejudice here…It's not overt. They smile at your face, but they stab you in the back."[54]

In newspaper articles and essays, black students expressed their feelings about the racism they found at their new college home. Many of them mentioned whites who made hurtful comments without even seeming to realize it. Louis Jones, discussing how racism was more subtle at Moorhead than it was in his hometown of Chicago, said: "What you encounter [here] is ignorance and insensitivity. People ask you questions with no thought behind them at all. Sometimes it hurts. It's often very trivial things. But it hurts." Several students mentioned hearing the word, nigger, thrown casually around. Deborah Johnson mentioned that she heard it said occasionally, and Carl Griffin remarked: I've been called 'nigger' by those who pat me on the back at the same time." Some black students noted a discrepancy in the way a few students spouted words about Christian love and understanding – and then turned around and practiced discrimination. One black student commented: "I've experienced racism by those who call themselves quote, Christians, unquote." On the topic of Christian racism, Carl Griffin added dispiritedly: "It's subtle prejudice. It would take too much time to explain the subtle prejudice of this community."[55]

The two big racist incidents in the spring of 1969 gave black students the

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opportunity to report many instances of racism that they had encountered, but had not mentioned publicly before. Headlining an article in the *Minneapolis Star* on Project E-Quality were the lines: "Latent Race Tensions Erupt," and "Blacks Frustrated, Resentful." In the article, black students talked about the relationship between blacks and whites on the MSC campus after the two incidents. Much of the interaction between the two races apparently had gone from friendly to strained to, in some cases, hostile. Black student Greg Reed remarked: "While initial acceptance of the students by the school and community was good, the situation steadily deteriorated." Reed blamed white fear of blacks as one of the major problems between the races at MSC. He said: "Everybody kept asking us when we were going to take over the administration building. They were waiting for us to do it. It's as though they thought that this is why we were up here." Black students at MSC could feel this white antagonism. *Star* reporter Peter Vaughan wrote that the black students "began to feel more and more that they were swimming in an increasingly hostile sea."[56]

In a *Fargo Forum* article called "Blacks at MSC Tell of Incidents Leading to Dormitory Gunfire," black students told reporter Kathy Kraft about a number of racist incidents, stemming all the way back to Freshman Week before classes had even started. They described to Kraft "some of the background that led to the apparent disintegration of what seemed to be a successful attempt to integrate black and white students." They told of how two black female Project E-Quality students had arrived at the beginning of the school year to find that they would not be living in a regular dorm room, but would be housed in a dorm basement because all of the rooms were full. This was not an unusual situation at the time for any student, black or white; however, as the year progressed, the two girls found

themselves continuously stuck in the basement while countless white girls were eventually moved into normal rooms.[57]

In another complaint, one black male discussed how he was invited to parties and then told to leave soon after he arrived. A different student reported that he had been almost hit by a car filled with whites who had screamed "that they would get him." Yet another said that he had been called a nigger in German by a white student who had apparently assumed that as a black he would not know what the German word meant. In addition, several blacks reported receiving threatening phone calls regarding the pizza incident.[58] The black students had previously kept all of these grievances to themselves; however, in the wake of the pizza and car shooting episodes, they decided to share them.

Many black students asserted that white racism had increased over the first year, until it had erupted in the pizza incident. They thought there were several reasons for this. Black student Quilla Turner explained: "Misunderstanding built up over such things as wearing naturals…and minority groups being proud of themselves." According to a number of the minority students, some white students and townspeople who had earlier welcomed them had grown unfriendly toward them when they started displaying some confidence and racial pride. For example, in a front-page article in the *Mistic* entitled, "MS Racial Tension High," one white student commented: "After the middle of second quarter the blacks started getting snobby and there was a lot of resentment. They really started believing 'black is beautiful' and they didn't act equal anymore. They wouldn't even say 'hi' to you." A few of the students also mentioned the problematic attitudes of area whites who did not understand that black protests were not about promoting violence, but were ultimately about achieving economic and political power. Black student Greg Reed

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complained that "white people often have the wrong concept of black power. They see it as rioting and looting."[59]

It was the racist attitudes of white parents, black students agreed, that constituted the biggest problem; the parents passed their prejudices to their children, who in turn passed them on to their kids. Two black MSC students, Karen Thorpe and Barbara Cullin, commented: "White parents have taught their kids not to come into personal contact with black people and the kids are just scared. You…feel sorry for them. What's going to happen when they leave here and have to face up to themselves and what they're afraid of?"[60]

Black students faced racism on the white campuses they inhabited in the late 1960s and early 1970s but, to a large degree, they managed to make the best of their situations. Knowing that they could not completely eradicate racism, they acted to move beyond it. By voicing their dissatisfactions with circumstances that they did not agree with and trying to find solutions, they went from complaining about some of the difficulties they experienced at white schools to actually doing something about them.

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[1] Carl Griffin, interview by Timothy Madigan; quotation from Cynthia Wilson, "Whatever Happened to Project E-Quality," *Moorhead Independent News*, 19 November 1970, p. 11.

[2] Quotation from "E-Quality Raises $9700," *Valley Times*, 17 June 1968; quotation from Ruff, "A Living Dream," *Fargo Forum*.

[3] Quotation from Letter to Gentlemen from Lois Selberg, 27 April 1970, Lois Selberg File, E-Q Papers; quotations from Letter to Miss Selberg from Hubert S. Shaw, Chief of the Educational Opportunity Grants (EOGs) Branch of the Federal Division of Student Financial Aid, 8 June 1970, Corr. 1970-1971 File, E-Q Papers; Memo to Sylvia Maupins from David H. Anderson, 12 August 1971, Corr. 1970-1971 File, E-Q Papers.

[4] Quotations from Wendy Ward, "MSC's Project E-Quality Looks Back on Shaky First Year," *Fargo Forum*, 15 June 1969, Newspaper File, E-Q Papers; Isaac Banks, interview by author, 6 July 2005, cassette tape, conducted at the MSUM Comstock Memorial Union in Moorhead, MN; quotation from Ruff, "A Living Dream," *Fargo Forum*.

[5] Quotations from "Steering Committee Meeting with President Dille," 3 November 1970, Steering Committee 1969-1971 File, E-Q Papers.

[6] Steering Committee Meeting minutes, 5 November 1970, Steering Committee 1969-1971 File, E-Q Papers; quotation from Minority Meeting minutes, 14 October 1971, Minutes of Committees 1968-1970 File, E-Q Papers.

[7] Carl Griffin, interview by Timothy Madigan; "Project E-Quality Reaches Goal," *Valley Times*, 11 September 1968, Newspaper File, E-Q Papers; quotation from Lois Selberg, interview by Timothy Madigan; Isaac Banks, interview by author.

[8] "Jung, Halverson, Tweedle, Finn, Omelianchuk Win in Student Senate Elections," *Mistic*, 15 November 1968, p. 1; Mike Hill, "Shots Awaken Moorhead State to Racism," *Minneapolis Tribune*, 5 May 1969, Newspaper File, E-Q Papers; "E-Q Student to be RA," *E-Quality Report* (8 May 1970): 2, E-Quality Project Reports File, E-Q Papers; "Black Student Elected to Senate," *E-Quality Report* (18 January 1971): 2; Isaac Banks, interview by author; Cooper, 32.

[9] Quotation from Carl Griffin, interview by Timothy Madigan; quotation from George Halvorson, "Moorhead Negro College Students Know About Race Prejudice in F-M," *Fargo Forum*, 8 May 1968, Newspaper File, E-Q Papers; quotation from Nancy Edmonds column, *Fargo Forum*, 12 January 1970, p. 3.

[10] Quotation from Carl Griffin, interview by Timothy Madigan; quotation from Ruff, "A Living Dream," *Fargo Forum*; quotation from Peter Vaughan, "Moorhead State – adrift on a burning sea of unrest," *Minneapolis Star*, 16 June 1969, p. 13A, Newspaper File, E-Q Papers; Lois Selberg, "E-Quality Progress Report," 1 June 1970; quotation from Lee Elder, "Whatever Happened to Project E-Quality," p. 10.

[11] Carl Griffin, interview by Timothy Madigan; Isaac Banks, interview by author; quotations from Vaughan, "adrift on a burning sea of unrest," *Minneapolis Star*, 16 June 1969.

[12] Quotation from "700 Attend Appreciation Program for Neumaier," *Fargo Forum*, 15 May 1968, Newspaper File, E-Q Papers.

[13] Quotation from Steve Berg, "Dr. Dille Discounts Opposition to E-Quality," *Fargo Forum*, June 1968, Newspaper File, E-Q Papers; quotation from Roland Dille, interview by Lawrence W. Byrnes.

[14] Quotation from Lois Selberg, interview by author; quotation from Lois Selberg, interview by Timothy Madigan.

[15] Quotation from Letter to Mrs. Lois Selberg from Mark Andrews, 5 June 1968, Pres. Neumaier File, E-Q Papers.

[16] Quotations from Halvorson, "Students Know About Race Prejudice," *Fargo Forum*, 8 May 1968.

[17] Quotations from "College Potential to Be Criteria for 'Project E-Quality' Recruits," *Fargo Forum*, 8 May 1968, p. 17; quotation from Ken Nelson, "Open Letter to Community," *Mistic*, 24 May 1968, p. 2.

[18] "Objectives of Project E-Quality," *APEX*, 3 May 1968, p. 1 and 5, Newspaper File, E-Q Papers.

[19] Quotation from Roland Dille, interview by author; quotations from Ward, "Shaky First Year," *Fargo Forum*; Isaac Banks, interview by author; quotations from Vaughan, "adrift on a burning sea of unrest," *Minneapolis Star*, 16 June 1969; quotation from Ruff, "A Living Dream," *Fargo Forum*; "Student Evaluation of Project E-Quality," created by Wiley H. Samuels and James F. Condell, June 1969, Misc. 1968-70 File, E-Q Papers.

