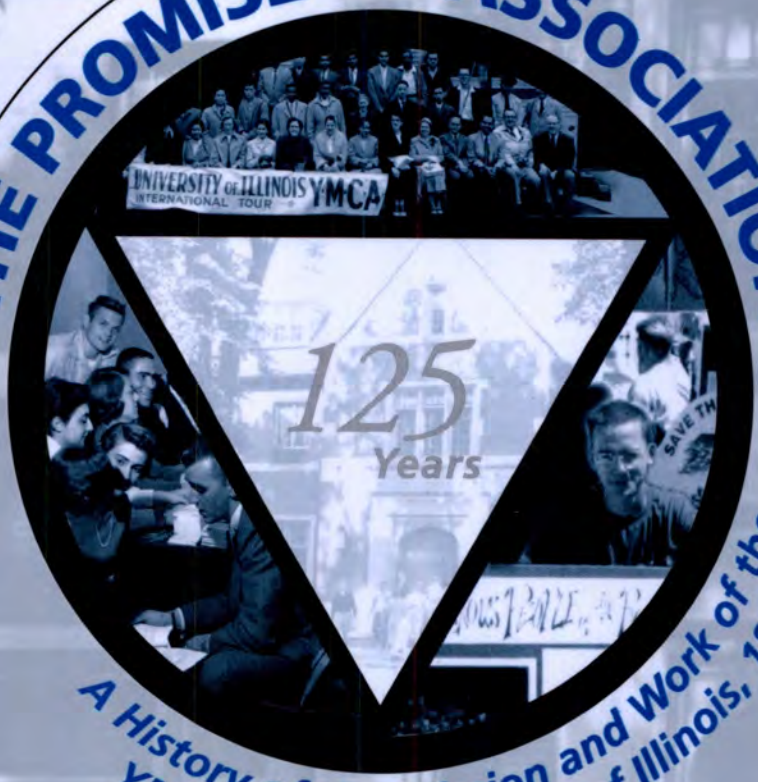
THE PROMISE OF ASSOCIATION



A History of the Mission and Work of the YMCA at the University of Illinois, 1873-1997

Scott J. Peters

With a Preface by Paul M. Limbert

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With special recognition of and appreciation for the life work of Edward L. Nestingen, who embodies the best spirit of the promise of association.

This organization is indigenous to the campus community. Its purpose is in line with that of the University, which, in the large, is to make for a better citizenship. What can the Association do in order that spiritual values may be significant in the development of citizenship? Or what can the Association do to make for the recognition of the need of spiritual values in citizenship? If the training for citizenship is going to be significant it must make for attitudes which will render impossible bloodshed between races or social groups or international groups. It must reduce in America the human costs of prejudice and strife. This is a spiritual purpose and that spiritual purpose gives the Association a place of unusual importance in this community.

—Henry E. Wilson, 1933

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The account of the history of the YMCA at the University of Illinois that follows provides only a glimpse into the life of a voluntary association that has, over the years, covered remarkably diverse terrain. Researched and written over an all-too-brief three month period of time (June-August, 1997), it is a focused study of the evolution of the Association's mission and work from its birth in 1873 to the edge of its 125th anniversary. It is based mainly on a review of the record left in various official documents, including annual reports, minutes from Board of Directors (renamed as "Governors" in 1978) and Board of Trustees meetings, the annual *Students' Handbook* (published from 1884-1955), the Association's newsletters, newspaper articles, and program brochures and materials.

The history of the University YMCA is rich in both themes and personalities. To date, historical accounts of the Association—both written and oral—have focused more on personalities than on themes and ideas, and for good reason. For nearly 125 years the University YMCA has engaged a great stream of talented, thoughtful, and passionate men and women in its work of addressing some of life's most important and enduring challenges. As such people have been and always will be the lifeblood of this Association, it must be acknowledged that the heart of the history of the University YMCA is the history of their hopes, struggles, actions and accomplishments. A good deal of this history was skillfully and sympathetically captured by Harold Hannah in his centennial book, *One Hundred Years of Action: The University of Illinois YMCA, 1873-1973.*

My task, as I have understood it, has been to focus more on ideas than personalities. I have thus attempted neither to update nor replace Hannah's book, but rather to complement it. My aim has been to provide a sketch of the University YMCA's history which might be helpful in the contemporary work of shaping and strengthening the Association's civic mission: that is, its public role and promise as a voluntary association committed in part to the development of a practical democratic citizenship through work

that engages a diverse range of people in creating things of broad public value. In a time marked by a growing hunger for meaningful public engagement, the strengthening of such a mission in institutions and associations across the sweep of our society—including schools, universities, government agencies, nonprofit organizations, and neighborhood and community groups—is fast becoming one of our most urgent and inviting tasks. While the past can offer us no blueprints for this task, it can, I believe, offer powerful lessons, insights and inspiration. I have tried to capture a little of each of these in this brief book.

I wish to note two points here about this study. First, one of my aims has been to provide a concise and yet as complete as possible record of the University YMCA's mission statements and accompanying goals and objectives across its entire history. Therefore, much space is devoted to quoting at length all the documents that I could find which contained different articulations of mission, goals and objectives. Second, because this study contains a great number of historical quotes, it is riddled with gender-exclusive and otherwise inappropriate or offensive language. Instead of adding a cumbersome "*sic*" after each offensive remark, I have chosen to note this problem here.

Many people provided help and support to me during the course of this project. I owe my first thanks to the University YMCA's Board of Governors, which provided the resources that made this study possible. For both moral and intellectual support, I am especially indebted to John Jordan, who not only was the one person most responsible for guiding this project from faint hope to reality, but who also consistently helped me at critical junctures to think through my aims, conclusions, questions and puzzles. John also shared my overflowing enthusiasm for the YMCA's story and the many themes it contains. Our almost daily conversations during the time when I was working on this study were both invigorating and enormously valuable. For help with historical materials, I am indebted to the staff members of both the University of Illinois Archives in Urbana and the YMCA of the USA Archives in Minneapolis. I owe an unpayable intellectual debt to Harry C. Boyte, who over the past four years taught me more about America's rich

traditions of practical democratic citizenship than I ever hoped I could learn. Special thanks are also due to Lynne Gildensoph, who believed in my ability to complete this study at the many points when I felt either incompetent or overwhelmed by its difficulty.

My understanding of the University YMCA's mission and work was substantially enriched by a number of personal interviews and discussions, and by what I learned from a special retreat held in June of 1997 which brought together persons who have been involved in the Association since the 1930s. I also learned a great deal from those who took the time to read and respond to the first few drafts of this book. For all their advice, insights, criticisms, and help, I owe thanks and appreciation to Mary Beastall, Bill Black, Joyce Blessman, Bob Bohl, Maynard Brichford, William Browder, Judy Checker, Rebecca Crummey, Steve Douglas, Betty Earle, Bobbi Fein, Priscilla Fortier, Steve Frankel, Gloria Gleave, Hank Hannah, Scott Herrick, Andrea Hinding, Lowell Hoffman, Jim Holiman, Mark Johnson, Pat Jordan, Bruce Larson, Bob Lenz, Paul Limbert, Fred Mastny, Chirag Mehta, Dan Mercer, Ed Nestingen, Fred Neumann, Bob Scarborough, Tom Seals, Joyce Shields, Maria Somma, Bob Sutton, Bob Trobaugh, Aurora Villacorta, and Jim Young. Despite the best efforts of all those named above to educate and enlighten me, this study is sure to contain both errors and questionable interpretations. I hereby accept responsibility for all its shortcomings and inaccuracies.

Scott J. Peters
Minneapolis, Minnesota
October, 1997

PREFACE

Old-timers like me who were engaged in college and university work during the 1920s through the 1940s tend to speak of the Student Christian Movement with a gleam in our eyes. On hundreds of American campuses, from small colleges to sprawling universities, Student YMCAs and YWCAs attracted the attention of thousands of students and faculty members. And when one looked for shining local examples, the YMCA at the University of Illinois was sure to be near the top of the list. The study of the mission and work of this Association by Scott Peters, once a member of the staff, is one salvo in the celebration of the 125th anniversary of the founding of this remarkable organization.

This history records some remarkable high points in the life of the University YMCA. There was a time when this YMCA aimed at being the intellectual religious center of the large campus. Since 1927 it has organized a popular Faculty Forum program (now called Friday Forum), which has attracted and engaged a large number of faculty members and students in exploring and debating key spiritual and civic issues. There was a period when the University YMCA became a community-wide movement, forming boys clubs and carrying on an outstanding program of social service. For years this Association provided orientation and guidance to hundreds of students from other countries. And under the 30-year leadership of the illustrious Henry Wilson, a splendid new building was erected which has been a tangible asset and stabilizing center through the years.

Yet the story is not without struggles and disappointments. There have been low periods in membership and finance. There have been sharp differences on what constitutes the mission of the Association. There have been stormy sessions about the views and performance of executives. And above all there has been decided fluctuation between spiritual and civic objectives. In a sense the story of this Association is not so much a model as a mirror, reflecting changes in emphasis and conviction throughout the whole university world and the larger YMCA movement.

Scott Peters deals skillfully and frankly with these changes over

the years. He does not hesitate to point out when superficial answers have been provided to searching questions. He raises concerns about the dropping of the word "Christian" from statements of mission, and for a rise of purely personal interpretations of religion. In this regard he shows respect for the genius of Student YMCAs at their best.

During my years as a faculty advisor to campus YMCAs and as a participant in intercollegiate conferences, I was deeply impressed by the remarkable synthesis of the personal and social aspects of religion. There was much talk at one time about the "social" Gospel, but characteristically we recognized that worship, study, and social action were part of an indivisible whole. At a time when "our dominant academic culture trains scholars to keep quiet about their faith" (George Marsden), there is urgent need on the campus for an independent Association which does not hesitate to explore the meaning of the Prophet of Galilee for our times. Pluralism is no excuse for bland agreement. Each tradition, however open to persons of varying faiths or none, must make its voice heard. Some language in the New Testament seems quaint at times, but I am intrigued by the advice in a letter from one of the early apostles: "Be ready at all times to explain the hope you have in you, but do it with gentleness and respect." (I Peter 3:15)

Paul M. Limbert
Black Mountain, North Carolina
September 24, 1997

FOREWORD

A "125th anniversary" year is an opportunity once again to consider whence we have come as well as where and how we might go. This book provides a new focus and resource for intense reflection about our "mission and work" or identity and direction.

Scott Peters is uniquely qualified by his combination of experience as Y program director, advanced studies in higher education, and complete dedication to presenting our history as effectively as possible for guiding our future development. He helped rebuild significant programs starting in the mid 1980s, he continued to learn both on the job here and enroute to his recent PhD about the nature of land grant education and the power of religion in relation to personal growth and social movements, and he gave his most intense effort over the summer of 1997 to complete his research and writing. Our YMCA family and all who benefit from this local case study of many larger issues are indebted to him.

This University YMCA has found many occasions and formats to celebrate and review its expanding life. The 50th anniversary year (1923) was apparently most marked, even before the beloved "Hut" burned that December, by the publishing of "A Brief Statement" (an 18 page booklet with 17 large "Appendices"!) on the need and plans for a new Y facility to serve the already nearly 11,000 students. "Retrospect and Prospect" was the theme of a 1944 address by John R. Mott, on one of many visits by this venerable Y leader, in an event "Commemorating the Founding of the Y.M.C.A. Movement" in 1844. At our own 75th *Diamond Anniversary* (1948), a major dinner featured local and national speakers, with a 31-page program booklet including "A brief historical sketch" (2 pages), lists of key leaders over the years, and the abstracts of six addresses on "The Design of Democracy" delivered in the "Twenty-first Season" (1947) of the Faculty Forum. Also during this time, stirring accounts—with art or photo illustrations and detailed lists of our Y's past service and future needs—were given in bound volumes with such titles as *That Boy of Ours* by Warren F. Hardy (1926) and *Give us Men* by Pence James (1941).

More recent anniversary celebrations have been even more substantial. Events for the 90th (1963) included an Annual Meeting address by Dr. Paul Limbert, then recently retired as the YMCA World Alliance General Secretary and author of key Y books on civic responsibility and Christian values. To have a preface for this book from Paul Limbert—who turned 100 in May of 1997—is a great honor for our YMCA. Limbert was keynote speaker again at our Centennial (1973), when our Y was featured in the university's Alumni News and we published the substantial book by Harold Hannah entitled *One Hundred Years of Action: The University of Illinois YMCA 1873-1973.* On its 120th (1993) Anniversary, our Y launched a Major Funds Campaign for Endowment, Capital Renovation, and New Program Development that raised a total of $673,000 in gifts and other pledges mostly paid by 1997. In early 1996, a Steering Committee was launched to plan for the 125th Anniversary during the year 1997-98 and we are in the midst of those activities as this book is published. Let me here state my special appreciation to Steve Douglas and members of his committee for their work over nearly two years to bring about several major program events and this special book.

We affirm that "the past is prologue." All that we have been and done or given and received shapes us now as persons and organizations, brings us to the present moment and points us to the future. No one could have predicted in 1973 how or even if we would have persevered another quarter century. If we are to face and form our future intelligently, we must understand our heritage as clearly as possible. This must be done with reference to the vital linkage of both personal growth and public impact. That is the basic purpose and achievement of this book.

So *what* is next? *Where* does the narrative lead? *How* will the story turn out? Only the "*who*" is somewhat clear but not yet complete. Alums and friends, Board and staff, students and faculty and community at large—all who have been a part of this story share the challenge together with others yet to come. We share a Mission and Goals (as revised in 1995) that includes an emphasis on "the development of values in an inclusive, ecumenical context that reflects both the YMCA's Christian heritage and its continuing

commitment to openness to other faiths or life experiences."

The past is *only* prologue. None of us can take either the past or the future for granted; both must be addressed at each critical moment of time. All who read this book can help write the next chapter of our life as the University YMCA in this campus community.

John E. Jordan, Executive Director
Champaign, Illinois
October, 1997

CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW

The ideals of a people, their aspirations and convictions, their hopes and ambitions, their dreams and determinations, are assets in their civilization as real and important as per capita wealth or industrial skill.

—Frederick Jackson Turner, 1910

1.1 Higher Education, the YMCA, and the Ideals and Work of a People

On April 8, 1903, University of Illinois President Andrew S. Draper delivered an address on the University of Illinois before the Association of Officers of State Institutions at the Executive Mansion in Springfield. Draper, a New York State native who began his ten-year service as President in 1894, provided in his brief address a broad overview of the origins, purpose, work, and resources of the University. He began by reminding his audience that the University of Illinois was a public, land-grant institution, brought into being in part because of the funds made available through the National Land-Grant Act of 1862, signed into law by Illinois' own Abraham Lincoln. The Land-Grant Act, Draper declared, was an epoch making statute in world education. It grew "out of the natural trend of a democratic society unparalleled in the freedom of its thought." It was the expression of a people who "dared to believe that the operations of the colleges ought to guide the thinking of freemen towards the great ends for which democracies are set up, and that the schools should have something to do with the hand-work as well as with the sophistry and the religion of a people."[1]

In Draper's view, the educational work of land-grant institutions had to be based both on a recognition of modern industrial conditions, and on an embrace of the developing ideals of democratic life. The people of the new democratic age, Draper declared, "would not assume that the power to think and the right to feel stopped with the theological masters of an age when modern society had not got upon its feet." Education in the land-grant setting would "supercede dog-

matic methods of teaching which had grown out of one form or another of human bondage, and had sprung from conditions which had passed, or were fast passing away." The new education was to be democratic in spirit, "more evenly balanced than any which had gone before it." It would recognize the rights and potential contributions of all.

Turning to the University of Illinois, Draper proclaimed that

> Its high mission is to bind men together in a democracy of learning, and to extend the noblest fraternity in all the wide world.... It stands on the plane of the common brotherhood, and its doings are beyond the control of bigotry or of partisanship, of corporate power, of social cast, or of wealth. It holds that woman has the inherent right to the same educational liberty and the same intellectual opportunity as man. Its face is to the sunlight. It is not backing its way into the future with sorrowing eyes upon idols in the remote and shadowy past. It cherishes culture, but it knows that any culture worth having must come through work. It encourages philosophy, but a philosophy which keeps its feet upon the earth, which sees through the eye of courage and uplifts the common life.[2]

For Draper, the work of the University of Illinois had a *spiritual* dimension which he viewed as being related to its embrace of science and its democratic or civic purpose. He said that it

> nourishes the life of the spirit, but it neither submits nor objects to any creed; it is not for free thinking which has no havens or anchorages; it is for freedom in a faith based upon scientific facts and logical thinking, and it encourages worship in any form. It stands for all men and for equality of opportunity; its sympathies are as high as heaven, and as broad as the boundless universe of matter and of life.[3]

While the University was to contribute to the public or common interest (the "commonwealth," in the language of the day) through scientific research that led to the discovery or creation of new knowledge, Draper held that its main purpose was to be un-

derstood in human terms. Near the end of his address, he declared that

> Above all else we know that the prosperity and influence of the State and the happiness of her people must turn upon the training, the industry, and the outlook of her young men and women. We are not unmindful of the solemn responsibility of our trust, and we are striving to guide and direct the young men and women of Illinois, in whatever line of work they may choose, so that they may not only become sure-footed citizens with a proper appreciation of the obligations of public service, but also that they may honor industry of every kind, and be filled with the purpose and the power to produce something which will quicken the moral strength and enlarge the honest wealth of all.[4]

The themes touched upon in Draper's address are rich and striking: *freedom, the religion of a people, the ideals of democratic life, an evenly balanced education, a democracy of learning, educational liberty, the life of the spirit, equality of opportunity, public service, moral strength, the honest wealth of all.* To a large extent, these themes belonged to the nineteenth century. It was in that century that such ideals as a "democracy of learning" and "equality of opportunity" were first applied, however tentatively and imperfectly, to American higher education. Ironically, in the twentieth century, a century which opened with great hope and optimism for the advance of such ideals, they would soon be viewed by many as anachronistic. Democratic, moral, and spiritual ideals were rapidly pushed aside, flattened, or submerged in land-grant institutions, to be replaced by an increasingly business-like pursuit of "scientific" knowledge—of "efficiency," economic growth, productivity, and professionalism—through supposedly "unbiased" or "neutral" expertise and technologies.

Draper's address is interesting in part because it reveals that during a critical period in American higher education—those few decades on either side of the turn of the last century when land-grant institutions underwent enormous expansion—a "balanced" education based on a unity of spiritual, intellectual, and material

aims could still be boldly and publicly imagined and pursued. While there were growing hopes for the potential contributions of science and scientific research to the improvement of American life and society, these hopes were not yet in Draper's time severed from civic and spiritual ideals and convictions. The work of public, land-grant universities was still understood by many to be broadly liberal *and* practical, in pursuit of the spiritual, civic, and vocational ideals of the American people. This reflected one interpretation of the spirit of the Land-Grant Act of 1862, which had called for the creation of a system of higher education devoted to the "liberal and practical education of the industrial classes in the several pursuits and professions in life."[5]

During his tenure as President of the University of Illinois, Draper oversaw dramatic growth which offered promise of fulfilling the liberal and practical goals of land-grant education better and more completely than ever before. When he began his presidency in 1894, the University consisted of 6 buildings and 80 faculty members, with 810 students and a biennial budget of $492,000. When he left in 1904, it had grown to 27 buildings and 350 faculty, with 2,779 students and a biennial budget of nearly $2 million.[6] Yet as Draper delivered his address in 1903, near the end of his tenure as President, he stood at the edge of a gradual shift in the culture and focus of land-grant education which would increasingly make it difficult for students and faculty to pursue a balanced education, with a unity of spiritual, intellectual, civic and vocational dimensions under broad liberal *and* practical aims. This shift involved a triumph of economics over civics, of specialized research over teaching, of expert-dominated technology and knowledge transfer over a more collaborative "democracy of learning." It dissolved the nineteenth century synthesis of scientific knowledge, religious and philosophical idealism, and progressive, social-reform optimism.[7] It involved, as the historian Julie Reuben has recently argued, a dramatic shift in how intellectuals viewed "truth."[8]

While in the late nineteenth century it was assumed that "truth" had spiritual, moral, and cognitive dimensions, during the first half of the twentieth century this broad conception of truth was abandoned. It was replaced by a view of knowledge that drew sharp

distinctions between "facts" and "values." The ideal of educational balance was replaced by narrow disciplinary specialization, and the pursuit of a liberal *and* practical education was replaced by the pursuit of a liberal *or* practical education.[9] The ideal of a practical democratic citizenship, of the citizen "filled with the purpose and the power to produce something which will quicken the moral strength and enlarge the honest wealth of all," was replaced with the ideal of a detached, objective scientific and technical expertise, based on a professionalism stripped of its civic practices and purpose, tied more to visions of economic efficiency, upward mobility and the enjoyment of the fruits of a consumer culture than to the creation of a democratic commonwealth.[10]

•••

There were two independent associations present on the University of Illinois campus at the time Draper delivered his 1903 address that stood at odds with this developing shift in culture and focus. In their own way, these associations declared themselves to be in sympathy with Draper's broad vision of a balanced education devoted to an integration of personal and public aims with civic, vocational, and spiritual dimensions. Draper took note of them in his address, the centerpiece of which was a building-by-building tour of the campus grounds. Reaching what was then considered the "south" side of the campus, Draper pointed out a house on the southwest corner of Wright and John streets:

> That building on the corner over there, just over the border of the campus, is the property of the University Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations. It is a fine property. The Associations have seven or eight hundred student members, and are the most efficient organizations of their kind in the West. They assist new students in finding homes and getting started, and are at all times forceful in promoting religious activity in the University community.[11]

The University YMCA and University YWCA—two separate organizations—shared the twelve-room house on the corner of

Wright and John streets. It had been jointly purchased in 1899. Once known as "Curry Cottage," it was renamed "Association House" during the time it was occupied by the YMCA and YWCA.

Both the University YMCA and YWCA were founded at the University of Illinois in 1873, only six years after the University itself was founded, though the YWCA ceased to function for a time, to be reestablished in 1884. Each of these associations was a part of a powerful intercollegiate movement of campus YMCAs and YWCAs in Canada and the United States, which established a federation in 1888 called the Student Volunteer Movement (SVM). By 1905, the SVM included associations from over 650 campuses, giving it a presence on over half of all institutions of higher learning in North America.[12]

The "object" of the University YMCA, as stated in the *Illinois Student Handbook* of 1904-1905 (a joint publication of the YMCA and YWCA), was

> To befriend and help men who need friends and help; to apply in practical college life the principles of the Christian faith; to stimulate men to develop a well-proportioned, all-around manhood; to train men for intelligent, aggressive Christian work; to bring to bear upon the University life a vigorous and healthful religious influence;—in short, to prepare an army of men to go out from the institution to become religious and spiritual leaders, in their communities, as they will there become the business and social and intellectual leaders,—this is the mission of the Young Men's Christian Association.[13]

While much of the work of the University YMCA at the time this mission statement was written was personal in nature, having to do with such things as Bible study and the provision of various services to individual students, it is also clear that those involved in the University YMCA hoped that it would be a vital *public* force which would influence university life as a whole. Indeed, the same year the above statement was published, a report from a national meeting of secretaries (i.e., paid staff) of student YMCAs declared that they stood for the development of campus YMCAs that "embrace all the students—all faculties. The whole range of the moral

and religious life of the students and the whole range of the moral and religious life of the institution so far as this can be done by a voluntary organization." By 1909, it was widely urged that the campus YMCA "should be in the middle of college life where it can influence the ideals of every department of college activity."[14]

The work of the University YMCA at the University of Illinois must, I believe, be understood in terms of this ambitious public mission. At its best, the University YMCA has stood for a principle or belief once articulated by Frederick Jackson Turner: "*The ideals of a people, their aspirations and convictions, their hopes and ambitions, their dreams and determinations, are assets in their civilization as real and important as per capita wealth or industrial skill.*"[15] With the embrace of this belief the University YMCA has stood with the University of Illinois, at its best. Each of these institutions at their public-minded best—one a part of a sweeping volunteer movement committed to the application of Christian principles to all aspects of life, and one a part of a great movement of democracy in higher education—have sought to tap and develop the ideals, aspirations, and convictions of a people through the work of building a better society. Persons engaged in each of these institutions over the years have not sought to promote a merely private, individualistic or abstract idealism, but a concrete public idealism expressed through work of all kinds. "Any culture worth having must come through work," Draper said. It is *public work* especially—understood as the visible, creative efforts of a diverse mix of people that produces things of lasting importance to our communities and society—that holds promise of building a culture worth having.[16]

Today, as a voluntary, democratic association of both men and women, of young and old, of Christian and non-Christian, the University YMCA at the University of Illinois stands as an important resource for catalyzing public work both on and off the campus. While the general significance of the first two letters of its name—Y and M—has disappeared, and the distinctive meaning of the third letter—C—has shifted to a broad emphasis on spirituality, values, and ethics (partly in response to an increasing respect for and embrace of religious pluralism and diversity), the

meaning of the letter "A"—Association—has grown. Today, its deepest promise is a *promise of association.* This brief study is devoted to an exploration of the evolving nature of this promise for the University YMCA over the course of its 125 year history, with an eye to its continuing relevance in today's world.

1.2 The Promise of Association

A wide assortment of vibrant voluntary associations has long been an important feature of American life and culture. As Alexis de Tocqueville wrote in his classic book on democracy in America, based on observations from his visits to the country in the 1830s,

> Americans of all ages, all stations in life, and all types of disposition are forever forming associations. There are not only commercial and industrial associations in which all take part, but others of a thousand different types—religious, moral, serious, futile, very general and very limited, immensely large and very minute. Americans combine to give fetes, found seminaries, build churches, distribute books, and send missionaries to the antipodes. Hospitals, prisons, and schools take shape in that way. Finally, if they want to proclaim a truth or propagate some feeling by the encouragement of a great example, they form an association. In every case, at the head of any new undertaking, where in France you would find the government or in England some territorial magnate, in the United States you are sure to find an association.[17]

Tocqueville believed that voluntary associations were key to the maintenance of liberty, the development of mutual understanding and respect, the solving of practical problems, and the broad sharing of political power in a democratic society. He wrote that "among democratic peoples all the citizens are independent and weak. They can do hardly anything for themselves, and none of them is in a position to force his fellows to help him. They would all therefore find themselves helpless if they did not learn to help each other voluntarily." Tocqueville believed that "Feelings and ideas are renewed, the heart enlarged, and the understanding developed only by the reciprocal action of men one upon another."[18]

Throughout American history, voluntary associations grounded in religious traditions—such as the YMCA, the Women's Christian Temperance Union, and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference—have held out a promise of providing an organized means for people to apply the principles of their faith traditions to the affairs of public life. Such associations have often served, as the authors of *Habits of the Heart* point out, as forces which temper utilitarian individualism with an ethic of concern for the common good.[19] But as Sara Evans and Harry Boyte argue, they have also served as "free spaces" or "citizenship schools," where people learn a variety of cooperative democratic skills as they debate and act on issues of public concern.[20]

Saul Alinsky, the practical democratic theorist and community organizer who helped residents of Chicago's Back of the Yards neighborhood (the site of Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle*) learn to organize to better their conditions in the 1940s, understood that voluntary associations can be mechanisms for developing people's capacities through political action and participation with popular education at its heart. Alinsky saw democracy as the work of what he called "people's organizations." He believed that people were the "motor" of democratic society, while the "organizations of the people are the gears." People's organizations, Alinsky wrote, are

> those organizations in which they participate, which they own, and through which they express their interests, hopes, sentiments and dreams. These are organizations that are genuinely of the people, by the people, and for the people—organizations that by their very character formulate and articulate a dynamic democratic philosophy.[21]

Voluntary associations have also been understood as "mediating structures." Such structures—according to Peter Berger and Richard John Neuhaus, who coined the term in 1977—are those institutions that stand between the private world of individuals and the large, impersonal structures of modern society. They "mediate" both by providing a means for people to transmit their beliefs and values into large-scale "mega-institutions," thereby af-

fecting their policies and actions, and by serving to protect people from the alienation and bureaucratic facelessness of modern life.[22]

The concept of mediating institutions is tied to the idea of "civil society." Though its meaning and significance is the subject of much debate, civil society can generally be understood as the space between the state and the private marketplace. As political theorist Benjamin Barber defines it,

> Civil society is the domain that can potentially mediate between the state and private sectors and offer women and men a space for activity that is simultaneously voluntary and public. It shares with the private sector the gift of liberty; it is voluntary and is constituted by freely associated individuals and groups. But unlike the private sector, it aims at common ground and consensual, integrative, and collaborative action.[23]

There are several reasons why a civil society filled with a thriving mix of civic associations is thought to be important. Civil society can be a locus of freedom and a bulwark against the state and its bureaucratizing, homogenizing, and colonizing tendencies. The associations of civil society can also be tremendously effective tools—in partnership with government—for solving social problems, improving community life, and developing people's civic capacities and talents. Additionally, involvement in civil society builds what Robert Putman calls "social capital," which he defines as "features of social organization such as networks, norms, and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit."[24]

The promise of association, then, has many dimensions, both personal and public. Throughout its history, all of the dimensions named above have been relevant, in varying degrees, to the work of the University YMCA. While there is abundant testimony that the promise of association through the University YMCA has been felt or expressed in deeply personal terms, it is equally clear that its promise has been deeply public. Today, when there is a renewed sense of the importance of voluntary associations for dealing with the problems and opportunities of our common life, we face the need to gain a new appreciation of the public dimensions of the

promise of association. But perhaps most importantly, there is a need for us to gain an understanding of how personal and public promises might be linked or interwoven.

The search for a connectedness between spiritual, civic, and vocational ideals and practices that the University YMCA has pursued over the years is part of the on-going struggle for *wholeness* in a fractured, compartmentalized world. As a movement, the YMCA on the international level has historically stood for the whole person. This is communicated symbolically by its familiar three-part logo of a triangle, representing a unity of "body, mind, and spirit," set within a circle which represents the understanding that individuals are not islands unto themselves, but members of a broader social and natural environment.[25] The logo and the theory behind it were developed in the late 1880s by Luther Gulick, a physician and physical education teacher. As Galen Fisher wrote in his history of public affairs work in the YMCA, Gulick

> proclaimed that the YMCA ideal should be to develop well-rounded personalities, through a "fourfold program"—physical, intellectual, social, and spiritual or religious. Among the distinctive points in this conception were that all phases of personality should be developed together and that the "social" should be expanded beyond recreative social intercourse to embrace also the individual's responsibility to help shape society around him.[26]

The search for wholeness is, as Parker Palmer points out, fundamental to the meaning of religion. The Latin root of the word "religion" means to "rebind" or "bind together." Palmer writes that religious traditions have offered people a grounding from which they might overcome brokenness and fragmentation through seeking a reconciliation of that which has been estranged. Such a reconciliation can only be achieved through engagement with a public world of diverse interests and perspectives.[27]

Voluntary associations, whether they are religious-based or not, have been crucial mechanisms for tapping, directing, and unleashing the vast civic spirit and abundant energies and talents of the American people in the public work of building our common-

wealth. Part of the *civic mission* of such associations has been not only to address public needs and problems through various programs and services, but to help develop a practical citizenship among the common people by offering opportunities for them to become involved and engaged in significant ways in serious public work. Over time, however, many voluntary associations—including the YMCA, which today is the largest nonprofit organization in the world—have to a large extent lost this part of their civic missions. They have become dominated by a therapeutic, professionalized culture of "service delivery" which has too often led both to a lop-sided focus on "personal growth" and to the erosion of space and opportunities for the involvement of ordinary citizens in matters of public concern.

Today, as Harry Boyte, Nancy Kari, John McKnight, and others have argued, government, educational institutions, and voluntary associations have too often encouraged a view of people as needy "customers," consumers, or clients rather than creative citizens.[28] To counter this trend, one of the most important tasks of our time is to renew a work-centered understanding and practice of citizenship, where people are viewed as active producers of and contributors to our common world. We need to move from being a nation of passive consumers, disaffected customers, and victimized clients to becoming a nation of *citizens*, of creative co-participants in the care and development of our commonwealth. In pursuit of this task, we need to renew our voluntary associations by rediscovering the full promise of association.

For the YMCA at the University of Illinois, which celebrates its 125th anniversary in 1998, the full promise of association has involved an on-going search for ways to weave together civic and spiritual aims through work that connects personal and public concerns. Henry Wilson, who served as General Secretary of the University YMCA from 1916-1946, gave voice to this search when he proclaimed in 1933 that

> This organization is indigenous to the campus community. Its purpose is in line with that of the University, which, in the large, is to make for a better citizenship. What can the Asso-

> ciation do in order that spiritual values may be significant in the development of citizenship? Or what can the Association do to make for the recognition of the need of spiritual values in citizenship? If the training for citizenship is going to be significant it must make for attitudes which will render impossible bloodshed between races or social groups or international groups. It must reduce in America the human costs of prejudice and strife. This is a spiritual purpose and that spiritual purpose gives the Association a place of unusual importance in this community.[29]

Today, a purpose that seeks to integrate civic and spiritual aims is as important and compelling as ever. It is my hope that by exploring the different ways such a purpose has been articulated and understood over the life of the Association, this study might offer inspiration for the work of strengthening its pursuit in the years to come.

1.3 Overview of Chapters

The three chapters that make up the core of this book (Chapters Two through Four) provide a focused study of the evolution of the University YMCA's mission and work across the decades. The focus is placed on understanding both how and why the Association attempted to connect spiritual and civic aims in its articulations of mission and purpose and its program of work. This connection lies at the core of what I referred to above as the "promise of association." It should be acknowledged, however, that association through the University YMCA has carried with it many different kinds of promises and possibilities. While some of these are noted in what follows, only the spiritual-civic connection is treated in detail.

Chapters Two through Four are each divided into three sections: an introductory section highlighting contextual and historical themes and issues; a middle section describing the Association's mission, work, and institutional trends and dynamics during particular time periods; and a concluding discussion section focused on the spiritual-civic connection component of the promise of association theme. An attempt is made throughout each of these

chapters to link the University YMCA's story to the larger stories of the evolution of the YMCA in North America—including especially its student movement—and to changes and developments in American religious and political life. For the most part, these links are merely suggestive. They point to areas in need of much additional thought and research.

Chapter Two covers the first distinct era in the University YMCA's history, the period from 1873-1916. It begins with the founding of the Association in 1873 and carries the story forward until 1916, when the Association's longest-serving General Secretary—Henry Wilson—was hired. The hiring of "Chief" Wilson, as he was fondly called, marked a turning point in the University YMCA's work, when it chose to abandon its first large facility and focus on strengthening its "religious movement" orientation. Chapter Three covers the second major era in the Association's history, the period from 1916 to 1958, during which this focus was pursued. This was a key period for the Association, when it managed, despite two world wars and the Great Depression, to maintain a thriving program and successfully raise funds for and construct a major new facility which still serves the Association well today. Chapter Four covers the most recent era of the Association's history. It begins in 1958, when J. Frederick Miller took over as General Secretary, and continues the story of the evolution of the University YMCA's work and mission up to the present time. This is an era with three distinct periods. From 1958-1973, the Association embraced religious pluralism and sought to be the "intellectual religious center" of the campus. From 1973-1984, it turned its main focus away from both religion and the campus, choosing to focus instead on the surrounding community through a major program that provided services to troubled youth. In 1984, the focus shifted back to the campus, with a special concern for social justice.

The book concludes in Chapter Five with a brief summary, followed by a discussion of two of the key historical challenges to the work of connecting spiritual and civic aims and values. The first of these has to do with pressures the YMCA has faced to remain vague or broadly general in the religious, spiritual, and civic

values and ideas it has embraced and promoted. The second has to do with the power of a compartmentalized or fragmented view of education and knowledge which promotes a radical separation between spiritual values and beliefs and the affairs of civic and economic life. The recognition that both of these challenges remain with us today underscores the continuing importance of the promise of an association committed to the pursuit of wholeness.

NOTES

[1] Andrew S. Draper, *The University of Illinois* (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1903), p. 5.

[2] Ibid., pp. 7-8.

[3] Ibid., p. 8.

[4] Ibid., p. 22.

[5] Land-Grant Act quoted in Edward Danforth Eddy, *Colleges for Our Land and Time: The Land-Grant Idea in American Education* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1956, 1957), p. 33. For a powerful articulation of the "balanced" education ideal, see Liberty Hyde Bailey, *The State and the Farmer* (New York: MacMillan, 1908). Bailey served as dean of the New York State College of Agriculture at Cornell University from 1903-1913. In addition to being a highly accomplished scientist, Bailey was the premier spokesperson for the democratic promise of the land-grant idea in American higher education.