[20] Quotations from Letter to Miss Sylvia Maupins from Bruce T. Brigg, Assistant Administrator of Dakota Hospital, 11 January 1972, Corr. 1972- File, E-Q Papers.

[21] Quotation from Letter to Mr. Jasper Browder from David Johnson, 18 July 1972, Corr. 1972- File, E-Q Papers.

[22] Quotations from Ward, "Shaky First Year," *Fargo Forum*; quotations from Vaughan, "adrift on a burning sea of unrest," *Minneapolis Star*, 16 June 1969.

[23] Quotation from Kathy Kraft, "Blacks at MSC Tell of Incidents Leading to Dormitory Gunfire," *Fargo Forum*, 19 April 1969, p. 5; Gloria Thompson, "Whatever Happened to Project E-Quality," p. 8.

[24] Quotation from Memo to All MSC Faculty from *The Fat Giraffe*, May 1969, Misc. 1968-1970 File, E-Q Papers; quotation from Ran Bradley, "Reflections of an Equality (ha!) Student," Spring 1969, Misc. 1968-1970 File, E-Q Papers.

[25] Cooper, 27; Roland Dille, interview by author; quotation from Ruff, "A Living Dream," *Fargo Forum*.

[26] Quotations from James F. Condell, Chairman of the Sub-Committee on Academic Advisement, "MSC Project E-Quality Advisor Suggestions," 13 September 1968, Pres. Dille File, E-Q Papers.

[27] Quotation from Ward, "Shaky First Year," *Fargo Forum*; quotation from Memo to Moorhead State College Faculty from Lois Selberg, "General Evaluation," Spring/Summer 1969, Misc. 1968-1970 File,

E-Q Papers; quotation from Billy McCann, "Whatever Happened to Project E-Quality," p. 10; "E-Quality Gets New Coordinator, Progress Report Issued," *Moorhead State College Newsletter* (Summer Session, vol. II, no. 3, 30 June 1970): 1, Misc. 1970 File, E-Q Papers; "Project E-Quality," http://www.mnstate.edu/equality/.

[28] "E-Quality Program," 1971 Brochure, Misc. 1970-1971 File, E-Q Papers; Appendix II of "A Proposal Submitted to the Assistant Secretary/Commissioner of Education," April 1970, Misc. 1970 File, E-Q Papers.

[29] Isaac Banks, interview by author.

[30] Quotation from Halvorson, "Students Know About Race Prejudice," *Fargo Forum*, 8 May 1968; quotation from Memo to Faculty from J.B. Barton, Dept. of Speech Instructor, Corr. 1972- File, E-Q Papers; quotation from Nancy Edmonds, *Fargo Forum*, 12 January 1970.

[31] Cooper, 27; quotation from Mary Pryor, "Interim Reflections on the E-Quality Seminars," 7 August 1968, Pres. Neumaier File, E-Q Papers; quotation from "E-Quality: Equal Opportunity in Education," Spring/Summer 1969, Misc. 1968-1970 File, E-Q Papers; quotation from Ran Bradley, "Reflections," Spring 1969.

[32] Quotation from Colin Lowe, "Ad-Hoc Group Pushes For Minority Studies," *Mistic*, 11 April 1969, p. 1; Cooper, 27; Wendell Gorum, chairman, "Proposed Program of Study in the Institute for Minority Group Studies, April 1972, Misc. 1972-1974, 1988 File, E-Q Papers.

[33] Quotation from "Program of the Institute of Minority Group Studies at Moorhead State College," Misc. 1968-1970 File, E-Q Papers; Project E-Quality Progress Report, 1 December 1972, Misc. 1972-1974, 1988 File, E-Q Papers.

[34] Brian Coyle, the MSC Humanities professor who spoke out against the Vietnam War draft, first came up with the Free University idea as an undergraduate student at the University of Minnesota. He later transplanted the program to MSC.

[35] "Student Evaluation of Project E-Quality," June 1969.

[36] Roland Dille, interview by author; quotation from Letter to Faculty Members from John Jenkins, E-Quality Fund Committee Chairman, 4 June 1971, Misc. 1970-1971 File, E-Q Papers; Lois Selberg, "E-Quality: Equal Opportunity in Education Progress Report," July 1970, Misc. 1970-1971 File, E-Q Papers; Project Progress Report, 1 December 1972; Cooper, 33.

[37] Quotation from "Handguns Figure in Dorm Fracas," *Fargo Forum*, 19 April 1969, p. 1.

[38] Quotation from Kathy Kraft, "White MSC Students Give Their Version on Gun Incident," *Fargo Forum*, 22 April 1969, p. 1-2; quotation from Kraft, "Blacks at MSC Tell of Incidents," *Fargo Forum*, 19 April 1969.

[39] "Handguns," *Fargo Forum*, 19 April 1969; quotation from Isaac Banks, interview by author.

[40] Quotation from "Handguns," *Fargo Forum*, 19 April 1969; "Decision Delayed in Assault Cases," *Fargo Forum*, 3 June 1969, p. 1, Newspaper File, E-Q Papers; "2 Plead Guilty to Reduced Charges in MSC Gun Case," *Fargo Forum*, 12 June 1969, p. 1-2; "Student Sentenced in MSC Incident," *Fargo Forum*, 25 June 1969, p. 1, Newspaper File, E-Q Papers; quotation from "MSC Student Sentenced for Shooting Incident," *Valley Times*, 25 June 1969, Newspaper File, E-Q Papers.

[41] Quotations from "4 Shots Fired into Car of Student at MSC," *Fargo Forum*, 21 April 1969, p. 1; quotation from Gloria Thompson, "Whatever Happened to Project E-Quality," p. 8.

[42] Quotation from "Minority Student Statement," *Mistic*, 25 April 1969, p. 4; quotation from Ran Bradley, "Reflections," Spring 1969; quotation from Cynthia Wilson, "Whatever Happened to Project E-Quality," p. 11.

[43] Quotations from "Minority Student Statement," *Mistic*, 25 April 1969.

[44] Quotations from Hill, "Shots Awaken Moorhead State," *Minneapolis Tribune*; quotation from "Dille Re-Endorses Project E-Quality," *Fargo Forum*, 21 April 1969, p. 2.

[45] Quotation from "Statements from MSC Press Session," *Fargo Forum*, 21 April 1969, p. 2.

[46] Quotation from Wayne McFarland, "Race Murder in the Streets," *Mistic*, 25 April 1969, p. 5.

[47] Quotations from "SDS Statement," *Mistic*, 25 April 1969, p. 5.

[48] Quotation from James Maxson and Dennis Romanini, "Equality in Punishment," *Mistic*, 25 April 1969, p. 4.

[49] Quotations from Blaine Kruger, "Another Whitey Speaks," *Mistic*, 25 April 1969, p. 5.

[50] "3 at MSC Charged in Gun Incident," *Fargo Forum*, 19 April 1969, p. 1; "4 Shots Fired," *Fargo Forum*, 21 April 1969; quotations from "Press Session," *Fargo Forum*, 21 April 1969; Roland Dille, interview by author.

[51] Quotations from "Cartoon by Denny Miller," *Mistic*, 25 April 1969, p. 5.

[52] Roland Dille, interview by author; "Dille Re-Endorses Project," *Fargo Forum*, 21 April 1969; "Text of President Dille's Speech," Convocation held April 21, 1969, Pres. Dille File, E-Q Papers.

[53] *Polk's Fargo and Moorhead City Directory*, St. Paul: R.L. Polk & Co. Publishers, 1970. The initial owner of the Browser Bookshop was a black man, Earl Wordlaw, who also served as director of the MSC Student Union. (Earl's name was provided by Terry Shoptaugh and Lois Selberg.); quotations from Hill, "Shots Awaken Moorhead State," *Minneapolis Tribune*; Vaughan, "adrift on a burning sea of unrest," *Minneapolis Star*, 16 June 1969.

[54] Quotation from Jerome Clark and Wayne McFarland, "MS Racial Tension High," *Mistic*, 25 April 1969, p. 1.

[55] Quotations from Halvorson, "Students Know About Race Prejudice," *Fargo Forum*, 8 May 1968.

[56] Quotations from Vaughan, "adrift on a burning sea of unrest," *Minneapolis Star*, 16 June 1969.

[57] Quotations from Kraft, "Blacks at MSC Tell of Incidents," *Fargo Forum*, 19 April 1969.

[58] Quotations from Kraft, "Blacks at MSC Tell of Incidents," *Fargo Forum*, 19 April 1969; Vaughan, "adrift on a burning sea of unrest," *Minneapolis Star*, 16 June 1969.

[59] Quotation from Ward, "Shaky First Year," *Fargo Forum*; quotation from Jerome Clark and Wayne McFarland, "MS Racial Tension High," *Mistic*, 25 April 1969; quotation from Ruff, "A Living Dream," *Fargo Forum*.

[60] Quotation from Nancy Edmonds, *Fargo Forum*, 12 January 1970.

CHAPTER FOUR

Separate Black Groups and Activities

Black students at MSC, like black students at other white colleges at the time, formed separate groups and stressed black unity as a method of coping with the overwhelming number of white people by whom they were surrounded. Black separatism was feasible on white campuses because of the rising numbers of black students at white colleges in the late 1960s and early 1970s, which made it possible for black students to live, eat, and play together with little direct contact with whites. As more blacks began attending white colleges, the two races drifted apart into separate societies on many campuses. Black separatism acted as a powerful coping mechanism for students who felt uncomfortable at the white schools. As black project student Isaac Banks commented, black students at MSC tended to hang out together because they could let their inhibitions down and be themselves without watchful white eyes following their every move.[1] By forming tightly knit black groups separate from the white world, black students fought feelings of isolation and often formed close friendships.