[6] These figures, which are for the Urbana campus only, are taken from Allan Nevins, *Illinois* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1917), p. 359. It should be noted that Nevins' figures may not be accurate. Several other sources I have reviewed present somewhat different statistics. Still, the general trend of expansion and growth holds.

[7] For an excellent, concise overview of this shift, see Douglas Sloan, *Faith and Knowledge: Mainline Protestantism and American Higher Education* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1994), pp. 1-34.

[8] See Julie A. Reuben, *The Making of the Modern University: Intellectual Transformation and the Marginalization of Morality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

[9] The best discussion of the significance of the conflict over the relative emphasis of liberal versus practical education in land-grant institutions can be found in Wendell Berry, *The Unsettling of America: Culture and Agriculture* (San Francisco: Sierra Club Books, 1977), pp. 143-170.

[10] For an overview of higher education's role in the rise of a narrow professionalism, see Burton J. Bledstein, *The Culture of Professionalism: The Middle Class and the Development of Higher Education in America* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1976.

[11] Draper (1903), p. 17.
[12] Although I will focus on the University YMCA in the pages that follow, the history and work of the two associations have often been intertwined. Where it is necessary or important to do so, I will discuss both.
[13] *Illinois Student Handbook: 1904-1905*, p. 10.
[14] Quoted in William H. Morgan, *Student Religion During Fifty Years: Programs and Policies of the Intercollegiate YMCA* (New York: Association Press, 1935), p. 79.
[15] Frederick Jackson Turner, "Pioneer Ideals and the State University," in Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (New York: Dover Publications, 1920, 1996), p. 269.
[16] See Harry C. Boyte and Nancy N. Kari, *Building America: The Democratic Promise of Public Work* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1996).
[17] Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* (New York: Harper Collins, 1850, 1969), p. 513.
[18] Ibid., pp. 514, 515.
[19] See Robert N. Bellah, et al., *Habits of the Heart: Individualism and Commitment in American Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985, 1996), pp. 219-249.
[20] See Sara M. Evans and Harry C. Boyte, *Free Spaces: The Sources of Democratic Change in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986, 1992).
[21] Saul D. Alinsky, *Reveille for Radicals* (New York: Random House, 1946), pp. 46-47.
[22] See Peter L. Berger and Richard John Neuhaus, *To Empower People: From State to Civil Society* (Washington, D. C.: AEI Press, 1996).
[23] Benjamin R. Barber, "The Search for Civil Society: Can We Restore the Middle Ground Between Governments and Markets?," in *The New Democrat*, 1996.
[24] Robert D. Putman, "Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital," in the *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 6, Number 1, January, 1995, p. 67. For more on the concept of social capital, see Robert D. Putman, *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), pp. 163-185.
[25] Recently, the traditional YMCA phrase, "body, mind, spirit" has been reordered as "spirit, mind, body." This was done in order to signal the importance of the spiritual or religious dimension of the YMCA's work, which has increasingly been marginalized by a narrow focus on sports, recreation, physical fitness and health programming.
[26] Galen M. Fisher, *Public Affairs and the YMCA: 1844-1944* (New York: Association Press, 1948), p. 61.
[27] See Parker J. Palmer, *The Company of Strangers: Christians and the Renewal of America's Public Life* (New York: Crossroad Publishing Company, 1981), p. 22.
[28] See Boyte and Kari (1996); John McKnight, *The Careless Society: Commu-*

nity and Its Counterfeits (New York: BasicBooks, 1995); and John Kretzmann and John McKnight, *Building Communities from the Inside Out: A Path Toward Finding and Mobilizing a Community's Assets* (Evanston: Northwestern University, 1993).

[29] Henry Wilson, University YMCA Board of Directors minutes, June 22, 1933, p. 2.

CHAPTER TWO
THE EARLY YEARS: 1873-1916

2.1 Introduction

When the Young Men's Christian Association was founded by a dozen young men employed at a dry goods store in London, England in 1844, its declared purpose was the "improvement of the spiritual condition of young men employed in the drapery and other trades, by the introduction of religious services among them."[1] The original idea behind the YMCA was to create an association of men that could counter the perceived threats of the emerging industrial, urban order to individual Christian faith and character. Through prayer meetings, Bible study, missions work, the keeping of a reading room with a library of "wholesome" materials, and a variety of classes and lectures, the London Association sought to strengthen the faith of young men, to rescue them from the city's innumerable temptations and vices.

While the original aim of the London YMCA was individualistic and purely spiritual, based on a conception of religion that was, as one historian has noted, "puritan and ascetic," its spirit and work rapidly broadened to include the "social ideal of service."[2] Thus, in addition to the work of saving souls and developing personal piety, soon after its founding the YMCA became involved in what was called "rescue mission work," which included general welfare and relief services to the poor and sick. It even became a mild force for political reform, organizing lectures on public issues and pushing for the improvement of working conditions and the reduction of working hours for young men. But these public efforts, especially those that were explicitly political, were secondary and peripheral to the essentially private work of strengthening individual faith.

By 1850, the YMCA had become an international movement, spreading to sixteen cities throughout England, Scotland, and Ireland. The first American Associations were founded in 1851 in Montreal and Boston. Mirroring the London Association, the Boston Association adopted a constitution and purpose aimed primarily at individual spiritual and moral development. The preface

to the Boston Association's constitution declared that it was to be

> a social organization of those in whom the love of Christ has produced love to men; who shall meet the young stranger as he enters our city, take him by the hand, direct him to a boarding house where he may find a quiet home pervaded with Christian influences, introduce him to the Church and Sabbath School, bring him to the Rooms of the Association, and in every way throw around him good influences, so that he may feel that he is not a stranger, but that noble and Christian spirits care for his soul.[3]

The work of the Boston Association also mirrored the London Association. While it focused mainly on personal evangelism, it also offered welfare and relief services. Its activities included prayer meetings, Bible study, evangelistic meetings, and missions and relief work. It kept a reading room and library, well-stocked with religious materials and dozens of newspapers from small towns across New England. The keeping of these "hometown" newspapers was meant to attract young men who had moved to Boston from the country. In addition to these elements, the Boston YMCA developed an active social program, a host of classes and lectures, athletic and recreational activities aimed at enhancing physical health, and various services such as an employment bureau and a boarding house register.

By the end of the 1850s, the YMCA in the United States was developing around the "great ideal" of a voluntary association devoted to a "fourfold" program: the spiritual, mental, social, and physical "salvation" of young men. Like in England, it was explicitly Protestant, while remaining nondenominational. Full membership, which included voting and office-holding privileges, was restricted in most Associations to those who could pass an "evangelical test" showing that they were members in good standing of an "orthodox" Protestant church. The evangelical test was adopted as official YMCA policy in Canada and the United States at the international convention in 1869 in Portland, Oregon. Thereafter, it became known as the "Portland Basis." It served to exclude Unitarians, Universalists, Catholics, and all non-Christians from

active membership. However, "associate" memberships were offered in most YMCAs to men who were deemed to be of "good moral character."

As the account in this chapter of the first forty-three years of the history of the YMCA at the University of Illinois will make clear, the student wing of the YMCA movement, begun in 1858 with the founding of YMCAs at the University of Virginia and the University of Michigan, initially resembled city YMCAs in both mission and program. The 1873-1916 period can be understood as the first major phase in the life of the Association at Illinois. To be sure, these were years of significant growth and change with respect to the scale of operations. But they were also years of much consistency in mission and work. With respect to this study's theme of the integration of spiritual and civic aims—broadly understood as the integration of personal and public aims—the founding era was marked by a consistent balance that was weighted towards personal spiritual growth and development.

2.2 Mission and Work

1873-1899

The announcement in the February, 1873, issue of *The Student* that a YMCA had been organized at what was then called "Illinois Industrial University" gave little hint as to what its mission and work were to be and what had inspired its creation. The full announcement read:

> YMCA Organized February 3d, 1873. Social and business meetings on the second Tuesday of each month, at 7 p.m., in room No. 23. Regular prayer meetings, Mondays and Thursdays, at 6 1/2 p.m., in the room above mentioned, and in the Adelphic Hall Sunday mornings at 9 o'clock. President—E. Steele. Cor. Secretary—J. S. Romine. Rec. Secretary—C. Graham.[4]

The main work of the Association during its first few years, as this statement reveals, was the holding of "regular prayer meetings." It brought this work to a campus that, in 1873, had a total of two buildings, with 25 faculty and 400 students.

The YMCA at Illinois Industrial University was organized by an outsider: Robert Weidensall, the first field secretary of the International Committee of the YMCA.[5] Weidensall was hired in 1868 to organize new YMCAs, especially in the midwest. At the international YMCA's annual convention in 1870, Weidensall and two others—Richard Morse, Weidensall's YMCA staff colleague, and Adam Spence, a professor from the University of Michigan—succeeded in securing the adoption of a resolution calling for a special effort to be made to organize YMCAs on college campuses. The adopted resolution read:

> Resolved, That this convention hails with joy the organization, in some of our Academies and Colleges, of YMCAs, and commends this feature of our work in behalf of the young men of America, and hopes that Christian Associations may be planted wherever practicable in our Academies, Colleges, and Universities, and that we urge especially such Societies already existing that they seek to extend their work in this important field.[6]

During the five years after this resolution was passed, Weidensall organized 24 new student associations, including the one at Illinois. Student work grew to such an extent that in 1877, an intercollegiate department of the International Committee was created to oversee it. Luther Wishard was hired to staff the committee, serving under the title of secretary. In 1879, college work was made a permanent department of the International Committee. The Intercollegiate YMCA had been born, and Illinois would become one of its leading and longest-lasting associations.

A statement of purpose for the University YMCA at Illinois during this period was included in the Association's constitution and annual reports. The statement declared that

> The object of this Association shall be to promote growth in grace and Christian fellowship among its members and aggressive Christian work, especially by and for students; to train them for Christian service; and to lead them to devote their lives to Jesus Christ not only in distinctive religious callings

but in secular pursuits.[7]

A second, slightly different purpose statement for this first period of the Association's life was printed in the first *Students' Handbook* for the 1884-85 academic year. This statement declared that

> The object of our association is to form in the University a center of Christian life and activity, to which will gather all students who desire to develop their Christian character, and from which there shall flow influences on the side of morality and all Christian virtues.[8]

When the intercollegiate department of the YMCA was created in 1877, the ideal student association was to include four main lines of work: religious meetings, Bible study, personal evangelism, and inter-association visitation and correspondence. In the first few decades, several more lines of work were added to this list, including missions, neighborhood activities, conferences, deputations, and new student work.[9] Each of these would become a part of the work of the YMCA at Illinois.

When the University YMCA was organized, it claimed about a dozen members. By 1899, its membership had grown to 278. Full membership, following the official policy of the national YMCA, was restricted to men who were "members in good standing of an evangelical church," although men of "good moral character" could become associate members by a two-thirds vote of the members present at a regular meeting. During the period of 1873-99, the University YMCA was housed in various rooms in University buildings. When it moved in 1883 into a room on the fifth floor of University Hall—the University's main building—the Association invested $250 in a carpet, stove, window hangings, and other items to make the space more attractive. The University's student newspaper, then called *The Student*, reported on the dedication of this room, declaring that it was a "notable event in the history of the Association," a "step forward" which would allow it to "fulfill its mission by exerting a constant influence for good at the University."[10]

The work of the University YMCA grew and expanded dra-

matically in its first few decades. While city YMCAs developed a "fourfold" program, including physical, mental, social, and spiritual dimensions, the student YMCA at Illinois played down the physical and mental dimensions and focused on spiritual, social, and service work. Seven different areas of work developed during the 1873 and 1899 period.

1. *Religious Meetings*

The core work of the University YMCA in its founding era, as it was for other student associations, was the holding of religious meetings. These meetings were often devoted to prayer. Special days and weeks of prayer were called by the national YMCA, which the University YMCA generally observed. Religious meetings also featured speakers who lectured on theological and spiritual topics.

Religious meetings in student YMCAs built on a tradition begun by earlier student groups such as Societies of Inquiry. While the exact nature of religious meetings at the University YMCA during this time is impossible to determine, they were generally described as "practical" devotional meetings where men shared their religious experiences and convictions and sought to learn how to apply them in daily life. This marked a contrast to the nature of the meetings in precursors to the YMCA, which tended to be more abstract and academic, focusing mainly on theological debates.[11]

2. *Bible Study*

While Bible study was not initially a part of the University YMCA's work, it developed soon after its founding. By 1891, formal classes were being offered each year. A Department of Bible study was created in 1893 to oversee recruitment and the development of materials. Classes were eventually created for each of the four years of undergraduate life. All classes were led by University of Illinois faculty until 1897, when student-led classes were added. Annual Bible Institutes and lectures by leading theologians and popular ministers were also added in the 1890s.

3. *Missions*

While missionary work became a formal element of student

YMCA work nationally in 1879, it was not until after the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions (SVM) was founded in 1888 that the University YMCA showed signs of strong work in this area. Sometime during the early 1890s, the University YMCA created a missions department, which recruited students for missionary service, held classes, organized lectures, and maintained—in cooperation with the University YWCA—a library of missions-related books and pamphlets.

In 1892, the University YMCA and YWCA created a "City Mission Band." The "Band" was not musical but evangelistic. It translated the SVM's ambitious slogan, "The evangelization of the world in this generation," to the local level. There were twelve members of the Band in 1893, both men and women. Members signed a pledge declaring that "It is my purpose, God permitting, to do city mission work." They took a two-year course of study, and did evangelistic work in Champaign-Urbana and other towns surrounding the University.

4. Services to New Students

One of the main features of the work of the University YMCA during this period was the development of a set of services for new students. Beginning in 1884, a handbook was co-published with the University YWCA that included information about the campus and surrounding community, a listing of local churches, and advice to new students about how best to survive the registration process and their first few days as students. These handbooks, which came to be known as "I" books, were an annual feature of YMCA and YWCA work until they were discontinued in 1955. They were eventually distributed free through the mail to all new students before they arrived on campus. Legend has it that the handbook idea, which was adopted by many student YMCAs around the country, was the brainchild of Samuel Parr, a professor of chemistry and long-time supporter of the University YMCA.

In addition to the handbooks, the University YMCA and YWCA cooperated in providing several other services to new students. Members of each association met new students at the local train stations when they arrived on campus in the fall, providing a

friendly greeting and useful information and advice to many a nervous and homesick student. Each association kept a list of available rooms for students to rent, offered new students assistance with personal problems, helped them find roommates, and hosted a reception which typically included music, food, and a greeting by the president of the University.

One of the problems new students had was finding jobs to support themselves while they were in school. Beginning in 1897, the University YMCA created an employment bureau that kept a listing of local jobs. That same year it created a "visitation and invitation" program that sought both to provide companionship to sick or lonely men and to recruit them to become members of the Association.

5. Socials

In addition to the receptions held for new students, the University YMCA hosted several social events each year for all University students. A few of these, such as a mid-year reception and a spring picnic, were joint programs with the YWCA. Other events, such as membership "stag" parties, were offered by the YMCA for more limited audiences. The YMCA and YWCA's social events were often attended by large numbers of students. In part, this was due to a lack of competition. During this period there were few other active student groups on campus, and little in the way of entertainment available in the surrounding community.

6. White Cross Army

In the early 1890s, the University YMCA joined a movement that had originated in England in 1883 called the "White Cross Army." The aim of the movement was "to discountenance indecent language and coarse jest, and to spread by every possible means the principle that the law of purity is equally binding upon men and women."[12] Men signed a "purity pledge" to become members of the army. The army then promoted its cause through lectures and pamphlets. By 1899, the University YMCA reported that it had recruited 185 men to join the army. The White Cross Army was the first organized effort by the YMCA related to the difficult

subject of sex. It was opposed by many, including Robert Weidensall, who thought that it violated YMCA principle by suggesting that a man might be made "pure" simply by signing a pledge. Weidensall believed that "No man's heart is pure unless made so by the acceptance of Jesus Christ as a personal Savior and the work of the Holy Spirit."[13]

7. *Conferences*

A final area of work that developed in this period was participation in local and regional conferences. Annual conferences of YMCAs from Illinois were established in the 1880s. The University YMCA sent a small number of delegates to each of these. An annual regional conference of student YMCAs from the midwest was begun in 1890. These were held for ten days each summer at Lake Geneva in Wisconsin. They included Bible study, religious discussions, inspirational meetings, lectures, special trainings and workshops for officers of student associations, and recreational activities. The Lake Geneva conference became an annual tradition which lasted until the mid 1960s.

1899-1908

During the period from 1899 to 1908, the core work of the University YMCA remained the same. It consisted of Bible study, religious meetings (sometimes called "devotionals"), various services for and outreach efforts to new students, missions-related and evangelistic activities, and social events. New work added in this period included the conducting of an annual religious census of the students, the founding of a department of music and a YMCA quartet, departments aimed at recruiting students from the College of Law and the Preparatory School, and a Post-Exam Jubilee. The White Cross Army and City Mission Band were apparently discontinued, as no mention of them can be found after 1899.

With respect to statements of the University YMCA's mission and purpose, two new versions appeared in this period. The first was printed in the *Annual Report* of 1901-02. It stated that

> The Young Men's Christian Association aims to send out each year from the University a company of men trained to be religious leaders, as they will be business and intellectual leaders, in their communities. It stands for the highest, all-round development of the man, and aims to reach and influence all classes of University men. Through its agencies and departments, it is a practical, helpful factor in University life, and it offers to its members Christian fellowship and training in intelligent, aggressive Christian work, both public and personal.[14]

A second version, similar to the one above, appeared in the *Illinois Student Handbook* of 1904-1905:

> To befriend and help men who need friends and help; to apply in practical college life the principles of the Christian faith; to stimulate men to develop a well-proportioned, all-around manhood; to train men for intelligent, aggressive Christian work; to bring to bear upon the University life a vigorous and healthful religious influence;—in short, to prepare an army of men to go out from the institution to become religious and spiritual leaders, in their communities, as they will there become the business and social and intellectual leaders,—this is the mission of the Young Men's Christian Association.[15]

While these statements suggest that the work of the University YMCA was focused on personal or individual religious matters during this period, there are hints of a larger public purpose, both on and off the campus.

This was a period of great strength, growth, and optimism for the international YMCA's student movement. In 1902, there were 650 student associations in North America claiming more than 40,000 members. By 1906, there were 734 associations claiming 54,281 members.[16] In addition to the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions (SVM), student YMCAs in North America were connected to a global organization, founded in 1895, called the World's Student Christian Federation (WSCF). By the turn of the century, the SVM's ambitious slogan—"the evangeli-

zation of the world in this generation"—appeared to some to be within reach.

The YMCA at the University of Illinois showed remarkable growth during this period in several areas. The most dramatic and visible growth occurred in its home. Back in 1892, a "building movement" had been launched, with the help of International Student Secretary John R. Mott, to secure funds to build a large facility for the YMCA's work. While the effort netted pledges and contributions of nearly $30,000, it fell far short of its goal. Still, enough funds were raised to allow the YMCA to purchase several pieces of property, which eventually led to the purchase of its first building in 1899, a 12 room house on the southwest corner of Wright and John streets which it shared with the YWCA. The two Associations moved into this house, which they named "Association House," during the fall semester of the 1899-1900 academic year. The house was attractive and inviting, with a large wrap-around porch and several quaint parlors. It added a sense of dignity and importance to both Associations, and gave much needed space for their expanding programs.

Dramatic growth occurred during this period in membership and program participation for the YMCA. While membership totaled 225 men at the close of the 1888-89 academic year, by the end of the 1907-08 year it stood at nearly 800. All program areas except missions reported strong growth during this period. Missions remained strong until 1906, when a sharp decline was reported. By 1900, Bible study was named as the most important phase of the Association's work. It was in this area that the University YMCA gained national recognition. Beginning in 1903, it led the nation for at least four straight years in the number of men participating in Bible study, with over 1,000 signed up for more than a dozen different classes in 1907-08. This period was the height of a national Bible study movement, which involved 538 institutions of higher learning offering classes that enrolled nearly 50,000 students in 1907-08.[17]

Another area of growth was in institutional matters. On September 26, 1892, the Association was officially incorporated as "The Young Men's Christian Association, University of Illinois."

The first paid staff for the Association (called a "General Secretary"), W. E. Durstine, was hired on a part-time basis in 1896.[18] During the 1899-1908 period, the General Secretary position was made full-time. An assistant secretary was added in 1903, and when the Association began a new building campaign in 1905, a building secretary was also hired. An Advisory Board composed of four members of the faculty, two students, one alumnus of the Association, and two community members was created in 1898 to help the Association oversee its property and financial and legal matters. The Advisory Board increasingly had much to oversee, as the budget of the Association grew from $746 for the 1899-1900 academic year, to $4,800 for 1907-08.[19] But the centerpiece of their work during this period was the oversight of a major new building campaign, initiated in 1905. The success of this campaign launched the Association into a new phase of its life and work.

1908-1916

In his *Annual Report* for the 1908-1909 year, General Secretary W. A. McKnight declared that

> This year marks the beginning of a new epoch in the history of the Young Men's Christian Association of the University of Illinois. In many features of its work it has for several years been one of the leading Student Associations of the country. It should now lead in the solution of the problems connected with administration of a large material equipment.[20]

The "large material equipment" was the YMCA's enormous new building, named Association Hall, which it occupied and dedicated during the fall of 1908.

Association Hall, which cost a total of $107,500 (including land and furnishings), was constructed on a piece of property the YMCA acquired on the northwest corner of Wright and John streets, directly across the street from Association House.[21] It was a three story building of brick and stone, 154 feet long and 84 feet wide, modeled after the large facilities city YMCAs were building

across the country during this time (minus the "swimming tank" and gymnasium). In the basement were a barber shop, cafeteria, lunch room, "smoking" room, and bowling alley. The first floor included a spacious lobby, an auditorium with a capacity to seat 450 people, a reading room and library with "hometown" newspapers from small towns across Illinois, a game room, meeting rooms, and an office. The second floor featured several meeting rooms and offices, fourteen dormitory rooms, and two guest rooms. The third floor had 28 additional dormitory rooms. Association Hall was the first dormitory on the University of Illinois campus, housing a total of 88 men. While the University YMCA's work during this period would increasingly come to be focused on its attempt to "lead in the solution of the problems connected with administration of a large material equipment" (and there were many), it maintained most of its earlier program and even added a few new areas of work.

As part of its new epoch, the University YMCA adopted a new Constitution and By-Laws in 1909. The Constitution included an article creating a Board of Directors to replace the old Advisory Board. The new Board was to be composed of four members of the University of Illinois faculty, five students, two local citizens, and one alumnus. One point of interest in the new Constitution was the Association's continuing restriction of active membership to men who were "members in good standing of evangelical churches." While the Association still allowed any student or faculty member judged to be of good moral character to become a "general" member, only members of evangelical churches were allowed full membership, which included the right to vote and hold office. While this was still the official policy the International YMCA held at this time, student associations were not bound by it. At the 36th International Convention of the YMCA in 1907, student associations were granted a special provision that allowed them to grant full membership to all those who were willing to accept "Jesus Christ as He is offered in the Holy Scriptures as their God and Savior."[22] While this fell far short of embracing the full diversity of religious views and faiths that would be welcomed in the future, it did immediately allow student YMCAs to

open their membership to many students that had previously been excluded. That the University YMCA did not adopt this new membership provision at this time suggests that it was on the more religiously conservative side of the student movement.

The 1909 Constitution included a new purpose statement for the University YMCA. It declared that

> The object of this Association shall be to serve the men of the University in practical ways; to lead in the endeavor to solve the moral problems of university life; to surround non-Christian men with such influence as shall lead them into open discipleship with Jesus Christ; to promote Christian fellowship and aggressive Christian work especially by and for students, and to train them for permanent Christian service, not only in distinctly religious callings, but also in secular pursuits.[23]

Two other statements were published during this period. The first, from the *Student Handbook* for 1911-12, presented a six-part aim for the Association:

> The aim of the Association is six-fold: (1) To unite all of the men of the University who are either followers of Jesus Christ or in sympathy with Him and His program. (2) To win students to discipleship with Jesus Christ. (3) To counteract and overcome the forces or influences which tend to disintegrate character, faith and influence. (4) To build men up in faith and character. (5) To train men for permanent Christian service. (6) To enlist men for and relate men to the great work of Christ that awaits them in the world.[24]

The second statement, slightly different from the above, appeared the following year in the *Student Handbook* for 1912-13:

> The aim of the Young Men's Christian Association is as follows:—to promote a spirit of Christian fellowship among the students; to offer a rendezvous where the atmosphere will be wholesome and refining; to counteract influences which tend to the disintegration of character; to assist men in choosing a helpful course in Bible study and in maintaining their inter-

> est in it; to present the claims of Jesus Christ upon the life of every man; to enlist men for and relate men to the great work of Christ that awaits them in the world.[25]

The work the Association engaged in during this period included the same work from the previous period, with some significant changes and additions. Bible study continued to thrive through the 1914-1915 year, with well over 500 students enrolled in more than a dozen classes every year. The tone and approach used in the classes changed, however. Picking up on the so-called "progressive" educational ideas of John Dewey and other theorists, group work and critical thinking began to be emphasized over the old model of individualized rote learning. An attempt was also made to explore how Christian faith and principles applied to politics and the "practical" affairs of vocation and daily life. Association Press, the national YMCA's own publishing house, published Bible study texts which encouraged this shift. One of the most popular texts of the era, which the University YMCA used, was *The Political and Social Significance of the Teachings of Jesus* (1906), by J. W. Jenks, a professor from Cornell University.

The YMCA's leadership in Bible study classes was short-lived. Classes were cut to only three per year in 1915-1916, and enrollment was sharply reduced. In part, this was a result of the creation of several campus churches and religious foundations, marking the advance of a new era for religion on campus which had begun shortly after the turn of the century. The 1908-1916 period marked the end of the YMCA and YWCA's near monopoly on religious activities on campus.

Despite this change, much of the religious work of the two Associations' remained strong. The strength was fed in part by a dramatic increase in interest and participation in missions work. The regular religious meetings the YMCA conducted also remained strong through this period, though the character of the meetings grew increasingly secular. In addition to the traditional focus on personal faith, the meetings began to focus on subjects of broad public interest. They featured prominent national and local speakers from industry, education, and the clergy who addressed various

political, economic, moral, and ethical issues of the day.

The social events and services the YMCA offered to new students all remained strong during this period, with each drawing or serving hundreds and sometimes thousands of men. The new building greatly enhanced the social and recreational side of the Association's work. The growing importance of social activities was reflected in a statement in the Student Handbook of 1908-09, which declared that "the YMCA stands above everything else for good fellowship."

Several new departments of work were added during this period. The first to be added was a department of "extension" work in 1908 which aimed at serving non-students in the local community and nearby cities and towns. It sent "gospel" or "deputation" teams of five or more students out into these communities to set up boys' clubs, boys' Sunday School classes, and mission Sunday Schools. These teams also organized religious services at the County jail and "County Poor Farm." "Winning men and boys to the Christian life" was stressed as the most important result of this work. Out of this work, a new department for "boys' work" was established in 1910 that focused on involving boys from Champaign and Urbana in athletic and recreational activities. This work was taken on in part because the University YMCA was the only YMCA in the area at this time. Another new department, created in 1914, was named "industrial service." Under the work of this department, students went out into local factories and mills to teach mathematics, mechanical drawing, and English to "employees who have lacked educational advantages." Students also went into the bunk houses of railroad laborers to teach English to "foreigners."

Budget, staff, and membership all increased dramatically between 1908-1916. While the Association's annual budget stood at just under $5,000 in 1907-08, by 1914 it totaled nearly $20,000. The expense side of the budget included a vast list of items, reflecting the many demands of owning and operating a large facility. The bulk of the budget went to maintain the building and support the staff, which by this time included three full-time secretaries, several support staff, and staff to operate the bowling alleys and game rooms. While membership initially (and ominously,

given the investment in the building) dropped from a peak of 780 in 1907 to a low of 470 in 1910, by 1913 it rose to just over 1,000 students and 60 faculty, before dropping back down again in 1915-1916.

Overall, the period from 1908-1916 was a mix of success and disappointment, of growth and set-backs. From the start, there was an ironic mix of optimism and anxious self-criticism. The *Annual Report* for 1908-09 included both a glowing vision of the enhanced prestige and influence the new building would bring to the Association, along with blunt self-criticism for certain unnamed "mistakes and failures" and a sober assessment of the challenge it would be to operate a large facility. The difficulties of operating the building proved to be substantial. The minutes of the Board of Directors meetings from this period are filled with discussions of problems related to the building. The 88 residents were rowdy and noisy, and refused to adhere to house rules. The cafeteria was leased to incompetent management, resulting in at least one lawsuit. Finding good management for the cafeteria proved to be so difficult that in 1913, the Association decided to take it over and run it itself. This succeeded for a time, but soon business dropped off, and the operation ran at a substantial loss.

By February of 1914, the Association was carrying a $6,000 deficit. Due in part to its inability to keep up with payments on the building, the deficit grew by 1916 to $40,000, about twice the annual budget. By that time, the new building was looking less and less like something that would help to usher in a new epoch, and more and more like an albatross that threatened to bring the Association down. The recognition that the building no longer served the Association's mission marked the end of the first major era of the University YMCA's history.

2.3 Discussion

What meaning did the promise of association have during the University YMCA's early years? What balance did it embrace of personal and public, of spiritual and civic aims? From the materials I have been able to review and consider, I believe that it would be fair to conclude that those who were leading the Association

during these years believed that its promise and work was to include a balance of personal and public dimensions, with personal religious development being of highest importance. However, while its main aim was to foster the personal religious life of students, it also sought to bring a kind of public religious influence to bear upon University life and the surrounding community.

The central importance of the "religious life and influence" work was reflected in all of the purpose statements quoted above. It was given a special justification in the Association's *Annual Report* for 1899-1900. The second paragraph of that report included the following statement:

> This being a state institution, the principle has been established that nothing can be done officially to foster the religious life of the student body. This work has therefore been left to the voluntary effort of Christian students. The Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations have occupied the field as the organizations best adapted to carry on the work.[26]

The promise of association, then, was that it made possible religious work which otherwise could not or would not be done. The degree to which this work was understood to be of deep importance was signaled by the inclusion on the inside cover of the 1899-1900 *Annual Report* of a quote from Francis L. Patton, the staunch Calvinist who served as president of Princeton University in the 1890s:

> Therefore I do not hesitate to say that far beyond the question as to whether a university shall have any new buildings or large endowments, far beyond the question as to whether it shall keep pace with the advancements of the times in an ever advancing science and philosophy—immensely beyond these things is the question whether the undergraduates who assemble year after year shall come under right religious influences, such as will make for righteousness, for morality, for the perpetuity of the Christian faith. I do not regard Christianity as one of the accidents of a college: I do not regard religion as one of the things you have to tolerate because men

> bring it along with them here. I look upon it as the prime necessity of University life.[27]

For the purposes of this study, the key question to ask about the religious life and influence work is the extent to which it was understood in private or individualistic terms, and the extent to which it was understood to have public or civic dimensions. What was the point of fostering the religious life of the student body, of bringing a religious influence to bear upon the University? Was its purpose to save individual souls? Was it to put into practice the Christian ethic of service, of welcoming and serving "strangers?" Was it to develop private "character" or piety in individual students and faculty members? Was it limited to these personal meanings, or was it also understood to have broad public significance?

In seeking to answer these questions, it is useful to consider the larger context and culture in which the University YMCA was working. During its founding era, the YMCA in America developed as a religious movement. It was a voluntary association grounded in what has been called the "democratization" of Christianity, meaning, in part, that it was led by "ordinary" lay persons rather than credentialed clergy.[28] While its work had public dimensions, it was not viewed as being explicitly political. The YMCA was mainly viewed as a benevolent remedial force, a social club, charity or a relief agency working to salve the dislocating and damaging effects of the industrial urban economy on personal character, faith, and health. In short, the YMCA developed an identity in its first half-century of work in the United States as a semi-public association pursuing a purpose which was self-consciously thought to be personal rather than public, and religious rather than political.

The YMCA's personal rather than public-oriented identity reflected an embrace of what the historian of religion Martin Marty has called "private" Protestantism.[29] Private Protestantism, according to Marty, emphasized individual salvation "out of the world" through a personal faith in Jesus Christ as Lord and Savior. Its "worldly" work was aimed at personal service to the sick and needy, combating various personal sins and vices, and encouraging and

developing a "Christian" moral life in individuals. While private Protestantism was the dominant force in American religion, a major split developed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries which gave birth to a counterforce, which Marty called "public" Protestantism. Those who advocated public Protestantism were convinced that soul-saving and individual acts of charity and service must be combined with concern for justice in political and economic life. They believed that Christian faith and principles compelled Christians—and therefore Christian associations such as the YMCA—to work for both personal and public reform.

Walter Rauschenbusch, a professor of history at Rochester Seminary who spent eleven years (1886-1897) as a pastor of a church near the infamous Hell's Kitchen area of New York City, was one of the most articulate advocates of the new "public" wing of American Protestantism. He was a key leader of the Protestant Social Gospel movement that developed in American life in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[30] His 1907 book, *Christianity and the Social Crisis*, became a key text for the movement, outselling every other religious book between the years 1907 and 1910. The book, like the movement itself, was built on the "discovery" that the principles and promise of Christianity were to apply as much to public life as to private life. The Social Gospel movement was a response both to the broad "social revolution" of the times—the many changes and dislocations in American life related to industrialization, commercialization, urbanization, immigration, and the rise of science—and to the detached, otherworldly private Protestantism that emphasized personal piety and individual salvation. Richard T. Ely, an influential figure in the movement who was a professor of "political economy" at the University of Wisconsin, argued in 1889 that the church had been "preaching a one-sided half-gospel, and not a whole gospel." Ely declared that "The gospel of Christ is both individual and social. It proclaims individual and social regeneration, individual and social salvation."[31]

"Western civilization is passing through a social revolution unparalleled in history for scope and power," Walter Rauschenbusch announced in 1907. "The vastness and the free sweep of our con-

centrated wealth on the one side, the independence, intelligence, moral vigor, and political power of the common people on the other side, promise a long-drawn grapple of contesting forces which may well make the heart of every American patriot sink within him." Rauschenbusch had no doubts about the appropriateness and scale of religions' involvement in this "grapple." He declared that "It is realized by friend and foe that religion can play, and must play, a momentous part in this irrepressible conflict."[32]

In a book designed to be used as a text for Bible study classes organized by student YMCAs, Walter Rauschenbusch wrote that

> From the beginning an emancipating force resided in Christianity which was bound to register its effects in political life. But in an age of despotism it might have to confine its political morality to the duty of patient submission, and content itself with offering little sanctuaries of freedom to the oppressed in the Christian fraternities. Today, in the age of democracy, it has become immoral to endure private ownership of government. It is no longer a sufficient righteousness to live a good life in private. Christianity needs an ethic of public life.[33]

In developing this ethic, Rauschenbusch looked with hope to youth, especially those who were privileged enough to attend higher education. He wrote that

> while we are young is the time to make a forward run with the flag of Christ, the banner of justice and love, and plant it on the heights yonder. We must not only be better men and women than we are now. We must leave a better world behind us when we are through with it. . . . If fifty thousand college men and women a year would range themselves alongside of Jesus Christ, look at our present world as open-eyed as he looked at his world, see where the social standards of conduct are in contradiction with his spirit and with modern need, and work to raise them, the world would feel the effect in ten years. And those who would strive in that way would live by faith in the higher commonwealth of God and have some of its nobility of spirit.[34]

The Social Gospel, as expressed by Walter Rauschenbusch, contained a blend of personal and public, of spiritual and civic aims. It offered a powerful vision of the relevance of the Christian faith in a rapidly industrializing and urbanizing nation. It offered answers for how the work and promise of the new student Christian associations (both YWCAs and YMCAs) that were organized in the late nineteenth century at colleges and universities across the nation might be understood. The work was to build a better world through the application to daily life of the social principles of Jesus: the building of a "Christian commonwealth" where justice and love might prevail over the selfish and oppressive greed of "mammon." Here, the promise of association was not to provide "little sanctuaries of freedom to the oppressed in the Christian fraternities," but rather to offer an organized means for developing strength for and solidarity in addressing the many pressing problems and challenges of modern life.

While the YMCA at the University of Illinois during its founding era was in some ways caught between the private and public wings of American Protestantism, it leaned strongly towards the private. While its religious life and influence work had a mix of private and public aims and dimensions, the public dimensions were not especially in tune with the aims of Social Gospel advocates such as Walter Rauschenbusch. Rauschenbusch felt that institutions and systems—such as capitalism—needed to be reformed or changed, not just individuals. He focused much of his work on what might be called "social sin" as opposed to "personal sin." While Rauschenbusch and other Social Gospel leaders such as Richard Ely did not ignore the importance of individual or personal work—in fact, they believed such work was of great importance—they argued for a balance between the personal and the social (i.e., public) that was weighted toward the social. This was not, however, the path that student YMCAs—including the Association at Illinois—followed in this era.

In his centennial history of the YMCA, Sherwood Eddy wrote that the chief emphasis of the work of student YMCAs during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was on "personal re-

ligion and personal evangelism."[35] This accurately describes the core work of the YMCA at the University of Illinois during this period. Consistent with this view, W. W. Dillon, the General Secretary of the University YMCA from 1898-1900, declared in an article published in *The Illini* that

> The very cornerstone of the Association movement is a belief in Jesus Christ as a personal Savior of men. It is this faith that inspires every activity which it puts forth. And in accordance with it, its ultimate purpose is to lead men into the Christian life. To this end are its devotional meetings, its Bible study, its endeavor by clean living and manly bearing to prove the truth of its profession.[36]

It would be a mistake, however, to miss the public intentions that lay behind the focus on personal religion and evangelism. While such work was primarily understood to be of private or personal significance, it was also imagined to have public significance. This was given voice by David Kinley, the future President of the University of Illinois (1919-1930), who wrote in 1893 that the development of individual moral and religious character was key to the solving of social ills. Kinley believed that the growing complexity of modern life

> increases the dependence of man on man, and so necessitates a formal altruism in life which can be gradually changed into a vital and moral altruism. Thus light is thrown on the direction in which we should expend our efforts at improvement. We should seek to develop the moral and religious character, and industrial and other social ills will then largely settle themselves on the basis of greater existing justice and brotherly love.[37]

Kinley's view reflected a strand of the public wing of American Protestantism which was more conservative than the Social Gospel strand. While the University YMCA did not embrace the Social Gospel at this time, it did embrace Kinley's view of the public significance of personal work. This can be glimpsed in several of the mission and purpose statements of the era (quoted above),

especially that of 1901-02, which declared that the University YMCA's mission was to "train" students in "intelligent, aggressive Christian work, both public and personal."[38]

Another public dimension of the personal religious work during this era had to do with the Association's view of itself as a force for affecting both the University as an institution, and the experience and nature of University life for students and faculty. The Association's purpose statement for 1884 captured this, declaring that the Association's aim was to "form in the University a center of Christian life and activity, to which will gather all students who desire to develop their Christian character, and from which there shall flow influences on the side of morality and all Christian virtues."[39] It was also captured in the purpose statement for 1904, which declared in part that the Association's aim was to "bring to bear upon the University life a vigorous and healthful religious influence," as well as in the purpose statement included in the 1909 constitution, which stated that the Association was to "lead in the endeavor to solve the moral problems of university life."[40] The new building the Association occupied in 1908 was even understood to offer something of public significance to the campus. This was repeatedly emphasized in the *Students' Handbooks.* For example, in the *Students' Handbook* for 1911-12, it was declared that "The building is open to all men at all times. It is a place where men may meet on a common basis, without the baseless social distinctions which sometimes exist in college life. In other words, the Association desires to promote a social life which is wholesome and democratic."[41]

One of the most important aspects of the YMCA's public work related to the University was tied to a view of the Association as a force for promoting a whole, balanced education for male students in an environment that, it was argued, would otherwise provide only a narrow technical education. In an article on Association principles, W. W. Dillon wrote that the YMCA stood for the "symmetrical development of the man," which included spiritual, intellectual, social, and physical dimensions.[42] The *Students' Handbooks* of the era included statements that presented both the YMCA and YWCA as forces for helping students to achieve this balance.

For example, in the *Students' Handbook* for 1888-89, the presidents of the YMCA and YWCA declared that "As students we value very highly the knowledge and intellectual culture we receive here, but we value also character, which is even better than culture. This we endeavor to promote by meetings for social prayer and conference and a common interest in work which will make us strong in the better life." A similar statement was included in the *Students' Handbook* for 1890-91. In that document, the presidents of both Associations wrote that "We highly appreciate the technical training and intellectual culture we as students receive in the University of Illinois, but we also remember and strive to receive the instruction of wisdom, justice, and judgment and equity."

The importance of a broad education that included a religious or spiritual dimension was strongly argued by David Kinley. In an article published in The *Illini* in October of 1897, Kinley complained that "education has come to mean not the production, morally and intellectually of men and women, but of mere specialists." Kinley believed that such education was "degenerate," that it

> turns out engineers and political economists and clergymen and journalists and other specialists, who are specialists, and so far as training goes, nothing more. . . . Each may be an expert in his particular field; but unless he has the instincts of culture; unless his mind is tempered, rather than merely great; unless his moral sense is delicate and true; unless his mind is great enough to see, and his heart big enough to feel, as it were, into the influences and relations of life beyond his own sphere; unless he senses and sympathizes with the great pulsating heart of humanity outside himself; . . . neither engineer, nor political economist, nor clergyman, nor journalist, can exert so ennobling an influence, or leave behind so sweet a memory as he might.[43]

Here was an argument that added seriousness and strength to the public significance of the personal religious work of the University YMCA.

With its mix of personal and public aims—weighted towards the personal, following a more conservative side of public Protes-

tantism—the University YMCA was reflecting the culture and values of the larger student YMCA movement in North America during this time. The leading figure in this movement was John R. Mott. Mott, who served as the staff director of the North American movement between 1890 and 1915, began his involvement in student YMCA work while he was a student at Cornell University in the mid 1880s. Deeply influenced by the popular evangelist Dwight Moody, Mott shaped the social or public dimensions of the student movement around a deep core of personal evangelism. The central importance of the personal side of the work was evident in his description of the sixfold purpose of the student YMCA movement in 1894:

> The secret power of the Movement is found in its sixfold purpose; to unite the Christian college men of the world; to win to Christ the students who are not his followers; to guard college men against the many temptations which assail them, not only in the body but also in the realm of the intellect; to deepen the spiritual life of the Christian men; to increase their efficiency in Christian work; and to lead them, as they go from college, to place their lives where they will count most in advancing the Kingdom of Christ.[44]

Mott's view of the public importance of the work of the student YMCA movement was in part shaped by a book he read in 1888, during his first year as a staff member. The book, *Prayer for Colleges*, by W. S. Tyler, a professor from Amherst College, included the following passage:

> We should pray for colleges because, in so doing, we pray for everything else. In the present members of our colleges, we have the future teachers and rulers of our nation,—the professional men and men of influence of the coming generation,—the rising hope of our country, the Church, and the world. In praying for them, therefore, we pray for our country in its magistrates, for the Church in its ministers, for the world in its missionaries, for every good cause in its future agents and representatives,—for all the streams of influence in their fountain and source. If prayer is the lever that is to

> raise this fallen world, here, in our colleges, is the place to apply it. If prayer is the conductor, which is to convey divine influences from heaven to earth, these are the summits where especially it should be set up, and whence those influences will spread, like the electric fluid, through all the ranks and departments of society.[45]

This passage, Mott once remarked, convinced him that "there was no more important work on earth than influencing students."[46]

With its strong flavor of *noblesse oblige* and its elitism (students were approvingly seen as the "future rulers of our nation"), the personal religious work of the student movement was in tune with one strand of the Progressive reform movement that developed during the turn of the century era. This strand—which ironically championed, in the name of "democracy," the rule of society by an elite of scientifically trained experts—was displayed in a 1910 essay by Frederick Jackson Turner on the role of state universities in American life. In his essay, Turner declared that the "industrial conditions which shape society are too complex, problems of labor, finance, social reform too difficult to be dealt with intelligently and wisely without the leadership of highly educated men." "Educated leadership," Turner wrote, "sets bulwarks against both the passionate impulses of the mob and the sinister designs of those who would subordinate public welfare to private greed." Turner was convinced that in building a nation with "supreme allegiance and devotion to the commonweal," there was "no more promising agency than the State Universities; no more hopeful product than their graduates."[47] While Turner and many other Progressives embraced science and scientific expertise as the key sources of progress and hope, Mott and others in the student YMCA movement embraced Jesus. While there were obvious and important differences between these two embraces, each viewed the "training" or converting of a privileged group of individual students as holding great promise for social reform.

The nature and balance of the personal and public work of student YMCAs during their founding era were shaped by the culture of the larger YMCA movement. While the YMCA was founded in London in 1844 in large part as a response to the social

dislocations and ill-effects of capitalism, industrialism, and urbanism, it developed a culture that focused almost exclusively on improving the spiritual life of individual men rather than on addressing problems related to social systems and institutions. As Galen Fisher argues in his history of the public affairs work of the YMCA, "The Association Movement during its early decades had neither a philosophy nor a program that embraced public affairs."[48]

In practice, the YMCA's record with respect to engagement in public affairs during this time was contradictory. In the United States, the YMCA in the nineteenth century tried to walk on both sides of a line with respect to its view of work on public issues. On the one hand, both individual associations and national staff argued that the YMCA should not take positions on or involve itself in controversial "political" issues. However, internal discussion of such issues was deemed appropriate, and such discussions were conducted under what was referred to as the "open platform." But taking action as an association was viewed as inappropriate. This was expressed in a resolution passed at the International Convention of YMCAs in 1871, which stated that YMCAs

> have no politics, and know no distinctions among men . . . and it does not fall within the sphere of their duties to take part in any controversy, or to make official deliverance upon any topic . . . which does not relate directly to the work of evangelization among young men.[49]

This position was reinforced in 1886 when the Conference of General Secretaries declared that "while we recognize the necessity there is for persistent effort to promote personal purity among young men . . . we are still of the opinion that it is inadvisable for the Association to engage in any organized effort for moral reform."[50]

On the other hand, the YMCA did not shy away from taking action on select social and moral issues. Throughout the nation, YMCAs regularly and actively campaigned against such things as pornography, intemperance, and other forms of "social vice." The apparent contradiction between these actions and the policy stated above might be explained by noting the extent to which the YMCA

was (and still largely is) closely associated with conservative business interests. Such interests were widely represented on YMCA boards of directors, and they contributed large sums of money for program work and the construction of YMCA buildings. Unlike taking action against business and corporate "vice," such as child labor and near-starvation wages, taking action against intemperance was non-threatening. Indeed, the YMCA was viewed as a counteracting conservative force against the "socialistic" calls for economic reform of the time. This was clearly expressed in an editorial published in 1888 in the YMCA's national journal, *The Watchman*:

> Recently a railroad president in Boston, not a religious man, was asked to contribute to the funds of, or aid in some way, the YMCA, and he replied that he would gladly do so, as he considered the great property interests in his hands much safer from the anarchists for the presence of such an institution in the city. When the conflict comes, as it may some day if no check is placed upon socialistic ideas, what better force can be instantly called into action, outside the police and the military, than the young men of such an organization as the YMCA? If this is true, our business men having great interests in their hands will be wise if they strengthen the YMCA in every possible manner.[51]

Complementing the conservative influence of business was the cultural norm of avoiding conflict and argument on controversial political issues in order to preserve fellowship and brotherhood.

Gradually, however, the YMCA attracted not just conservative business men and men committed to personal religious work, but also men who had deep concerns for public problems, and who wished to see the YMCA play a direct role in addressing them. One of these men, Graham Taylor, a professor at the Chicago Theological Seminary, a leader in social settlement work and a passionate advocate of the Social Gospel, spent considerable effort in the 1890s trying to enlist YMCAs in social reform movements.[52] In an address before the International Convention of the YMCA in 1895, titled "The Relations of the Young Men's Chris-

tian Associations to Social-Economic Questions," Taylor called on the YMCA to

> make of ourselves and our buildings centers for social unification . . .; to make some of our meetings and educational classes schools in which the young men of the nation may study and learn their social and civic rights and duties as a part of their citizenship and religion; . . . to push the Association Movement into the lodging houses and labor unions and street life and recreative rendezvous of young men.[53]

Taylor's call was immediately attacked on the floor of the convention by Cephas Brainerd, a conservative lawyer from New York City who served as chair of the executive committee of the International YMCA from 1867 to 1892. Brainerd had consistently argued against YMCA involvement in social reform efforts, declaring in 1872 at the annual meeting of the Pittsburgh Association that since social wrongs were rooted in the "selfishness of the human heart," they could not be "reached and remedied by outward application."[54] In response to Taylor, Brainerd urged the "utmost caution and prudence" on questions of economic and political reform, arguing that "There does not seem to be anything in the present conditions to justify the Associations in going beyond the limits of the well-defined work in which they are now engaged."[55] Wilber Messer, General Secretary of the Chicago YMCA, added to Brainerd's comments by declaring that "if a man's heart be changed, he will change his own conditions."[56] In other words, following David Kinley's brand of public Protestantism, Messer believed that public reform was best achieved through reforming individuals.

By the early twentieth century, this cautious, conservative position began to break down, especially in the student movement. In 1908, the same year that the relatively radical Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America was founded, John R. Mott publicly embraced the Social Gospel, writing that

> Jesus Christ is Lord and therefore must reign. He only has authority to rule social practices. He must dominate His fol-

> lowers and all society in all their relationships: domestic, industrial, commercial, civic, national, and international. . . . There are not two gospels, one social and one individual. There is but one Christ who lived, died, and rose again, and relates Himself to the lives of men. . . . The Association is summoned imperatively to give itself more fully than heretofore to discharge its social responsibility.[57]

Mott's declaration challenged the conservatism and complacency of the YMCA's position on social issues, marking a new course of active public engagement.

The key event for bringing the Social Gospel into student work was a "Conference on Social Needs" organized by Mott and held in April of 1914 in Garden City, New York. The conference brought together more than sixty representatives of student YMCAs and YWCAs in North America (almost all of whom were staff), along with leading Social Gospel figures such as Henry Sloane Coffin and Walter Rauschenbusch. The conference was hailed as a "summons to penitence for our share in the corporate sins of society and to a new faith, a new order, a new devotion of service."[58] The official report that was issued and published from the conference, *Social Needs of the Colleges of North America*, was bold and forthright, embracing Rauschenbusch's views about the implications of the Social Gospel for Christian associations. The report declared that

> The crisis of the hour calls for men and women consecrated enough to be willing to see our social order for what it really is, to acknowledge that, resting as it does on competition, it is unchristian and contrary to the will of Christ, and then to dedicate themselves to the thinking out of a solution that harmonizes with His teaching and to withstand the scorn, misrepresentation and persecution of the men of this generation. More than all it calls for men and women of mighty faith in God, which nothing can shake, faith that will remove mountains of indifference, ignorance, and denial of the power of God to transform human society as well as individuals, according to the mind of Christ, faith which already sees the vision of a new order of human society, founded upon principles of cooperation and fellowship.[59]

As Hopkins noted in his history of the YMCA, the Garden City conference marked the end of an era for the student movement. The era that followed was, at least at the national level, marked by a new concern for social problems, a more open attitude towards institutional engagement in public affairs work, and attempts to "democratize" the movement's philosophy and organization.[60] At the local level, however, it was another story altogether. As we shall see in the next chapter, the YMCA at the University of Illinois did not fully embrace these new dimensions of student work until after the Second World War.

NOTES

[1] C. Howard Hopkins, *History of the YMCA in North America* (New York: Association Press, 1951), p. 4.

[2] Laurence L. Doggett, *A History of the YMCA* (New York: Association Press, 1922), p. 79.

[3] Hopkins (1951), p. 18.

[4] *The Student*, February, 1873, p. 16.

[5] "International" meant Canada and the United States. Until the 1960s, the term "secretary" was used to name paid staff in the YMCA.

[6] Quoted in Hopkins (1951), p. 274.

[7] *Gleanings from the Records of the Young Men's Christian Association of the University of Illinois for the Year 1896-97*, p. 3.

[8] *Students' Handbook* (1884-85), pp. 7-8.

[9] Clarence Prouty Shedd, *The Origin and Development of the Student Young Men's Christian Association Movement in North America* (Unpublished Master's Thesis, Clark University, 1914), pp. 190-222.

[10] Quoted in Harold Hannah, *One Hundred Years of Action: The University of Illinois YMCA, 1873-1973* (Champaign: University YMCA, 1973), p. 60.

[11] Shedd (1914), pp. 192-193.

[12] *Students' Handbook*, 1894-95, p. 33.

[13] Quoted in Hopkins (1951), p. 385.

[14] *Annual Report of the Young Men's Christian Association of the University of Illinois, 1901-1902*, unpaged.

[15] *Illinois Student Handbook: 1904-1905*, p. 10.

[16] Statistics from "Character Building in Seven Hundred Colleges," a pamphlet published by the International Committee of the YMCA in 1906. The title of this pamphlet is misleading. Of the 734 associations reported to be in existence in 1906, only 308 of these were actually based at colleges and universities. The remainder included 169 at preparatory and high schools, 123 at normal and technical schools, 56 at medical, dental, and law schools,

46 at theological institutions, plus one each at the United States Military Academy and the United States Naval Academy.

[17] Figures from a pamphlet titled, "Bible Study at the University of Illinois, 1908-1909."

[18] Hannah (1973) inaccurately wrote that Adam Millar was the Association's first General Secretary. Millar, who served as General Secretary from 1897-98, was in fact the Association's second General Secretary.

[19] All budget figures named in this book are unadjusted for inflation.

[20] *Annual Report of the General Secretary*, July 1, 1909, p. 20.

[21] This building still stands today. Owned now by the University of Illinois, it is called "Illini Hall."

[22] William H. Morgan, *Student Religion During Fifty Years: Programs and Policies of the Intercollegiate YMCA* (New York: Association Press, 1935), p. 77. There was intense debate at the 1907 Convention over the granting of this provision for student associations, at one point pitting William Jennings Bryan with John R. Mott. Mott, who supported granting the provision, prevailed. See Morgan, pp. 76-78.

[23] Article II, *Constitution and By-Laws of the Young Men's Christian Association of the University of Illinois*, 1909.

[24] *The Illinois Student Handbook*, Vol. XXVIII, 1911-1912, p. 23.

[25] *The Illinois Student Handbook*, Vol. XXIX, 1912-1913, p. 10.

[26] *Annual Report of the Young Men's Christian Association of the University of Illinois*, 1899-1900, p. 3. It must be pointed out here that while many state institutions such as the University of Illinois could not "officially" foster the religious life of students, many of these institutions—including Illinois—were in essence "nonsectarian but distinctly Protestant institutions." See Bradley J. Longfield, "From Evangelicalism to Liberalism: Public Midwestern Universities in Nineteenth Century America," in George M. Marsden and Bradley J. Longfield, *The Secularization of the Academy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 46-73.

[27] Quoted in *Annual Report of the Young Men's Christian Association of the University of Illinois*, 1899-1900, p. 2. Seemingly at odds with this statement was Patton's strange declaration in his inaugural address that "College administration is a business in which trustees are partners, professors the salesmen and students the customers." Quoted in Frederick Rudolph, *The American College and University: A History* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1962, 1990), p. 161. Patton was quite conservative—even reactionary—both theologically and on a number of issues related to higher education. He resisted attempts to bring religion into harmony with many of the new findings and ideas of science, was adamantly opposed to granting students basic civil rights ("There are times when a man should be held guilty until he is found innocent," he once declared), and resisted granting electives a more substantial place in the curriculum. See Laurence R. Veysey, *The Emergence of the American University* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965).

[28] See Nathan O. Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989).
[29] See Martin E. Marty, *Righteous Empire: The Protestant Experience in America* (New York: The Dial Press, 1970), especially pp. 166-209.
[30] See Paul M. Minus, *Walter Rauschenbusch: American Reformer* (New York: Macmillan, 1988). The best history of the Social Gospel movement is C. Howard Hopkins, *The Rise of the Social Gospel in American Protestantism, 1865-1915* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940).
[31] Richard T. Ely, *Social Aspects of Christianity* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Company, 1889), pp. 148-149.
[32] Walter Rauschenbusch, *Christianity and the Social Crisis* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1907, 1991), pp. xxxv-xxxvi.
[33] Walter Rauschenbusch, *The Social Principles of Jesus* (New York: Association Press, 1916), p. 91.
[34] Ibid., p. 92.
[35] G. Sherwood Eddy, *A Century With Youth: A History of the YMCA from 1844 to 1944* (New York: Association Press, 1944), p. 82.
[36] W. W. Dillon, "Association Principles." *The Illini*, April 7, 1899, p. 413.
[37] David Kinley, "The Law of Social Progress." *New York Christian Advocate*, Aug.-Sept., 1893. Reprinted in *Social Progress: Four Articles by David Kinley* (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1893), p. 2.
[38] *Annual Report of the Young Men's Christian Association of the University of Illinois, 1901-1902*, unpaged.
[39] *Students' Handbook* (1884-85), pp. 7-8.
[40] *Illinois Student Handbook: 1904-1905*, p. 10; Article II, *Constitution and By-Laws of the Young Men's Christian Association of the University of Illinois*, 1909.
[41] *Illinois Students' Handbook*, 1911-12, p. 28.
[42] W. W. Dillon, "Association Principles." *The Illini*, April 7, 1899, p. 413.
[43] David Kinley, "Culture the Aim of Education." *The Illini*, October 15, 1897, p. 46.
[44] Quoted in Hopkins (1951), p. 625.
[45] Quoted in Basil Mathews, *John R. Mott: World Citizen* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1934), p. 85.
[46] Ibid.
[47] Frederick Jackson Turner, "Pioneer Ideals and the State University," in Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (New York: Dover Publications, 1920), pp. 285-289.
[48] Galen M. Fisher, *Public Affairs and the YMCA: 1844-1944* (New York: Association Press, 1948), pp. 25-26.
[49] Quoted in Hopkins (1951), p. 401.
[50] Ibid., p. 51.
[51] Quoted in Ibid., p. 49.
[52] See Louise C. Wade, *Graham Taylor: Pioneer for Social Justice, 1851-1938* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964).
[53] Quoted in Owen E. Pence, *The YMCA and Social Need: A Study of Institu-*

tional Adaptation (New York: Association Press, 1939), p. 81. It is significant to note that Pence served as a member of the cabinet for the YMCA at the University of Illinois while he was a student in 1909-10.

[54] Quoted in Hopkins (1951), p. 392.

[55] Quoted in Pence (1939), p. 81.

[56] Quoted in Emmett Dedmon, *Great Enterprises: 100 Years of the YMCA of Metropolitan Chicago* (New York: Rand McNally, 1957), p. 156.

[57] Quoted in C. Howard Hopkins, *John R. Mott, 1865-1955: A Biography* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1979), p. 276. As Hopkins notes, Mott was recruited by the new Federal Council of Churches to be their director in 1909, but he declined the offer.

[58] Quoted in Ibid., p. 418.

[59] Quoted in Ibid., pp. 418-419.

[60] See Hopkins (1951), p. 639.

CHAPTER THREE
THE MIDDLE YEARS: 1916-1958

3.1 Introduction

In a book published in 1922, titled *What Is the YMCA?*, Paul Super, the Secretary for the Personnel Bureau of the International Committee of YMCAs, warned that the YMCA "faces two dangers: first, that of limiting its work to activities within its building, and second, institutionalism."[1] Super's warning came at the tail end of an enormous YMCA building boom. There were over 300 new YMCA buildings constructed in the United States between 1900-1920, adding to the 359 that already existed. By 1922, American YMCAs owned and operated more than 700 buildings, with the total value in material and property topping $150 million.[2]

The building boom had a significant effect on the YMCA's image and work, not all of which was positive. Hopkins notes in his *History of the YMCA in North America* that by the 1920s,

> Even more than in the past an Association was identified with its building: in one of the strongest states no city YMCA was organized without a building of its own. From the immense city structures, costing millions, to the plain log meeting rooms built by Dakota Indians with their own hands, facilities reflected the programs carried on by their owners and in turn shaped those activities. Program was thus increasingly institutionalized, as city after city campaigned for large funds for building purposes.[3]

The danger of a YMCA being identified so much with its building was the extent to which such an identification might obscure or marginalize its deeper religious work and purpose. Yet buildings were not in themselves necessarily problematic: what mattered was what associations did with or in them.

The building boom was in part an expression of a gradual transformation of the YMCA's basic work and mission which began in the late nineteenth century. Over time, the YMCA began to shift from being a voluntary association of members who were commit-

ted to being active participants in a religious movement which had both personal and social (i.e., public) dimensions, to a professionalized institution that offered various social and recreational services and programs designed to be consumed by an increasingly passive membership.[4] While buildings were not generally viewed as being necessary to support a religious movement, they were seen as essential to support the programs and services of an institution.

The tension between the YMCA's original identity as a *movement* versus its increasing success as an institution was the theme of Paul Super's book. In Super's view, while the institutionalization of the YMCA brought certain advantages and strengths, it also threatened to undermine the "real" YMCA. According to Super, the "real" YMCA was a religious or spiritual *movement*, not a service-providing institution. He wrote that

> The values with which the Young Men's Christian Association deals as a movement are spiritual. It has to do with what are ordinarily considered the highest interests of life. The Association movement seeks to influence men and boys in the realm of their religious convictions, ethical standards, moral ideals, personal and social conduct. It bands together men and boys who wish to give God the right place in their lives, and who become a movement by associating their efforts to extend the application of this principle. The Association is a movement just to the extent that it moves men and boys to apply the teachings of Jesus to their relations to God, to their relations to their fellow men, to the problems, opportunities, and materials of life.[5]

The growing tension between the movement and institutional dimensions of the YMCA offers a strikingly appropriate theme for the exploration of the University YMCA's middle years. The years between 1916 and 1958 were marked by a continuing struggle with this tension. Through the leadership and legacy of "Chief" Henry Wilson, the longest serving General Secretary in the University YMCA's history (1916-1946), the movement dimension of the YMCA was kept at the center of importance. Like Super,

Wilson held a passionate conviction that the "real" YMCA was a religious movement. Also like Super, Wilson believed that a local YMCA could preserve the strength and character of its movement dimension even as it succeeded in establishing itself as an institution with a professional staff and building of its own. While the experience of the University YMCA in its middle years offered evidence that this was indeed possible, it also demonstrated how difficult it was to achieve and sustain.

3.2 Mission and Work

1916-1938

The tension between the movement and institutional dimensions of the YMCA at the University of Illinois had reached a fever pitch when Henry Wilson began his work as General Secretary on June 1, 1916. Wilson, who was born and raised in Canada but educated in the United States at George Williams College and Yale University, arrived in Champaign after serving for seven years as General Secretary of the YMCA at Marshalltown, Iowa. Just 33 years old and newly ordained as a minister in the Congregational church, he brought a fresh, critical outlook and renewed energy to the YMCA at Illinois at a time when it was badly needed. The Association was carrying an accumulated deficit of $40,000, and it had become increasingly bogged down in what seemed to be a losing battle of meeting the many demands and responsibilities of managing its building while maintaining its movement-oriented mission.

Almost immediately, Wilson expressed his doubts to the Board about whether Association Hall, which had been built and dedicated with such hope only eight years earlier, fit the Association's work and mission. The situation was discussed, but no action was taken until 1917, when an unexpected turn of events provided an opportunity for change. After the United States joined World War I in April of 1917, the YMCA was asked if it would, as a service to the war effort, agree to give up the use of its building in order to provide housing and office space for the School of Military Aeronautics. The Board agreed to the request, on condition that it would be provided with a guarantee against financial loss.

This condition was met, and during the summer of 1917, the YMCA moved out of its building and into temporary quarters in a house on the northeast corner of Wright and Green Streets that was the former residence of the president of the University.

The Association remained in the former president's house until the war was over. By then, the Board had decided that the Association would not return to the building it still owned. Association Hall was first rented and then sold to the Illinois Union, a nonprofit organization founded in 1909, the precursor to today's Illini Union Board. In late December of 1918, the University YMCA moved into what was known as the "Hut," a wooden structure with one large room and a small office space that the Association bought and relocated on property it acquired on the southwest corner of Wright and Green Streets. The Hut was the Association's home until December of 1923, when it was destroyed by a fire.

The official mission of the University YMCA during the first few years of this era, as stated in its constitution, declared that

> The object of this Association shall be to serve the men of the University in practical ways; to lead in the endeavor to solve the moral problems of university life; to surround non-Christian men with such influence as shall lead them into open discipleship with Jesus Christ; to promote Christian fellowship and aggressive Christian work especially by and for students, and to train them for permanent Christian service, not only in distinctly religious callings, but also in secular pursuits.[6]

This mission was changed in 1923 when the Association adopted a new constitution. The new official statement of purpose, which was to remain unchanged until 1961, stated that

> The purpose of this organization shall be: (1) To lead students to faith in God through Jesus Christ. (2) To lead them into membership and service in the Christian Church. (3) To promote their growth in Christian faith and character, especially through the study of the Bible and prayer. (4) To influence them to devote themselves in united effort with all Chris-

> tians to making the will of Christ effective in human society, and to extending the Kingdom of God throughout the world.[7]

The most noteworthy aspect of the 1923 statement for this study is its strong linking of personal and public aims, and its hint of Social Gospel influence. The call to make the "will of Christ effective in human society" and to extend the "Kingdom of God throughout the world" was firmly planted in the culture of public Protestantism. It also mirrored the language of the Social Gospel movement. "The Kingdom of God," Walter Rauschenbusch wrote, is "a collective conception, involving the whole social life of man. It is not a matter of saving human atoms, but of saving the social organism. It is not a matter of getting individuals to heaven, but of transforming the life on earth into the harmony of heaven."[8] Despite the use of the term "kingdom," the Kingdom of God was a deeply democratic concept. Social Gospel advocates thought that the way to transform life on earth into the "harmony of heaven" was to democratize social and economic relations.

In addition to the official statement in the new Constitution, various unofficial statements of purpose and mission were also used during the 1916-1938 period. The statement that was used in the annual *Students' Handbooks* from 1917 until 1936 featured one of the key words characteristic of the YMCA's culture during this period: "service." This statement declared that

> The Young Men's Christian Association is the active men's religious organization of University Students. Its aim is service. While the purpose of a University education is to prepare one for larger service, yet many do not attain to real leadership because of the lack of development of moral and spiritual qualities. The purpose of the Association is to provide opportunity for the development of a varied program of service which will make for the attainment of the best in individual and community life.[9]

Because the official purpose statement from the constitution was considered to be "unwieldy," and because it raised "theological questions" in the minds of some people (what exactly these were is

unclear), a shorter statement was approved by the Board in 1931 for use in membership campaigns:

> The Young Men's Christian Association of the University of Illinois is a fellowship of students and faculty whose purpose it is to understand the life of Jesus and to make His spirit vital wherever they may live, work, or play.[10]

An important feature of this statement is the description of the Association as a fellowship of students *and faculty*. Beginning in 1925, the Association created a membership category for faculty. This followed the urging of John R. Mott, who delivered a speech at the University of Illinois in 1922 in which he asked an assembly of campus religious workers "why we should not aspire to a plan to take in every student and professor and instructor in the university." Mott insisted that

> The plan should include the whole range of the ethical and spiritual life of these members of the university. Our aim should be to expand our plans as will not only cover every man and woman but likewise follow through in the symmetrical development of every side of their life, morally and spiritually. Let these plans include every one of their relationships, let it have every relationship to their regular university work.[11]

The University YMCA attempted to follow Mott's suggestion. Over 150 faculty members were recorded as being involved in the work of the Association in the 1925-1926 year.[12]

By the 1930s, the University YMCA had fully shifted its identity from being a student association only to being an association that engaged and served both students and faculty. It had also by this time brought personal and public aims up to the same level of emphasis. The new purpose statement that was used in the *Students' Handbooks* beginning in 1936 reflected both of these developments:

> The Young Men's Christian Association is an undenominational religious organization of University students and fac-

> ulty members. Supplementing the education derived from the various University courses, the YMCA endeavors to challenge its members with Christian ideals essential to leadership. Student committees promote its activities. They aim to develop a varied program to attain the best in individual and community life. To those seeking to make Christian life effective, the YMCA presents a challenge for service. A threefold opportunity exists: the advantages of working with others, the enrichment of your own life resulting from your own experiences, and through projects meeting actual and urgent needs in the lives of others on the campus and in the community.[13]

The work the University YMCA carried out during the years between 1916-1938 built upon the work of the previous era, while expanding it in several important ways. There were four broad categories of work that remained consistent across the entire period covered in this chapter, though individual activities and programs differed from year to year. Using the language of the day, these were: (1) Practical Service; (2) Community Service; (3) Religious Work; and (4) International Friendship. Most of the work carried out under these categories was developed and led by students. The work was overseen by a Student Cabinet averaging about 18 members, one for each of the average of 18 program-related committees that functioned during this time. According to the YMCA's records, between 300-500 student and faculty members were actively involved in the work of these committees each year.

What follows is a brief sketch of the work conducted under each of the four broad categories named above for the years 1916-1938. It must be stressed that this is merely a sketch that captures only a small part of the tremendous range and number of activities the University YMCA pursued during this era. It should also be noted that the explosion of activity and participation in the YMCA occurred *after* it left its fancy, expensive building. While there is certainly no single explanation for this surge in activity, Henry Wilson's commitment to the YMCA as a volunteer-led movement must have been a factor. The Board of Directors thought so, at

least. Less than two years after Wilson was hired, the Board passed a special resolution praising Wilson's "statesmanlike plans for the future extension of the Association" and his "sound judgment and clear vision." "We believe," they declared, "that a continuance of his services are as nearly vital to the success of these plans as the services of any one man can be said to be vital in such projects."[14]

1. Practical Service

The work the Association carried out under the category of "practical service" included a range of activities and services. The *Students' Handbook*, still a collaborative project with the YWCA, continued to be published and distributed free annually to all freshman. New students were also still offered help, advice, and counseling in personal matters such as finding rooms and roommates. The various homes for the Association offered a kind of practical service to students, with lounge space, periodicals and newspapers from "hometowns" across the state, free stationery (this was offered to encourage students to write home to family members), mail service, and a "checking service" that gave students a place to temporarily store books and luggage. The "practical service" category also included a host of social, recreational, and entertainment events and activities, such as the annual Post-Exam Jubilee, "stunt" shows, "fireside sings," games, receptions, and outings and picnics.

One of the largest and most important pieces of the "practical service" work was helping students to find jobs. The University YMCA's Employment Department, originally established in 1897, grew to such an extent that as many as forty student volunteers plus a full-time secretary were needed to pursue and oversee its work. Growth in the 1920s was especially dramatic. While 647 students applied for work through the Department in 1924, by 1926, over 1,335 students applied. There were more applicants than there were jobs, however. In 1926, the YMCA was only able to find work for 962 of the 1,335 students who applied. Jobs, almost all of which were located on or near the campus, included dish washing, waiting tables, cooking, peeling potatoes, tending furnaces, gardening, cutting wood, washing windows, and paint-

ing bee hives (on the list I drew these jobs from it was noted in parentheses after this job, "bees not at home").[15]

In the 1920s, detailed annual reports of the Employment Department were published that offer an interesting glimpse into what the YMCA thought was the larger meaning and significance of this work. First, the Association tried, through personal conversations, to gently discourage students who did not need full time employment from taking jobs which otherwise would be available to students who depended on them in order to stay in school. For the 1926-1927 academic year, the Association reported that as a result of these conversations, 150 relatively well-off students had voluntarily chosen not to take full time jobs, "in order that more needy men might have them." "This is character development," the YMCA proclaimed, "the actual putting into practice of the highest kind of Christian ideals."[16]

The work of the Employment Department was seen as a subtle but serious expression of practical Christian values. This was emphasized in the language the YMCA used in its attempt to recruit student volunteers to work with the Department. In helping a fellow student to find a job, the Association wrote to prospective volunteers that

> you are not going to him with something. He can not feel that you are superimposing something upon him, nor that you are trying to get him into an activity with (as he may think) some design. He is coming to you in great need. He senses your sympathy. You meet the need. This is a practical Christianity which he can understand. As long as you have time for him and fail him not he will seek you out again and again. On perplexing questions you become his Court of Last Resort. You are his confidant throughout his University course. Unconsciously, he invites you to help in the moulding of his character, the growth of his soul.[17]

The Employment Department was closed in 1932 when the University decided to offer employment assistance to students as a regular part of its on-going work.