However, black students hoped to do more than just cope with feelings of isolation and make friends by forming separate groups; they also tried to forge a distinct identity, one not dependent on whites. As Arnold Cooper wrote, MSC black students "were determined to define their own existence, and this definition included the ingredient of 'emergent separatism,' a conviction shared by many" that blacks must become independent of the white world. In forming these ideas, black students were partly influenced by the Black Power messages of men like Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) leader Stokely Carmichael and Black Muslim leader Malcolm X. Carmichael's declaration

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of "Black Power!" energized a new generation of black students to take pride in their blackness and celebrate their heritage and identity. Similarly, Malcolm's "affirmations of black pride and unity, of black self-reliance and separatism, of black self-assertion and self defense" touched many young black students, including those at MSC, who strove to achieve these ideals. In November 1969, black student Linda McGowan pleaded for unity among the black students on the MSC campus. In an article in the campus minority newsletter, *E-Quality Report*, she wrote:

> The Black sisters and brothers on campus are not together. We must get together. There is no unity and unity is sorely needed on this campus…The brothers and sisters need to unite, organize, and support one another in their endeavors. There are 38 Project E-Quality black students at Moorhead State College; we should be the ones who take the lead in organizing and supporting the minority cause at M.S.C…The blacks on campus must show a united front to all bigots, liberals, and honkies. We've got to get together. We must lay the foundation for our future brothers and sisters. We won't get any help from anyone else…UNITE.[2]

Emphasizing the need for racial pride and unity, black students at MSC formed a number of different black organizations and held various black-only events. Almost a year before the start of Project E-Quality, in November 1967, the few black students already at NDSU, Concordia, and MSC joined together to form the Afro-American Friendship Organization (later called the Afro-American Club). This club took charge of the new Cultural Exchange Center that was to be built for the incoming minority students.[3] The Center symbolized the separatist status of MSC's black students. It became a place for black students to gather away from whites and participate in their own separate activities in a secure environment.

After the first Project E-Quality students began to arrive in the fall of 1968, they formed more black clubs and groups. Referring to each other as brothers and sisters, they

organized chapters of the United Black Students, S.O.U.L. (Social Organization for Unity and Leadership), the Black Student Union, the Black Men's Organization, and the Black Women's Organization. Some, such as the Black Women's Organization, which was founded by MSC student Deborah Reed in 1971, included not just students, but all blacks in the F-M area who wished to join. Black students at MSC interested in sports formed the Black College Masters, which competed in intramural basketball and baseball games. Black MSC students also started an intramural bowling team. These blacks-only groups caught the attention of others at MSC who could not help but take notice of the tight-knit black community on campus. Loye M. Lynk, Special Counselor for the American Indian Students at MSC, commented on the black unity at the college in a letter to student Greg Reed, chairman of MSC's Black Expression Month (held April 1972). In her letter, Lynk declared:

> There are always at least a half a dozen [black] students in the [Project E-Quality] office working and the unity and pride that appears to be present with them is really a beautiful thing. I have been at Moorhead State for four years and this is the first year I have seen such togetherness. The Blacks on this campus are doing a terrific job, and I sincerely hope it continues.[4]

Through their activities in the early 1970s, black students at MSC often formed connections with black students at other white colleges in the area. For instance, in 1970, a few MSC students attended a "big Black Weekend" in Collegeville, Minnesota, to celebrate the opening of a new cultural center at St. John's University there. At St. John's, the students participated in workshops, talks, dances, and parties. In addition, two S.O.U.L. representatives from MSC attended a Black Conference Week at Macalester College, and a few others traveled to an African Students Association of Minnesota (ASAM) regional meeting. In 1972, Gary Hogan of the Black Brotherhood and Cultural

Development Organization (St. Cloud) invited the MSC Black Student Union to a meeting in St. Cloud to discuss volunteer prison work.[5]

Blacks at MSC led the way in starting some new statewide organizations. In April 1972, MSC hosted the very first meeting of the Black Students of Minnesota Association (BSMA); twenty-eight black students from around the state traveled to Moorhead for the event. The new club, with roots in ASAM, aimed to "bring the Brothers and Sisters on…different campuses together in unity and Brotherhood." Students in BSMA published a newsletter at MSC called *Harambe* (a Swahili word meaning unity and togetherness). Also in April 1972, an organizational meeting of the Minority Counselors and Directors of Minnesota (MCDMA) was held at MSC; MCDMA was founded by Sylvia Herndon, coordinator of EOMS (Educational Opportunities for Minority Students), and Loye Lynk, the American Indian student counselor. Its purpose was to get counselors of minority students and directors of minority programs at Minnesota colleges together to meet and compare ideas. The MCDMA meeting was attended by representatives from fifteen colleges in the state, including the University of Minnesota at Crookston, Concordia College of St. Paul, and Concordia College of Moorhead. The organization later became the MCDMP (Minnesota Counselors and Directors of Minority Programs). Although BSMA and MCDMP were eventually relocated to the University of Minnesota, Twin Cities, it was very significant that both were started at MSC. Because of the leadership qualities and confidence they acquired from Project E-Quality, black students at MSC served as student leaders for black students throughout the state of Minnesota.[6]

Black Cultural Pride

Along with forming separate groups, black students at white schools in the late

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1960s and early 1970s began to promote cultural events that heightened their visibility and compelled the white campus community to recognize them. In the words of MSC student Carl Griffin, black college students set out to show that whites, not blacks, were the ones who were "culturally deprived."[7] Arriving at MSC, black students had to assimilate in various ways to the white world in which they found themselves. By showcasing features of their black culture, black students turned the tables, inviting whites to step into their world. Their activities changed attitudes and opened the eyes of local white students who had previously not been exposed to black art, literature, clothing styles, language, and other features of black culture.

Besides educating whites, black students also expressed their culture as a way to show their own pride in their history and identity. Again, as with the formation of their separate clubs, many black students were partly influenced by the Black Power message. Equating Black Power with the idea that black was beautiful, black students "emphasized their racial characteristics and joyously affirmed their skin color and life-styles, music and food, dialect and culture." By celebrating their culture, they demonstrated that quietly blending into the dominant white college culture was not an option. Black students at white schools agreed with singer James Brown when he sang: "Say it loud – I'm black and I'm proud."[8]

MSC black students began displaying aspects of their culture not long after they arrived at the college, often doing so with the power of the pen. In the spring of 1969, minority students began reporting for and submitting pieces of creative writing to a newly launched minority newsletter entitled, *E-Quality Report*. As the second year of Project E-Quality began, the students were given complete editorial responsibility for the newsletter.

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Determining that the *E-Quality Report* should be "more than just a collection of announcements," students added "articles, poems, and bits of information about the minorities involved in Project E-Quality."[9] The *E-Quality Report* became a way to celebrate their own black (and Hispanic and American Indian) identity, as well as share their culture with whites.

The newsletter was also an ideal place for black students to express their real feelings on racism, black nationalism, Black Muslims, Black Power, segregation versus integration, and other black issues that might not get as much coverage in the MSC campus newspaper. Although it earned them charges of being anti-white, black students nevertheless used the newsletter to express views which some characterized as radical. For example, in an article entitled "Letter to Black Students," Greg Reed wrote about black nationalism and expressed his ideas on what blacks needed to do in order to obtain the dignity they desired. He wrote:

> The Afro-American must integrate with his own people. He must learn of his past, examine his present and define his future. The black man is the only one who may define his future. No white man, despite his intelligence or sincerity, is capable or should be allowed to do this. The Afro-American must become independent of the white world. The price to be paid for the absence of Black dignity within the nation's society is the destruction of the nation.[10]

Some black students wrote original essays or penned plays. In 1969, black student Ran Bradley wrote the provocative essay, "Reflections of an Equality (ha!) Student," satirizing discrimination at MSC and in the F-M community. In 1971, two black freshmen, Hewitt Bethel and Lester Hall, wrote and directed a play called "The World is a Ghetto." The play addressed the difficult problems blacks experienced in urban ghettos. Also in 1971, black student Timothy X wrote his own play, "Speak of Revolution!" which was

produced at MSC. The play, which helped raise money for Project E-Quality, was billed as a "learning experience" for people of all races. Timothy X served as the chairman of the Play Committee for the United Black Students organization. Besides "Speak of Revolution!" he also wrote and directed other plays, including one called "The Black Poet." Black students at MSC assisted Timothy with his plays, serving as actors and helping with scenery, lighting, and other aspects of putting on a theatrical production.[11]

Black MSC students also used the power of their voices to express their history and culture. Many of their activities were meant to educate whites. "A Primer for Honkies," a course taught by black students in MSC's Free University, aimed to instruct whites "in Black history and contemporary issues in the Black crisis." The class, started in 1968, was offered on Wednesday evenings and was open to all. Students taking the course read books such as *Before the Mayflower* by Lerone Bennett and *The Negro Pilgrimage* by C. Eric Lincoln. The class gave black students the chance to share their culture and white students the chance to see beyond stereotypes and learn more about MSC's black students. White student Gloria Thompson, commenting on what "A Primer for Honkies" had taught her, remarked: "My racism...was subtle...comments that are always made in the white community...so subtle it is a part of you...because you grew up in a sheltered area. Given a chance to confront human beings on human terms, color ends, people begin."[12]

Black student speakers were often in demand because white curiosity about their culture remained strong throughout the duration of the project. In 1972, a group of MSC black students established a Black Speakers' Bureau in response to white students and F-M residents who "expressed a desire to better understand Black culture and lifestyles." Paid ten dollars for each event, the black students spoke to interested campus and community

groups on a variety of topics, such as The Black Woman; Black Aesthetics; and Racism, Prejudice, and Discrimination in the F-M Area.[13]

Community members in Fargo, Moorhead, and surrounding towns took advantage of the MSC black students' willingness to share their knowledge and experiences. In February 1969, three black students gave a talk at a local Lutheran church, in which they "discussed black contributions to revitalizing all-white campuses." Two months later, several black students went to a local high school to give a talk called Black Response-Past and Present. In May 1969, three black students, Greg Reed, Cynthia Wilson, and Ras Wooten, gave a presentation to the Gate City Nurses' Association in Fargo. In November 1969, black students Val Maxwell and Steve Burns traveled with Dr. James Condell and Lois Selberg to Grand Rapids (Minnesota) High School to discuss race issues. In February 1970, Steve Burns and Selberg met with the senior class at Hendrum (Minnesota) High School to discuss race problems; during the same month, a panel of black students talked to classes at Fargo South High School. In September 1972, Sister Anne Louise, a teacher at Shanley High School in Fargo, brought eight students from her minority studies class to MSC to visit with black Project E-Quality students about their experiences as minorities on the MSC campus.[14]

Black students made sure that the MSC campus was a place where black culture was frequently on display. They brought black speakers, singers, dancers, and other notables to the MSC campus. These events were attended by both black and white students. For example, in April 1969, John Doyle of the Minneapolis Urban League and the Martin Luther King Incentives Program came to campus to converse with MSC black students and other interested persons. In November 1969, the University Players, a student

theater group from Virginia Union University in Richmond, Virginia, presented a play in the Comstock Memorial Union Ballroom on the MSC campus. The event was part of the cultural exchange program between Concordia College (Moorhead) and Virginia Union University; the University Players traveled from Richmond to perform the play, which was called "Black...Out!" at both Concordia and MSC. In October 1970, MSC black students collaborated with B & T Productions to bring singer Doris Hines to the college. In November 1970, black author Nathan Hare read from his book, *The Black Anglo Saxons*, at the Center for the Arts on campus.[15]

Black students at MSC also created their own cultural entertainments on the campus. In April 1972, they organized a Black Expression Month, during which they sponsored numerous activities designed to "create awareness of Black culture and expression." Black student Greg Reed coordinated the month's activities. The month had a double purpose: to "provide opportunit[ies] for whites to actively participate in [the black] cultural experience," and to promote black unity. The African-American blacks organizing the event specifically invited African students and foreign blacks to participate in the month so that American blacks could "understand better the experiences of [their] Brothers and Sisters around the world." The month featured talks on black history, Black Muslims, and other black topics; a film on African culture; a black dance; a boxing and judo demonstration; and poetry and arts festivals. The events raised a number of thought-provoking issues, which provided for some interesting discussions. For instance, a minister from Minneapolis, the Reverend Curtis Herron, spoke on the topic: "Which side is God on – Black or White?"[16]

Some black students showcased specific talents on campus and in the community.

Student Barbara Marsh, noted for her singing voice, performed at a number of functions at MSC and in the F-M area. In early April 1969, she sang with the MSC Stage Band in a benefit show designed to raise funds for Project E-Quality. Later in April, Marsh, along with black student Quilla Turner, performed at Concordia College at the invitation of black student Melvin Hendrix. According to an article in the *E-Quality Report*, they both "received praise from the president and faculty members of Concordia College," and were "invited to return for a gospel concert."[17]

Many of the cultural events organized by MSC black students were designed to raise money for Project E-Quality. In 1969, project students opened a bookstore at the Cultural Exchange Center, selling minority-themed books for a reduced price. In the spring of 1972, blacks, along with American Indian and Hispanic students at MSC, opened an ethnic boutique shop to sell cultural artistic items, such as dashikis, macramé, and Indian beads. The new shop, named SMOE (EOMS backwards), was completely managed and staffed by minority students, who also made many of the items for sale. An article in the *Fargo Forum* characterized SMOE as "highly successful." The article reported that "new innovations [were] being discussed such as having clerks in ethnic dress and offering ethnic dancing lessons."[18]

Beginning in 1969, Project E-Quality began holding E-Quality Fairs as a way to raise money for the program. The fairs were planned and organized largely by project students, who collaborated with interested white MSC students to put on the big fundraisers. The fairs provided opportunities for minority students to showcase various aspects of their culture. The second E-Quality Fair, in 1970, featured a black fashion show, along with plenty of other "entertainment, exhibits, sales, [and] booths." There was a black

art display, a literature booth, a theater piece, an International Café of food, and a Wall of Respect, featuring notable black men and women. Besides being ways to celebrate minority culture and raise money, it was hoped that stubborn white prejudices and stereotypes could be overcome through the fairs. Regarding the 1970 fair, black student Greg Reed wrote in the campus newspaper: "Among the games and gaiety the fair hopes to extend the reaches of human relations and understanding."[19]

Not all cultural events planned by black students included whites; like the separate groups students formed, some events were meant mainly for blacks. An example was the annual black fashion shows that the Black Women's Organization held. While the shows perhaps helped educate whites on the latest black clothing styles, their main purpose was to inspire black unity. Linda McGowan of the Black Women's Organization expressed this idea in a letter to her Brothers and Sisters, in which she invited them to the 1972 fashion show; she wrote:

> The show is given each year as an entertainment outlet for you. The models for the show are your brothers and sisters and I know they would appreciate your active support by being at the show. If every Black person attended the show, it would be a social and financial success…Support your brothers and sisters, meet old friends and make some new ones!

Besides serving as clothing models at the fashion shows, black students also served as commentators and provided musical entertainment.[20]

One event that MSC black students planned specifically just for themselves was a Quanza (often spelled Kwanzaa) dinner held at the Cultural Exchange Center in April 1970. The students' celebration of the black American holiday demonstrated their pride in their culture and identity. The dinner was sponsored by the Afro-American Club, which got a number of businesses to donate food and supplies for the event. Some of the local

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companies that helped sponsor the celebration were the Big Red Grocery Company, the Bob Peterson Truck Farm, the Fargo Paper Company, the Fargo Wholesale Meat Supply, Kraft Foods, Piggly Wiggly, R.F. Gunkelman and Sons, and Super Valu.[21]

The very presence of blacks on the MSC campus changed a lot of white peoples' perceptions of blacks. With each year of the project, it became a more normal thing at MSC to see a black student walking around campus. Carl Griffin remarked in a 1976 interview that seeing a "black face on the campus at Moorhead State [wasn't] such an oddity anymore."[22] However, it was not just the presence of blacks on campus that made a difference; it was their actions – the classes they taught, the groups they created, the activities they initiated, the cultural expressions they conveyed – that changed MSC. These actions affected the way that many white people at MSC and in the F-M community thought about blacks and minority culture.

Black Demands and Protests

Besides forming separate groups and displaying aspects of their culture, black students also asserted themselves on white campuses with grievance lists, specific demands, protests, and demonstrations. They fought for more control in their minority programs and campaigned against what they characterized as "the indifference of white institutions to the problems and goals" of black students. They worked to change oppressive conditions and racist attitudes at their colleges. Their grievances and demands impacted the white campuses and college administrations, resulting in changed attitudes and sometimes changed policies. At the very least, black students turned their colleges into places that took minority issues under consideration when making decisions. At MSC, black students brought minority concerns into the forefront of campus publicity, especially

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during the fall of 1970, when a storm of controversy erupted over Project E-Quality. At that time, black students at MSC became very vocal in expressing their displeasure and anger with certain parts of the program. To try to change their situation, they spoke out, held rallies, and prepared lists of grievances. Like black students at other white colleges, MSC students "clearly did not view themselves as passive objects of white concern but rather as decision makers about their educational futures."[23]

Many of the students' complaints about Project E-Quality surfaced in student evaluations they took in 1969 and 1970. Asked about what needed to be done to improve the program, they responded that "greater financial help [was] needed; more minority students, especially Chicano and Indian students, should be recruited; MSC students and others need[ed] to understand that E-Quality [was] not a 'hand-out'; [and] more student participation in the direction of E-Quality [was] desirable."[24] Besides financial complaints, this last desire proved to be one of the most contentious issues during the course of Project E-Quality. Claiming that they were ignored when decisions regarding them were made, minority students pushed hard for more leadership positions and decision-making power in the program.

On the morning of October 28, 1970, a group of project students, fed up with the administration of Project E-Quality and their experiences as minority students at MSC, went to President Dille's office and presented him with a detailed list of grievances and proposals. The students complained especially about the alleged lack of student control in the running of Project E-Quality. At the top of their document, they wrote: "The structure of the E-Quality program has made a mockery of student opinion and student participation on committees." In their list of grievances, the students charged that student consensus was

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disregarded on many issues, that faculty advisers had too often overridden majority student votes, that committee meetings were called at the convenience of the faculty advisers (instead of the students sitting on the committees), and that policies were "geared to maintaining the structure of E-Quality and not for the benefit of the students."[25]

Along with their complaints, the students listed a number of specific proposals or demands as remedies to their grievances. They called for a coordinator rather than a director for Project E-Quality; a written description of the project coordinator job (one approved by minority students); a minority student-run admissions committee to be in charge of recruiting new students; no voting rights for committee advisers; and full policy making control to be held by the Project Steering Committee, not the college administration. The students also demanded written proof that Lois Selberg (whom they accused of a "poor business-like manner...and favoritism among certain E-Quality students") had indeed disengaged herself from the project as she had earlier claimed. In terms of finances for the project, a very controversial issue, the students asserted: "The burden of responsibility for funding the E-Quality [program] is that of Moorhead State College. We expect MSC to meet the commitment to us and the community." The students also demanded that the financial aid office be investigated for "deceitful tactics and misinformation received by applicants," and that a transportation fund be set up so that project students could get home a reasonable number of times per year.[26]