2. *Community Service*

Under the second broad category of work, labeled "community service," the "boys' work" of the previous era was continued and expanded. Hal Colvin, a graduate of Kansas State University and Yale University Divinity School with experience in student YMCA work, was hired in 1919 to oversee this expansion. Under his leadership, the Association organized University students to conduct "Hi-Y" clubs in local high schools, and "Gra-Y" clubs for younger boys in local grade schools. These clubs were mainly focused on athletic and recreational activities, although they also included charity work and various projects aimed at addressing community needs. Local, regional, and state-wide conferences featuring discussions and lectures on religious and vocational topics were organized for older boys, often drawing more than 1,000 participants. Speakers at these conferences regularly included the president of the University, the mayors of Champaign and Urbana, University faculty members, local members of the clergy, and notable business, educational, and religious leaders from around the country.

In language similar to that which was used in describing the larger meaning of the work of the Employment Department, the YMCA felt that its community service work was a way to express "practical" Christian values. Through participating in athletic and recreational activities with college men, it was thought, boys could gain a "Christian influence" which would help to shape their characters. It was also understood to be a way of building character, initiative, and leadership skills in college students.

3. *Religious Work*

Despite a reportedly widespread disillusionment with religion on college campuses, the religious work of the YMCA at Illinois flourished in the period between 1916-1938. Although the period when the YMCA and YWCA provided the only organized religious work on the University campus had passed, each Association continued to play a key role in the religious life of students and faculty. The importance of the work of the YMCA was emphasized by Steven E. Fisher, pastor of the University Place Church

of Christ and director of the Illinois Disciples Foundation, who remarked in 1923 that "I have, for a good many years, regarded the Association as the keystone in the arch of our religious activities at the University. It has proven again and again to be the factor by which our group of religious workers is bound together, and through which definite continuity and singleness of purpose have been made to prevail."[18] Religious work at the University of Illinois by various denominations was organized in the decade before 1910. By 1923, when Fisher made the above statement, organized religious work on campus was being conducted by and for Methodists, Episcopalians, Disciples, Presbyterians, Unitarians, Baptists, Congregationalists, Catholics, and Jews.[19]

There were continuities in the YMCA's religious work from the previous era, as well as several changes and additions. The annual religious census continued to be conducted throughout this period. Monthly all-campus religious meetings and services, cosponsored with the YWCA, continued to be strong, attracting large audiences with popular national speakers such as Sherwood Eddy and John R. Mott. Special lectures and conferences on religious themes were also successfully continued throughout this period. The annual summer conferences of midwest student YMCAs at Lake Geneva, Wisconsin continued to be strong, with the YMCA at Illinois regularly sending the largest delegations.

Three of the core elements of the religious work program from the previous era, however, were discontinued. Missions work ended in 1925, hanging on longer at Illinois than it did in many other student YMCAs. While deputation teams continued to be sent annually to nearby towns to hold special religious programs for most of this period, after 1937 regular deputations work was ended. Bible classes were discontinued in 1920 after the new campus churches and foundations took them over. Between 1920 and 1928, the YMCA organized Bible discussion groups in fraternities and independent houses. More than fifty groups were formed each year, involving hundreds of students and many faculty members who served as leaders. The Bible discussion groups were discontinued in 1928, replaced by a new program called "Fireside Forums." Fireside Forums were in some ways similar to the Bible

discussion groups, being held in fraternities and independent houses and grounded in Christian values and principles, but instead of focusing on the Bible they focused on broad public issues such as war and peace, economics, politics, and the meaning of citizenship. They proved to be extremely popular, involving thousands of students each year.

Several new elements were added to the Association's religious work program during this period. A regular newsletter, called the "Y's Indian," was created in 1920.[20] While in part this was a publicity tool for the Association, useful for recruiting new members and volunteers, it was mainly viewed (at least at first) as a means for the religious education of students and faculty. It was written, edited, and published by student volunteers. Freshman Fellowship conferences and discussion groups were created in 1923, and an annual Freshman Camp was established in 1926. Each of these programs for freshman would last, with some changes, longer than thirty years. Together, they would involve thousands of students every year. While these programs might best be understood as elements of the YMCA's "practical service" work, focused as they were on helping new students to get oriented and adjusted to University life, the YMCA insisted in internal and external documents that the freshman work was religious work. Focused on personal character development, Freshman Fellowship and Freshman Camp had a strong "Christian influence" flavor. But each program also included information and tips designed to help freshman to succeed in their academic and social lives, along with a chance to speak and interact with senior students and faculty members.

Another new element of the YMCA's religious work addressed the application of Christian principles to "life work." A student committee, named "Life Work Guidance," was formed in 1924 to help students "who are unsettled in their choice of life work, or who have chosen without consideration of the Christian implications in their work." The committee was devoted to providing counseling for students "in the application of Christian principles toward the choice of a life work whether it be in business, ministry, engineering, or agriculture."[21] An annual "Life Work Conference" was organized, co-sponsored with the YWCA, where hun-

dreds of students heard inspirational lectures and had the opportunity to receive individual counseling. The YMCA continued to offer some form of vocational counseling with a Christian emphasis through the 1950s.

Inspired by a powerful international conference of the Student Volunteer Movement held in Indianapolis from December 28, 1923 to January 1, 1924, at which a wide array of social, economic, religious, and political issues were discussed and debated, the YMCA and YWCA at Illinois set up in 1924 a joint committee on "interracial cooperation" that became a part of the religious work of each Association. Acting out of a conviction that racism, discrimination, and prejudice were "un-Christian," the committee set about studying the campus to learn about the situation of African American students in their midst. In an article published in the *Y's Indian*, a member of the committee from the YMCA wrote that the committee discovered that "prejudice and discrimination is [*sic*] most marked with regard to eating places and places of amusement." He also wrote that "an opportunity should be given to active Christian negro students to serve on Y committees. While we have been cordial with a number of these men who frequent our rooms we have never offered them a place to serve in our program, nor have we considered the difficulties that are faced by these seventy men in their lives as students of our university."[22] A few African-American students, both men and women, were appointed to the committee. Although the committee continued to be listed in the *Students' Handbook* through 1932, I was unable to find any record of what it accomplished.

The final new element of the YMCA's religious work during this period was the creation of a "Faculty Forum" program during the spring semester of 1927.[23] The Faculty Forum was an outgrowth of the student Bible discussion groups, which faculty members participated in as leaders. Initially, it was set up as a series of disparate discussions of various religious "problems," held on Fridays over lunch, and led by a different member of the faculty each week. It soon developed into an eight-part, theme-based lecture-discussion series held every spring. Until the 1960s, the themes almost always directly related to religion. The theme for 1929 was

"The Religion of an Educated Man." The series included a lecture by professor W. A. Noyes on "How can the moral and spiritual resources of men be developed commensurate with the powers science has created?"; a lecture by Moses Jung of the Hillel Foundation on "What are the essentials of a philosophy of living?"; and a lecture by Dean Kendric C. Babcock of the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences on "What is the place of religion in higher education?"

Assessing the first Faculty Forum series in 1927, which drew an average attendance of 75 men, E. J. Filbey, assistant dean of the College of Commerce, said that "it meant for many people a strengthening of their religious convictions and a greater realization of the necessity of giving expression to their faith in their daily life." Professor E. H. Williams of the department of physics declared it "The best series of discussions that I have attended at Illinois." Rev. James C. Baker, director of the Wesley Foundation and pastor of the Trinity Methodist church, described it as "one of the most significant things that has happened on our campus in the 20 years that I have been here."[24] A parallel series of forums for graduate students was set up in 1929, but at this time such forums did not prove to be popular, and they were discontinued. Faculty Forums, however, continued to be held each year. They soon drew an average weekly attendance of over 100 men (women were not yet allowed to attend). In a different form with a different name—Friday Forum—it still exists today.

4. *International Friendship*

One of the most important and longest lasting areas of work in the history of the University YMCA was begun in 1918 with the creation of a student committee devoted to establishing "friendly relations" among international students at the University of Illinois. Work with international students was sparked by several things: a rise in the number of such students attending the University; the growing strength and influence of the internationalism of the YMCA (a good part of which was inspired by the desire to spread Christianity); and the first World War, which convinced many people of the tremendous need to develop international un-

derstanding and good-will in order to avoid future wars.

In 1919, the second year of the YMCA's "friendly relations" work, there were 201 international students from 31 different countries attending the University of Illinois. In a report detailing the activities of the Friendly Relations committee for the 1919-1920 academic year, the work was described as having five dimensions:

> We seek to render personal service to these men, to have extended to them the hospitality of Christian American homes, to give them a part in the social life promoted by the Student Association, to create and foster personal friendships between them and American students and to bring them in contact with the inspiration of student summer conferences and other great Christian student gatherings. In its wider aspects, this five fold program in behalf of these future leaders of the nations paves the way for better international understanding, in its deeper purpose it aims to bring them into the greatest friendship of all, that with Jesus Christ.[25]

The annual reports of the Committee on Friendly Relations (the name was changed to the "Committee on International Friendship" in 1927) that were published throughout the 1920s and 1930s were filled with stories and anecdotes illustrating how each of the above dimensions of this work were applied.

While much of the work with international students was devoted to various social activities, the provision of personal services (helping students to find rooms, for example), and the deepening of personal faith, it must be stressed that the effect of the work was understood to have deep public significance as well. The committee believed that no other task had more far-reaching possibilities than that of fostering better relations between the peoples of all nations. "What influences for justice, liberty, righteousness, world peace may be released as these students go out to all the nations, if we but meet our opportunities," the committee wrote in its report for 1921-1922. "And what privilege we have in the opportunities to participate with Christ in bringing to pass his life's purpose." In its report for 1925-1926, the committee declared that

> this building up of friendly relations and ties of sympathetic understanding is far more than a gesture of hospitality offered to strangers; it is an undertaking of international significance, a direct and real contribution to the slow building of that structure of world goodwill and brotherhood of which humanity stands so starkly in need today.[26]

Growing up alongside work with international students in the 1920s were a series of other international-related initiatives, including a world problems forum, world outlook discussion groups, and a world education program. These initiatives reflected the Association's intense commitment to internationalism, and to global awareness and concern. In a report before the Board of Directors in 1934, Henry Wilson gave voice to this commitment, proudly declaring that

> In the face of strong efforts to develop racial prejudice, we have maintained an emphasis on the Christian attitude toward race, and despite all of the calls to pronounced nationalism, we have strenuously maintained a program seeking to develop an international mindedness on the part of Americans and to express the attitude of hospitality and good will toward the foreign students who come to campus.[27]

Institutional Trends and Dynamics

Institutional matters for the University YMCA during the 1916-1936 period featured several significant changes and fluctuations. The Association's budget increased from about $20,000 in 1916 to more than $45,000 for the 1924-1925 year. The success in doubling the budget was mainly a result of Henry Wilson's work and vision. Wilson viewed the University YMCA's constituency as including the whole state, not just the campus and immediate Champaign-Urbana community. He organized an ambitious fund drive in which the state was divided into districts with teams of alumni and community leaders heading-up campaigns for money. He also enlarged the Board of Directors to include 30 men and created a Board of Trustees to oversee an endowment fund and campaign in 1923. The income off of the endowment

during the 1923-1937 period added between $4,000-$7,000 to the annual operating budget of the Association. In the 1920s the University YMCA also became a charter member of the Champaign-Urbana Community Chest, which brought in between $4,000 and $6,000 a year.

The state-wide fund drives were remarkably successful for a time, allowing the Association to pay off its debt and maintain an annual budget in the $45,000 range until the effects of the Great Depression began to settle in. By 1932, the budget sank below $26,000. It reached a low of $21,993 in 1935-1936 before it slowly began to rise again. From 1929 until 1943, the Association ran a deficit every year. By the mid 1930s, the deficit reached an accumulated total of over $18,000. Throughout the depression years, the professional staff returned a portion of their salaries each year to the Association in order to help reduce the size of the deficits. Wilson regularly returned the largest portion, as much as a full third of his $5,400 annual salary.

The fundraising success of the 1920s allowed the Association to hire seven full-time secretaries by the middle of the decade. It was Wilson's long-term hope that the YMCA would be able to hire one secretary for each 1,000 male students enrolled in the University. This hope was dashed when the depression set in, and it later proved unfeasible when the number of men enrolled in the University reached heights undreamed of by Wilson in the 1920s. During the depression years, the YMCA dropped down to three full-time secretaries, a number it was able to maintain only through deficit spending fueled by bank loans.

Along with budgets and staff, membership in the University YMCA fluctuated with the times. Vigorous membership campaigns were undertaken for both students and staff in the 1920s. By October of 1927, there were more than 1,000 student members and as many as 500 faculty members. Changes in the membership policy in 1919 may have helped the Association to achieve these numbers. In that year, the Association decided to drop its requirement that members make a financial contribution. The "evangelical test" was also dropped, allowing a more diverse group to become members. Membership was switched to what was called

the "purpose basis." To become a member, all one had to do was pledge to work to achieve the YMCA's purpose. Membership stayed high until the depression years, when numbers for both students and staff slipped substantially.

Perhaps the most dramatic institutional matter during the 1916-1938 period related to the YMCA's location. As mentioned above, the Association decided to sell Association Hall in 1918. The sale of Association Hall proved to be an amazingly troublesome matter. As mentioned above, the Illinois Union first rented and then purchased the building from the YMCA. The sale, which did not occur until 1923, was financed by the YMCA. This proved to be a mistake. The Illinois Union faced hard times and regularly pleaded with the YMCA to reduce the interest rate on their mortgage. There were many times when it failed to make payments. In addition, the Illinois Union demanded that the YMCA help pay to fix structural damage in the building that was not discovered until several years after the sale was made. The struggle with the Illinois Union continued until 1941, when the Union was dissolved and folded into the University of Illinois Foundation. Finally, on December 1, 1941, partly out of exasperation with the whole affair, the YMCA agreed to accept an amount of money from the Foundation which was less than the remaining mortgage it was owed.

After a brief stay in the former University president's house, the Hut on the southwest corner of Green and Wright Streets became the University YMCA's new home. The YMCA stayed in the Hut from December 23, 1918, until December 8, 1923, when it was destroyed by a fire.[28] There were two moves in 1925. First, the Association moved to temporary quarters in Hughes Hall, which was offered by the University, and then it split into two separate locations. Henry Wilson and a few other staff rented offices on the second floor of the Duncan Studio on Green Street, across from where the Hut once stood, while the program-related secretaries moved back into Association Hall (then called the "Union Building"), renting three rooms on the first floor. This arrangement continued until 1928, when the Association moved into two houses on a lot it had purchased on the southwest corner

of Wright and Chalmers Streets.

Immediately after the Hut burned, the YMCA announced a campaign to raise money for a new building that would be suitable for the Association's work. It was recorded in Board of Directors minutes that "all agreed the new building should not have a cafeteria or residence." The new building was to be a "spiritual power house." It was decided in 1924 that the new building would be located on the lot the Association purchased on the southwest corner of Wright and Chalmers Streets, rather than on the property the YMCA owned on Green and Wright where the Hut once stood.

There was a fair amount of controversy about this decision, as the southern area of Wright Street had several sororities and was considered by many to be a kind of "women's corridor." A new building in this area designed for men was seen as inappropriate. A petition campaign calling on the YMCA to abandon its plans to build on the lot at Wright and Chalmers was conducted, but to no avail. The YMCA's administration and Board were convinced that it should not locate its new building on the property at Green and Wright because that location had become the heart of the campus' commercial district. Since the new building was to have neither a residence nor a cafeteria, and since it was to be designed to support religious work with students, the Association believed it would be best to place it near the center of student life and activity.

There were several unsuccessful attempts to raise enough money for a new building in the 1920s and 1930s. On the eve of the stock market crash of 1929, an ambitious campaign to raise $1,100,000 for both a building and the endowment was announced. Needless to say, this campaign was not successful. Finally, in May of 1935, a building campaign was launched that proved successful in an amazingly short period of time. By December of 1935, over $300,000 had been raised for a new building. After the design for the building was finalized, construction began during the summer of 1937.

In a special ceremony on November 21, 1937, John R. Mott delivered an address to mark the laying of the cornerstone of the new building. "We see the larger meaning of this building—the

larger meaning of the vision of this University YMCA," Mott declared.

> It is a building where all may come and find a real home. It is going to be a building where men will be greatly helped in developing a symmetry of character—of character free from sham—manliness, open-mindedness, sympathy, loyalty to Christ, the central figure of the ages and eternity. It is going to be a building where we train leaders in unselfish service. It is going to be a vision where the kingdoms of this world—industry, commerce, finance, and of the movies and of the theater and of the press, schools, colleges, universities, of all modern society—become the kingdom of our Lord. It is going to be a generating center for great action and good causes .... It is going to be a great unifying influence.[29]

The following summer, the Association moved into its new quarters, opening a new period in its history.

1938-1946

The official dedication of the new building did not take place until April 30, 1939. The dedication included a series of events and speeches. The main address was delivered by Sir William Henry Bragg, a distinguished scientist, Nobel prize winner, and chair of the Scientific Advisory Board for the British Government. In his address, delivered to a capacity crowd in the University of Illinois' auditorium, Sir William spoke on the theme of "wisdom," reminding his audience that

> it is wrong to think only in terms of the things in the laboratory or the books in the class room, and forget that every man's life includes his contacts with his fellow men. If I may use an analogy from modern physics the electric field of every atom penetrates, influences, and is influenced by the electric fields of its neighbors; just so a man is not a separate identity, his life cannot be lived alone, and the wisdom that we pray for includes that which directs his relations with his neighbors and the right use of knowledge in making those relations good.[30]

The Board of Governors approved an official statement for the building dedication, which was read by Henry Wilson. The statement declared that

> This Association belongs to the life of the University. It affirms that the cultivation of the spirit must not be forgotten or neglected in the cultivation of the intellect. It affirms, indeed, that it is of primary importance. This University YMCA, as a voluntary expression of the moral interest and purpose of students and faculty, should be an assurance to parents and other citizens of Illinois that at heart the moral life of this University community is sound. The Association is a moral asset to the University, the value of which has not been appraised, or indeed, its influence exploited.[31]

One of the themes of the Board's statement was an awareness, informed by its experience with its first major building, that the new building would bring dangers and worries as well as opportunity. Lessons from the years spent in Association Hall were consciously brought to the planning process for the new building. One lesson was that the new building needed to be designed around the Association's mission, and not the provision of unrelated, income-producing services. Thus, the Board reported that in the new building,

> We do not have dormitories nor restaurant, nor other commercial enterprises. We have set ourselves to the tasks which fulfill our purpose, the meeting of moral and spiritual need and opportunity. The building symbolizes our method. It is but an instrument for the accomplishment of this purpose. It is a headquarters, out from which the Association shall "carry on"—a training center out from which will walk men trained in methods of expressing their education in terms of service, to serve the society which gave them their education. It is to be, we hope, a spiritual power house in campus life.[32]

The "dangers" of the new building were expressed in language that echoed both the Social Gospel movement and Paul Super's

warning about institutionalism.

> The Board, in accepting this new beautiful home for, and on behalf of, the Association, wants you to know that we appreciate the dangers which attend it. The danger of the building being thought of as an end, rather than as a means; that faith will be put into the tangibles of brick and mortar, rather than in the intangible things of the spirit. The danger that in this age of material evaluation of men and organizations, we accept it as a measure of material wealth, therefore of success. It is the danger of mammon-mindedness. Of course, we recall for ourselves the injunction of the Master that we cannot serve God and mammon. Our danger is that we may believe we have come into a new understanding other generations, without our knowledge and wealth, did not possess. We have been taught to be rational—not to think in terms of either or (God or mammon), but in terms of both and (God and mammon). This rationalization breeds indulgence, complacency, and arrogant spirit.... What shall it profit an organization if it gains a fine building and endowment, and loses thereby its sense of mission and its own soul?[33]

While these words were the official words of the Board of Directors, they were most likely written by Henry Wilson, the one person who was most responsible not only for the success of the building campaign, but also for the continuing grounding of the Association in its religious movement oriented mission. Without taking away anything from the work and commitments of the Board and the hundreds and hundreds of active members of the time, the new building can honestly be understood as a great monument to Wilson's inspiring vision, his tireless efforts, his fierce determination, and his deep belief in the importance of the University YMCA's work.

Changes in Mission and Work

Despite the fact that a statement in the *Students' Handbook* for 1938-1939 declared that a "new era" in the YMCA's work was being opened with the occupying of its new building, there was no new mission statement and little evidence of drastic change in the

YMCA's work during the 1938-1946 period. Bible classes were started up again in 1938, but they apparently met with little success, and were discontinued after only a few years. A Church Relations committee devoted to encouraging church attendance and religious interest was added around 1938, but this work was not really new. A World Service committee was created in 1940, but its work was mainly an extension of the work of the Friendly Relations committee. In 1940, a committee on Organized Clubs was formed. This committee was responsible for "the discovery of special interests in the YMCA membership," and for "finding something worthwhile for non-active members to do." The clubs included ping-pong, model airplanes, stamp collecting, and chess and checker groups. The committee was apparently disbanded after 1945.

The most noteworthy aspects of change in the work of the Association in the 1938-1946 period were the temporary addition of special activities and projects related to World War II, and the Association's decision in the fall of 1939 to attempt to develop work with faculty and graduate students that would ultimately be on the same level as that with undergraduates. Work with faculty and graduate students had begun in the 1920s. Apart from the Faculty Forums and the publishing of an annual *Faculty Handbook* along side of the *Students' Handbooks*, however, little was being done by 1939 on a regular basis. Between 1939-1946, several new activities conducted by and for faculty and graduate students were added, including social events, forums, and discussion groups. In 1941, a Faculty Relations committee was formed to work to establish closer relations between student and faculty members of the Association. It would not be until the next period, however, that more substantial work with faculty would be done.

Institutional Trends and Dynamics

During the 1938-1946 period, the finances of the Association changed significantly. At the start of the period, the annual budget hovered in the $32,000 range. Annual operating deficits were still a problem. A $5,000 deficit was recorded in 1938-1939, the first full year the Association spent in its new building. The Asso-

ciation was carrying an accumulated operating deficit of $24,628 by April of 1942. Wilson and the Board believed that the only way the Association would be able to afford its new building and escape its cycle of deficits was to develop an endowment. The old endowment had been used up in the construction of the building. Therefore, with great hope, an outside expert who had successfully helped other YMCAs to raise endowments was hired in 1941, and an endowment campaign was launched. Unfortunately, it failed to produce results.

Meanwhile, regular fund raising began to improve dramatically, and after 1942, the annual budget began to run a small surplus. In 1944, Wilson proposed the organizing of a campaign to create a $250,000 "stabilization fund" to help the Association eliminate its accumulated deficit and pay off the $19,000 balance still owed on the building. A key motivation for the fund was to provide a means for expanding the staff and program in anticipation of new work the Association would need to conduct after the war was over. Overseen by a committee of sixty alumni and friends from around the state, the campaign was a partial success, raising $140,000 by early 1946. It enabled the Association in 1945-1946 to run its highest annual budget yet, $62,263.

Membership during the 1938-1946 period saw wide up and down swings. After declining during the early depression years, membership was raised to about 950 for the 1938-1939 year. But in 1939, a new record was set when 1,390 students and faculty were enrolled as members. For some reason, in the 1930s there was apparently a drastic drop in faculty membership. Membership was mostly comprised of students. Students had developed a kind of precinct system for their campaign, with impressive results. While student membership was at its highest ever in 1939, the number of active members was less than previous years. For the 1939-1940 year, 250 students were reported to be active on YMCA committees, a figure considered to be low. After 1941-1942, overall membership slipped again, staying in the 750 range for a while until it dropped as low as 300 in 1945-1946.

The Association came out of the depression with only three full-time secretaries. Thanks to the stabilization fund, it was able

to field six full-time secretaries by the 1945-1946 year. Yet an even more drastic change was on the horizon, as that year was Henry Wilson's last as General Secretary. Wilson fell ill during the fall of 1945. He was granted a leave of absence in November of that year. The leave was extended twice. He did not return to work until the end of April, 1946, and he never regained his full strength. He died suddenly on September 15, 1946, near Kansas City, aboard a train with his wife headed to New Mexico to attend his son's wedding.

1946-1958

While the first dozen years after Wilson's death brought no official change in the University YMCA's mission or purpose statements, there were major changes developing under the surface in both mission and work. With Wilson's death and the end of the war, the University YMCA began a slow evolution into a new era. One sign that the old era was passing was the demise of the annual *Students' Handbook*, or "I Book," as it was called in its last few years. After regular publication for over 70 years, it was discontinued in 1955. The most immediate change in the Association's work, however, came as a result of a commitment to develop new work with and for the thousands of veterans that flooded the campus after the war. The 1946-1958 period also brought new social programming, a renewed commitment to the Association's religious work, a strong program in public affairs and "effective citizenship," new work on racial relations and equality, an expansion of work with and for faculty and graduate students, a new counseling program, and a great expansion of work with international students.

The University YMCA had begun to plan for work with returning veterans in 1944. The creation of the stabilization fund was aimed in part at enabling the Association to hire new staff to work with returning veterans. After the war, more than half of the students enrolled in the University—11,000 of the 18,516 students enrolled for the 1946-1947 year—were veterans. In 1946, William Grant Black and J. Wendell Walton, both veterans, were hired to help develop work with these students. A Veteran's Committee was organized that sponsored a forum series on veterans'

issues, social events, and various other activities. It addressed one of the key issues for veterans: the challenge of choosing academic majors and careers. In partnership with Phi Eta Sigma (the Freshman Honor Society) and Dean of Men E. E. Stafford, YMCA staff member William Black helped organize a major conference on career choices held during the 1948-49 academic year. Over 13,000 students attended the three-day conference, which included more than sixty speakers in as many different sessions. Though the conference had been planned for freshmen and sophmores, the majority of those who attended were juniors and seniors.

The most popular YMCA work with veterans was the Program of Family Life Education. The program was organized by a student committee and staffed by Dr. Katherine Whiteside Taylor, a specialist in marriage and family living from Seattle and the first woman to be hired by the Association for program-related work. It included a series of classes taught by Dr. Taylor, discussion groups, cooperative play groups, and individual counseling. The classes, especially, were wildly successful, enrolling over 7,000 students in the first year and a half they were offered. While they were initially planned for veterans and their families, they were open to all students. Dr. Taylor left the staff in 1948, but Dr. Lester A. Kirkendall was hired to carry on the work. Dr. Kirkendall left in 1950. After 1951, the program continued, but at a reduced level.

New social programming was developed after the war with the opening of the "Wigwam Room" in May of 1946 in the YMCA's basement, which, eight years after the building had been occupied, was still unfinished. A joint project of the YMCA and YWCA, the "Wigwam Room" was designed to provide space for "wholesome recreational activities." Open only on Fridays and Saturdays from 8:30 p.m. to 12:30 a.m., it had a soda fountain, recorded music, and a dance floor. Its development was sparked in large measure by the desire to offer weekend entertainment free of alcohol. The Wigwam Room succeeded for a time, but then attendance dwindled. In 1951, the basement was finally finished, thanks to funds from the Dr. Albert F. Kaeser family. It became the Kaeser or "K" Room, with a snack and luncheon counter where

students and faculty could meet, study, and relax between classes.

With Henry Wilson's death came a sharp commitment to renew the Association's religious work. There was a need, Associate General Secretary "Mic" Coldwell wrote, to make sure the "C" in "YMCA" was, as he put it, "a large 'C'—not a small 'c'."[34] The renewal of religious work after the war included the establishment of committees on "personal growth" and "religious experience." What is most noteworthy for this study is the strong *political* emphasis of this work, brought about in part by the experience and views of veterans. The strengthening of personal faith, long the main emphasis in the YMCA's religious work, was viewed as being important but insufficient in the post-war world. An editorial in the *Y's Indian* for March of 1947 proclaimed that

> Our Christian faith must be strengthened and we ought to know the fundamentals of our religion. But we know, too, that this implies action. We want to help our more unfortunate brothers; we want to stand for better race relations, for more religious tolerance, for all those things which help men to live together more happily. Veterans who have seen conditions from the vantage point of devastated combat areas and who, at the same time, are aggressive Christians, are aware that if ever the world is to be a better place, we must begin with positive action. Worship must be combined with political action.[35]

To pursue a political action oriented religious work, a committee on public affairs was established in 1947. It was devoted to encouraging a "better understanding of current national and international affairs and their significance for the efforts of progressive young men everywhere."[36] At first the committee mainly sponsored discussions and made readings available from the People's Section of the United Nations Organization and UNESCO. Then, while its name changed several times, it became more aggressive. In 1949, the committee was renamed as the "citizenship" committee. Its objective was the promotion of "effective citizenship" through "bringing to the attention of students their responsibilities as citizens, and striving to make unbiased information avail-

able to them for intelligent action."[37] The activities of this committee included studies of the civic responsibilities of Christians, a public affairs bulletin board, sponsorship of tours of local and state government centers, and campus conferences on citizenship.

In 1951, the committee's name was changed again, back to "public affairs." It sought to stimulate student interest in public issues through a parliamentary debate program, mock elections, week-end work camps, legislative action groups, and forums. In 1952, the name was changed to the "effective citizenship" committee. The description of the purpose of this committee was dramatic:

> In this day of war, political scandal, human suffering, etc., it is especially necessary for students to become aware of local, national, and world problems. Political speakers are brought to the campus, a Little United Nations is sponsored, and outstanding men in the field of world leadership are made available to the students. This is a dynamic committee which is leading the way toward free thought and action on the campus of the University of Illinois.[38]

The work of bringing political speakers to campus, which was cosponsored with the Young Republicans and the College Democrats, was of no small importance, as the campus was for a time closed to such speakers. One politician who spoke on the front lawn of the YMCA in 1954 was Richard Nixon. But the main work of the effective citizenship committee was focused on developing civic skills and habits in students. "We at the YMCA are interested in effective Christian citizenship," one student involved in the work explained. "The University is our community, our society, and if we can learn right here and now how to take part in civic life we'll be more ready to take our part in the larger society when we graduate."[39]

Connected to the new public affairs work was a renewal of work on racial issues through the establishment of a Racial Relations Committee. The committee was devoted to both education and action towards improving racial relations on the campus and in the community. In 1949, it focused its concerns on the McKinley

YMCA (the community YMCA in Champaign), after hearing rumors that it had discriminatory policies against African-Americans on the use of its swimming pool. In late 1952, a renamed Racial Equality Committee focused their attention on fraternities, restaurants, and campus barbers. Campus barbers, who were refusing to serve African-Americans and other students of color, received the most attention. The campaign that developed against racial discrimination by these barbers, which was led by the YMCA, caused a high degree of controversy and stretched out over three years. A petition drive was organized by the YMCA in early 1953. In February of that year the University of Illinois Student Senate voted to endorse and join the YMCA's campaign. The YWCA, along with several campus churches and religious foundations, also joined the effort, as did the independent Student-Community Humans Relation Council.

There was tension between the various groups working on the barbershop issue, partly over tactics. The YMCA wanted to avoid confrontations. It saw "moral persuasion" as the best avenue for change. Several discussions were held with barbers at the YMCA, with hopes that they might change the barbers' minds and practices. However, the talks failed. For a time, the YMCA considered opening its own barbershop in its building.

In March of 1954, the Champaign-Urbana Federation of Labor announced that because of the YMCA's campaign against campus barbers, it was going to withdraw its support for the Champaign-Urbana Community Chest. The labor group called on the YMCA to end its campaign. An emergency meeting involving representatives of the YMCA, the Community Chest, and the Federation of Labor was held to discuss the matter. At that meeting, it became apparent that the key issue was a lawsuit that had been filed against campus barbers by the Student-Community Human Relations Council. Officials from the YMCA stated that the YMCA was not involved in, nor did it support, the lawsuit. The YMCA agreed to pass a policy related to racial equality that would make its position clear.

On March 15, 1954, the Board of Directors passed an official policy on racial equality, which read in part that the Association

"believes that education, continuous persuasive effort and a willingness to seek creative solutions at points of difference are the most constructive ways to improve racial relations." The statement condemned the use of violence, threats, and other such tactics (presumably including lawsuits), and set a policy that prevented the YMCA from entering into joint projects with groups "whose policies or methods are not consistent with those of this Christian Association."[40] An additional resolution passed on the same day reaffirmed that the "historic" policy of the Association with respect to the use of its building was "to maintain an open door and an open forum to all groups and organizations whose purposes and programs are not in violation of the Christian objectives and/or policies of the YMCA."[41] Whether or not this was intended to exclude the Student-Community Human Relations Council from meeting at the YMCA is unclear. Whether or not these policies satisfied the Federation of Labor is also unclear.

These issues were soon moot, however, for in response to the threat of a picketing campaign by the Student-Community Human Relations Council, the barbers agreed in early May to cut all students' hair. However, the agreement included a list of "rules," the first two of which were that "We do not cut unusual styles of women's haircuts," and "We do not cut curly, kinky, woolly types of hair."[42] These rules would obviously function to prevent most African-Americans from receiving service. Despite this, the Student-Human Relations Council surprisingly considered the agreement a victory, and attention to the issue died down. One interesting note about this whole affair is that not one word of it—nor of anything else the Racial Equality Committee did, for that matter—ever appeared in the *Y's Indian*.

Work with faculty and graduate students was greatly expanded during the 1946-1958 period. Faculty Forum changed and expanded, adding in 1947 for the first time a series in the fall, and opening attendance to women in 1948. In 1948, fall symposiums for men and women faculty members were organized with the YWCA. In 1947, a Young Men's Faculty Club was formed. In order to promote interdisciplinary learning and sharing, the club allowed no more than two men from each department to join.

Part of its purpose was to provide support for faculty members who were seeking a more balanced academic life. It held bi-weekly luncheon meetings and was devoted to the cultivation of friendship, the exchange of thought on vital moral and social questions of the day, and the furtherance of the YMCA's purpose and ideals. By the mid 1950s, however, the club stopped meeting. Work with graduate students was more successful. By the mid 1950s, it included forums modeled after the Faculty Forum, retreats, seminars, weekend outings, square dances, weekend workcamps in Chicago neighborhoods, and discussion groups. At their peak, over 200 students participated in these programs each year. The graduate student forums were especially popular, often drawing even larger audiences than the Faculty Forum.

In 1949, student president Robert Larson reported that "The 'Y' is becoming more and more a center for foreign student activity and social life."[43] With the hiring of John Price in 1950 as the YMCA's new secretary responsible in part for work with international students, it became even more so. Price, an ordained Methodist minister with experience in student work in California, Michigan, and Minnesota (where he served as General Secretary for the University of Minnesota YMCA), oversaw the addition of several new initiatives. International Suppers, held every two weeks and co-sponsored with the YWCA, were organized in 1951. They proved immediately popular, drawing over 200 students for each supper, with a total of 3,000 students attending during the 1953-1954 year alone. Each supper featured a focus on a different nation or culture, with native dishes accompanied by music, dance, art, stories, skits, and talks. Price also organized an International Student Camp similar to Freshman Camp. It was also a success, drawing for a time over 200 participants per year, which often made it far larger than Freshman Camp. Eventually, the International Student Camp was transformed into an International Student Welcome Weekend, which drew many hundreds of participants. In the 1950s, Price also organized the development of an international student directory, and the mailing of a personal letter to all new international students before their arrival on campus. The letters included a welcome to each student, an offer to provide

assistance, and an invitation to be a part of the work of the YMCA.

One of the most memorable additions to international programming under Price was a series of weekend and vacation "tours." Groups of international students traveled by bus to visit local farms, the monuments and sites in Springfield and Chicago, and other places both local and national. In April of 1952, Price organized a tour of the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) for 30 international students from 16 different countries. In addition to touring the area, students received presentations on the social and economic aspects of TVA. The trip also included visits to colleges and universities in Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee. The TVA tour, which became known as the "Southern Tour," was continued for over twenty years.

In 1953, the YMCA received a grant from the Sears-Roebuck Foundation which temporarily allowed Price to spend all of his time working with international students. Over the years, he developed a host of new initiatives and programs, most of which were either social or cultural. He also spent a great deal of time conducting individual counseling with international students, helping them with personal and educational problems. In his 18 years on staff (1950-1968), he became a great friend of international students and their families, drawing thousands of people together in the sharing of diverse cultures and views. In spirit and form, he embodied the YMCA's commitment to internationalism. He gave the University YMCA's tradition of work with international students, begun after the first World War, a vigorous new life.