After presenting their list of grievances and proposals to Dille in the morning of October 28, 1970, project students held a rally in Comstock Memorial Union that afternoon so that the whole campus could hear about their grievances. The campus newspaper, the *Moorhead Independent News*, reported that students freely expressed their anger and

Dille wrote, would reflect the students' demands "that the rights of all E-Quality students and their needs be considered" and "that student participation in decisions be assured." Dille also asserted in the memo that all project committees from thereon would include extensive representation from project students as well as "appropriate college representatives." Regarding finances, he pledged that the college would continue to work with the federal government to try to provide EOGs and work-study funds. In addition, MSC would keep holding fund-raising events to raise money for the E-Quality Fund, and would continue trying to get private corporations to donate money to the project.[29]

Before Dille's November 19 memo, however, the MSC Student Senate decided to call an open forum on November 5 to discuss "what ha[d] been brought down about the E-Quality program." The Senate, claiming that it found itself "deeply concerned with the entire scope of Project E-Quality's administration," wanted people attending the forum to openly express their problems and issues with the program. Invited guests included Dille, Selberg, David Anderson (the director of MSC's financial aid office), the F-M community, and all MSC faculty and students.[30]

Because of a previous engagement, Dille did not attend the open forum, which he did not think would "serve any useful purpose" anyway. Selberg also declined to attend the forum. In a letter to Terry Brown, the secretary of the Student Senate, Lois Selberg refuted accusations that project students had leveled against her and contested the alleged lack of student participation in the program. She wrote: "The idea that I personally have been deceitful, power-hungry, or contemptuous of E-Quality students' needs and wishes...is patently absurd...Policies have all been made in student-dominated committees, and applications to individual cases have been made in consultation with others." She

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claimed that she was already in the process of separating herself from running the program. She wrote: "I have been disengaging myself from decision-making for two years. The process is now complete." By the fall of 1970, Selberg indeed was no longer the director of Project E-Quality, but held the new title of Coordinator for Special Projects. She did, however, still devote some of her time to Project E-Quality through her new position, since the program was classified as a special project. While some students accused Selberg of poor project supervision, it was also true that many simply wanted a minority person to lead the program.[31]

At the open forum, minority students spent three hours verbally sparring with David Anderson from the financial aid office, Dr. William Treumann, Associate Dean of Academic Affairs and a former member of the Project Steering Committee, and John McCune, assistant to President Dille. After Hispanic student Abner Arauza read the list of grievances and proposals presented to Dille the week before, project students expanded on the list, detailing their specific complaints. For instance, black student Linda McGowan discussed the restrictions imposed on the personal lives of the project students to prove that they were impoverished. She said that students "were told not to wear expensive clothes, not to buy so many pizzas, [and] not to play so much pool." White students, assuming all black students were poor, were appalled when a black student had a new car or wore nice clothing. Black student Greg Reed talked about "alleged intimidations and threats from the financial aid office." He said that one student who was connected with liberation issues was told: "You'll get your loan if you shut up this year." Besides complaints about money, most other comments at the open forum involved the alleged lack of control denied to students within Project E-Quality and the supposed mismanagement of the program.[32]

Under questioning from Student Senate members and project students, Anderson, Treumann, and McCune gave their responses to the grievances. Asked if the financial aid office could guarantee that every Project E-Quality student would be provided enough money to make it through school, Anderson replied that there were no guarantees. However, he also added, "that we [financial aid office] will do the best we can with the help of the students helping themselves." Questioned about the current lack of money in the program, Treumann claimed that the "present financial woes could be attributed to the fact that the financing was based, to a large extent, on faith that somehow money would become available for the program." He also declared that if the college had waited until they had sound financial backing before starting Project E-Quality, the program would never have gotten off the ground. McCune responded to charges of poor management of the project by stating: "Anyone who says that Lois Selberg has not tried to put the program on a sound basis is speaking from profound ignorance." McCune also attacked the proposals that students had suggested as remedies to their grievances, calling them "irrelevant."[33]

As the above comments show, the students' complaints elicited various responses. The controversy in the fall of 1970 re-ignited interest in Project E-Quality, some positive and some negative. A number of people, such as many members of the Student Senate, experienced a renewed enthusiasm for the project; they threw their support behind the minority students and agreed with their demands. Others, however, like McCune, were less sympathetic to the students' complaints. A few people who had been involved in some aspect of the project became bitter or disillusioned. Black professor Dr. James Condell, who had been a part of Project E-Quality since its conception, resigned his position on the

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Steering Committee on November 6, one day after the open forum. In his resignation letter, he wrote: "If only a small portion of the present charges and allegations are seriously meant by those seeking a change in direction of the Program, it means to me that my efforts have been inadequate and possibly misdirected."[34]

The controversy lasted until the winter of 1970. On November 19, the *Moorhead Independent News* ran several pages of personal stories told by people involved in Project E-Quality. The introduction to the article, which was called "Whatever Happened to Project E-Quality?" read: "Racial minority students – black, Chicano, Indian – have been attending Moorhead State College in considerable numbers only the past two years. Before that there were always one or two on campus but never in any noticeable situation. This is their story." Lois Selberg, along with a number of minority students, were featured in the article. Complaints about money, sloppy program management, and not enough student control were again expressed.[35]

Besides pushing for changes in Project E-Quality, black students also protested discrimination and white indifference at MSC. Beginning especially in 1970, black students at MSC showed that they would not hesitate in confronting instances of racism. In May 1970, black students led a group of strikers (including over 150 white students) into a Faculty Senate meeting in Comstock Memorial Union, forcing Dille to stop the meeting and arbitrate with the students who crammed themselves into an administration conference room. The black students were upset that many whites at MSC did not seem to care that six blacks had been killed in a riot (May 12) in Georgia, when just the week before whites had reacted with absolute horror at the killing of four white students (May 4) at Kent State University in Ohio.[36]

Students of all colors at MSC had joined college students across the country after the Kent State shootings in demonstrating their grief and outrage. In an article in the *Fargo Forum*, reporter Kathy Kraft observed that in the aftermath of Kent, "students at MSC held meetings, rallies, discussions, debates – anything to relieve the tension." Some students even fasted for five days. In contrast, following the deaths of the black men in Augusta, Georgia, there was hardly any reaction at all from the MSC student body. This stark difference in response angered black students, who reacted by crashing the Faculty Senate meeting and holding a protest rally. The MSC United Black Students published this statement:

> We, the United Black Students are sick and tired of the shit that has been and is coming down. We will take no more. We have been exploited by the radicals and non-radicals. We will no longer be exploited by the racists on either side. How can all students, Black and White, be grieved at the death of four white students at Kent, yet none but the black students express anger at the vicious murder of our innocent Brothers and Sisters in Augusta. We supported you in your strife, NOW it is time for you (White students) to support us. Do you value human life or must it be white?

Like the list of grievances submitted by project students the subsequent fall, the black students' determination to speak out in the spring of 1970 forced the campus to take note of their situation and react in some way. President Dille responded by scheduling a convocation to talk about the "white student apathy" [37] over the Georgia deaths.

Individual black students also protested against what they perceived as racism or unfair white practices. For example, in a piece he wrote for a 1972 issue of the *E-Quality Report*, MSC black student Timothy X protested against the racism shown to blacks who refused to stand up for the Star Spangled Banner. In his article, Timothy noted an incident in which an MSC black student had been attacked because he sat through a rendition of the

Simmons, to whom Dorothy Green reported. In addition, Dille kept his promise to develop a detailed job description for the new coordinator position. The description reflected the students' demands for more input regarding decisions about the project. The Coordinator of Minority Student Activities, the description stated, "seeks information and advice from all E-Quality students and, after consultation with them and with their representative committees, makes recommendations to the Office of Academic Affairs for changes in the operational policies of the E-Quality program."[40]

Project E-Quality's transformation into the Educational Opportunities for Minorities (EOMS) program represented many of the demands made by students for more participation in the program. In the fall of 1971, Lois Selberg asked the new program coordinator, Sylvia Herndon, to come up with a different name for the program because Project E-Quality had been getting some negative press. The new name represented a sort of fresh start for the program and for the minority students who controlled much of the new program. While EOMS was led by a coordinator, it was also very student-oriented. It was managed through a board of directors which was made up of six minority students (two blacks, two Hispanics, and two American Indians), a chairperson, a vice-chairperson, and a white liaison. A majority vote of the entire board determined all decisions. At the end of each quarter, board members made themselves available to hear the minority students' "complaints, suggestions, and appeals" regarding the program. Students ran most parts of EOMS and were instrumental in areas such as recruiting new minority students. For example, when Herndon took recruiting trips to places such as the Twin Cities, a group of students always went with her to talk with the potential recruits and give them a realistic picture of what to expect at MSC.[41]

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A meeting of MSC minorities held almost a year after they had first presented their list of grievances and proposals to Dille showed the new measure of control that students now wielded in the program. At the meeting, which took place October 14, 1971, Herndon presented a number of statements one at a time and then asked "the students to comment in either agreement or disagreement, and [briefly explain] why they felt as they did." The statements included assertions such as: "Any minority student should be admitted to this college regardless of low test scores and grades if he has the funds to pay his own way," and "I personally have gotten the screws in financial aids."[42] This approach took into account every student's opinion on each matter and represented the fulfillment of the students' demands to be included in all decisions affecting them.

Because of their determination, black students at MSC in the early 1970s caused significant changes in the way that Project E-Quality was run. While not all of their grievances were solved, they worked with President Dille and other key figures to iron out their differences. Although the students' complaints, demands, and protests caused some tension and bad feelings on the campus between various parties, overall, composure triumphed over chaos at MSC. Unlike at other schools, no buildings were burned, no major injuries were reported, and communication remained constant. Instead of leading the college to destruction, MSC black students led the college to positive change. They (for the most part) clearly and calmly communicated their grievances to the MSC administration, which listened to them and, in many cases, acquiesced in their requests.