Institutional Trends and Dynamics

Institutional matters for the University YMCA during the 1946-1958 period had both positive and negative dimensions. At the beginning of the period, the budget stood at $68,698. While it dipped down to $60,000 for 1948-1949, it rose slowly from then on, reaching a new height of $100,000 for 1957-1958. Financially, things began on a good note, with a $2,000 surplus for 1946-1947. But then things turned sour. Beginning in 1948, the Association ran deficits for six years in a row, the largest being $4,596 for 1954-1955. While finances improved briefly in 1955-1956,

by early 1957 the situation appeared grim. A banner-headline in the April, 1957 issue of the *Y's Indian* announced that "Serious Financial Problems Confront University YMCA." The article under this headline declared that the Association was facing an urgent financial situation, and that emergency measures would be required to turn things around. While things were turned around for that fiscal year, the following year, 1957-1958, ended with a $3,500 deficit.

Financial matters not immediately related to the annual operating budget fared better during this period. The stabilization fund that Henry Wilson had set up reached $166,556 in 1947. This was, however, simply a total for all the money that had been raised under this fund to date. Most of this money had either already been spent by 1947 or had been earmarked to pay off the building and cover expenses and staff positions related to work with veterans. An endowment fund was created in May of 1948, and the Association's constitution was changed in 1951 to set up a new Board of Trustees to oversee it. A campaign to raise $1 million for the endowment fund was launched in 1953, with the goal of creating a fund that would permanently support one-half of the annual operating budget of the Association. While the fund passed $100,000 in April of 1954, it stalled shortly thereafter.

As mentioned above, a gift from the Kaeser family made it possible to finish most of the basement. The new Kaeser Room, which included a cafeteria, was dedicated in October of 1951. The Wilson Chapel, a memorial to Henry Wilson located on the second floor that was made possible by gifts from alumni and friends, was dedicated in February of 1953. In 1954, contributions for a memorial to Fred A. Poor, a long-time supporter of the University YMCA and chair of the Board of Trustees who died in August of 1953, made it possible to construct a library and lounge for students on the third floor. The library was dedicated in September of 1954. Three bedrooms were also built on the third floor as a part of this project. They were to be used by student employees of the YMCA and by guests. It is ironic that less than ten years after Wilson's death, the YMCA's new building contained both a cafeteria and a dormitory, two things Wilson had repeatedly warned

should never be a part of the new building.

A final matter related to finances during this period was the granting in 1955 to the YMCA of a $1 million bequest from Fred S. Bailey, a Champaign banker who was a close friend of Henry Wilson's. For many years there were rumors that Bailey was considering a major bequest to the YMCA. Some hoped it would solve the Association's financial problems. However, in the actual (as opposed to rumored) bequest, Bailey stipulated that its purpose was to create a permanent fund that would be restricted for only one use: the granting of scholarships to "worthy moral students" at the University of Illinois. The YMCA was simply to act as the fund's "custodian." None of the money could be used to support the YMCA's programs or general budget. At first, none of the money could even be used to pay for the costs of administering the fund. After a petition was successfully presented to the Circuit Court, a portion of the fund was made available to cover the administrative costs related to managing the fund and granting the scholarships. About $22,000 in scholarships were granted to students during the 1957-1958 academic year, the first full year of the Bailey Scholarship Fund's life.

Membership in the Association changed dramatically during the 1946-1958 period. From 1946-1950, total membership stood at around 1,000, with a peak of 1,307 for 1947-1948. Membership for that year, which happened to coincide with the University YMCA's 75th anniversary, included 1,174 undergraduate students, 98 graduate students, and 26 faculty. In 1950-1951, student membership dropped significantly. Almost the entire meeting of the Board of Directors in December of 1950 was devoted to exploring the reasons for this drop, and for the "growing student unrest" that was being perceived at the time. At this meeting, the unrest was mainly attributed to worries over the (undeclared) war in Korea. While I could not find membership numbers for 1950-1951, student membership was recorded as being 600 in 1951-1952. By 1956-1957, student membership had dropped to around 400, while faculty membership had climbed dramatically to 233.

The situation with regard to staff during the 1946-1958 period featured swings in numbers and serious unrest. After Wilson's

death, Philip Morgan, who had joined the YMCA's staff in 1941, was named General Secretary. During his brief tenure as General Secretary, the Association employed a total of sixteen staff, including eight full-time secretaries. Morgan left the University YMCA in the fall of 1948 to accept a position with the national YMCA office in Chicago. Howard Amerman, on the University YMCA's staff since 1946, was named acting General Secretary, a position he held until 1950.

In July of 1950, Harold B. Ingalls became the University YMCA's new General Secretary. "Pete" Ingalls, as he was called, was a 47 year old graduate of Oberlin College with a master's degree from Columbia and a divinity degree from Yale. He had deep roots in student YMCA work, having served as president of the student YMCA at Oberlin while he was an undergraduate. He held several staff positions in national student YMCA work, and was serving as acting General Secretary of the National Student Council of YMCAs and of the National Intercollegiate Christian Council in New York City at the time he accepted the General Secretary position at Illinois.

The fact that the University YMCA could lure a person such as Ingalls to become its General Secretary spoke to the stature of the Association during this period. The YMCA at the University of Illinois was at this time the largest student YMCA in the world, with a budget nearly as large as the national student office in New York. It was also widely regarded as the most effective student YMCA in North America. Its work and methods were viewed as a model by national YMCA staff as well as staff from other student associations.

Ingalls' eight year tenure as General Secretary was tumultuous. It was marked by financial difficulties, the controversy over the barbershop issue, and major personnel transitions and problems. When Ingalls started, there was a team of six full-time secretaries. Thereafter, the number of secretaries fluctuated from year to year with the budget. Twice under Ingalls the number reached seven, but by 1957-1958, the team of secretaries had been cut to four.

Two milestones were reached with staff during this period.

First, there were two staff retirements that together marked a symbolic end to the Henry Wilson era. Mic Coldwell retired in 1956 after 38 years of service, and Gertrude Wahl retired in 1958 after nearly 54 years on the staff. Coldwell had joined the staff in 1918, two years after Wilson, as an associate secretary for program. For over two decades, he was a major creative force in the Association's programming. In the early 1940s, his responsibilities were changed to fundraising. He spent many years traveling the state in an endless search for new funds. Gertrude Wahl had been a member of the support staff since 1905. She had stayed with the Association all the way from its days at Association House, the little frame house shared with the YWCA on Wright and John, to the new building on Wright and Chalmers. She did many, many tasks for the Association over the years, including serving as the Association's bookkeeper.

The second milestone with staff was less worthy of celebration. In 1958, Pete Ingalls became the first General Secretary to be forced to resign. At a special meeting of the Board of Directors held on February 24, 1958, the Board voted not to renew his contract as General Secretary when it was scheduled to run out at the end of June. The reasons for this action were not clearly recorded in the minutes. What was recorded was that there were "major personnel problems" related to Ingalls that reportedly had been developing and building for years. The sharpest conflict was between Ingalls and Alan Herman, a program secretary who joined the staff in the fall of 1956.

With Ingalls' departure, the Association was again in search of a new General Secretary. Again, it would draw its director from the national staff of the YMCA. In July of 1958, J. Frederick Miller, the former Associate Secretary of the National Student Council of YMCAs, was offered the job of General Secretary. When Miller came on board in September of 1958, the Association was already in the midst of a transition into a new chapter of its life and work.

3.3 Discussion

The era covered in this chapter includes the beginnings of a

change in how those involved in the University YMCA understood its mission and work. While the promise of association continued to include a mix of personal and public dimensions, attention to public aims increased. However, the Association's role in contributing to public or social change continued to be understood mainly in personal terms. It continued to follow David Kinley's view from 1893 that "We should seek to develop the moral and religious character, and industrial and other social ills will then largely settle themselves on the basis of greater existing justice and brotherly love."[44]

While Kinley's view was most clearly evident in the Association's "friendly relations" work with international students, it permeated all other work as well. It was the deeper meaning behind the consistent use of the word "service" in describing the YMCA's work. This can be glimpsed in an editorial titled "The Man Who Serves," published in the October, 1922, edition of the *Y's Indian*. The editorial proclaimed that "The best men in the world are those who serve their fellowmen without considering their own well being and interests." It concluded that "The Y, with its program of service, offers an opportunity for every man to develop the moral and spiritual side of his life. With such development he will find himself of the greatest value to his University, to his fellow students and to society in general."[45]

But the period after the first World War was a period during which this optimistic (many felt naive) view was sharply challenged elsewhere. The incredible brutality and destruction of the war demolished for many the easy optimism of the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions' (SVM) clarion call, "the evangelization of the world in this generation." Reinhold Niebuhr, speaking at the Twelfth Quadrennial Convention of the SVM in 1935, remarked that

> When I think of the fifty years of the Student Volunteer Movement, I remember that these are just the fifty years from 1885 to the present in which we gave ourselves in America to a false dream of the possibilities of a Christian nation, imagining that it would be an easy thing to achieve a Christian social order and a Christian world order, that it was only nec-

> essary to preach love a little more charmingly than we had previously done and we would enter into the kingdom of God.[46]

Niebuhr and others, especially Kirby Page, became sharp critics of a liberal Protestantism (essentially, the conservative wing of public Protestantism) that preached personal love and goodwill as the main tools for transforming economic relations and public life. Giving a harder, more "realistic" edge to the Social Gospel than Walter Rauschenbusch had, they adopted a justice language that embraced political action aimed at radical structural change, including replacing capitalism with socialism.[47]

The key person bringing this view and language into the YMCA was Sherwood Eddy. Eddy, who grew up in Kansas, the son of a wealthy businessman, became deeply committed to both evangelism and the YMCA after hearing Dwight Moody speak at a summer conference while he was an undergraduate at Yale in the late 1880s. After graduate study at Union Theological Seminary and Princeton, he joined the staff of the International YMCA. He went on to become a leading figure in the YMCA's missionary work, second only to John R. Mott, spending fifteen years of his life as a missionary in India.[48]

In 1927, Eddy delivered a bold speech to the Tenth Quadrennial Convention of the SVM in Detroit that proclaimed the "dawn of a new day" for the student movement. Speaking of the period before the first World War, he argued that

> Then, for the most part, we held fervidly a personal gospel for ourselves and the world. Then we felt a divine call to go from our own favored "Christian" nation to the backward "heathen" nations lost in darkness. Then we felt called to take up "the white man's burden" and go out from our "superior" race to the backward peoples of the world. We had wealth, power, success, civilization—we felt that we had almost everything to give and nothing to learn. We were often unconsciously complacent, paternalistic, imperialistic.[49]

The experience of the first World War changed Eddy's views

dramatically. During the war, he related,

> there broke upon me the first gleams of a social gospel that sought not only to save individuals for the future, but here and now in this world of bitter need, to Christianize the whole of life and all its relationships—industrial, social, racial, international. Religion was not primarily something to be believed, or felt; it was something to be done, a life to be lived, a principle and a program to be incarnated in character and built into a social order.[50]

Condemning a "world of sordid materialism, autocratic exploitation and organized militarism," Eddy called on students to join together in building

> a whole new social order founded upon social justice. We have to humanize, to Christianize, to permeate with the principles of Jesus' way of life all social relations and institutions. We have not only to save a few elect souls in our slums at home or in our foreign missions. We have to abolish those disgraceful slums for which we are criminally responsible and share in all things with all men as brothers of whatever nation, or race, or color or creed, our wealth, our education, our privilege and opportunity, as well as our full spiritual heritage. We can have no superior or patronizing privilege of "charity" to poor men or nations, but must begin with our own repentance and the claims of social justice. The ethical ideals of Christianity must be applied to all aspects of human life so as to develop a civilization of brotherly sons of God, not simply to save individuals.[51]

Eddy's speech, which included blunt criticism of America's racism and corporate greed, was strong medicine. It was difficult for most staff, volunteers, and Board members in the YMCA to swallow. Despite the embrace of the Social Gospel by John R. Mott and the student movement in 1914, and despite the fact that the national YMCA had officially adopted the justice-oriented "Social Creed" of the Federal Council of Churches in 1919 (which Eddy's speech closely mirrored), the YMCA continued to be domi-

nated by exactly that liberal Protestantism that Niebuhr and others found increasingly problematic.[52] Even though Eddy and Page each spoke numerous times to YMCA audiences around the country, their message had little effect on the work of the majority of local associations. This appears to be the case with the YMCA at the University of Illinois. Eddy was invited by the University YMCA to speak at Illinois many times in the 1920s and 1930s, but my review of the Association's records and materials reveal little to indicate that his ideas were incorporated into its work.

The institutionalism issue that Paul Super raised in his 1922 book, *What Is the YMCA?*, has a bearing on this discussion. The growing institutionalism of the YMCA not only threatened to marginalize its religious movement orientation, in favor of professionalized services and recreational programming, but it also threatened to marginalize voices within the YMCA which were calling for a *particular kind* of religious movement: that is, one which, like Eddy's, viewed the existing social order as unjust. By 1920, there were over 2,000 YMCAs in the United States with nearly one million members. Of these, 778 were student associations reporting 84,169 members.[53] The YMCA had become an American institution. It was strongly supported by corporate industrialists such as J. P. Morgan and John D. Rockefeller, Jr., who sat on Boards of Directors and donated significant amounts of money to operational budgets and building campaigns.

When Eddy and others on the YMCA staff publicly embraced in 1919 not only the Social Gospel, but socialism and the recognition of Soviet Russia, much pressure was brought to bear on John R. Mott, then the General Secretary of the North American YMCA, to have them fired. Eddy decided to submit his resignation rather than wait to be fired, writing that "I felt I could not continue to ask rich men for their money while, at the same time, I criticized their methods of making that money. I knew that many of the men I had solicited would never tolerate the social gospel I felt impelled to proclaim."[54] Mott refused to accept Eddy's resignation, declaring that if there was no room for people like Eddy in the YMCA, there was no room for him, either. The decision to allow Eddy to stay led a group of industrial leaders to threaten a

boycott of the YMCA. The American Legion, the Daughters of the American Revolution, and the Better America Federation each joined in the condemnation of both Eddy and the YMCA. The commander of the American Legion remarked that he would like to see Eddy "silenced in time of peace, and shot in time of war."[55]

While there were most certainly people in local associations who tried to follow and apply Eddy's ideas, the general tenor of the YMCA during this time reflected a clear dominance of a liberal (rather than radical) Protestantism, avoiding "extreme" positions, whether from the left or right. Although the national YMCA appeared to embrace Eddy's views by adopting a new mission statement in 1931 that declared that the YMCA's purpose was to build both "Christian personality and a Christian society," it did not radically change its work.[56] It simply adopted some of the language of Social Gospel advocates, while continuing to hold on to a highly individualized, nonconfrontational program of work.

Until the post World War Two period, the national YMCA culture was mirrored at Illinois. While the University YMCA included some Social Gospel language in its mission and purpose statements, it continued to follow a moderate, mostly personal-oriented work. Henry Wilson's proud declaration in 1934 that the University YMCA had stood as a force against racism and nationalism shows how it stood at odds with certain elements on the right. An episode from 1935, when the Board of Directors refused to allow sponsorship of a campus peace meeting, shows how it was distanced from the left. While the Board felt that the University YMCA "should do its part in helping to maintain a sane and proper advocacy of peace," it felt that the groups behind the meeting in question were "extremely radical or communistic." They concluded that "the policy of the YMCA should be to develop all the aims consistent with its goal, the development of the fullest Christian life, but not to advocate methods concerning which there might be an honest difference of opinion among members of the Board and among supporters of the YMCA."[57]

Another side of the YMCA's institution versus movement question was also relevant to the University YMCA's development during this period. This side focused on the struggle to maintain the

fundamental nature of the YMCA as a religious movement of volunteers, against forces which were pushing it to become a professionalized, business-like institution. Over the course of his thirty-year tenure as General Secretary, Henry Wilson repeatedly challenged his Board on this issue. In his monthly report for October, 1927, Wilson included a lengthy section titled "What Is the University YMCA?" that drew directly on Paul Super's 1922 book, *What Is the YMCA?* Wilson took both students and faculty to task in the report. Faculty, he felt, were too willing to defer leadership to the Association's professional secretaries. The problem with students was that so many of them "come to the University with an institutionalized interpretation of the Association that it is exceedingly difficult for them to recognize it as a Christian movement, rather than as a building where they may indulge in swimming or gymnastics or other pastimes."[58]

The key problem Wilson discussed in the 1927 report was the problem of determining what the nature of the relationship between faculty, Board, students, and paid secretaries ought to be in order to remain true to the Association's religious movement orientation. With respect to relations between faculty, the Board, and students, he asked:

> How may the Directors work with the Student Cabinet in defining our policies, our programs and our methods of work without relieving the Cabinet of responsibility or making the members feel that the Board desires to dominate or suppress them? In other words, how can we most expeditiously demonstrate that the University Young Men's Christian Association is not students alone, nor faculty alone, but is only a University Association in so far as both faculty and students have their part in it?[59]

The related issue of the place of paid secretaries in the work of the Association was of especially deep concern to Wilson. To bolster his own view on this issue, he quoted W. J. Parker, the General Secretary of the Chicago YMCA, who argued that

> Two distinct and conflicting theories of YMCA management

> are developing among the Associations. They appear to relate only to the relation of volunteers and employed forces but they affect much more and produce two radically different types of Association. According to one theory the function of boards and committees is to advise, counsel, help, cooperate with secretaries, but not interfere with them in their operation of the Association. According to the other theory, the function of boards and committees is to operate the Association, they are the proprietors, using secretaries as technical advisors, counselors and professional aids. The trend is strong toward the first theory. It looks easier. Volunteers want to be relieved of responsibility. Secretaries are flattered by being told they are the head of the organization. But it is the second which places volunteers in their proper position of leadership; increases the character output of the Association; increases the likelihood of permanence and makes for safety.[60]

For Wilson, the principle of voluntary leadership was of preeminent importance. While he wrote that it was easier to think of the University YMCA as a business and to attempt to assign to a paid secretary the task of running it, he declared that the Association was not a business, but rather "a partnership in a spiritual undertaking. The things of the spirit are the things that abide and the success of the partnership depends upon the investing of spiritual life in the enterprise." Wilson carried this view all the way through his tenure, even after 1938, when the Association moved into its new $300,000 building and its "business" dimensions were greatly increased. At a 1940 Board meeting, for example, he reminded the Board that it is "not a mere rubber stamp," that there was a need for it to be a group of men with "imagination, vision and energy who could and would formulate a program and contribute their share to the functioning of the organization."[61] In 1941, he complained to the Board that "There is too much dependence on secretarial leadership," and in 1944 he sternly warned that there was a need to be ever vigilant in avoiding the "deadly perils of institutionalism."[62]

By the latter part of the 1916-1958 era, beginning around the time of the Second World War, signs of significant change began to emerge in the University YMCA's mission and work. A lan-

guage of "democracy" and "citizenship" began to appear in various documents, and, as I described above, new committees and initiatives were developed related to racial equality, public affairs, and effective citizenship. The Association began to take on an aggressive role as a force for developing not just personal religious character and faith through "selfless" service, but civic skills and habits through political education and action. While this new role remained firmly "Christian" in its grounding and inspiration, it nevertheless marked a real shift in the Association's orientation.

Public affairs work in YMCAs in the United States began to receive wide attention and interest after 1935, when the National Council of YMCAs created a new Committee on Public Affairs. While there was little public affairs work being conducted in local associations at that time, by the end of the 1930s there was a burst of enthusiasm for it. In January of 1939, the National Board of YMCAs of the United States adopted a statement declaring that "The Association program should be for members and participants, a veritable school of democracy."[63]

In the late spring of 1939, on the eve of the Second World War, the Association of Secretaries of the Young Men's Christian Association of North America held their forty-seventh conference in Toronto to assess "where we are as a Movement in our work with the youth of our day, especially in their relationship to democracy and religion."[64] The summary proceedings of this conference were published in 1939 by the YMCA's Association Press, in a book titled *Toward Christian Democracy: A Profession Takes its Bearings*. This book reveals a remarkable depth and seriousness of discussion in the YMCA on the work of educating young people for democratic citizenship. In preparation for the conference, study materials were written and widely circulated on the meaning of democracy and on strategies for YMCA youth work. More than 500 Associations used these materials.

While events in Europe, combined with the lingering problems of the Great Depression, lent an urgency to the conference's agenda, it is clear that the sense of urgency also came from a sober evaluation of the effectiveness of the YMCA's existing programs of citizenship education. The editor of the summary proceedings

(who was also a member of the YMCA National Board) noted in his forward that "the youth for whom our organization exists are, after nearly one hundred years of our work, in perhaps more confusion than at any time before in our country's history."[65] The conference attendees committed themselves to strengthening the YMCA's civic education program as a partial answer to this confusion. "Are we going to treat this question of democratic citizenship as a casual thing, which we do with our left hand when we are free for a moment from institutional concerns," one participant asked, "or do we intend to move it squarely into the center of our program and recognize it as our main job?"[66]

With the publication by the Association Press of Paul Limbert's *Educating for Civic Responsibility: A Guide to Policy and Practice in Public Affairs Education* in 1941, a compelling argument for moving public affairs work to the center of the YMCA's program was powerfully articulated. In his book, Limbert attempted to weave together the religious faith and social-action dimensions of the YMCA, arguing that

> Inevitably, the purpose of the Young Men's Christian Association impels it to a concern for preparing its members for civic responsibility and joining with other forces to modify the structure of our society, locally and nationally. There can be no conflict between "personal religion" and a "social gospel." Christian groups are committed to a social outreach just because they are so deeply concerned about persons.[67]

Importantly, Limbert did not view public affairs work as an add-on to existing work. "To set public affairs off in a corner, even a very important corner, would be a serious misinterpretation of our opportunity," he wrote. "Education for citizenship is not a specific program so much as an *emphasis* that may make a difference at every point of our total program.[68]

Statements in various University YMCA documents from the mid 1930s forward began to echo the new belief in the importance of the YMCA's role in civic development. The long-standing argument that the University YMCA is important because it offers students a way to achieve "balance" in their educations took

on an explicitly civic as well as moral tone. This was reflected in Henry Wilson's proclamation in 1933 that the purpose of the University YMCA was to "make for a better citizenship" by linking citizenship with "spiritual values." It was also reflected in an editorial in the December, 1939 issue of the *Y's Indian*, which declared that

> In the "Y," as nowhere else, is the true democratic spirit engendered. The heterogeneous membership of the "Y" is composed of practically all nationalities and creeds. The members, joined by a common bond, a belief in Jesus and his teachings, are doing the most worthwhile service on the campus. Here a student loses racial prejudices, learns something of tolerance and cooperation, and becomes an altogether better citizen.[69]

The 1940s and 50s brought even stronger articulations of the University YMCA's role in public life. Robert Trobaugh, student president for 1941-1942, wrote in his welcome statement in the *Students' Handbook* that

> Education has a new meaning for those of us coming to college this year. If we say we are opposed to a society in which democracy and Christian principles are denied, then we—engineers, and farmers, and ministers alike—must want and begin now to understand and accomplish those things which we believe are God's will for every man, or else we can no longer have them. The program of our YMCA is planned to build Christian citizenship in a world that certainly needs it.[70]

In 1952, Paul Van Arsdell, a professor of economics and chair of the Board of Directors from 1949-1954, declared that

> The basic purpose of the University of Illinois YMCA is to develop the integrity of the individual by emphasizing the importance of Christian precepts and their application in the day-by-day living of University men. This fundamental objective of the Association is unchanging, and we reiterate it as

> the heart and soul—the very right of existence—of the University YMCA.... [W]hatever the problem—whether local, state, national, or international—solid, sound citizenship is of prime importance. In the building of this citizenship, the foundation is the integrity of the individual, to which this Association remains dedicated.[71]

By 1958, the University YMCA had begun to chart a new path. While it continued to carry much of the spirit and work of previous eras, it was clearly headed for new ground. The next few decades, as we shall see in the following chapter, would bring nothing less than radical change.

NOTES

[1] Paul Super, *What Is the YMCA?* (New York: Association Press, 1922), p. xi. Super left his position with the North American YMCA in 1922, traveling to Poland to help found the YMCA in that country. He became the National Secretary for the Poland YMCA, a position he held for more than fifteen years.

[2] Figures are from *The Hundred-Year Book: A Synoptic Review of the History of the Young Men's Christian Association* (New York: Association Press, 1944).

[3] C. Howard Hopkins, *History of the YMCA in North America* (New York: Association Press, 1951), p. 456.

[4] This view of the transformation of the YMCA is drawn from Mayer N. Zald's insightful study, *Organizational Change: The Political Economy of the YMCA* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970).

[5] Super (1922), pp. 105-106.

[6] Article II, *Constitution and By-Laws of the Young Men's Christian Association of the University of Illinois* (1909), p. 1.

[7] Article II, *Constitution and By-Laws of the Young Men's Christian Association of the University of Illinois* (1923), p. 1.

[8] Walter Rauschenbusch, *Christianity and the Social Crisis* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1907, 1991), p. 65.

[9] *Students' Handbook of the University of Illinois*, 1917-1918, p. 10.

[10] Minutes, Board of Directors, YMCA of the University of Illinois, May 14, 1931.

[11] John R. Mott, unpaged transcript of a speech delivered at the University of Illinois, January 28, 1922.

[12] Corliss D. Anderson, "Report of the Retiring President to the Members of the YMCA at the University of Illinois," July 1, 1926, p. 10.

[13] *Student's Handbook of the University of Illinois*, 1936-1937, p. 15.

[14] Resolution adopted by the Board of Directors, March 27, 1918.

[15] Figures from "Working His Way," the Annual Report of the University YMCA Employment Department, 1926-1927.
[16] Ibid., p. 3.
[17] Ibid., p. 21.
[18] Fisher quoted in appendix 10, "A Brief Statement Regarding the Young Men's Christian Association at the University of Illinois," a promotional document printed in 1923.
[19] Winton Solberg, "Faith and Knowledge: Religion at the University of Illinois," unpublished manuscript.
[20] Though I found no record of it in the historical materials I reviewed, legend has it that the name "Y's Indian" was meant to refer to the "adoption" by the YMCA in 1878 of Carlos Montezuma, an eleven-year-old Native American from Arizona. The YMCA at Illinois financed a part of his education. Montezuma became a medical doctor of some renown, setting up a practice in Chicago. See Harold Hannah, *One Hundred Years of Action: The University of Illinois YMCA, 1873-1973* (Champaign: University YMCA, 1973), p. 12. The name "Y's Indian" was discontinued after 1989 when the controversy over the University of Illinois' mascot, "Chief Illiniwek," raised awareness about the racist nature and implications of such names and images. The University YMCA now has two publications: an "Annual Report," which includes information and articles about financial, institutional, and membership matters, and the semi-annual "Y Highlights," which focuses on program work.
[21] *Students' Handbook*, 1925-1926, p. 15.
[22] "Committee of 'Y' Attacks Campus Racial Problems." *Y's Indian*, April, 1924, p. 2.
[23] Faculty Forum was not begun in 1926, as Harold Hannah incorrectly wrote in his book. The first series was held during the spring semester of 1927.
[24] "Faculty Praises Forum Meetings as Worth While." *Y's Indian*, April 22, 1927, p. 2.
[25] *Report of Friendly Relations Work Among Foreign Students at the University of Illinois*, 1919-1920, p. 1.
[26] *Eight Annual Report of the Committee on Friendly Relations among Foreign Students at the University of Illinois*, 1925-1926, p. 4.
[27] Minutes, Board of Directors, December 18, 1934, p. 4.
[28] In Hannah's book, the date the Hut burned is incorrectly recorded as December 18, 1923. It actually burned on December 8.
[29] John R. Mott, "University Leadership and World Affairs," p. 12. Unpublished transcript of speech delivered at the University YMCA, November 21, 1937.
[30] Sir William Henry Bragg, p. 3, unpublished transcript of speech delivered at the University of Illinois, April 30, 1939.
[31] Statement of the Board of Directors, April 30, 1939, p. 3.
[32] Ibid., p. 4.
[33] Ibid., pp. 5-7.

[34] M. Ian Coldwell, "The 'Y' at the U. of I.—An Evaluation." *Y's Indian*, February, 1952, p. 2.
[35] "Needed—Action." *Y's Indian*, March, 1947, p. 2.
[36] *The University of Illinois Student Handbook*, 1948-1949, p. 41.
[37] *The University of Illinois Faculty Handbook*, 1949-1950, p. 21.
[38] *The University of Illinois I Book*, 1952-1953, p. 16. The committee brought women who were "outstanding in the field of world leadership" to campus as well as men, including Eleanor Roosevelt, who spoke at the YMCA in May of 1954.
[39] Tom Taylor, quoted in "Mock Election Held on Campus." *Y's Indian*, December, 1952, p. 4.
[40] "Policy of the YMCA of the University of Illinois on Racial Equality." Adopted by the Board of Directors, March 15, 1954.
[41] Policy of the YMCA of the University of Illinois on the Use of Its Building." Adopted by the Board of Directors, March 15, 1954.
[42] "Negroes Served After Barbers Change Policy." *The Daily Illini*, May 5, 1954.
[43] Report of the President to the Board of Directors, November 21, 1949.
[44] David Kinley, "The Law of Social Progress." *New York Christian Advocate*, Aug.-Sept., 1893. Reprinted in *Social Progress: Four Articles by David Kinley* (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1893), p. 2.
[45] "The Man Who Serves." *Y's Indian*, October, 1922, p. 2.
[46] Reinhold Niebuhr, "Our World." In Jesse R. Wilson, ed., *Students and the Christian World Mission* (New York: Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions, 1936), p. 7.
[47] For more on Niebuhr's thought, see Richard Wightman Fox, *Reinhold Niebuhr: A Biography* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1985). For more on Kirby Page, see Charles Chatfield and Charles DeBenedetti, eds., *Kirby Page and the Social Gospel: An Anthology* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1976).
[48] See Sherwood Eddy, *Eighty Adventurous Years: An Autobiography* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1955).
[49] Sherwood Eddy, "Can We Still Believe in Foreign Missions?" In Andrea Hinding, et al., *Drawing Strength from the Past: Documents of the YMCA Student Movement* (Minneapolis: YMCA of the USA, 1987), p. 13.
[50] Ibid., p. 12.
[51] Ibid., p. 13.
[52] The complete text of the social principles adopted by the YMCA in 1919 is published in Galen M. Fisher, *Public Affairs and the YMCA: 1844-1944* (New York: Association Press, 1948), pp. 72-74.
[53] Mayer Zald (1970), p. 31; Commission on Student Work, *What of the Future of Student YMCAs?* (New York: National Council of the Young Men's Christian Associations, 1941), p. 8. It must be noted that of the 778 student associations, only 620 were based at colleges and universities. The rest were located at theological seminaries and preparatory schools.
[54] Sherwood Eddy (1955), p. 120.

[55] See C. Howard Hopkins, *John R. Mott, 1865-1955: A Biography* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1979), pp. 621-622, and Sherwood Eddy (1955), pp. 120-122.
[56] Hopkins (1951), p. 521.
[57] Minutes, Board of Directors, October 16, 1935.
[58] Henry Wilson, "Report of the General Secretary to the Chairman of the Board of Directors." October 1, 1927, p. 8.
[59] Ibid., p. 9.
[60] Ibid., pp. 9-10.
[61] Minutes, Board of Directors, February 12, 1940, p. 2.
[62] Minutes, Board of Directors, June 13, 1941; minutes, Board of Directors, June 8, 1944.
[63] Quoted in S. M. Keeny, ed., *Toward Christian Democracy: A Profession Takes its Bearings* (New York: Association Press, 1939), p. 96.
[64] Ibid., p. v.
[65] Ibid.
[66] R. E. G. Davis, "Democracy and the YMCA." In Ibid., p. 73.
[67] Paul M. Limbert, *Educating for Civic Responsibility: A Guide to Policy and Practice in Public Affairs Education* (New York: Association Press, 1941), pp. 10-11.
[68] Ibid., p. 31.
[69] "The 'Y's' Program." *Y's Indian*, December, 1939, p. 2.
[70] Robert Trobaugh, "To the Class of 1945." In *University of Illinois Students' Handbook*, p. 11.
[71] Paul M. Van Arsdell, "Individual Integrity Stressed by YMCA." *Y's Indian*, April, 1952, p. 2.

CHAPTER FOUR
THE RECENT ERA: 1958-1997

4.1 Introduction

In 1959, speaking of the rising generation of college students, University of California president Clark Kerr predicted that "employers will love this generation. They aren't going to press many grievances. . . . There aren't going to be any riots."[1] As it turned out, of course, he was wrong. The generation of students that took their places in colleges and universities across the country in the late 50s and 60s would engage in widespread political protest and dissent, much of it directed against their own institutions. Especially would they attack Kerr's technocratic vision of the university as a "multiversity," where students were to be understood as "products" and faculty as "entrepreneurs," with each institution as a kind of factory or "great machine" which "turns out its countless new pieces of knowledge . . . with little thought for their consequences."[2]

Two of the most important groups at the forefront of the new student activism were each founded in the spring of 1960: the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), which worked mainly in the south on civil rights issues, and Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), which worked mainly in the north on issues related to higher education and the war in Vietnam. Each of these groups was inspired by a growing idealism among people of all ages, one which rejected the institutionalized racism, militarism, and empty comforts of an unjust social order. Much of the spirit behind this new idealism was articulated in 1962 in SDS's *Port Huron Statement*, a document which brilliantly captured students' vision of a better society and their criticisms of American life and institutions.[3]

The authors of the *Port Huron Statement* described themselves as "looking uncomfortably to the world we inherit," the complacency of their privileged upbringings shattered by the twin threats of racial bigotry and a Cold War built on an arms race and the specter of the nuclear bomb. As they looked at the world, they saw a set of paradoxes: the belief in equality in the face of racism; the proclaimed peaceful intentions of their government in the face

of an escalating arms race; advances in technology and an increase in meaningless work; material abundance and hunger; the need for "revolutionary leadership" and the existence of a national political stalemate; and finally, their own sense of urgency in the face of the prevailing view that "there is no viable alternative to the present."

The authors of the *Port Huron Statement*, like the majority of students who were actively involved in the University YMCA, were mostly white and middle class, preparing themselves for various professional and managerial careers. In addition to the paradoxes listed above, a good deal of their discomfort was tied to their lack of enthusiasm for entering the white collar work-world. In 1951, C. Wright Mills had described the white collar middle class in less than flattering terms:

> Estranged from community and society in a context of distrust and manipulation; alienated from work and, on the personality market, from self; expropriated of individual rationality, and politically apathetic—these are the new little people, the unwilling vanguard of modern society.[4]

This description struck a chord, not only with those active in SDS, but with a growing number of middle class students. Borrowing heavily from Mills, the authors of the *Port Huron Statement* painted a picture of American middle-class society filled with loneliness, estrangement, silence, apathy, hypocrisy, manipulation, desperation and isolation. It was a bleak portrait.

Turning their eyes to their own campuses, the authors of the *Port Huron Statement* found that their fellow students mirrored the views and faults of those in the broader society. They described students as being withdrawn from public life, having rejected idealism, hope, and the possibility of change in exchange for the "cheerful emptiness" of a private life of comfort and mediocrity. This state of affairs was related to the isolating effects of modern industrial society. The authors argued, echoing both Mills and John Dewey, that isolation in American life had given rise to a "democracy without publics," where the great mass of people had become "structurally remote and psychologically hesitant with re-

spect to democratic institutions."[5]

While much of the problem in the authors' view was psychological, they argued that it was also structural. Widespread political apathy was based not only on a subjective sense of powerlessness, but also on the "objective reality" of a "structural separation of people from power, from relevant knowledge, from pinnacles of decision making." "The American political system," they wrote, "is not the democratic model of which its glorifiers speak. In actuality it frustrates democracy by confusing the individual citizen, paralyzing policy discussion, and consolidating the irresponsible power of military and business interests."[6] Largely to blame for this was a party system which produced an "organized political stalemate" by failing to encourage discussion at the local level of national and international issues, divesting minorities from full political power, and submitting to the influence of private business lobbying.

Labor, peace, and religious groups, the authors felt, deserved to share the blame for the frustration of democracy. Bogged down in method and technique, they lacked *vision.* In particular, the authors felt that they lacked a vision of how the building of a "participatory democracy" could be the solution to both structural political stalemate and personal apathy and alienation.

Much of the spirit of the *Port Huron Statement* was reflected in a statement made to new Student Cabinet members of the YMCA at the University of Illinois during one of the early years of the 1958-1997 era. "There are some who believe our responsibility this year is even more serious and challenging," these Cabinet members were told.