[1] *The Black Student in the Wisconsin State Universities System*, 1; Isaac Banks, interview by author.
[2] Quotation from Cooper, 31; quotations from Sitkoff, 199, 143; quotation from Linda McGowan, "Division Within the Ranks," *E-Quality Report* (18 November 1969): 1.
[3] Cooper, 31; "Report from the Cultural Exchange Center Committee," Misc. 1968-1970 File, E-Q

Papers.

[4] Cooper, 31; Deborah Reed, "Black Women," *E-Quality Report* (27 January 1971): 6; "Attention Bowlers," *E-Quality Report* (1 February 1971): 5; quotation from Letter to Greg Reed from Loye M. Lynk, Special Counselor of American Indian Students, 13 April 1972, Corr. 1972- File, E-Q Papers.

[5] Cooper, 31, 32; quotation from "Black Weekend," *E-Quality Report* (19 January 1970): 1; Letter to Brother Gregory Reed from Gary Hogan, Minister of Information, 27 February 1972, Corr. 1972- File, E-Q Papers.

[6] Quotation from "What is BSMA," *Harambe*, (26 September 1972): 1, Harambe File, E-Q Papers; Cooper, 32; Letter to Counselors and Directors of Minority Programs from Sylvia Maupins and Loye Lynk, 23 March 1972, Corr. 1972- File, E-Q Papers; "Minutes of the First Meeting of MCDMA," Misc. 1972-1974, 1988 File, E-Q Papers; Project Progress Report, 1 December 1972; Sylvia Herndon, interview by author.

[7] Quotation from Carl Griffin, interview by Timothy Madigan.

[8] Quotations from Sitkoff, 202.

[9] Quotations from Abner Arauza, "Editorial: The Report, where it has been and where it is going," *E-Quality Report* (2 March 1970): 1.

[10] "Justice for All," *E-Quality Report* (1 February 1971): 4; quotation from Greg Reed, "Letter to Black Students," *E-Quality Report* (30 September 1970): 1-2.

[11] Ran Bradley, "Reflections," Spring 1969; quotation from "The World is a Ghetto," The World is a Ghetto File, E-Q Papers; quotation from Memo to All Faculty, Staff, and Administration from Wendell J. Gorum, Advisor to the United Black Students, 7 May 1971, Pres. Dille File, E-Q Papers; "U.B.S. Sets Program," *E-Quality Report* (27 January 1971): 6; "A Black Play," *E-Quality Report* (1 February 1971): 4.

[12] Cooper, 31; quotation from Gloria Thompson, "Whatever Happened to Project E-Quality," p. 8.

[13] Quotation from Letter to Faculty from Gregory Reed, chairman of the Black Speakers' Bureau, 3 February 1972, Misc. 1972-74, 1988 File, E-Q Papers; "Black Speakers' Bureau," 18 January 1972, Misc. 1972-74, 1988 File, E-Q Papers; Letter to Greg Reed from the Unitarian Fellowship, 13 March 1972, Corr. 1972- File, E-Q Papers; Cooper, 31.

[14] Quotation from Cooper, 31; "Talking with the Community," *E-Quality Report* (8 May 1969): 1; "Will Visit High School," *E-Quality Report* (18 November 1969): 1; "Lois Selberg's Spot," *E-Quality Report* (16 February 1970): 1; Letter to Sylvia Maupins from Sister Anne Louise of Shanley High School, 6 September 1972, Corr. 1972-File, E-Q Papers.

[15] "John Doyle to be Guest," *E-Quality Report* (3 April 1969): 2; "Black...Out!" *E-Quality Report* (10 April 1969): 1; "VU Players 'Black Out' Continues Exchange," *The Concordian*, 14 November 1969, p. 5; Gloria Thompson, "Doris Hines Concert," *Moorhead Independent News*, 15 October 1970, p. 16; "Nathan Hare, Author of *The Black Anglo Saxons* and Publisher of *The Black Scholar* Will Speak," *Moorhead Independent News*, 6 November 1970, p. 8.

[16] Letter to Fair participant from Sylvia Maupins and Greg Reed, May 1972, Donations-Corr. 1968-1972 File, E-Q Papers; quotations from Letter to Getachew Desta, Vice President of the African Student Club, from Gregory Reed, 9 March 1972, Corr. 1972-File, E-Q Papers; "Black Expression Month, Tentative Schedule," 10 March 1972, Misc. 1972-74, 1988 File, E-Q Papers; Letter to Reverend Herron from Gregory E. Reed, 14 March 1972, Corr. 1972-File, E-Q Papers.

[17] "Benefit for Project E-Quality," *E-Quality Report* (3 April 1969): 2; quotations from "Convocation at Concordia," *E-Quality Report* (24 April 1969): 5.

[18] "Cultural Exchange Center," *E-Quality Report* (3 April 1969): 1; Sylvia Herndon, interview by author; Letter to students from Sylvia Maupins, 24 February 1972, Corr. 1972-File, E-Q Papers; Cheryl Ellis, "Minority Students Open Ethnic Boutique at MSC," *Fargo Forum*, 9 April 1972, Newspaper File, E-Q Papers; quotation from "F-M Colleges Set Minority Programs," *Fargo Forum*, 20 August 1972, p. C-8.

[19] Quotation from S. Wagner, "E-Quality Fair Readied," *Moorhead Independent News*, 15 October 1970, p. 1; quotation from Greg Reed, "E-Q Fair Tries Human Relations, Understanding," *Moorhead Independent News*, 15 October 1970, p. 6.

[20] Quotation from Letter to "Brothers and Sisters" from Linda McGowan of the Black Women's Organization, 3 April 1972, Misc. 1972-1974, 1988 File, E-Q Papers; "Black Style Show," *E-Quality Report* (8 May 1970): 1.

[21] Carl H. Griffin, Jr., "Black Students in F-M Celebrate Quanza," *Fargo Forum*, 3 May 1970, p. B-7, Newspaper File, E-Q Papers.

[22] Quotation from Carl Griffin, interview by Timothy Madigan.

[23] Quotation from James M. Hedegard, "Experiences of Black College Students at Predominantly White Institutions," 54; quotation from Cooper, 33.

[24] Quotation from Lois Selberg, "E-Quality Progress Report," 1 June 1970.

[25] Quotations from "Grievances and Proposals," Corr. 1970-1971 File, E-Q Papers.

[26] Quotations from "Grievances and Proposals."

[27] Quotations from "Rally Held to Air E-Quality Problems," *Moorhead Independent News*, 29 October 1970, p. 1, 11.

[28] Quotations from "Rally Held," *Moorhead Independent News*, 29 October 1970.

[29] Quotations from Memo to E-Quality Steering Committee from Roland Dille, 19 November 1970, Corr. 1970-1971 File, E-Q Papers.

[30] Quotation from Open Forum announcement, November 1970, Corr. 1970-1971 File, E-Q Papers; Letter to Mrs. Lois Selberg from Terry Brown, Secretary of MSC Student Senate, 28 October 1970, Corr. 1970-1971 File, E-Q Papers; "Senate to Hold Hearing on E-Quality," *Moorhead Independent News*, 29 October 1970, p. 1.

[31] Quotation from Steering Committee Meeting with President Dille, 3 November 1970, Steering Committee 1969-1971 File, E-Q Papers; quotations from Letter to Terry Brown, Secretary of MSC Student Senate, from Lois Selberg, 3 November 1970, Corr. 1970-1971 File, E-Q Papers; P. Midboe, "Dorothy Green Appointed," *Moorhead Independent News*, 22 October 1970, p. 8.

[32] Quotations from J. Rowell, "Minority Students Disagree With Administration Officials," *Moorhead Independent News*, 6 November 1970, p. 1-3; Isaac Banks, interview by author.

[33] Quotations from J. Rowell, "Minority Students Disagree," *Moorhead Independent News*.

[34] Quotation from Letter to Steering Committee of E-Quality program and the Faculty, from James F. Condell, 6 November 1970, Corr. 1970-1971 File, E-Q Papers.

[35] "Whatever Happened to Project E-Quality," *Moorhead Independent News*, 19 November 1970, p. 6-11.

[36] "MSC Students Protest White Student Apathy," *Fargo Forum*, 14 May 1970, Newspaper File, E-Q Papers.

[37] Quotation from Kathy Kraft, "They're Still Talking at MSC," *Fargo Forum*, 17 May 1970, p. B15, Newspaper File, E-Q Papers; quotation from United Black Students statement, 13 May 1970, Corr. 1970-1971 File, E-Q Papers; quotations from "MSC Students Protest White Student Apathy," *Fargo Forum*, 14 May 1970.

[38] Quotation from Timothy X, "The shadow do!" (copy of article for newsletter), Misc. 1972-1974, 1988 File, E-Q Papers.

[39] Isaac Banks, interview by author.

[40] "Project E-Quality Coordinator Named," *Fargo Forum*, 30 June 1970, Newspaper File, E-Q Papers; Robert Thomas, "Dr. Simmons and E-Quality," *E-Quality Report* (18 January 1971): 1; Timothy X, 'Bloody Hands to Bloody:' an Interview with President Dille," *E-Quality Report* (8 February 1971): 1; quotation from "Job Description for Coordinator of Minority Student Activities," Corr. 1970-1971 File, E-Q Papers.

[41] Sylvia Herndon, interview by author; quotation from Letter to "student" from Sylvia Maupins, 21 March 1972, Corr. 1972- File, E-Q Papers.

[42] Quotations from Minority Meeting minutes, 14 October 1971, Minutes of Committees 1968-1970 File, E-Q Papers.