> Sensitive prophets of the day have intimated the depth of the problem. They suggest we are living in a time of crisis between a world that is dying and another yet to be born. The insecurity of our lives, the confusion, frustration, and cynicism which haunt nearly all are expressions of a crisis which has profound dimensions. There are many voices which seek to respond to this condition, yet students are fed up with halfway measures and replies that satisfy but half of our hunger for truth and a worthy idea for which we can live. Deep within

> we are aware that we need a purpose in life beyond immediate cares and worries and conventional desires. The ideal of taking a college degree, getting married and settled, having a dependable job, making lots of money is not enough. It is a timid ideal.[7]

One of the "sensitive prophets" proclaiming the death of a world was C. Wright Mills, who concluded in the early 1950s that

> The uneasiness, the malaise of our time, is due to this root fact: in our politics and economy, in family life and religion—in practically every sphere of our existence—the certainties of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries have disintegrated or been destroyed and, at the same time, no new sanctions or justifications for the new routines we live, and must live, have taken hold.[8]

The story of the University YMCA in the 1958-1997 era is a story of the gradual death of old ways and views. But it is also the story of the birth of a new—and to some extent, profoundly different—Association. While the effects of the two World Wars produced ripples of change in the University YMCA's mission and work, the events of the sixties, seventies, and eighties produced a great tide of change which swept much of the familiar character of the old institution away. Yet even so, an important part of the spirit of the Association survived.

In this chapter, I review the changes and developments in each of the three distinct periods of the recent era. The first period, from 1958-1973, was a time marked by an embrace of religious pluralism, the opening of membership and governance roles to women, and a vigorous search for meaning in a changing world. It included some of the best years in the University YMCA's life and work, when it aspired to be the "intellectual religious center" of the campus. In the second period, from 1973-1984, the Association dropped nearly all of its religious work and shifted much of its focus away from campus to the provision of social services to youth in Champaign-Urbana and surrounding communities. In the final period, from 1984-1997, the focus returned to the campus, as

the Association tried to position itself as a center for dialogue, reflection, and action on important educational, political, and spiritual issues and concerns.

4.2 Mission and Work

1958-1973

Just a few years into the 1958-1973 period, the official statement of purpose for the University YMCA, which had been written and adopted in 1923, was replaced. The old statement was firmly centered on the Christian faith. It reflected the confidence of an Association sure of its role and work, and sharp and unwavering in its focus. It declared that

> The purpose of this organization shall be: (1) To lead students to faith in God through Jesus Christ. (2) To lead them into membership and service in the Christian Church. (3) To promote their growth in Christian faith and character, especially through the study of the Bible and prayer. (4) To influence them to devote themselves in united effort with all Christians to making the will of Christ effective in human society, and to extending the Kingdom of God throughout the world.[9]

The new statement, which was adopted in February of 1961, reflected a new, less certain path for the Association, marked by an openness to religious pluralism and a wide search for meaning. It declared that

> The purpose of the Young Men's Christian Association of the University of Illinois is to provide an atmosphere congenial to an unlimited search for religious meaning and to make clear the meaning and relevance of the Christian heritage to student and faculty members as they face their daily responsibilities in the University and in society.[10]

Stirrings of change in the mission and direction of the University YMCA began to surface in the mid 1950s. In the spring of 1954, the Board of Directors created a Program Study Committee charged with reviewing the Association's purpose and objectives.

While the Committee's report, presented to the Board on September 27, 1954, affirmed the continuing relevance of the existing purpose statement, it emphasized the need of the Association to develop a "world outlook, a concept of inclusiveness rather than exclusiveness."[11]

Two years later, more serious calls for change were voiced. In September of 1956, General Secretary Pete Ingalls declared to the Board that "too much of what we are doing is simply carrying on something that has been done in the past."[12] Insisting that "the time has come for serious and thoroughgoing examination," he submitted to the Board the following January a proposal for a "self-study" of the Association. The self-study process, conducted under the counsel and guidance of former staff member Hal Colvin (who at the time was a member of the national student YMCA staff), yielded a report in November of 1957. The report concluded that "the specifics of the present program and the role and mission of the 'Y' are not entirely clear." While it found the Association's work with faculty, graduate students, and international students to be strong and effective, it declared that work with undergraduate students was in need of much improvement. It called for the elimination of Freshman Camp and other programs carried on outside the building, and for a "frank re-emphasis of the Christian role" of the Association. It suggested that

> The University YMCA should strive to serve the religious needs of the students on the campus. There is a large amount of student interest in the area of religion that is not presently being put to work. The YMCA should seek to become the intellectual religious center of the campus. In this sense, the YMCA—in cooperation with the church religious foundations—should serve as a supplement to the intellectual search for secular truth in the University.[13]

The implementation of the suggestions of the self-study report became the responsibility of a reconstructed staff. In 1958, first General Secretary Pete Ingalls and then associate program secretary Al Herman were forced to resign. Fred Miller took over as General Secretary in the fall of 1958, and in April of 1959, Ed

Nestingen began his work as associate secretary for program. Both Miller and Nestingen had deep roots in student YMCA work. Each had served as an executive of more than one local student association, and each had held a staff position with the National Student Council of YMCAs. At the University YMCA, they joined John Price, who continued his focus on work with international students, and Phil Ross, who worked on financial development.

It was the students who made the next move in pushing for change in the University YMCA's mission. The change they called for can only be described as radical. It was also sharply at odds with the self-study report's call for a re-emphasis on the Christian role of the Association. At a meeting of the Board of Directors on April 20, 1959, student president Tom Chandler declared that references to membership in the Association's Constitution needed to be "modernized." He recommended a membership "in which one does not have to make a personal commitment to the Christian faith." He also reported that the Student Cabinet had drafted a purpose statement which it felt captured the Association's "true" aim. The statement declared that the purpose of the University YMCA is

> To provide an opportunity for people with widely divergent religious views or no established views to exchange ideas and doubts against a backdrop of the Judeo-Christian tradition; and, provide an opportunity for young men to accept and fulfill positions of responsibility by discovering individual abilities and encouraging their development.[14]

Adding another major dimension to his call for change, Chandler reported that "It is the stated desire of the students to make our program co-educational. [We] recommend complete merger with the YWCA in program, including, if feasible, budgets, staff, and operating [*sic*] from one building."

Surprisingly, Chandler's report to the Board was recorded in the minutes without any hint of dissent, surprise, concern, or even discussion. After summarizing his report, the recording secretary moved on to another subject without comment. This is remarkable, given that Chandler's suggestions marked a near abandon-

ment of one of the longest and deepest held elements of the Association's purpose: the primary emphasis on the Christian meaning and implications of the letter "C." Now, according to Chandler, the letter "C" stood more for "contemporary" and "catalyst" than it did "Christian."[15]

A response of sorts came in May of 1959, when the committee responsible for the self-study initiative released its final report on the Association's work with undergraduate students. The committee reported that many of the programs the YMCA offered that were successful in the past no longer attracted student interest. It drew heavily on a controversial, widely read study by Philip Jacob, *Changing Values in College*, which found that college had little or no effect on altering most students' values and commitments. In language SDS's P*ort Huron Statement* would later echo, Jacob's analysis suggested that most students were "unabashedly self-centered," politically irresponsible and illiterate, unconcerned about international affairs, and firmly wedded to "traditional" moral virtues and values. There were, however, at least 25 percent of students who did not fit this mold, and who were uneasy with the self-centered attitude of their peers. "This uneasiness is a healthy sign," the YMCA's self-study committee declared, "and the YMCA should capitalize on it by using it as a basic tool in student recruitment and development."

The committee issued a long list of specific program suggestions, calling, among other things, for a co-educational "New Students' Camp," a leadership training program, and the addition of a community service initiative. They suggested that the over-all program should emphasize "the relatedness between the individual and his God, his society, his nation, and his world." An emphasis on both relatedness and openness was crucial, they felt, "since students today apparently are lacking in this understanding, and this is perhaps their greatest need." For the Association as a whole, an openness to religious pluralism was named as essential. Suggesting that they were at least in partial agreement with Chandler's remarks to the Board in April, the committee declared that

> The YMCA has and should continue to endeavor to draw

> both the "searchers" and the "skeptics" into its program so as to reach all, not just those who are already committed to the Christian faith. To quote Rev. A. L. Kershaw speaking on YMCA program, "Our concern goes to all students of whatever religion or none, that they may perceive in thought and experience the truth about themselves and that which transcends them."[16]

The openness to religious pluralism was included as a central component of the new official statement of purpose adopted by the Board of Directors at a special retreat at Allerton Park held on February 11-12, 1961. While the new purpose statement (quoted in full above) acknowledged the importance of the Association's "Christian heritage," it emphasized an embrace of an "unlimited search for religious meaning." In explaining this embrace, the Board declared that by "nature, tradition, and experience," the University YMCA had always sought to serve the entire University community, and that this community had grown to include a wide range of faith perspectives.

A set of eight objectives were adopted by the Board along with the statement of purpose. These were:

> (1) To provide a common meeting ground for any who wish to probe deeply into the purpose and meaning of life. (2) In the open search for religious meaning as it takes place in the Association, to present the Christian faith as clearly as possible, not dogmatically but through open sharing. (3) To provide for the needs of students from abroad, to help them become acquainted and feel welcome, and with them mutually to share the basic ideas and ideals of our respective cultures. (4) To provide opportunities for individuals to engage in purposeful service. (5) To provide an atmosphere in which intimate personal relationships and friendships are possible. (6) To provide an opportunity for all of its supporting constituents to be related to its activities and inquiries. (7) To be a responsible member of the Area, National, and International movement of the YMCA. (8) To continue the traditional character of the YMCA as a spearhead organization that moves constantly into new areas of need.[17]

Together, these objectives formed a new article in the Association's By-Laws.

The actual work of a voluntary association may or may not reflect formal mission statements and sets of objectives. Gaps between rhetoric and practice are, for various reasons, sometimes quite large. However, to a very high degree, the University YMCA in the 1958-1973 period actually practiced what it preached. The work and life of the Association during this period was impressive. These were years of tremendous activity, involving many thousands of students, faculty, and community members in dialogue, reflection, and action on a wide range of issues and concerns. The energy, vision, and passion the staff and members of the Association brought to the building at the corner of Wright and Chalmers helped the YMCA to realize its goal of becoming an important intellectual religious center of the campus. The interest and activity generated by the great events and movements of the time also helped, of course. The YMCA became a kind of beacon, attracting more and more people who were searching for meaning and ways to be engaged in constructive action on both personal and public issues.

Describing the work of the 1958-1973 period is not an easy task. So much was happening—and so much was said about what was happening—that a whole book could be written on this period alone. What follows is merely suggestive of what was done. I present the work under three headings, representing each of the Associations main constituencies: students, faculty, and community.

Students

Work with students during this period developed along three different lines. There were separate programs for international students, graduate students, and undergraduates. While specific work was done for and by each of these groups, there were also events and activities that brought combinations of them together with faculty and members of the community. Even so, work for each of the separate groups was quite distinct.

Work with international students for most of this period con-

tinued to be led by John Price. The work included a variety of individual services and social, cultural, and political programs. Services provided included letters of welcome to new students, meeting arriving students at depots and airports, helping them to find temporary housing, keeping a list of rooms and apartments, and personal counseling. Programs included an International Welcome Weekend (similar to Freshman Camp), which drew anywhere from 150-200 participants; International Suppers, held 10-12 times a year with as many as 300 persons attending each; a Little United Nations program, patterned after the U. N. General Assembly, held five or six times a year; periodic seminars on global issues and concerns; a weekly "meet your world neighbors" program on WILL, the local public radio station; a home hospitality program where international students and their families were invited to visit homes in the Champaign-Urbana area; a program that gave students an opportunity to do community work in other countries, including an "Illini in India" project held during the summer of 1966, involving 13 University of Illinois students in a work camp; and tours and trips to local and national destinations during weekends and breaks. The most popular tour was the Southern Tour, an annual week-long bus tour through the south during spring break with special emphasis on the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA). First conducted in 1952, it became one of the high points of the YMCA's work with international students, eventually involving as many as 200 participants each year.

Under Price, the YMCA's work with international students during the 1950s and 60s continued the spirit of the "friendly relations" work begun back in 1918. The main aim of the work was to promote individual friendship, respect, and understanding between people from different nations. Price believed that this personal aim had deep significance, connected both to Christian principles and the development of better world relations. He wrote in 1960 that

> Everybody was somebody to Christ. As someone has remarked, "He never saw 'masses.' He saw Faces." Through our personal relationships with students, through commit-

> tees, and our program, we too are trying to see Faces. The faces of students reflecting insecurity, fear, uncertainty, confusion, are ours to see, and to be sensitive to their needs. Through many relationships we hope that we can set them on the path to greatness. A part of this task is the one of being aware of the many opportunities around us where leadership with vision and commitment is needed. One of these opportunities is in the need on the world basis for cultural understanding between countries. President Eisenhower has put it this way: "We need more individual diplomats from 'Main Street,' from our farms, schools, laboratories—from every walk of life. People-to-people diplomacy means thousands of part-time ambassadors, all working for better relationships among all people."[18]

The number of students reached by the Association's international work was substantial. Those who were served by or involved in the work developed a deep appreciation for Price's personal concern and respect, which they carried with them after they returned to their home countries. In November of 1961, Price received a leave of absence so he could take a three month world tour of 21 countries to visit with about 300 of these former students. Upon his return to Illinois, he reported that many students told him that their experiences at the YMCA were among the most valuable of all their experiences at the University.

Price resigned in May of 1968, after 18 years on the staff, to take a position with the University of Illinois' Office of Foreign Student Affairs. His departure marked the end of an era for the University YMCA. While work with international students continued after he left, it never again achieved the same height of influence and activity. In part, this was due to a new commitment by the University to offer many of the same services and programs that the YMCA had previously offered.

Work with graduate students was described in the 1959 report of the self-study committee as being one of the Association's strong points.[19] Curiously, however, almost nothing was ever published about this work in the *Y's Indian*, and very little documentation of what it involved survives in the historical materials I reviewed.

The main components of the work were weekly "co-op" lunches, Friday evening forums and discussion groups, and social gatherings and outings. Each of these was co-sponsored by the University YWCA, and each was under the staff responsibility of John Price. After Price left the staff, most of this work was apparently discontinued. I found no evidence that the Association made a sustained attempt to revive work with graduate students after 1968.

Work with and for undergraduates, named as weak by the self-study committee, was greatly strengthened during the first part of the 1958-1973 period. Ed Nestingen deserves much of the credit for turning around the work with undergraduates. His presence and influence was a major force during this period. Just as John Price reached and engaged international students with his deep personal concern and active program, so Ed Nestingen reached and engaged a generation of undergraduates with his passionate search for life purpose and meaning and his commitment to challenging others to live out their beliefs and convictions.

The annual Freshman Camp, which had been briefly discontinued in the late 50s, was reestablished in 1959. Starting in 1961, it became co-educational when the YWCA became a co-sponsor. In 1964, it was renamed "Freshman Conference," and in 1971, it became "New Student Conference." The dropping of the word "camp" in favor of "conference" was meant to signal a change in emphasis. Rather than being mostly devoted to recreation and "fun," conferences were designed around intense sharing of participants' concerns, fears, hopes, and expectations about college life. With the involvement of many faculty and older students, they became forums for addressing serious matters related to higher education. Conference planners sought to create experiences where students and faculty could explore together the question, "Education for what?"[20]

The conferences grew increasingly popular through the 1960s. The conference in 1968 was attended by 350 freshmen, 70 returning students, and 80 faculty members. The new emphasis on serious matters combined with the growing campus unrest of the late 1960s brought some controversy to the program. The conference in 1968 featured a lengthy and quite critical discussion of certain

actions and policies of the University that upset some students and faculty members. It prompted Bruce Larson, chair of the YMCA's Board of Directors, to ask, "Is this a training ground for activism or is it an orientation to the University?"[21] In a real sense, it had become both.

The Student Cabinet continued to function as the key leadership group of the Association's undergraduate program during much of this period. The Cabinet was composed of the elected student president and three student officers, along with all the various appointed committee chairs representing particular areas of work. The number of Cabinet members fluctuated from year to year, including as many as 20 students. Committees also changed from year to year, covering a range of social, religious, educational, recreational, and political concerns and activities. While there were some very strong years, there were also years in which the Cabinet struggled to understand its purpose and function. In the 1963-1964 academic year, for example, it was reported to the Board that there was a "growing disinterest and lack of unity" in the Cabinet, that students were unsure why a Cabinet existed and what Cabinet meetings were supposed to accomplish. It was reported that it was difficult for the students to conduct an effective program because there was little substantial student involvement.[22]

In other years there were Cabinets with highly creative, enthusiastic, and engaged students. Among the best was the Cabinet of 1962-63, which included John Gwinn as president, Darrell Hartweg as first vice president, Lowell Hoffman as second vice president, and Richard Maguire as secretary. Among other things, the group focused on the meaning of religious faith in the context of the social and political unrest of the day, and the ethical dimensions and responsibilities of a range of professions. They organized a retreat in the winter of 1963 with the Board and members of the YWCA and other campus religious groups on the theme, "The Meaning of Work in Modern Society." Each of the members of this Cabinet testified in later years that their lives were deeply transformed by their experiences at the YMCA, in large part because of the inspirational and challenging counsel they received from Ed Nestingen.

Another especially active Cabinet was fielded in 1966-67. Led by president C. John Anderson, it pushed for the merger of the Student Cabinets and work of the YMCA and the YWCA. The merger was passed, though it lasted only a few years. The YMCA Student Cabinet structure itself was replaced in 1971 with something called the "Program Decisional Group," which was composed of students, faculty, and staff.

Students initiated and participated in a wide range of programs and activities during the 1958-1973 period. Some of the most notable of these were a student exchange between the United States and the Soviet Union in 1958, reportedly one of the first in the nation; the development of a "Great Debates" program in 1962, which featured major national speakers and attracted enormous crowds and media attention; the Pal program (described below under "Community"); Friday afternoon and evening forums, which focused on various religious, social, and political topics and were attended by as many as 300 students each week; the establishment of Bible study and theological discussion groups, focused on relations between men and women, religion and politics, and other concerns; the organizing of a draft counseling service; a renewal of racial justice work, featuring a program developed in 1969 called "White on White," which aimed at understanding and addressing the role of white people and institutions in perpetuating racism; and the founding of a Center for Non-Violent Social Change in 1970, which conducted seminars, workshops, and action projects aimed at helping groups to learn creative, non-violent approaches to addressing social problems.

The longest-lasting student initiative of this period was the founding of Students for Environmental Concerns (SECS) in 1969. Originally called "Students for Environmental Controls," SECS was organized in connection with the fall, 1969 Faculty Forum series on the theme of "Beyond Technology: Our Human and Natural Environment." SECS was meant to be a vehicle for linking the campus environmental groups that existed at the time. During the fall semester of 1969, SECS organized over 100 students and faculty members in "Operation Cleanup," which resulted in the removal of seven truckloads of tires, bed springs, steel bar-

rels, and other garbage from Boneyard Creek.

In conjunction with the first national Earth Day held on April 22, 1970, SECS organized an impressive week-long program of lectures, seminars, field trips, and discussions. Called "Environmental Crisis Week," the program cost $20,000 (raised from a variety of sources, including Peoria-based Caterpillar Corporation and the University of Illinois) and drew thousands of participants. It helped spark a great deal of environmental action and education work over the next several years. In the first few years of SECS's life, the group broadened its focus from clean-ups to recycling drives and legislative action campaigns, involving hundreds of students, faculty, and community members in its activities.

Faculty

To the extent that the University YMCA achieved its ambition to become the intellectual religious center of the campus, it was its faculty-related work which led the way. The centerpiece of the faculty work was the Faculty Forum, created in 1927 and co-sponsored during this period with the YWCA. During 1959-1962, it was partly supported by a grant from the Danforth Foundation. Until the end of the 1958-1973 period, when attendance began to drop, the Faculty Forum drew increasingly large and enthusiastic audiences, with an average weekly attendance nearing 200 persons. After Huston Smith, a scholar of world religions from MIT, spoke in the fall, 1960 series on the theme, "Toward a Socially Responsible University Curriculum," he wrote an unsolicited letter to a friend at the Danforth Foundation brimming with praise for the YMCA's work. Smith wrote that

> I was enormously impressed with the day and a half I spent in Champaign, and particularly with the "Y" program there. As I recall, there were over 200 faculty members who turned out for the noon lecture and question period following. At 4:00, a seminar program drew a dozen faculty and three times that number of students to dig seriously into the curricular implications of the thoughts their proposals raised during the noon session. I was struck by the caliber of the professors who turned up for this afternoon session, particularly. If they were

> not exceptional, the faculty at the University of Illinois is stronger than I had realized. That night, between 200 and 300 students, I would judge, turned up on a Friday night for the discussion on world affairs, some remaining on until 11:15! The following morning, starting at 8:30, some 30 members of the YMCA and YWCA met with me until I had to leave for the plane at 10:30, pursuing in an unusually serious way the place of Christianity within the "Y" program.[23]

While the themes for the Faculty Forums during the first thirty years of its life were almost all focused on religion, and specifically Christianity, during the 1958-1973 period the themes were substantially broadened. Conceived and planned each semester by a committee of 15-20 faculty members from a wide range of disciplines, series themes during this period included "Work in Modern Society"; "Civil Rights: An American Crisis"; "Military Power: The Limits of Persuasion"; "The Crisis in Our Cities"; "The Impact of Mass Media"; "The University and the Emerging Social Order"; and "Challenge to Authority: Institutions on Trial." In addition to featuring local members of the faculty, the Faculty Forum brought major national scholars, journalists, activists, and theologians to campus, including Paul Tillich, Harrison Salisbury, Jack Newfield, Michael Novak, Paul Goodman, John Chancellor, Noam Chomsky, and Saul Alinsky. As might be guessed from this list, very few of the speakers were women. It was not until the 1980s that a more equal number of men and women were invited to speak in the program.

In addition to the Faculty Forum, the University YMCA's work with faculty included an annual lecture on the theme of "The Bible and Modern Man." Called the "Meyer Forum Series," the lectures were delivered in Latzer Hall by leading theologians. The series was made possible by a gift from Julien and Bertha M. Collins, in memory of Mrs. Collins' father, Adolf Meyer, a founder of the Pet Milk Company. Each lecture drew an average of 300 persons, as many as half of whom were students. Students often attended programs that were mainly aimed at faculty. The desire to encourage them to do so led the YMCA and YWCA to change the name of the Faculty Forum program to "Friday Forum" in 1971.

The Young Men's Faculty Club, originally established in the late 1940s but discontinued for a while, was revived in the late 1950s. In 1968, however, it was discontinued again. "Know Your University," a program designed to help new and visiting faculty members to become acquainted with the programs and resources of the University, was launched in the spring of 1971. Like the Friday Forum, it featured a series of noon lectures each semester that were planned by a committee of faculty members. Know Your University proved to be popular, though not as popular as Friday Forum. It continues to this day, but its intended audience has widened to include all faculty, staff, and students.

Community

While the major focus of the University YMCA's work had always up to this point been the campus, its early work included "deputations" to Champaign-Urbana and surrounding communities. As recounted in Chapter Two, the Association created a Boys' Work department in 1910 that sent college students out to work with young boys in local schools. Both the deputations work and the Boys' Work department, however, had been discontinued by the end of the 1950s.

At the start of the 1958-1973 period, there was a standing committee on the Student Cabinet named "community service" that linked a small number of University students to volunteer projects in local community centers and schools. One of these projects was a "Pal" program, originally organized by the McKinley Foundation and the Champaign Public School District's social work department. Starting around 1962, the University YMCA, the University YWCA, and the Champaign-Urbana Council for Community Integration took over the sponsorship of the Pal program and greatly expanded it. The purpose of the program, as described in an early promotional flier, was to pair

> University students with young children from the neighboring community who are in some way or another "culturally deprived" due to their environment. The University student becomes the child's "Pal," taking an interest in him and try-

> ing to show him what possibilities are open for his future. By taking him to various cultural and athletic activities or to local places of interest, it is hoped that the child's horizons and aspirations can be raised. Moreover, just the fact that someone is taking an interest in him or her will encourage the child to do better in school and in everything he does.[24]

The Pal program developed to serve over 250 grade school children each year (both boys and girls), almost all of whom were African-American. These "Junior Pals" were matched with an equal number of "Senior Pals," almost all of whom were white University of Illinois undergraduate students. Around 1968, when those who were organizing the program became more sensitive to race and class issues, the need to make significant changes in the program were discussed and debated. Program leaders began to recognize that

> When a large group of white-upper-middle-class-success-oriented young adults move into a poverty culture, they tend unconsciously to act as if their norms and life objectives are better than those of the culture into which they are moving. This can have detrimental effects upon the university student, the child and the parent.[25]

The redesign of the Pal program included the hiring of James Burnett, an African-American parent and community member, to staff the program, along with the organizing of "parent core groups" and an attempt to recruit African-American Senior Pals. Instead of having social workers select the Junior Pals, parents of the youth from the community were organized to nominate youth and oversee and promote the program. These changes were meant to provide parents with direct knowledge of and input into program activities, to enhance the "cross-cultural understanding" dimension of the program, and to reduce patronizing and racist attitudes on the part of the Senior Pals. After the changes were made, community suppers, gatherings, and celebrations were added in an attempt to build community ownership in the program.

Institutional Trends and Dynamics

With all the acclaim the University YMCA's work received during the 1958-1973 period, it is perhaps surprising that these years were fraught with serious financial troubles, along with considerable debate and uncertainty about the Association's fundamental purpose. With respect to finances, the annual budget, which was switched from an academic to a calendar year in 1968, rose from $93,158 in 1958 to $141,000 in 1973. However, in only four out of the fifteen years of this period was the budget balanced. Every other year ended in a deficit, the largest of which was over $13,000 for the 1964-1965 year. By 1967, the Association had racked up an accumulated operating deficit of over $33,000. On a more positive note, under the guidance of the Board of Trustees, the value of the endowment reached nearly $400,000 in 1969.

Membership patterns in the Association during this period featured sharp breaks with the past. First, student membership plummeted in comparison to previous eras. Whereas during much of the 1940s and 50s there had been 1,000 or more student members each year, there were fewer than 100 student members during most of the years between 1958-1973, with a low being reached in 1968-69 of fewer than 50. Second, faculty memberships continued the climb that began in the 1950s, averaging between 350-400 per year. But the most significant change was the decision in December of 1971 to allow women to be full, voting members of the Association. For the first time, women could hold elected offices and serve on the Board of Directors. The University YMCA was a latecomer in allowing women to be full members. Already by 1964, eighty percent of the YMCAs in the United States reported women and girls as members.[26] Still, across the country women were not proportionately represented on YMCA policy making bodies. This was reflected at the University YMCA. The thirty-six member Board of Directors for 1972-73 included only one woman: a student active in SECS named Keturah Reinbold.

The Association began the 1958-1973 period with four full-time secretaries and seven support staff. By the end of the period there were three full-time professional staff and nine part-time and support staff. One change related to staff which was of more

than symbolic importance was the dropping in 1966 of the term "secretary," which had historically been used in the job titles of professional staff in the YMCA. In YMCAs across the nation, "secretary" was replaced by the term "director." This reflected the extent to which the institutional dimension of the YMCA had triumphed over its movement roots. Nationally, the YMCA had become to a large extent a staff-driven, secular social service agency or institution, rather than a volunteer-led religious association or movement. Secretaries were originally hired in the YMCA to serve voluntary movements. Now, "directors" were hired to run institutions and their service-oriented programs. Of course, not every YMCA lost its movement dimension. The University YMCA during this period was probably one of the leading associations in the nation in retaining much of its movement character.

In the fall of 1967, Fred Miller resigned his position as General Director in order to accept an executive position with the national YMCA's southeast region. Miller's resignation came with little advance notice, leaving an insufficient amount of time to launch a search for a new director. Due to the shortness of time and a desire to address financial and program direction problems before hiring a new director, Board of Directors' chair Bruce Larson agreed to serve as Interim General Director. Under Larson's direction, the Board began a process of reflection and evaluation. Most of the November, 1967, Board meeting was devoted to a discussion of the Association's financial and programmatic problems. The discussion, which was recorded in great detail in the minutes, brought many serious challenges to light, including confusion and disagreement over the Association's purpose.

The discussion was opened by Bruce Larson, who noted that the financial situation was deeply troubling, the building was seeing less use, and many of the Association's programs were facing declining participation. He declared that "bold, radical—possibly total—change is needed." Such change might, he suggested, include selling the building. Program Director Ed Nestingen commented on the changing interests and mood of students, who were increasingly impatient with programs that emphasized listening to speeches. Students wanted to be involved in action projects,

Nestingen said. The YMCA needed to change to meet this desire. Unfortunately, he argued, "Strong conservative forces in the Y and among students are bucking change." Declaring that "We do not have a clear concept of what the YMCA really is," he asked the Board, "What is the conviction about the path to be taken by this Y?" The question was left unanswered. Student president R. E. Marshall remarked that students felt bound up in detail work. He said that they felt they were stagnating and being governed by tradition. He declared that the "YMCA doesn't attract because it doesn't face what students are interested in."[27]

The problem of a lack of clarity and consensus on the Association's purpose was first pointed out at a Board meeting in 1966 by Fred Miller. In January of that year, Miller stressed to the Board that it was urgent that they deal with the "growing problem" of a disagreement over the Association's nature, purpose, and objectives between those who were implementing program and policy and some sectors of its constituency. At a meeting of the Board in March of 1966, it was argued that there was a gulf between current students and the alumni and friends who provided financial support. In part, the gulf was identified as being spawned by students' "anti-institutional" attitudes, and in part, it was said to be related to a continuing struggle over the place and meaning of the Christian faith in the Association's work. In response to campaign statements that were issued by candidates for student officer positions in 1966, a former Board member asked, "Is the YMCA afraid of the word 'Christian'?"[28]

To explore the problems over finances and purpose, Larson appointed a self-study committee in November of 1967 modeled after the one formed in 1957. Chaired by Daniel Perrino, the committee conducted several meetings before issuing its report in May of 1968. Half of the report was devoted to an identification of problems and questions, and half was devoted to a series of recommendations. Nothing earth-shattering or radical was suggested, despite Larson's view just six months earlier that radical or even "total" change was needed. In fact, the firmest conclusion the committee reached was that the existing statement of purpose was still relevant and desirable, and that it ought to be the founda-

tion of all of the Association's programs and services.[29]

In February of 1968, Harold Reinhart, who had been hired the previous year as the Director of Financial Development, became the Association's new General Director. Reinhart, an Iowa native, had previously served for 16 years as the Executive Director of the YMCA at Iowa State University. At the time of his hiring, it was incorrectly pointed out that Reinhart would be the first General Director of the University YMCA who was not an ordained minister. In reality, he was simply the first since the time before Henry Wilson, when the Association had many General Secretaries who were not ministers.

A few months after Reinhart became General Director, Robert Scarborough (who was an ordained minister) was hired as a new member of the program staff to replace John Price. In 1970, Jim Young, an active and creative former student member of the Board, was hired on a half-time basis to work with programs. Ed Nestingen remained as the Program Director.

The major tasks facing the Association after Reinhart became General Director included improving finances, setting a policy related to taking positions on controversial issues, and planning for the centennial celebration. With respect to finances, things were improved in the short term. Two of the four years that the budget was balanced in the 1958-1973 period came in the first two years of Reinhart's tenure. Reinhart's fundraising skills proved to be effective. Also helpful were the renting of office space to the University YWCA and a decision to shift the responsibility for running the K-Room restaurant from the YMCA to an outside individual, each of which resulted in a major net gain in annual income. In 1970, the YMCA received a $25,000 challenge grant from the Krannert Foundation, with the gift being contingent on the ability of the Association to raise $75,000 from Board, staff, and alumni and friends by the end of the year. The goal was met and exceeded, with approximately $120,000 raised altogether. The fund, named as a memorial for former Board of Trustee member Wayne Johnston, was used to purchase new furnishings for the building and to complete a few renovation and repair projects. One change made at this time was the conversion of the Poor Memo-

rial Library on the third floor, which had received little use, into two new rooms for residents. This was not done out of a desire to be in the resident business. Consistent with Henry Wilson's belief, running a residence hall was still viewed as inappropriate. Rather, it was done out of an intense commitment to find ways to squeeze more income out of the building so it could continue to be used to support the Association's mission.

The 1971-72 academic year was marked by debate over where the Association and its programs ought to stand with respect to taking positions on controversial issues. In October of 1971, the Board passed an official policy on the matter that listed six guiding principles.[30] The policy stressed the importance of encouraging individuals and groups within the YMCA to debate and act on social problems. However, it warned that "Certain actions on controversial issues may not be proper for the U. of I. YMCA or its constituent programs to make or to encourage or to sponsor." Examples listed included advocating violence and partisan political support. The policy was put to use the following winter, when SECS issued a study of the voting records of members of the Illinois State Legislature which named an "Environmental Dirty Dozen," and a group sponsored by the Center for Non-Violent Social Change decided to endorse candidates for public office. The SECS issue was apparently resolved when the group agreed to explore "alternative" ways of reporting the information they had gathered. The issue related to the Center was resolved in March when it decided to end its affiliation with the YMCA.

The end of the 1958-1973 period coincided with the University YMCA's 100th anniversary. Retired professor of Agricultural Law and former Board member Harold Hannah was commissioned to write a history of the Association. Titled *One Hundred Years of Action*, it was published in book form by the University YMCA in the spring of 1973. The book was especially successful in capturing the many contributions of individual staff, students, and faculty members in giving life to the Association's mission during its first hundred years. Several events were also held to mark the centennial, including a 100th anniversary dinner attended by over 200 people. The main address at the dinner was delivered by Paul

Limbert, the former Secretary General of the World's Alliance of YMCAs.

Speaking on the theme of "A Once-For-All Faith for a Free-For-All Future," Limbert called on the University YMCA to "keep the Christian spirit alive" among college students. He argued that Christianity was a "forward-looking" faith which gave human values first priority and worked for the achievement of every person's potential.[31] Looking to the future, Limbert declared in his speech that

> The real question is how our deepest insights concerning Jesus of Nazareth can help us find meaning and direction in our personal lives, in all our relationships, and in our efforts to serve the university community through the YMCA. If by "humanism" we mean that human values should be given priority above all others and that we are concerned about helping every person realize his full potential, then in Jesus we see *par excellence* what it means to be truly human.[32]

1973-1984

The first eleven years after the University YMCA's centennial brought major changes in both mission and work. The key elements of change included a strong focus on serving the whole Champaign-Urbana community instead of mainly the campus, and a near disappearance—at least with respect to program—of the Association's traditional religious focus. By the end of this period, the University YMCA had to a considerable degree been transformed into something quite different from what it was in previous eras.

Several different articulations of purpose and objectives were put forward in various forms during the 1973-1984 period, culminating in the passing of a new mission statement in the fall of 1982. The first of these was the adoption by the Board of Directors in April of 1974 of a statement of purpose and set of objectives for the seventies. The purpose statement declared that

> Recognizing our Christian heritage, the University of Illinois YMCA seeks to enlist all concerned persons in meeting the

> needs of our campus and community through study, discussion, understanding, and purposeful action.[33]

Six objectives were passed to accompany this purpose:

> (1) To provide opportunities for persons to engage in purposeful service which will meet the needs and improve the quality of life for students, faculty and community persons. (2) To provide an atmosphere in which intimate social relationships and friendships are possible. (3) To work with other agencies and organizations which have common interests and concerns in meeting campus and community needs. (4) To supplement study and learning in the University through group experiences such as seminars, workshops and tours. (5) To continue the traditional character of the YMCA as a spearhead organization that moves constantly into new areas of concern. (6) To provide a common meeting ground for those who wish to probe into the meaning of life; to aid in developing moral, spiritual, and vocational direction for their lives; and to offer through open sharing, the meaning of the Christian heritage.[34]

These objectives were almost exactly the same as those adopted in 1961, with two exceptions. The new objectives made no mention of work with international students, and no mention of the national student YMCA movement. The reasons behind the dropping of a major focus on international work were noted above. The absence of a mention of the student YMCA movement reflected the fact that it no longer existed (see the discussion section below).

A few years after the Board of Directors passed the new purpose and objectives in 1974, the Board of Trustees put forward a set of goals for the Association that were significantly (though not completely) different from those of the Directors. They reflected the Trustees belief that the Christian focus of the Association ought to be central, and work with international students should be retained. The Trustees goals were

> (1) To help spiritualize the educational process at the Univer-

> sity of Illinois. (2) To promote a sense of fellowship and harmony among students and staff at the U. of I. campus. (3) To provide leadership training of a kind that emphasizes integrity, honesty, compassion, and understanding. (4) To hold up the Christian Life as the model for all men and women at the U. of I. (5) To provide an atmosphere of warmth and helpfulness to aid in the acclimation of new students at the U. of I. campus, especially foreign students and freshmen. (6) To develop a sense of social responsibility in all phases of life.[35]

In October of 1979, the Board of Directors passed a new set of eleven goals for the Association which were consistent with the Trustees' views.[36] The first goal was "To maintain the Christian character and perspective of the organization." The first objective listed under this goal was to "Present a number of programs that specifically deal with Christian principles." Other goals reaffirmed the Association's commitment to developing programs that would make the YMCA a center for international, intercultural, and interracial understanding, acceptance, and respect; for the development of programs and activities designed to welcome and serve new students (especially international students) and faculty; to continue to organize and present forums on important social issues; and to strengthen community service work beyond the campus.

The final action of this period with respect to purpose was the passing of a new mission statement by the Board of Directors. Approved on September 29, 1982, after several drafts had been debated and discussed, the new mission declared that

> The YMCA at the University of Illinois provides an environment for the open exploration of Christian values and the promotion of student, faculty, and community dialog with the purpose of identifying and developing ethical, innovative, affirmative, and responsible leadership for social change.[37]

Changes in Work

Work with students, faculty, and community members each changed during the 1973-1984 period. After the Student Cabi-

net model was abandoned in 1971, several approaches to the development of student work were explored. What eventually emerged was a more open, flexible and informal process than had been used in the past. A special effort was made by staff to encourage student leadership and involvement in the life of the whole Association, including especially the Board.

The last New Student Conference was held during the fall of 1973. It was a small, disappointing gathering, attended by only 41 students. In 1978 there was an attempt to revive the program, but it was unsuccessful. While it was an important part of the Association's work with students for nearly 50 years, it no longer attracted enough interest to be continued.

Attempts to revive work with international students were more successful. During the fall of 1977, after cuts were made in the University's budget for international services and programs, a new YMCA international committee was established. The committee developed an idea to convert part of the building into an international center and reestablished some of the personal services and programs that had been provided in the past. Sponsorship of the Southern Tour was renewed, a weekly International Coffee Hour series was created, and exchanges with local families were organized. In 1980, regular international dinners were added, resembling the popular international suppers held in the 1950s and 60s. By 1982, the Association hired a half-time staff person to coordinate a host of international programs, including a weekly International Hour, monthly dinners and Fireside Chats, the sponsoring of a campus-wide International Festival, and a variety of individual lectures, outings, and special events.

SECS continued to grow during this period, becoming a major source of some of the best student leadership in the Association. It involved hundreds of students each year in a range of educational and action-oriented projects, including recycling drives, clean-up campaigns, the compiling of legislative voting records, talks and programs in local schools, and testifying at legislative hearings. It was an important member of one coalition of environmental groups that helped to save Allerton Park from being flooded by a proposed Army Corps of Engineers project, and of

another that established the Community Recycling Center.

SECS's work continued to include taking action and positions on political issues, sometimes creating a little controversy for the YMCA. In the fall of 1973, SECS filed a pollution complaint with the Illinois Pollution Control Board against a company that was discharging pollutants into the Fox River in northern Illinois. The complaint resulted in an agreement with the company to spend $100,000 to correct the problem. In 1974, SECS was an active member of a coalition working to stop the commissioning of the Clinton nuclear power plant. The YMCA in nearby Decatur put pressure on the University YMCA to end its support for SECS over this issue. SECS's lobbying for the passage of a "Bottle Bill" requiring mandatory return charges on soda bottles also caused the YMCA grief with Pepsi-Cola, one of the Association's annual contributors.

SECS's most notable action effort during these years related to the University's Abbott power plant. After the University announced in 1981 that it was going to convert the plant from natural gas to coal, SECS launched a campaign, led by former YMCA student president John Thompson, to require the plant to install "dry scrubbers" in its smoke stacks in order to reduce the emission of sulfur dioxide. The YMCA Board of Governors (the new name for the Board of Directors adopted in 1978) passed a formal statement endorsing SECS's position on the issue. After intense and aggressive lobbying and protest, SECS succeeded in convincing the University and Illinois Governor Jim Thompson to support their call for requiring scrubbers in the converted power plant.

The Association's work with faculty during the 1973-1984 period continued to revolve around the Friday Forum and Know Your University lecture-discussion programs. Although the level of participation in each program was still substantial (about 50 each week for Know Your University and 120 for Friday Forum), fewer faculty participated than in the previous period. Friday Forum began to shift away from religious and theological concerns. In the 1960s and early 1970s, it was understood that the purpose of Friday Forum was to provide a forum for the exploration of major societal issues in a multidisciplinary, action-oriented (as

opposed to academic or "objective") manner, with much attention to the religious dimensions of particular issues.[38] After the mid 70s, the religious side of the program was significantly scaled back. Friday Forum themes were increasingly focused on political rather than religious or theological concerns. Series topics during this period included "Beyond Nationalism"; "Choices for a More Humane Society"; "The American Political System"; "Peace or War"; "Issues Facing Illinois in the 80s"; and "Searching for Educational Excellence."

The big story with respect to the Association's work during the 1973-1984 period was the enormous expansion of programs for the larger Champaign-Urbana community. The expansion of community work was first discussed at a Board-staff retreat held in October of 1973. At this retreat, it was decided to restructure the program staff. Program Director Ed Nestingen's responsibilities had already been shifted to financial development earlier in the year. In 1974, two new program staff positions were created: one responsible for campus programs, and one for the development of new community work. With these changes, the Association began to move in a new direction. The feeling, as General Director Harold Reinhart told the Board of Directors in May of 1975, was that the University YMCA needed to expand its vision, to "reach out beyond the University to the total community."[39]

Although the Association ended its sponsorship of the Pal program in November of 1977, two new community-oriented initiatives were added that eventually were far larger than Pal. One was the creation of a program called "Communiversity." The idea for Communiversity came from Political Science professor and Board member Steve Douglas, who took it from his father, a professor at Kansas State University who founded a program called "University for Men." It was begun in pilot form in 1974, when the Association started offering a series of low-cost "mini-courses" on a variety of special interests and topics, such as bicycle repair, car care, and photography. A student group called the "Learning Exchange" was formed at the YMCA in 1975 that sought to match people who wished to teach or share skills with those seeking new ideas and experiences. The student group was inspired by a na-

tional movement to create "free" universities. Out of these early efforts, Communiversity was created in the spring of 1977. Based on the idea that "anyone can teach and anyone can learn," Communiversity offers a wide range of non-credit, non-graded classes to the general public every semester. From the beginning, the program was a great success. By 1983, Communiversity was offering more than 70 classes every semester with an enrollment of almost 1,000 students.

The major community initiative the Association developed during these years was a program called the Youth Service Clearinghouse. This program emerged out of the work of a task force on juvenile justice that began meeting at the YMCA in the fall of 1973. The task force, composed of students, faculty, and community members, conducted research on issues related to youth and the justice and corrections systems and explored ways that students could become involved in these systems as volunteers. In 1974, it created a youth services program at the YMCA that placed dozens of student volunteers in local social service agencies and programs.

The task force focused its attention in 1974 on the possibility of establishing a "Youth Service Bureau" in Champaign-Urbana. This idea was sparked in part from a study conducted by faculty at the University of Illinois' Jane Addams School of Social Work. Youth Service Bureaus, developed nationally during this period, represented a new approach to dealing with juvenile justice issues. They were designed to divert children and youth from the court system by bringing together community resources to solve youth problems, strengthening existing youth resources and programs or creating new ones, and initiating programs to counteract underlying conditions that fostered delinquency.

In January of 1975, the Board of Directors decided to seek funding from the Illinois Law Enforcement Commission (ILEC) for the development of a YMCA administered Youth Service Bureau. In an effort to garner community input and support, the Association organized a conference on juvenile justice in April of 1975, funded by the Illinois Humanities Council, which was attended by a diverse group of students, faculty, police officers, law-

yers, teachers, ministers, and members of the local community. The conference revealed strong support for the Service Bureau idea. In September of 1975, the ILEC granted the YMCA $60,000 to pursue it.

With the money from the ILEC grant, the YMCA established a Youth Service Bureau which it named the Youth Service Clearinghouse (YSC). Greg Albert, the YMCA's program director for community work, served as its first director. With the hiring of twelve additional staff, YSC began its work in January of 1976. Promotional materials described YSC as

> a network of services whose major goal is to keep young people out of institutions by helping them to get invested in the mainstream of society. It does this mainly by seeking out the reasons for recurring crises and antisocial behavior (assessment) and by finding ways to alter those patterns (referral). Clearinghouse staff want to know why youth are not going to school; why they steal cars, prostitute, or deal dope; and they want to help young people find constructive ways to cope with difficult situations. The YSC is intended to be a resource for probation, police, schools, parents, friends, social service agencies, and anyone concerned about troubled youth. Early and appropriate referrals can divert young people from the criminal justice system and prevent delinquency.[40]

The main components of YSC during its first year included an outreach program and a service brokerage system designed to link people to local services and programs. Several other programs and services were also provided, including Partners, a program that paired student and community volunteers with troubled youth in one-to-one friendships in order to improve youth's self-esteem and involve them in constructive activities; the National Youth Project Using Mini-Bikes (NYPUM), which used mini-bikes to attract "hard-to-get-to" youth to be involved in activities aimed at building team-work and responsibility; wilderness trips; discussion groups; the publishing of a Youth Services Directory; a Youth Employment Project, designed to help youth locate, prepare for, and retain jobs; a Youth Basketball Program; survival and remedial skills

projects; and the Carroll Addition Project, an initiative aimed at preventing juvenile delinquency in an Urbana neighborhood.

YSC experienced dramatic growth in its first few years. By 1978, under the direction of Judy Checker, YSC had become a county-wide program with a $200,000 budget (from both public and private sources), sixteen paid staff and consultants, six student interns, and more than fifty volunteers. Over 1,000 youth were served in 1978 by YSC's various programs and services. Evidence of the effectiveness of YSC's work was seen both in personal testimony from participants and community members, and in a decrease in crime statistics related to youth, as reported by local law enforcement agencies.

The rapid growth and success of YSC was gratifying to many in the YMCA, but it also brought tensions and disagreements to the surface about how well it served the Association's basic purpose. YSC took the University YMCA into territory where it had never before ventured, and not everyone was comfortable with what it meant and required. Thus, in 1980, the Association decided to "spin-off" several of YSC's programs and services to other agencies. At the end of 1980, a plan for disbanding YSC was passed by the Board of Governors. The decision was based in part on a belief that the YMCA should shift its community work from the provision of direct services that were dependent on paid staff to programs that tapped and developed University students as volunteers.[41]

Two new programs were created in 1981 to follow this new direction: Volunteers in the Schools (VIS A VIS), which organized volunteers to provide tutoring and other help for teachers in local schools; and Youth Employment Supportive Services (YESS), which used volunteers to help youth develop their job interests and skills. Both of these programs were successful, involving hundreds of University students in serving thousands of youth in ten local schools. Both also included substantial leadership development components for University students.

Despite the success of these programs, David Lindstrom (the Association's new General Director since May of 1981) and the Board of Governors decided that the YMCA's community pro-

grams and related staff should be spun-off to other agencies. Partners, VIS A VIS, and YESS were all spun-off to the Children's Home and Aid Society of Illinois (CHASI) during the summer of 1984. Of all the community work developed during the 1973-1984 period, only Communiversity remained as a YMCA program.

Institutional Trends and Dynamics

Serious problems developed in the Association's operating budget during the 1973-1984 period. While the annual budget more than doubled over the period, rising from $148,000 in 1974 to $331,000 in 1984, most years ended with significant deficits.[42] Between 1973-1978, over $40,000 of deficits were accumulated, with an additional $65,000 racked up between 1983-84. Only the period from 1979-1982 ended in the black. While student membership averaged 117 and faculty-staff membership 411 during this period, contributions from members and alumni and friends fell far short of keeping up with expenses. The annual United Way allocation also dipped to only $2,000 in 1977 before it slowly rose back to its previous level of around $10,000. The only positive development with finances came from an endowment campaign. Launched in 1975, it succeeded in moving the market value of the endowment from $350,000 to $743,000 by 1983.

In addition to the financial troubles, there were notable changes in and serious problems with professional staff during this period. Changes included the restructuring of program staff described above, and the departure of Ed Nestingen, who retired at the end of 1978 after nearly 20 years on the staff (Ed remained on the YMCA staff as the part-time director of the Bailey Scholarship Fund until August of 1991). One of the problems with professional staff was a high turnover rate in program. Seventeen different persons held program staff positions during this period, with a few of these serving for one year or less.[43] The high number of program staff reflected problems with finances, along with experimentation with new staff patterns and structures.

The most serious professional staff problem developed in administration. In 1977, David Lindstrom was hired to fill the newly created position of Executive Director. Lindstrom, a Champaign

native and former student president of the Association (1959-60), was a graduate of the University of Illinois and the Chicago Theological Seminary. He came to Illinois after holding several staff positions in the YMCA, including six years as Executive Director of the University of Missouri YMCA. As Executive Director at Illinois, Lindstrom's responsibilities were to oversee operations, while General Director Harold Reinhart focused on the endowment campaign and annual contributions.

In January of 1981, Harold Reinhart retired. David Lindstrom became the new General Director in May of 1981. The position of Executive Director was eliminated, and a new Program Administrator position was created, filled by Fred Mastny, who had joined the staff as Program Director in 1979. In 1982, Lindstrom developed a proposal for a major capital campaign. The Board of Trustees decided to hire a firm to conduct a feasibility study before deciding whether or not to proceed. The study, completed in April of 1983, found significant problems with the Association's image, concluding that it was not in a position to launch a successful campaign.

Under the surface, serious dissatisfaction and tensions had been brewing between and among staff and students. The problems grew so intense that Fred Mastny decided to resign in November of 1983. The following January, student president Sue Soenksen presented a "petition of no confidence" to the Board of Governors calling for an evaluation of David Lindstrom's performance as General Director. While the chairperson of the Board ruled that her presentation was "out of order," the students' complaints were taken seriously. Over the next several weeks, the Board and its personnel committee pursued the matter in executive sessions.

Finally, on March 29, David Lindstrom submitted his resignation. Following Mastny's and Lindstrom's resignations, international program director Willie Seid and community program director Judy Checker resigned. During the summer of 1984, the remaining community programs (except Communiversity) and staff were spun-off, completing the turnover of the Association's entire administrative and program staff. With a palpable sense of frustration and exhaustion, one of the most unique and painful periods

in the Association's history came to a close.

1984-1997

At the start of the 1984-85 academic year, the University YMCA faced several pressing problems. It needed to clarify its purpose and direction, rebuild its program and staff, and strengthen its fundraising. With respect to direction, the 1984-1997 period marked a clear return to a primary emphasis on the campus. Much less clarity existed, however, about the exact nature of the Association's purpose, and how it ought to be expressed.

One of the major findings of the report from the fundraising feasibility study issued in April of 1983 was that the University YMCA had a "confused identity." While many of the 186 persons who were interviewed for the study viewed the Association's main purpose as "a forum for the exchange of moral and intellectual ideas," many others declared that they simply did not know what the YMCA's purpose was. A related finding of the study was the almost complete disappearance of interest in and support for the Association's historic Christian purpose. The report concluded that

> Although the current mission statement of the University Y expresses the open exploration of Christian values as an integral part of its mission, the extent of its importance was not revealed in the data. The Christian aspect does not appear to be a pressing issue. In final comments made by all survey respondents, the Christian issue was mentioned by only a handful. Only the Trustees voiced any interest in the Christian aspect of the University Y.[44]

Work on clarifying the Association's mission and goals began in July of 1984. Chris Swartout, the YMCA's new Program Administrator, formed a group called the "Strategic Operations Plan Implementation Committee" (SOPIC) to review the existing mission and goals statement. While the committee did not recommend changing the mission statement that had been adopted in 1982, it drafted a new statement of goals and objectives which it presented to the Executive Committee in August of 1984. The

full statement declared that

Learning and living at the University of Illinois provides students and faculty with a wide variety of experiences which are often unrelated or in conflict. The YMCA provides opportunities for experiences that help achieve a meaningful integration of this array of knowledge and skill, by focusing on the following goals and objectives:

1. Stimulate personal growth in meanings and religious/ethical values.
   (a) Encourage a questioning, challenging approach to the development of values in a Christian context; (b) promote self-awareness and self-esteem; (c) welcome expressions of differing viewpoints; and (d) support congruence between values and actions.

2. Foster good interpersonal and intergroup relationships.
   (a) Encourage openness, sharing, and active communication among individuals and groups;
   (b) encourage a wide variety of individuals and groups to participate in our activities; (c) give recognition to significant people, events, and ideas; and (d) maintain open, accessible organizational structures.

3. Advance international understandings.
   (a) Attract international students to YMCA programs; (b) promote dialogue between American and foreign students; (c) enhance understanding of other cultures and ways of life; (d) maintain contact with other local services for international students; and (e) encourage open exploration of democratic values.

4. Promote creative, responsible social action.
   (a) Identify community needs; (b) provide training in organizational skills; (c) supply space and support services for action-oriented projects; (d) involve skilled university and community organizers; (e) encourage voluntary groups seeking creative change; and (f) promote the YMCA as a place to explore, test, and implement ideas.

5. Provide integrative focal experiences for students. (a) Structure programs and services as integrating experiences; (b) maintain contact with student participants during and after their university years; and (c) provide opportunities for continuous involvement of former students in the University YMCA.

In all of the above, leadership development is encouraged by: identifying and recruiting persons with leadership potential; providing training in leadership skills; recognizing and rewarding leadership; increasing communication among leaders; and fostering multiple and diverse leadership opportunities.[45]

The SOPIC statement was never formally adopted by the Association, but it was used by staff, Board, and volunteers as a guide for assessing new and existing program work. It was replaced in 1990 when the Board of Governors adopted a new statement of mission, goals, and objectives. The mission statement passed in 1990 declared that

The University YMCA shall challenge the mind and spirit of individuals and communities to develop and practice ethical principles and responsible leadership for social justice and the integrity of our natural world.[46]

The statement of goals and objectives that accompanied the new mission statement was similar to that proposed by SOPIC:

Learning and living at the University of Illinois provides students and faculty with a wide variety of experiences which are often unrelated or in conflict. The YMCA provides opportunities for experiences that help to achieve a meaningful integration of this array of knowledge and skill, by focusing on the following goals and objectives.

1. Stimulate spiritual and ethical growth through: (a) Encouraging informed, questioning and challenging approach to the development of values in an inclu-

sive, ecumenical context. (b) Promoting awareness of one's relationship to oneself, others and the world. (c) Welcoming a diversity of viewpoints, expression and experience. (d) Advocating integral relationships between values, knowledge and actions through a variety of programs, both informational and experiential.

2. Foster good interpersonal and intergroup relationships through:
(a) Inviting a wide variety of individuals and groups with differing backgrounds and perspectives to participate in our activities. (b) Encouraging openness, sharing, and active communication among persons and dialogue, conflict resolution and collaboration among groups. (c) Honoring the contributions of significant people, events and ideas. (d) Providing integrative focal experiences for students, faculty, staff, alumni and community.

3. Promote international and intercultural awareness and respect through:
(a) Heightening awareness of international issues which will lead to World Peace with social justice and integrity of the natural world. (b) Promoting formal and informal dialogue between U. S. and International Students. (c) Developing experiential opportunities for fostering understanding of other cultures and ways of life. (d) Collaborating with other agencies and organizations which serve the needs of students who experience discrimination or disadvantage because of culture, gender, way of life, or other factors. (e) Maintaining the historical advocacy for meeting the special needs of international students and their families.

4. Promote social, political, and economic justice and the maintenance of the integrity of the natural world at the local, state and national levels through:
(a) Heightening awareness of these issues through disciplined study, direct experience and cultural reflection. (b) Stimulating vigorous dialogue and debate about these issues from various points of view. (c) En-

> couraging creative, responsible social action at the grass roots level, where appropriate. (d) Engaging in advocacy as an Association with a specific action or a point of view, where appropriate.
>
> In all of the above, leadership development is encouraged by: identifying and recruiting persons with leadership potential; providing training in leadership skills; recognizing and rewarding leadership; increasing communication among leaders; and fostering multiple and diverse leadership opportunities.

One of the notable aspects of the 1990 statement of mission, goals, and objectives was the absence of the word "Christian." This was the first time in the Association's history that this word did not appear in such statements. While the Christian emphasis had been pushed to the background in the statements of the 1960s, 70s, and 80s, by 1990, it had disappeared altogether.

Another notable aspect of the 1990 statement was the inclusion under goal number four of a phrase that affirmed the Association's right to engage in "advocacy as an Association with a specific action or a point of view, where appropriate." This became a grounding point for a Board process related to taking a position on the growing controversy over "Chief Illiniwek," the symbol or mascot for the University of Illinois that many believed to be racist. With encouragement from the University YWCA Board of Directors and the influence of a group called the "Coalition for a New Tradition," the YMCA Board of Governors voted to take a formal position against the Chief. The YMCA Board said it believed that Chief Illiniwek, "though not intended to be disrespectful, is an inappropriate representation of Native American people and culture."[47] Therefore, the Board decided to remove a portrait of Chief Illiniwek that was displayed in the K-Rooms, called on the University to end its support of the Chief, and committed itself to organizing and supporting educational activities related to Native American issues and perspectives. Several educational activities were subsequently organized or sponsored, including a panel discussion which helped inspire Univer-

sity of Illinois graduate student Jay Rosenstein to produce a documentary on the Chief Illiniwek issue. The documentary, titled "In Whose Honor?," was broadcast nationally on PBS in July of 1997.

Mission and goals were changed one more time in the 1984-1997 period. In November of 1995, the Board of Governors adopted a slightly revised version of the mission and goals passed in 1990. The 1995 mission statement declared that

> The University YMCA shall challenge and nurture the mind and spirit of individuals and communities to develop and practice ethical principles and responsible leadership for social justice and the integrity of our natural world.[48]

The new statement of goals and objectives featured a return of a reference to the YMCA's "Christian heritage." It also removed the phrase that explicitly provided for the Association to engage in advocacy by taking a specific action or a point of view. This did not signal a reversal of the majority view that it is sometimes appropriate for the Association to take advocacy positions. It did, however, reflect a kind of compromise between those few who felt that the Association should never officially engage in advocacy or take positions on issues, and the majority who believed it was both necessary and important to reserve such a right for certain occasions. Leaving the phrase out signaled two things, which were not necessarily compatible: first, that taking advocacy positions should not be highlighted or encouraged by a formal statement, and second, that since the right to take such positions was considered to be an option that was always available to the Board, no explicit phrase acknowledging such a right was needed.

The new statement of goals and objectives declared that

> Persons both on and beyond the University of Illinois campus participate in a wide variety of social, political, and educational experiences. These experiences can be incomplete, unrelated, or in conflict for many persons or groups, limiting their ability to achieve wholeness and purpose of life. The YMCA at the University of Illinois provides new and challenging opportunities that help to expand the vision, deepen

the spirituality, and achieve a more meaningful integration of the array of ideas, knowledge, and skills gained from these experiences. To do this, the University YMCA focuses on the following goals and objectives.

1. Stimulate spiritual, intellectual, and ethical growth through:
   Encouraging an informed, questioning, and challenging approach to the development of values in an inclusive, ecumenical context that reflects both the YMCA's Christian heritage and its continuing commitment to openness to other faiths or life experiences; promoting awareness of one's relationship to oneself, others, and the world; facilitating a diversity of viewpoints, expressions, and experiences; and advocating integration of values, knowledge, and actions through informational and experiential programs.

2. Foster good interpersonal and intergroup relationships through:
   Inviting individuals and groups with differing backgrounds and perspectives to join in YMCA activities; encouraging openness, sharing, active communication, and collaboration among groups and individuals; honoring the contributions of groups, individuals, events, and ideas; and providing integrative experiences among students, faculty, staff, alumni, and wider communities.

3. Promote international and intercultural awareness and respect through:
   Increasing awareness of international issues and working for world peace, social and environmental justice; promoting formal and informal interaction and dialogue between citizens of the U.S. and the international community; maintaining the YMCA legacy of advocating for the well-being of international students and their families; developing experiential opportunities for fostering understanding of other cultures and promoting a spirit of mutual community development; and collaborating with other agencies and organiza-

tions which serve the needs of students and others who experience discrimination or disadvantage because of culture, ethnicity, gender, race, religion, sexual orientation, or other factors.

4. Encourage leadership development in all of our work through:
   Identifying and recruiting persons with leadership potential and diverse backgrounds; providing training in leadership skills; fostering multiple and diverse leadership opportunities; recognizing and rewarding leadership; and increasing communication among leaders.

5. Promote social, political, and economic justice and the maintenance of the integrity of the natural world through:
   Heightening awareness of these issues at all levels through disciplined study, direct experience, and critical reflection; stimulating vigorous dialogue and debate about these issues; and encouraging creative and responsible social action, especially at the grass roots level.

Changes in Program

After the complete turnover of program and executive staff and the spin-off of Partners, YESS, and VIS A VIS, the University YMCA was left with only a handful of programs. At the start of the 1984-1997 period, the only on-going programs of substance the YMCA had were Friday Forum, Know Your University, Communiversity, and SECS. But something of the old spirit and promise of the Association still lived, and it continued to attract many staff, students, faculty, and community members who committed themselves to its renewal. I was one of these persons. I joined the staff as Program Director in December of 1984, and served in that position for over eight years. The account of the work and life of the Association provided here is thus in large part informed by my own experience.

If the 1958-1973 period can be characterized as a time when the University YMCA aimed at becoming an important intellectual religious center of the campus, the 1984-1997 period can be

characterized as a time when it aimed at becoming an important center for dialogue, reflection, and action on the key social and political issues of the times. The mission statement adopted in 1982 was successfully brought to life in the work that was developed during this period. Following this mission, the University YMCA became primarily a *political* rather than a religious or an intellectual center of the campus. But it also kept an important part of the historic religious purpose of the Association alive in seeking to bring balance to the life and work of the campus community, a balance in which ethical, moral, spiritual, and religious concerns—including those informed by or grounded in Christianity—could be heard, appreciated, and applied.

In September of 1984, Program Administrator Chris Swartout remarked to the Board of Governors that it was "embarrassing" that the Association's best work was by and for faculty members rather than students. As the self-study committee had concluded in 1958, Swartout and the SOPIC committee found in 1984 that once again, work with undergraduate students was weak. Rebuilding student work became one of the Association's highest priorities.

The mid 1980s marked the beginning of a major reawakening of student activism at the University of Illinois. Three strands of this new activism were brought together at the University YMCA, giving birth to a new set of programs and activities. One strand focused on community service or "service learning," one on "social justice," and one on the environment. The YMCA, often in partnership with the University YWCA, became a force for creating coalitions across these different strands and the various groups they spawned. The building became a kind of town meeting hall, where a variety of open forums, teach-ins, and conferences were frequently held on critical social and political issues.

The founding at the YMCA of a student group called the Progressive Student Union (PSU) in early 1985 reflected the move towards coalition building. PSU, which defined a "progressive" as "one who seeks a more comprehensive awareness of social issues through inquiry and debate," was composed of a diverse collection of students interested in a broad range of issues.[49] It sponsored a

political film series, a regular newspaper called *Free Thought*, and discussions and actions on a variety of contemporary issues. For example, to protest against cuts in student loans, which were proposed on the grounds that students were supposedly spending loan money on vacations to Florida and stereos rather than tuition, PSU staged a demonstration on the University quadrangle. Poking fun at those who were calling for the cuts, they named the protest a "Student Loan Beach Bash."

Many new student programs were either developed at or supported by the University YMCA during the 1984-1997 period. These included U & I Can (later called the Belize Project), which developed educational programs about Central America and raised money to deliver medical supplies to Belize, a Central American country facing a refugee crisis; Students for Mutual Arms Reduction Today (SMART), a group that organized action and education programs in support of arms control and the elimination of nuclear weapons; Students for Matthew House, a group of students who volunteered at a Champaign program devoted to serving low-income children; Illinois Student Pugwash, a local chapter of an international student group devoted to exploring the social impact of science and technology; Newspace, a program that created an art gallery in the YMCA where students could show their work; the Rainforest Action Coalition; Stop Sexual Assaults; the Champaign-Urbana Coalition for the Homeless; Oxfam America; the Champaign-Urbana Coalition Against Apartheid (CUCAA); the American Friends Service Committee (AFS); Internships for Action (INFACT); Student Voice; and the Graduate Employees Organization (GEO). Each of these programs received some combination of support and counsel from the program staff, office space, and free use of the building.

Picking up on a new wave of interest in the environment, SECS dramatically expanded its membership and activities in the late 1980s. The group created a regular journal called *Environmental Perspectives* (renamed *Resources* in 1990), and developed a number of action and educational projects related to local, state, and national issues. Among SECS's many notable initiatives and accomplishments during this period were efforts to influence emis-

sions regulations and monitoring policies on the University's garbage incinerator; educational programs in local schools on recycling; the hosting of Catalyst, a national conference of the Student Environmental Action Coalition (SEAC) held in the fall of 1990 that drew 7,000 students to Champaign and featured presentations by Helen Caldicott, Jesse Jackson, Ceasar Chavez, Winona LaDuke, Robert Redford, and Ralph Nader; a campaign against the siting of a low-level nuclear waste dump in Martinsville, a small town located a few hours south of Champaign; prairie restoration including a new group called Red Bison; and organizing around the development of Champaign County's twenty-year solid waste plan. One effort that was especially successful was a campaign led by SECS's energy committee aimed at getting the University to adopt an energy conservation policy. The committee succeeded in passing a student referendum on the issue in the spring of 1991. It then conducted extensive research on the subject and produced a report which resulted in a presentation of their findings and recommendations to Chancellor Morton Weir in March of 1992. Three of the five proposals suggested by SECS were eventually enacted by the University. In addition, two members of SECS were appointed to serve on a new campus-wide Advisory Committee focused on energy issues.

International work was also revitalized during the 1984-1997 period. Coffee hours, receptions for new students, forums on various political issues, and an annual international dinner were organized. In addition, program staff member Maria Somma put great energy into establishing relationships with the Office of International Affairs (OISA) and many international student organizations, which led the YMCA to host or sponsor numerous special events and programs. Working with the Hillel Foundation, the Middle East Solidarity Committee, and other groups, Somma put special effort into creating educational programs and dialogues on the situation in the Middle East. Another international program organized during this time was a series of presentations and discussions held in 1989 called the "International Development Education Program." Funded in part by a grant from the YMCA of the USA, it opened with a lecture by Frances Moore Lappé, who

filled the University's Foellinger Auditorium with students and faculty who came to hear her speak about hunger, democracy, and international development policies.

In response to the success of a Friday Forum series on Central America held during the fall, 1984 semester, the YMCA organized an "Encore Forum" series in 1985 similar to Friday Forum. Held on Thursdays at noon, Encore Forums were developed on themes related to the previous semester's Friday Forum series. A different student organization co-sponsored each series with the YMCA. Series themes included "Latin America: A Woman's Perspective"; "Arms Control: A Discussion of Its Implications"; and "Agricultural Technology and Social Change."

The 1984-1997 period brought a strong renewal of interest in racial justice issues by students involved in the YMCA. In 1988, "Racism '88," a series of forums on racism was organized with the University YWCA. The YMCA and YWCA also lent their support to a group of students working to try to end the use of "Chief Illiniwek" as the University's mascot. Called the Coalition for a New Tradition (CNT), the group brought Native American speakers to campus and organized various education and action projects.

The strongest new student program to emerge in this period was "Alternative Spring Break" (ASB), created by Maria Somma in the spring of 1989. The ASB idea, which was adapted from similar programs at other student YMCAs, was to provide students with opportunities to work with social-change oriented groups in various communities around the country during spring break. The program was described this way in 1995:

> Shattering stereotypes, expanding and challenging understandings of injustice, and channeling energies toward positive change: these are the goals of Alternative Spring Break. In the course of two semesters, ASB involves planning, recruitment, community building, experiential learning, and hands-on work that changes lives. Groups of participants examine current social issues through orientation and training followed by an immersion experience over the University spring break and follow-up evaluation.[50]

For the first ASB trip in 1989, 22 students traveled to Brownsville, Texas to work with organizations related to Central American refugees. The second year, the program expanded to include 92 students on three different trips: the Texas-Mexico border; Harlem, New York; and the Cheyenne River Sioux Reservation in South Dakota. Since then, ASB has, along with SECS, become the University YMCA's largest student program. In 1997, over 130 students participated in twelve ASB trips. Among other places, students traveled to Minneapolis to work with the Aliveness Project on issues related to HIV/AIDS and the gay, lesbian, and bisexual community; to East St. Louis to work with a collaborative action-research project between the University of Illinois and the community on social and economic renewal; to Enfield, North Carolina, to work with Teach for America in a low-income rural school district; and to inner-city Detroit, to work on peace education with an organization called Save Our Sons and Daughters.

Work by and for faculty changed very little in the 1984-1997 period. Friday Forum and Know Your University continued throughout the period without dramatic changes in either form or attendance. The only change came in sponsorships. The University YWCA dropped its co-sponsorship of Friday Forum in 1984. New co-sponsors were added from various campus ministries. In 1997, the co-sponsors included the McKinley Foundation, the Illinois Disciples Foundation, and the Wesley Foundation. Series topics in this period included "The U.S. and Central America: Que Pasa?"; "Technology Today: Humane Uses, Human Abuses"; "The Many Faces of the Soviet Union"; "The Three R's of Science: Resources, Research, and Responsibility"; "Our Environment, Our Future"; "Politics in the Name of God"; "Values, Culture, and the Media"; "Responding to Racism"; "The Impact of the Women's Movement"; "Through Women's Eyes"; "Personal Faith and Social Force: Understanding the Continuing Impact of Christianity on U.S. Society"; "Reforming Health Care: The National Debate"; and "Democracy in the USA: Continuities and Contradictions."

Two new programs linking faculty, students, and alumni were created during this period. The first was the "Nestingen Sympo-

sium," created in 1991 in honor of Ed Nestingen's second retirement. It involves an intergenerational group of faculty, students, alumni, and community members each fall in exploring a social action or education-related theme. Themes explored so far include "Education for Empowering the Human Spirit"; "Spirit, Justice, and Education"; "Environmental Concerns and Strategies"; "Service-Learning"; "The Death of Scientific Determinism"; "Campus Speech: Academic Freedom, Pornography, and Hate"; and "Education Today: How Can It Rekindle Civic Responsibility?" The second was an annual series of events designed to express some combination of science, the arts, and ecology, made possible by the Raymond S. Vogel Memorial Fund. Vogel was a Senior Research Chemist at the University of Illinois who dedicated his life to the arts as well as the sciences. The inaugural event in the series, held in October of 1996, featured a photoessay by Vogel entitled "The Great Century of Science," and a lecture by Frederick Brech, retired physicist and consultant to the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, on "Applications of Science in Examination of Works of Art." In September, 1997, Rutgers University conservation biologist David Ehrenfeld's presentation on "The Coming Collapse of the Age of Technology" filled Latzer Hall, and he met the next day with faculty and student groups on campus.

The YMCA's community-oriented work during this period continued to be anchored by Communiversity, though it had diminished in size considerably since the early 1980s. By the mid 1990s it enrolled about 300 people per semester in an average of 45 classes. The most successful new community program to be added during the 1984-1997 period was Senior Friends, a program designed to establish friendships between University students and residents in local nursing homes. Created in 1986, it involved hundreds of students before it diminished in size in the early 1990s. Other community initiatives that were attempted during this period include the Working Media Coalition and the Youth Video Project. While each of these initiatives was begun with high hopes, neither achieved much lasting success. In keeping with the decision in 1984 to maintain a campus-centered focus, efforts to expand community work during this period received

only minimal attention and resources.