CHAPTER FIVE

Conclusion

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, many white colleges began aggressively recruiting black students. Impacted by the same predisposing circumstances and inspired by similar precipitating events, once all-white campuses were transformed into multi-racial places. Increasing pressure from blacks, combined with the belief that they were doing the right thing, helped propel white schools like MSC to recruit substantial numbers of black students. It was an opportune time for this effort. The moral fervor created by the civil rights movement "was abetted by unusually favorable conditions within higher education; public support for higher education was high, and colleges and universities were experiencing a period of continual expansion." To white colleges, then reaching new heights in enrollment and popularity, offering disadvantaged black students an education seemed like a good way to do their part in the civil rights movement.[1]

Sustained enthusiasm for minority programs like Project E-Quality kept recruitment efforts going until the mid-1970s, with many colleges making dramatic increases in their numbers of black students. For instance, Macalester College increased its black enrollment from forty in 1968 to 170 in 1974, while Carleton College increased its black enrollment from fifty to over 130 in the same period. However, the higher numbers of black students at white colleges did not last; between 1975 and 1985, the rising trend reversed and the number of black students attending white schools began to fall.[2] Since the early 1970s, most white colleges have not made any significant efforts to recruit black students. Today there are fewer black students on the MSC (now Minnesota State University Moorhead or MSUM) campus than there were during the project.

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The end of Project E-Quality at MSC was perhaps inevitable. The fervent emotion that followed the assassination of Martin Luther King lessened with time and many F-M whites eventually lost interest in the program. As Selberg commented in a 1977 newspaper article discussing the changes in MSC's minority programs, "There was more emotional emphasis [at the time of King's death]. That shouldn't have changed, but the emotion is just not there now." The loss of local support for Project E-Quality in the 1970s mirrored the changing attitudes of the nation. By the late 1960s, just as white colleges were beginning to recruit larger numbers of blacks, the civil rights movement began losing some steam. After nearly a decade of fighting for their rights by mostly peaceful means, many black Americans were frustrated by the seemingly small amount of progress that had been made. The rise of more militant black groups, such as the Black Panther Party in 1966, alienated many white supporters of the civil rights movement and divided some black groups between moderates and radicals. Enthusiasm for black causes faded as blacks turned from fighting for basic rights (such as voting) to more ambiguous rights (such as the right not to live in poverty).[3]

The election of Republican Richard Nixon to the American presidency in 1968 did not bode well for the civil rights movement. Nixon followed the advice of his urban affairs adviser, Daniel Patrick Moynihan, who proposed that race matters could profit from a period of "benign neglect." In a marked difference from his predecessor, Lyndon B. Johnson, Nixon "made it perfectly clear...that he had no intention of pursuing desegregation goals." Instead, Nixon "turn[ed] his back on the civil rights movement." He tried to convince Congress not to renew the Voting Rights Act of 1965, spoke out against court-ordered school busing, and worked with the FBI (Federal Bureau of Investigation) to

uphold "law-and-order" by cracking down on militant black groups. As the issue of increased rights for blacks faded from the public limelight in the mid and late 1970s, other issues, such as women's rights, inflation, the Watergate scandal, and oil shortages, overshadowed racial concerns. Many whites began to regard civil rights advocates as members of just another special interest group.[4] The public's declining interest in civil rights issues hurt programs like Project E-Quality.

Along with the general loss of moral support for civil rights-based programs, decreasing financial aid and dropping college enrollments also led to the end of college minority recruitment programs. An economic downturn in the nation's economy in the 1970s made people less likely to provide the money to keep programs going. Help from the government was no longer forthcoming either; at MSC, as at other white colleges, reductions in federal and state aid hit minority programs hard. MSC and many of the schools in the University of Michigan's 1978 study, such as Metropolitan University, California State College, and Macalester College, could no longer recruit large numbers of black students by the mid-1970s because of lack of money. What the Michigan researchers noted about Metropolitan University was true of many colleges at the time: "By 1975 – primarily because of general financial problems – it [Metropolitan] appeared to have reached the limit of its response to minority concerns." Financial troubles, combined with declining white interest in the civil rights movement, caused schools like MSC to become less committed to increasing their numbers of black students. Frederick Harper wrote accurately in 1975: "Once black students and faculty were recruited feverishly, especially between 1968 and 1970. That day is practically over."[5]

Black activism on white campuses, so important to the strength and vitality of

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minority programs, declined along with the schools' financial situations. Black students often looked up to groups like the Black Panthers and their leaders, using them as inspiration in their struggles to gain rights and respect on the white campuses. As these radical groups faded in the mid-1970s and the civil rights movement moved out of the public consciousness, black students lost influence at some white colleges. According to Harper, black students sensed that their power on the white campuses was declining. Harper described the black student on the white campus in 1975: "He senses that black studies is a dying horse, that black cultural centers are obsolete, and that the Black Student Union is now a social club rather than a viable political machine, as it was in the late 1960s." A shift from specific black student programs to programs that were meant to help all "disadvantaged" students accompanied the decline in black student activism. Other minority groups began clamoring for more attention at many white colleges. For instance, at schools like State University and Lewis University, Chicano students began to push for more attention and services in the 1970s.[6]

Reacting to the cooling of civil rights passion, the loss of financial help, and the deterioration of black student activism, white colleges strove to shift their "special" recruitment projects "into the institutional mainstream." Beginning in the early 1970s, colleges scaled down their minority programs, consolidated different parts, and/or folded them into existing departments. The University of Missouri-Kansas City moved its minority program into the College of Arts and Sciences; Bowling Green State University put all of its minority programs under one Vice Provost for Minority Affairs; State University attempted to integrate its several minority groups into its Support Services office; and the University of the City placed its Community Education Program under the

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Dean of the Arts and Sciences College. Some programs were ended altogether; by 1977, for example, Concordia College in Moorhead had discontinued its black student exchange program with Virginia Union University. At MSC, Project E-Quality was scaled down and moved. The college demoted the project from a "special" program that demanded extra attention to just another campus department when it transferred it into the Office of Student Affairs. The "separate" status of MSC's black students disappeared as the "services that were once offered through the minority programs [were] integrated with services offered all students." MSC eventually formed a Multicultural Affairs office, which attempted to meet equally the needs of black, Chicano, American Indian, and Asian-American students.[7]

The relatively rapid loss of white support for Project E-Quality and other minority recruitment programs in the early 1970s suggests that they were ultimately driven by the desire to alleviate white guilt, rather than by a desire to improve the lives of blacks. The programs, it could be argued, ended because white guilt over the plight of poor blacks and the murder of King simply faded with the passage of time, as guilt tends to do. According to this idea, the programs would not have ended so quickly if they had really been driven by a total commitment to black students. However, the issue is more complex than that. While guilt may have been the original motive behind the recruitment programs, the guilt developed into something else during the course of the programs. The many endeavors that the black students and the white administrations began together showed that most of the schools became at least somewhat committed to the betterment of the black students for their own benefit (and not just to lessen white guilt). White schools often supported the black students' requests for the construction of black cultural centers, the creation of special tutoring programs, the start of minority studies classes, the expansion of black arts,

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the building of separate black institutions, and the development of black rights, on the

campuses.

As at other schools, the driving force behind Project E-Quality at MSC was

probably a combination of white guilt and a real commitment to black student needs. For

instance, one of MSC's stated reasons to start its Institute for Minority Group Studies in

1969 was "to help minority students develop an understanding of their history, their

culture, and themselves."[8] However, the new curriculum was also probably initiated

because some whites at the college felt guilty for ignoring minority themes in their classes

for too long. The reasons behind most minority recruitment programs like Project E-

Quality were probably multi-faceted and the issue remains a largely ambiguous and

unexplored area.

Project E-Quality and other minority programs may have only lasted a few years,

but they still managed to have lasting impacts on both the schools where they occurred and

the people who witnessed their ups and downs. At MSC, Project E-Quality had a major

influence on the blacks who took part in the program. In the process of trying to cause

change on the campus, most MSC black students became changed themselves. Many

believed that their experiences at the white college made them stronger. By actively

participating in the project, promoting their culture, and speaking up when they disagreed

with policies, they accomplished much at MSC. Cynthia Wilson, a member of the first

Project E-Quality graduating class in 1972, commented in her commencement speech:

> I was one of the freshmen who entered [Project E-Quality] that first year in
> September, 1968, and who assumed the responsibility of participating in that
> program. In this way we all chose the option of initiating change by taking the lead
> in directing our own futures. Looking back, those of us who are graduating can see
> that we have achieved at least some of our goals: a stronger unity among ourselves,
> a greater knowledge of the world we have to face, and a way to put this knowledge

to effective use.[9]

As Wilson mentioned, blacks at MSC formed a strong sense of black unity. By creating their own separate organizations, many formed close relationships with other black students both at MSC and at other white colleges in the state. Besides establishing a strong sense of identity, black students at MSC pointed to other benefits they received from attending a white school. Because of the project, they obtained college degrees, experienced ways of life different from what they were used to, educated others about their culture, and developed leadership skills as they learned to stand up for what they believed in. Black student Wiley Samuels described Project E-Quality this way: "It was a success in giving me a chance to see how much ignorance there is in the world. As an individual I've accomplished an awful lot academically and socially."[10]

Many black students believed that attending a white college gave them an advantage that students who attended predominantly black schools did not have; they were better able to survive and even thrive in a white-dominated world after going to a white school. Discovering that strong prejudice existed even in seemingly benign places such as Fargo-Moorhead, they learned how to react to and handle it.[11] Attending MSC taught black students how to deal with a more subtle type of white racism, how to respond to patronizing whites, and how to get along with different kinds of people.

Black students were not the only ones changed by Project E-Quality. The program and the minority students it brought to MSC also impacted both the whites who participated in the project and those who simply watched from the sidelines. In fact, whites probably benefited more from the project than the black students who took part in it. Black Concordia student, Melvin Hendrix, who helped plan the project and later became its last

coordinator, commented that the black students at MSC had contributed to "revitalizing and assisting whites in becoming aware of themselves." With the arrival of so many black students at MSC, whites at the college and in the community, whether they supported the project or not, were forced to take note of their own attitudes toward race. The issues black students raised through their grievances and protests struck a sensitive nerve at MSC, eliciting both support and heated anger from various whites. By clearly stating their wants and calling for change, black students at MSC simultaneously divided parts of the campus and community, while pulling other parts together. While some whites remained aloof, others came to see the project as a good thing and were persuaded to change their thoughts about blacks. In the end, as Sylvia Herndon noted, MSC really benefited from the "diverse environment" created by the program. It gave people at the college different perspectives to consider, which made them "think things through" more clearly when making decisions. In the process, the white campus population increased in sensitivity and understanding, many racial jokes and stereotypes once common on the campus disappeared, and a number of new friendships were developed.[12]

The MSC campus in the late 1960s and early 1970s was a place of change and reflection. While the college often crackled with racial tension, it was also a place where honest communication between the races could occur. As Arnold Cooper wrote, Project E-Quality "did not engender a cohesive campus community, but it did create an atmosphere for opening lines of communication, co-operation, and co-ordination among black students, their white peers, and college officials." *Fargo Forum* writer Kathy Kraft noted that it was this communication that kept MSC, unlike some other colleges around the United States, from being destroyed or shut down by angry striking students. In an article entitled,

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"They're Still Talking at MSC," she wrote: "The president of the college asks questions of the students, the students ask questions of each other and the administration, and the community questions what is happening. People at MSC are still talking. The doors are open and people are continuing to stay and be with each other."[13]

While no huge problems occurred, things were, of course, far from perfect at MSC. Some whites never got over their belief that blacks had brought trouble to town, and some blacks never got over their bitterness at the racist attitudes they encountered at the college and in the community. However, as Selberg said later, things may not have always worked out as planned and many errors were made, but the college "was right in trying" to enroll more black students. Likewise, Griffin commented: "I'd rather have seen the program get off the ground with some of the mistakes that were made, than for nothing to have been done at all."[14]

Project E-Quality helped make Moorhead State College the place it is today, over thirty years after the end of the program. The strong awareness of minority culture that the project created is evident through the classes that the university now offers. The innovations in curriculum that began with the Minority Group Studies program in the 1960s have continued, meaning that MSUM's present (mostly white) student population is still reaping the benefits of the project's legacy. Through the current American Multicultural Studies program, a student can minor in African-American Humanities, Chicano/Latino Studies, American Indian Studies, or American Multicultural Studies (which concentrates on all three cultures plus Asian American Studies). Black-themed classes, focusing on black humanities, history, politics, and sociological topics, are prevalent today. The Multicultural Studies program offers classes such as African

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American Music, African American Images in Film, Dynamics of Prejudice and Oppression, and African American Art. A number of Chicano and American Indian classes, with titles like Latinos in the United States and American Indian Belief Systems, also make up an important part of the multicultural curriculum.[15]

In addition to the classes offered through the American Multicultural Studies program, other departments also currently offer minority-themed classes as part of Project E-Quality's legacy. For instance, the History Department offers classes such as African-Americans in U.S. History, Asian-American History, Asian-American Culture, and Topics in Latin American History. Other departments that sometimes offer minority-themed classes include the Sociology Department, which offers Dominant-Subordinate Group Relations; the English Department, which offers Introduction to American Ethnic Literature, African American Literature, and Native American Literature; the Theater Department, which offers African American Theatre; and the Economics Department, which offers The Economics of Poverty, Discrimination, and Inequality.[16]

Project E-Quality brought a race consciousness and a passion for equality to the college that is still visible today in the different campus groups that represent the minority students on campus. Groups such as the Black Student Alliance, the American Indian Student Association, the Organización Latina Americana, and the Asian American Association are currently active. Today's groups sponsor many events and activities that echo those held in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Recent happenings have included Black History Month, American Indian Week, a Latino Unity Conference, and an Asian American Lecture Series. In addition, similar to the way that Project E-Quality attempted to help disadvantaged students with their school finances, the present Multicultural Affairs

program currently offers numerous scholarship opportunities for minority students.[17]

Even though minority programs set up by white colleges in the late 1960s and early 1970s caused a lot of tension and conflicts, they proved beneficial to most of those who participated in them in some way. At MSC, Project E-Quality's legacy has continued into the present largely because of the positive influence the program had during its existence. The project was created to benefit black students and change their lives for the better, but in the end, it was they who ultimately changed MSC for the better. The black students' presence brought diversity to the school; their expressions of culture brought new life to the campus cultural scene and introduced whites to such things as new art forms, foods, books, and clothing styles; their complaints alerted whites to the problem of white ignorance and racism; and their demands compelled the college to reassess its policies and whites to reassess their ways of thinking. Even though Project E-Quality lasted just six years at MSC, it still managed to make a deep and significant impact.

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[1] Quotation from Walter Allen, "Introduction" in *College in Black and White: African American Students in Predominantly White and in Historically Black Public Universities*, ed. Walter Allen, Edgar Epps, Nesha Haniff (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991), 1.

[2] Cooper, 24.

[3] Quotation from Lois Selberg in article by Cheryl Ellis, "Campus Minority Picture Changes in F-M," *Fargo Forum*, 13 March 1977, p. D-2; Peterson et al. 18; Marable, 108.

[4] Quotations from Maurice Isserman and Michael Kazin, *America Divided: The Civil War of the 1960s*, 2d ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 280; quotation from Marable, 112, 126; Harper, 66; Isserman and Kazin, 283.

[5] Peterson et al. 84, 104; quotation from Peterson et al. 280; quotation from Harper, 65.

[6] Quotation from Harper, 65; Peterson et al. 79, 101.

[7] Quotation from Peterson et al. 306; Peterson et al. 280, 319, 76; quotation from Selberg, "Campus Minority Picture Changes," *Fargo Forum*.

[8] Quotation from "Program of the Institute of Minority Group Studies at Moorhead State College," Misc. 1968-1970 File, E-Q Papers.

[9] "EOMS Graduate Stresses Community Responsibility for Bringing Effective Change," *Moorhead State College Newsletter* (Summer Session, vol. IV, no. 1, 13 June 1972): 1-2, Misc. 1972-1974, 1988 File, E-Q Papers; copy of "Cynthia Wilson's Speech at Graduation," May 1972, Misc. 1972-1974, 1988 File, E-Q Papers.

[10] Quotation from Ward, "Shaky First Year," *Fargo Forum*.

[11] Sylvia Herndon, interview by author.

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[12] Quotation from Melvin Hendrix, "Personals," *E-Quality Report* (7 February 1969): 3; Lois Selberg and Roland Dille, interview by author; quotation from Sylvia Herndon, interview by author; Isaac Banks, interview by author.

[13] Quotation from Cooper, 33; quotation from Kraft, "They're Still Talking," *Fargo Forum*, 17 May 1970.

[14] Quotation from Lois Selberg, interview by author; quotation from Carl Griffin, interview by Timothy Madigan.

[15] "American Multicultural Studies," *Minnesota State University Moorhead*, updated 10 September 2004 by Connie Lillehoff, http://www.mnstate.edu/amcs/ (18 November 2005).

[16] "American Multicultural Studies," updated 10 September 2004 by Connie Lillehoff, http://www.mnstate.edu/amcs/ (12 January 2006); "Spring 2006 Course Schedule," *Minnesota State University Moorhead*, updated 15 August 2005 by MSU Moorhead Web Team, http://appserv.mnstate.edu/home/campuslife/SCHEDULE2/coursesrch.asp (13 January 2006).

[17] "MSUM Multicultural Information," *Minnesota State University Moorhead*, updated 4 August 2005 by Abner Arauza, http://www.mnstate.edu/cultural (17 November 2005).

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Kennedy, 14 January 1974 2. "Local Reaction to Project E-Quality" by Justin
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APPENDIX

Project E-Quality Timeline

1966
*President John Neumaier invites three blacks from North Minneapolis to Moorhead State College (MSC) on scholarships.

1968
*April 4: Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., is assassinated; white guilt grows at many white colleges.
*April 8: At a Martin Luther King memorial service held at MSC, Dr. Neumaier mentions a possible tri-college plan which would bring 150 minority students to the Fargo-Moorhead campuses.
*Lois Selberg and various committees begin putting together Project E-Quality.
*John Neumaier resigns as MSC president; Roland Dille takes over and assumes control of the project.
*September: The first Project E-Quality class arrives at MSC; it includes thirty-five blacks, eight American Indians, and seven Hispanics.

1969
*Fall term: Approximately forty-eight students enroll in the Project E-Quality program.
*April 17: The Snarr Hall pizza incident occurs.
*April 20: A black student reports being shot at as he drives home from a date.
*April 21: President Dille holds a convocation to try to dissipate some of the racial tension that has built up on campus.

1970
*Fall term: Approximately sixty students enroll in Project E-Quality.
*Dorothy Green is hired as the new project coordinator.
*Protesting project students present a list of demands to the college administration; an open forum is held and grievances are aired.

1971
*Fall term: Approximately forty-nine students enroll in Project E-Quality.
*The program becomes Educational Opportunities for Minority Students (EOMS).
*Sylvia Herndon is hired as the new project coordinator.

1972
*Approximately forty-four students enroll in Project E-Quality.

1973
*Approximately forty students enroll in Project E-Quality.
*Joe Daniels is hired as the new project coordinator.

1974

*Approximately forty-two project students are attending MSC.
*Melvin Hendrix is hired as the new project coordinator.
*The project is absorbed by the Office of Student Affairs.