Institutional Trends and Dynamics

Matters related to the Association's staff and finances saw mixed results during the 1984-1997 period. Turnover in executive and program staff continued to be a problem. After David Lindstrom left the staff at the end of April, 1984, Ed Nestingen served as interim Executive Director. In September of 1984, Mark Johnson, a graduate of Wooster College and Columbia University with a Ph.D. in Sociology and international experience in the YMCA, became the next Executive Director. Johnson resigned in May of 1989 to accept a position as Executive Director of the Silver Bay Association, a YMCA conference center in Silver Bay, New York. John Jordan, an ordained campus minister in the United Methodist Church and a Rhodes Scholar with degrees from Illinois Wesleyan University, Oxford University, and Drew University Theological School, became the next Executive Director in January of 1990. A total of fourteen different persons held program staff positions during this period, serving full-time or part-time, anywhere from a few months to over eight years.[51]

There were major accomplishments as well as continuing problems with the Association's finances in this period. Under both Johnson and Jordan, funds were raised from contributors that enabled several major building renovation projects to be accomplished, including the installation of a new boiler and new roofs, plus some new wiring, carpets, drapes, and tuckpointing. A Space Utilization Task Force was formed in 1984 to explore patterns of building use and consider possible changes. In 1984 the pews were removed from the Wilson Memorial Chapel, which had received little use in recent years, in order to allow the space to be used for a greater variety of purposes. When the managers of the K-Room restaurant in the basement left in 1985, the Association decided to relocate the restaurant. In January of 1986, the "Y Eatery" opened for business in a renovated kitchen on the first floor. Operated under lease by Mayuree Sciacca, it specializes in Thai food and has become quite popular. The largest renovations included the transformation of the K-Room from a restaurant to a set of multipur-

pose program rooms, completed in January of 1988 through a gift from Marion and Vernon Piper, daughter and son-in-law of Albert Kaeser, and the replacement of all of the building's movable windows during 1990-95, thanks to a series of special contributions by Ralph and Evelyn Davis.

The situation with the annual operating budget was problematic throughout the entire 1984-1997 period. The annual budget went from $284,000 in 1985 to $380,000 in 1997. Although a full-time Development Director was hired in 1987, over $150,000 in deficits were accumulated during 1985-1992. When added to the $111,000 in deficits that still remained on the books from the period before 1985, the Association faced a total accumulated internal deficit in 1992 of more than $261,000. While annual contributions from individuals were successfully increased during this period, the rise in income did not keep pace with expenses. In addition, in 1993 the YMCA lost its funding from United Way, which had totaled $11,000 a year. A combination of budget problems and strategic decisions led the Association to reduce its Development Director position to half-time in 1993.

In 1992, a 120th Anniversary Major Funds Campaign was launched in an effort to raise $1,200,000 to pay off the deficit, complete a series of building renovations, increase the size of the endowment, and create a fund for new program development. In advance of the campaign, the Association conducted a long-range program planning process. The process led to the adoption of a plan that called for the YMCA to focus on five priorities: grounding program work in lessons from the history of social justice movements; deepening and sharpening spirituality; strengthening community; providing a framework for examining the effects and reality of privilege; and teaching key skills and concepts related to citizenship and public life.

While the goal of the Major Funds Campaign was not met, it was considered a success. Over $650,000 in new funds were raised. From these funds, the deficit was retired, several additional renovations to the building were made, some new program activities were subsidized, and the market value of the endowment was substantially increased. By 1997, a combination of the Major Funds

Campaign, bequests, and growth of investments brought the total market value of the endowment and other invested reserves to more than $2 million.

With a new mission and an improved (if still troubled) financial situation, the University YMCA stands ready in 1997 to launch itself into a new era of work. The new mission, however, is less a rallying cry for clear and concrete action than it is a gesture towards a kind of work and role which has yet to be fully understood or pursued. There is, in fact, a marked uncertainty about exactly what the work and role of the Association ought to be in today's context. Some are calling for a renewed focus on Christianity or some sort of inclusive spirituality, while others are calling for a deeper commitment to social justice or new forms of service. Some are seeking ways to combine all of these. To date, no clear resolution of the choices the Association faces has been achieved.

4.3 Discussion

In the 1958-1997 era, there were, in effect, three different University YMCAs. Each had a distinctly different sense of purpose, and each used a different language to describe it. Each featured at least one major break with the past, although each also either retrieved or carried forward something of the spirit and shape of the Association's historic work and promise.

The University YMCA that existed during the 1958-1973 period attempted the difficult task of simultaneously embracing religious pluralism while maintaining its grounding in a liberal Protestant Christianity. It self-consciously aimed at becoming the "intellectual religious" center of the campus. It developed a statement of purpose that focused on providing an atmosphere "congenial to an unlimited search for religious meaning," which represented a remarkably sharp break with the old—and deliberately limited—purpose of leading men to "faith in God through Jesus Christ." Yet despite this, the Association carried forward many of the same core programs that had been developed in the early part of the century: intense personal work with a small group of student leaders in the Student Cabinet, friendly relations work with international students, Freshman Camp, and Faculty Forum.

While the embrace of religious pluralism suggested the need for a new direction, the underlying beliefs about the Association's role and work on the University of Illinois campus remained consistent with previous eras. This was brought out by General Secretary J. Frederick Miller in an article published in May of 1961 in the *Y's Indian*. The article, titled "The Case for the U. of I. YMCA," was framed as a response to the question, "In this time of world unrest, what is the role of the Student YMCA?" Miller's answer was nearly identical to what I imagine Henry Wilson's answer would have been: to counter the threat of secularism by bringing a religious influence to bear upon University life, and to bring spiritual values to civic life. Miller wrote that

> whatever you can say against the teaching of religion, particularly of the Christian faith, the fact remains that its moral force was, and is, a stabilizing force, the lack of which has created a spiritual vacuum into which other forces by no means so desirable in their effects are bound, by the nature of things, to flow. It is this vacuum that organizations such as the Young Men's Christian Association, privately supported and maintained, must fill, particularly such YMCAs as this one is, a Student YMCA, if the nation is not to collapse from lack of moral order.[52]

As the above passage shows, Miller's argument about the role of the University YMCA had a familiar blend of both personal and public, of spiritual and civic dimensions. While he believed it was of primary importance for the YMCA to focus its work on the development of Christian faith and character in individual students, he also believed—as did John R. Mott, David Kinley, and Henry Wilson—that this personal work had a larger public significance or promise. He wrote that the University YMCA was important because "we teach those who will be the teachers, the leaders, the intellectual and Christian young men upon whom, in the years to come, will rest the welfare of this nation." The University YMCA's "ultimate" goal, Miller declared, is to "develop an intellectually vigorous, spiritually strengthened, morally invulnerable leadership for our State and our Nation." Campus ministries

and student YMCAs provided, as Miller put it, "effective means of checking descent into moral and spiritual chaos." The "effective means" was the teaching of the Christian faith. He wrote that a "strenuous effort must be redirected to the study of Christian history, Christian theology, and Christian faith."

There was nothing in Miller's remarks to suggest an embrace of Sherwood Eddy's brand of the Social Gospel, which called on the YMCA to become a force for promoting structural economic and political change. Miller viewed the University YMCA—and Christianity—not as a radical or revolutionary force, but as a moderating force. "Walking the middle way, between the wild-eyed left, and the fanatic right," he proclaimed,

> we are the moderates, the balancing force, the stabilizer which can, and should, check the inherent violences of the destructionists on the one hand, who would tear down everything, and the rigid unyielding status quo forces on the other hand, who would change nothing, regardless of how much it needed change.[53]

For many students and faculty members, Miller's argument probably succeeded in establishing a compelling case for the University YMCA's role and importance on the University of Illinois campus. As the decade unfolded, however, the strength of Miller's case faded. By the late 60s and early 70s, few students would be stirred to passionate involvement either by the rallying call, "We are the moderates," or by a program based on a rigorous study of Christian history, theology, and faith. However laudable and well-motivated Miller's ideas were, they were increasingly out of tune with the times. While Miller wrote of checking and stabilizing, of balancing and moderating, of law and order, many students (and faculty) were beginning to write and speak of shaking things up, of breaking free from past conventions, from a social order that they believed stifled rather than nurtured creativity, love, freedom, justice, and democracy. This was a key message in SDS's *Port Huron Statement*, written and published in 1962. Before long, it was a message students carried with them through the front door of the University YMCA. It was hinted at as early as 1962, when John

Gwinn, the student president for 1962-63, declared that "The Y in its concern for the student must bring to the fore the social and political revolutions which are in progress so that the student may respond."[54]

Calls for radical change in student YMCAs and YWCAs began appearing in the years that directly preceded the 1958-1973 period. One such call, a paper by A. L. Kershaw titled "The New Frontier for the Student YMCA and YWCA," was published in 1955 by the National Student Council of the YMCA and YWCA. It was apparently widely read. The University YMCA's first self-study committee made reference to it when it issued its final report in May of 1959. Kershaw was a popular student YMCA conference leader, a former faculty member at the Chicago Theological Seminary, and a minister of the Holy Trinity Episcopal Church of Oxford, Ohio. He was convinced that the survival of student YMCAs was contingent on their willingness to open themselves to religious pluralism and to a radical change in language and work. Student YMCAs needed, in his view, to engage in serious study and reflection of the complexities of modern life, including the turn towards "intellectual anarchy" and the collapse of students' trust in any unqualified good, truth, or ideal.

Kershaw believed that most student YMCAs in the mid 1950s were unprepared to face the complex, challenging realities of the times. He wrote sarcastically that they "resemble a kind of innocuous postgraduate Sunday School class much more than a powerhouse that pushes the intellectual juice through all the dark places of campus life. The $64,000 questions of Reichenbach, Dewey, Freud and Sartre are met with answers from a dime coloring book." Drawing on Paul Tillich's prophetic work, he called on student YMCAs to "make Christ known in fresh and startling ways." The "new frontier" the student YMCAs faced, he declared, does not necessarily require the use of "religious words, nor even to urge students to become Christians. God's love and judgment can be perceived in many modes outside religious symbols." The most important thing for student YMCAs to do, according to Kershaw, was to engage students in deep reflection on a set of fundamental questions:

> Who am I as a whole person? How am I related to other persons? What is that creative source of life that lies beyond me, upon which I am dependent? Among the many valuable things in life, what is the most important that deserves my devoting myself, my affection and my energy to it?[55]

The statement of purpose passed by the University YMCA in 1961 (quoted above) closely resembled Kershaw's views. In 1963, the National Student Council of YMCAs adopted a new statement of purpose that also echoed Kershaw. It declared that

> Student YMCAs, part of a world-wide Christian Movement, seek to help persons to study and work toward rich and full life and a free and just society. They seek to attract and unite in active fellowship and service persons of all Christian confessions, adherents of other faiths and those who affirm no religious belief. They are committed to encouraging individuals in their search for life purpose to confront the power and relevance of the Christian faith.[56]

Through Ed Nestingen's work and influence, the University YMCA followed this national purpose almost exactly. Nestingen, who received a sophisticated theological education at Union Theological Seminary, spent countless hours from 1959 until the end of the 1960s pursuing this purpose by working through questions similar to the ones named by Kershaw with hundreds of students in highly creative, innovative ways. But by the early 1970s, a program built around an introspective "search for religious meaning" had lost much of its appeal. The Student Cabinet was eliminated in 1971, leaving the Association without the leadership group that served in previous years as the key focal point of such work. Additionally, the national YMCA student movement, which had linked together and inspired associations from around the world since the 1870s to conduct a largely religious program, had died a few years earlier. Its death was not unique; it was paralleled by what Douglas Sloan has described as the "collapse" of the post World War II drive by mainline Protestant churches to deepen and ex-

pand its campus ministry work.[57]

The death of the YMCA student movement came in 1968, after years of frustration and conflict between students and the national YMCA structure and leadership (the "parent body," as it was called). Students voted at their last annual conference in 1968 in Boston to dissolve the National Student Council of YMCAs (NSCY). They set up a new, more independent "Student Caucus," devoted, as one student declared, to awakening "the larger YMCA movement to the urgent necessity for social renewal and change."[58] The Student Caucus revitalized Sherwood Eddy's view of the work of the YMCA. They wrote a set of goals that included combating racism and promoting university reform, and declared that "We will work to change the socio-economic political structure that creates and maintains violence and militarism."[59] Their efforts failed, however, and in 1970, the student department of the national YMCA was closed. The decline in the number of student Associations during this period was dramatic. While there were 380 student YMCAs in 1960, by 1970, the number had plummeted to fewer than 100. By the mid 1970s, it dropped below 30.[60] Several attempts were made to revive and expand student YMCA work in the 1980s and 90s, but they achieved limited success. The national YMCA's interest in supporting student work was weak, and the energy which once flowed from a vital world movement was gone.[61] The total number of student associations never rose above 40 after the mid 1970s. In 1997, fewer than 20 are recorded as active student associations.

In the 1973-1984 period, without the benefit of the support and inspiration of an international student movement, the University YMCA turned its focus outward, away from religious introspection. It adopted a purpose statement in 1974 that shifted religion from the center of its work to the background. The religious dimension of the YMCA was now described vaguely as a "Christian heritage" which in some uncertain way the Association intended to "recognize." The center of the new purpose was the work of "enlisting all concerned persons in meeting the needs of our campus and community through study, discussion, understanding, and purposeful action." With the creation of SECS and the

enormous Youth Service Clearinghouse program, the work of the Association turned away from deep, individualized reflection aimed at shaping the character and faith of future leaders. Instead, it emphasized social action and the delivery of community services.

In May of 1976, General Director Harold Reinhart declared that "It's a completely different campus from several years ago." As the campus changed, so did the YMCA. It was no longer the "intellectual religious center" it was in the 1960s, nor was it the religious movement it had aimed to be under Henry Wilson. Now, as Reinhart put it in a statement to the Board in March of 1977, the University YMCA was a "human services organization." The old religious language had been replaced by a social work language. David Lindstrom explained what this meant in terms of the Association's work and role in a passage from a capital campaign proposal written in 1982:

> The University of Illinois YMCA creatively affects our society in three major ways. First, we are involved in training volunteers and assisting them in understanding the ingredients of healthy citizenship and helpful assistance to others. Second, we're involved in providing community services, from teaching youngsters in the schools to assisting youth in securing employment. Third, we are involved in innovating new program areas and helping volunteers learn principles of community organization from the ground up.[62]

Behind or underneath the changes of the 1973-1984 period, the Association continued to pursue elements of its historic work. With a different balance and language than in years past, the promise of association at the University YMCA continued to include both spiritual and civic dimensions. Work with international students was continued, though at a much lower level; work with faculty continued through Friday Forum and Know Your University; and individual students continued to find support and encouragement for exploring their personal values and sense of life purpose.

The 1984-1997 period brought a different mix of change and continuity with respect to the Association's work and role. It fea-

tured a shift in focus back to the campus and an explicit exploration of spiritual concerns, but it also included a commitment to social change that was of a different character than any of the previous eras. Each of these was touched on in a 1988 article by Executive Director Mark Johnson. Signaling a renewal of the commitment to make the University YMCA a force for affecting the University, Johnson wrote that

> The concerns our programs serve were concerns 100 years ago, and will be concerns 100 years from now. The nurturing of the spirit, the refinement of responsible citizenship, the creation and cementing of community, these are recurring, vital concerns. We have a primary mission to the academic enterprise, the educational community. Is the curriculum adequately meeting the needs of individuals to develop their intellectual, their spiritual, their moral, and their social sensitivities? Are students graduating to levels of service and responsibility they would not have achieved without this experience? We asked these questions directly in forums on the quality of undergraduate education at the University of Illinois. And we have provided a platform and support for ongoing attention to these questions. We are concerned that the "issues" of the day be seen as "opportunities" for creative and responsible social change, for improving the world.[63]

Maynard Brichford, chair of the Board of Governors, wrote in 1988 of the Association's role and work in similar terms. He declared that

> The mission of the YMCA is one of continuous confrontation. Ethical issues are found in every academic discipline, every interdisciplinary venture, every curricular innovation and every public policy. In a free and pluralistic society, the university community cannot avoid the implications of its learning and research for our society and for the world. For millennia, persons of faith have been under an obligation to apply their beliefs by questioning public policy and private ethics. The future is a challenge to be faced. Builders, laborers and leaders are needed who can balance freedom, justice, peace and welfare in shaping the world of the 21st century. As an

> institution, the University YMCA provides a rich heritage of responsible experience in weighing the moral consequences of our actions.[64]

In the 1990s, two dimensions of the University YMCA's work and role became especially important. First, the Association attempted to become an "open forum," a center for debate and dialogue of timely social and political issues that included and considered multiple perspectives. While its building was a tremendous asset for hosting debates and forums, both staff and volunteers played key organizing roles in setting them up. Second, the Association aimed at creating a supportive environment for students who wish to address issues of social justice. In part, the promise of this work has been understood in terms of personal spiritual development. As Darrell Hartweg, chair of the Board of Trustees, has written,

> Association with the Y allows students the opportunity to try their wings, to test new and sometimes radical thinking, to become involved with community projects that can demonstrate that the individual can make a difference in the lives of other human beings. The Y, through its programs, allows the student the opportunity to raise moral and religious issues and to search for his or her own individual answers to those issues. The Y provides a place for spiritual growth and development.[65]

But in the 1990s the University YMCA has also been understood, especially by students and program staff members, as holding promise of fostering *political* growth and development.

In recent years, tensions and disagreements have emerged over the question of what the appropriate balance ought to be between political and spiritual development. The meaning and relevance of the Association's Christian heritage has been one of the sources of these tensions. What is beginning to emerge from discussions over this question is a growing sense that the most important issue is not one of balance but one of integration and connection. In response to the question of the meaning of the "C" in the YMCA,

Philip Martin, a member of the Board of Trustees, wrote that

> I cannot speak of shoulds when it comes to the question of the place of "Christian" in the name or mission of the YMCA. I would rather start at a different point. I can only imagine the YMCA at Illinois as a community where people are encouraged to seek wholeness—to discover connections among the spiritual, moral, intellectual and practical dimensions of their lives.[66]

To start at this point is to continue on the path the Association has traveled for nearly 125 years. While language, emphasis, people, and context have changed and will continue to change, the search for wholeness has endured.

NOTES

[1] Quoted in Edward P. Morgan, *The 60s Experience: Hard Lessons about Modern America* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1991), p. 86.
[2] Clark Kerr, *The Uses of the University* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963, 1995), p. 92.
[3] The full text of *The Port Huron Statement* is included in James Miller, *Democracy Is in the Streets: From Port Huron to the Siege of Chicago* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987, 1994), pp. 329-374.
[4] C. Wright Mills, *White Collar* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1951), p. xviii.
[5] See C. Wright Mills, *The Power Elite* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956), pp. 298-324, and John Dewey, *The Public and Its Problems* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1927), especially chapter IV.
[6] SDS, *The Port Huron Statement*, in James Miller (1987, 1994), p. 336.
[7] Quoted in Harold Hannah, *One Hundred Years of Action: The University of Illinois YMCA, 1873-1873* (Champaign: University YMCA, 1973), p. 82. The author and date of this statement are uncertain. It was probably made sometime between 1958-1965.
[8] Mills (1951), p. xvi.
[9] Article II, *Constitution and By-Laws of the Young Men's Christian Association of the University of Illinois* (1923), p. 1.
[10] Article III, *Constitution and By-Laws of the Young Men's Christian Association of the University of Illinois* (1961), p. 1.
[11] Report of the Program Study Committee, September 27, 1954.
[12] Minutes, Board of Directors, September 17, 1956, p. 4.
[13] "New Program Emphases Being Planned: Intellectual Religious Center

Proposed." *Y's Indian*, December, 1957, p. 1.
[14] Minutes, Board of Directors, April 20, 1959, p. 3.
[15] Tom Chandler, "The Y's Concern." *Y's Indian*, February, 1959, p. 2.
[16] "Final Report on Undergraduate Program," May, 1959, p. 2. The quote from Rev. Kershaw was drawn from A. L. Kershaw, *The New Frontier for the Student YMCA and YWCA* (New York: National Student Council of the YMCA and YWCA, 1955), p. 11.
[17] Article III, *Constitution and By-Laws of the Young Men's Christian Association of the University of Illinois* (1961), p. 3.
[18] John Price, "The Y's Concern." *Y's Indian*, December, 1960, p. 2.
[19] Bruce Larson, an active member of the self-study committee, has questioned the accuracy of this claim. He remembers little serious work with graduate students during this time, and doubts that John Price had any role in staffing any work that might have been done. This might account for the absence of articles on graduate student work in the *Y's Indian*.
[20] Undated paper, "From Freshman Camp to Freshman Conference." It should be noted that Freshman Camp had a history of dealing with both serious and "fun" matters. Freshman Camp, like the YMCA summer camps at Lake Geneva, historically included serious discussions and presentations on matters of religious faith, higher education, and social issues. Thus, the change made in the 1960s should not be viewed as entirely new.
[21] Minutes, Board of Directors, September 18, 1968.
[22] Minutes, Board of Directors, November 27, 1963.
[23] "Huston Smith, MIT, Lauds YMCA Program." *Y's Indian*, December, 1960, p. 4.
[24] "Pal Program," undated flier, probably printed around 1963.
[25] "A Proposal or a Parent Guided Pal Program for Champaign-Urbana Youngsters and U. of I. Students," 1970, p. 1.
[26] Paul M. Limbert, *New Perspectives for the YMCA* (New York: Association Press, 1964), p. 171.
[27] Minutes, Board of Directors, November 16, 1967.
[28] Minutes, Board of Directors, March 24, 1966.
[29] "Report of the YMCA Self-Study Committee," May, 1968.
[30] "The U. of I. YMCA and Controversial Issues," October 12, 1971.
[31] Jim Lukas, "'Y' Celebrates 100th Anniversary." Champaign *News Gazette*, April 30, 1973.
[32] Quoted in "The YMCA Looks to the Future." *Y's Indian*, June, 1973, p. 1.
[33] "Board Sets Program Objectives." *Y's Indian*, June, 1974, p. 1. It is interesting to note that this new purpose statement did not replace the purpose statement passed in 1961 in the Association's Constitution. In fact, the 1961 statement, as of August of 1997, was still in place as the "official" statement of purpose in the Constitution, even though it had long since ceased to be used as a guide to programming and governance.
[34] Ibid.
[35] Minutes, Board of Trustees, November 16, 1977.

[36] "Operational Goals for the YMCA: 1980-1982." Passed by the Board of Directors on October 18, 1979.
[37] Minutes, Board of Directors, September 29, 1982.
[38] This was Ed Nestingen's description, taken from Friday Forum Committee minutes, April 1, 1976.
[39] Minutes, Board of Directors, May 9, 1975.
[40] Youth Service Clearinghouse, undated brochure.
[41] Minutes, Executive Committee, December 2, 1980; Board of Governors, December 9, 1980.
[42] The budget for the Youth Service Clearinghouse (YSC) was integrated into the regular YMCA budget for a time, pushing the total budget over $400,000. The figures named here do not include the YSC budget.
[43] The seventeen program staff include Ed Nestingen, Bob Scarborough, Nick Page, Greg Albert, Ted Lindberg, Ann Colgan, Judy Checker, Bobby Fein, Kent Doughty, Elisabeth Budzinski, Greg Lindsey, Sue Weishar, Catherine Grohens, Willie Seid, Fred Mastny, Aurora Villacorta, and Linda Varconda. This does not count the staff employed by YSC or the Bailey Scholarship Program.
[44] Robert Russell & Associates, "Final Report: Fund Raising Feasibility Study," April 8, 1983, pp. 31-32. Data from the study was drawn from personal interviews with 186 persons related to the University YMCA, the University of Illinois, and the Champaign-Urbana community.
[45] Report of the Strategic Operations Plan Implementation Committee, August 22, 1984.
[46] Adopted by the Board of Governors on March 31, 1990, and published in *Y Highlights*, May, 1990, p. 3.
[47] "Actions by the University YMCA Board of Governors Concerning Native Americans and 'Chief Illiniwek,'" March, 1991.
[48] Adopted by the Board of Governors on November 16, 1995, and published in the *University YMCA 1995-96 Annual Report*, p. 4.
[49] "Free Thought and the Progressive Student Union." *Y's Indian*, Winter, 1985, p. 1.
[50] *University YMCA 1994-95 Annual Report*, p. 8.
[51] The fourteen program staff, in chronological order of employment, include Chris Swartout, Scott Peters, Paul Morgan, Henry del Valle, Lynne Gildensoph, Maria Somma, Rick Boyd, Lena Choe, Bob Naiman, Bobby Mauoane, Jennifer Berkshire, Lisa Fay, Rebecca Crummey, and Patrick Oray.
[52] J. Frederick Miller, "The Case for the U. of I. YMCA." *Y's Indian*, May, 1961, p. 3.
[53] Ibid.
[54] John Gwinn, "What Contributions Should the Y Make to the Present University Situation?" Unpublished paper, October, 1962.
[55] A. L. Kershaw, *The New Frontier for the Student YMCA and YWCA* (New York: National Council of the YMCA and YWCA, 1955), p. 6.
[56] Quoted in Limbert (1964), p. 131.

[57] See Douglas Sloan, *Faith and Knowledge: Mainline Protestantism and American Higher Education* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1994).
[58] Quoted in Kaori Kenmotsu, "What Happened to the YMCA Student Movement?" (Unpublished manuscript, YMCA of the USA archives, 1992), p. 21.
[59] Quoted in Ibid.
[60] York Lucci, *The Campus YMCA: Highlights from a National Study* (New York: National Board of Young Men's Christian Associations, 1960), p. 8.
[61] For an account of the efforts to revive student work in the 1980s, see Jean Burkhardt, "Drawing Strength from the Past: The Student Movement of the YMCA's of the USA, 1970-95," in *Journal of Ecumenical Studies*, Fall, 1995, pp. 505-516.
[62] Capital Campaign Proposal, November, 1982.
[63] Mark C. Johnson, "Facing the Future." *Y's Indian*, 1988 No. 1, p. 1.
[64] Maynard Brichford, "Running with the Past." *Y's Indian*, 1988 No. 2, p. 2.
[65] Darrell Hartweg, "The Role of the University YMCA in the 1990s." *Y Report*, 1990 No. 2, p. 2.
[66] Philip Martin, "The 'C' in the YMCA: What Does it Mean Today?" *Y Report*, 1991 No. 2, p. 2.

CHAPTER FIVE
CONCLUSION

In his important book, *New Perspectives for the YMCA* (1964), Paul Limbert raised a key question: what distinctive contribution should the YMCA as a lay Christian movement make, as he put it, to both "the growth of persons and the building of a better world?"[1] What, in other words, should be the YMCA's personal or individual role and work, and what should be its public role and work? This is a timeless question. It can never be answered once and for all, for it has no single unchanging or uncontested answer. Whenever and wherever it has been asked, it has sparked debate—at times somewhat subtle or muted, at times quite heated and sharp.

Despite its image of homogeneity, over the years the YMCA has attracted and involved people with significantly different values, convictions, beliefs, and perspectives on matters related to both personal and public life. For example, YMCA members and participants have expressed remarkably different ideas of what it means to be a Christian, and of what "Christian" values and principles are, each of which carry different implications for personal and public work. Participants and members have also expressed radically different understandings of what democracy is, and therefore, what the role of citizens and their voluntary associations ought to be in the shaping of public life. The historic debates in the YMCA between followers of private and public Protestantism and between a liberal Protestantism and a more radical Social Gospel highlight these differences.

Despite real differences in perspectives and values, persons involved in the YMCA have found common ground in a shared commitment to join with others in the search for ways to connect *spiritual* work related to the "growth of persons" with *civic* work related to the building of a better world. As a democratic voluntary association in that sphere of freedom called civil society, as a *movement*, the YMCA has been a powerful force for the integration of spiritual and civic development, of spiritual and civic values and aims. In both local and national settings, the pursuit of this integration has been the YMCA's most important work. I believe

that it has always offered, and will continue to offer, the richest promise of association for its members and participants.

The sketch of the history of the YMCA at the University of Illinois that I have provided in these pages illustrates the different ways this work has been understood and pursued over time in a specific association. The story is one of long stability followed by dramatic change. In its early years (1873-1916), the University YMCA's work was focused on the strengthening of personal religious faith in students, of helping them to achieve a "symmetry of character" with a balance of spiritual, moral, and intellectual dimensions. But this work was not understood as being merely personal or private. Following the views of David Kinley and John R. Mott, the founders and early developers of the University YMCA believed that this personal work had important public significance. The Association grounded its work both in Kinley's argument that the development of individual moral and religious character would lead to the solving of public problems through increased "brotherly love," and in Mott's conviction that since college students were the future leaders of the nation, there was "no more important work on earth than influencing students."

Throughout most of its middle years (1916-1958), the University YMCA held on to the core view of its work developed in its early years, while it deepened its commitment to influencing the life of the university and expanded its focus to include faculty members. Under Henry Wilson's leadership, it explicitly aimed at making spiritual values significant in the development of citizenship through friendly relations work with international students, boys' work, the provision of various services, and religious forums and discussion groups. It developed a view of its role on campus as a "spiritual power house," a "generating center for great action and good causes," and constructed a magnificent building in 1937-38 to support it.

The first twenty-five years after the Second World War brought both change and continuity to the way in which the University YMCA understood and pursued the connection of personal and public aims in its mission and work. During the years between Henry Wilson's death in 1946 and the adoption of a new mission

in 1961, the Association developed a more explicitly political view of its role and work at the same time that it maintained its Christian purpose and identity and its primary focus on personal development. After 1961, the Association broadened its religious grounding by embracing religious pluralism. Through forums and discussions that explored the role of religious values and principles in personal and public life, it sought in the 1960s to become the intellectual religious center of the campus. Yet it continued to hold fast to its strong personal development focus, to which Fred Miller, John Price and Ed Nestingen were especially devoted.

The 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s saw the near abandonment of the Association's historical focus on the development of the religious faith and character of individual students. The primary focus on religion gave way to a focus on politics and social change. Instead of religion, first social service, and then social action and social justice, became the key words used to describe the Association's mission and work. Despite these changes, the pursuit of connectedness and wholeness—including the integration of spiritual and civic values and aims—was continued. While the balance shifted more towards public engagement than personal development, both were still pursued.

Key Challenges

Along with other YMCAs, the University YMCA has faced two key challenges in its pursuit of a wholeness which integrates spiritual and civic aims and values. Because these challenges are still with us, and because they are likely to remain with us always, they deserve careful attention. We must try to understand their history as well as their current shape.

1. *Religion-in-General, Spirituality-in-General, Citizenship-in-General*

The first challenge is to be found in the pressures YMCAs have faced to remain vague or broadly general in the religious, spiritual, and civic values and ideas they embrace and promote. While the YMCA was originally a passionate movement grounded in an intense commitment to the development and spread of "evangelical"

Christianity, even limiting full membership to those who could prove that they were active followers of such a faith, over time it gradually became more and more open and vague about exactly what religious values and beliefs it stood for. It eventually came to embrace what Paul Limbert called "religion-in-general" (in our time, which is less friendly to religion, we might call this "spirituality-in-general").[2] In essence, "religion-in-general" is simply a vague belief that religion in the broad sense is a "good thing." Along with much of the rest of American society, the YMCA has adopted, in the words of President Eisenhower, a "very fervent faith in a very vague religion."[3] Today, while the YMCA in the United States is still described and promoted at the national level as an organization that seeks to "put Christian principles into practice," there is little active attempt to study and debate what these principles are and what they imply. Explicit attention to Christianity (or to religion of any kind) in YMCA programs and activities is almost nonexistent. Additionally, no *specific* Christian or religious motivations or commitments are required or expected of anyone involved in any aspect of the YMCA's work, including staff.

There is a similar embrace of what might be called "citizenship-in-general" in the YMCA. This is a vague promotion of and belief in "volunteerism" or "community service" as a "good thing," without a clear sense of why it is a good thing and how it might be connected to the development and practice of democratic citizenship. When citizenship is discussed in the YMCA, it is often discussed less as a political or public concept than as a personal character trait. Good citizens under this view are those who selflessly help out others who are in need. They are caring people of good will. They vote, pay their taxes, and obey the law.

The vague and broadly general religious and civic views the YMCA promotes are partly a result of its attempt to welcome and be open to diversity. But they are also partly a result of its shift from being a religious movement to a secular institution firmly cemented into a community's infrastructure. Both the welcoming of diversity and institutionalization carry risks or tendencies that lead YMCAs to avoid confrontation and controversy, to settle for a watered-down set of spiritual and civic convictions that are imag-

ined to appeal to the "average" person. In general, movements tend to seek change, while institutions tend to seek to continue their own existence. In some institutions that are sensitive to diversity, the desire to avoid making waves, to avoid upsetting anyone's values and beliefs, can smother the pursuit of incisive belief and action. While this is not an unavoidable consequence of the embrace of diversity, it is, unfortunately, all too common. It is fed in part from a growing hypersensitivity to identity and difference and an underlying relativism—fed in part by certain strands of "postmodern" thinking—that suggests that everybody's values and beliefs are equally valid and important. In such a context, incisive belief and action—especially *Christian* belief and action—is deemed oppressive by definition.[4]

The embrace of "religion-in-general" and "citizenship-in-general" makes a full, rich integration of spiritual and civic values and aims difficult by creating an environment or culture which discourages individuals from moving beyond vague generalities and a lukewarm—even paralyzing—relativism. It dims and marginalizes the power of prophetic faith, energy, and vision, both spiritual and civic. Those who attempted to bring the Social Gospel into the YMCA experienced this, as did those who tried to deepen and expand the YMCA's work and role in public affairs.

A look at the current mission statements of four of the most active student YMCAs provides a glimpse of the vagueness of spiritual and civic values and aims in the YMCA today. The mission statement for the YMCA/YWCA at Washington University in St. Louis declares that

> The campus Y is a place where students have a chance to give something of themselves to others while developing leadership skills, moral imagination and a commitment to justice.[5]

The YMCA at Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University (Virginia Tech for short) states that

> Our mission is to provide opportunities for student leadership, social awareness, and activism through community service. Through our strengths and diversity, we strive to make

> a difference, create a positive atmosphere, and satisfy the needs of the community. These combined efforts offer a means for an alternative education for self-fulfillment.[6]

The mission statement for the University YMCA at the University of Minnesota declares that

> The University YMCA seeks to develop the ethical leadership capacities of students in a context of social issues. We do this by combining cross-cultural and community-based experiences with reflective learning. We work through collaborative processes with the University and the wider community to make these opportunities available.[7]

The current mission statement for the University YMCA at the University of Illinois is similar to the three quoted above:

> The University YMCA shall challenge and nurture the mind and spirit of individuals and communities to develop and practice ethical principles and responsible leadership for social justice and the integrity of our natural world.[8]

While each of these statements reveals the continuing importance of the integration of personal and public work, the language used in each is vague and loose. None of the statements contains anything as sharp and potent as the 1923 mission of the University YMCA at Illinois, which called in part for "making the will of Christ effective in human society, and to extending the Kingdom of God throughout the world." Remarkably, not one of the current statements includes any reference to Christianity at all. The insertion of phrases that signal a commitment to such things as "ethical leadership," "social awareness," "making a difference," "justice" or "social justice" are vague. They are weak substitutes for the older and more incisive grounding in Christianity.

I want to stress that my comments here are not meant to imply that a "golden age" has been lost that must now be recaptured. The old incisive Christian focus was often accompanied by much narrow-mindedness, racism, sexism, and other problems. The era

which brought an embrace of religious pluralism and other forms of diversity marked a real advance over earlier times. And yet, I believe that something important has been lost. Exactly what it is, and how it might be expressed and applied in our time, is in need of study and debate.

2. *The Compartmentalization and Marginalization of Spiritual and Civic Values*

The second and perhaps most potent challenge to the YMCA's work of integrating spiritual and civic values and aims is the continuing power and attraction of a compartmentalized view of life that sees spiritual and civic affairs as being separate or unrelated—not only to each other, but to other things as well, most notably the economy. This compartmentalization is especially powerful in research university settings, which have long thrived on a radically reductionist science committed to breaking things down into separate parts rather than weaving things together into a whole. For both students and faculty members, the search for wholeness and connectedness is a marginal or countercultural activity. For faculty it cuts against the grain of a disciplinary research culture devoted to sharply focused, detached, rational objectivity, to the pursuit of "scientific truth" untainted by personal beliefs and values. For students it cuts against the grain of professional education programs geared towards the detached study of discrete, highly specialized "bodies of knowledge" and the development of various technical proficiencies.

The challenge here is not just about separateness or compartmentalization. It is also about *marginalization.* Religious and civic values and aims are treated as being both separate from and unequal to other values and aims. In a research university setting, the exploration of religious beliefs and civic principles and values (e.g., democracy and citizenship) is, at best, viewed as being of secondary importance to the "real" work of creating knowledge and improving the economic productivity and efficiency of the economy, mainly through technology transfer and the development and application of specialized expertise. At worst, it is viewed as being irrelevant. In a time when people have become increasingly ob-

sessed with the idea that our highest goal is to "compete and win" in the global economy, spending resources (including time) exploring and developing religious values and civic principles is viewed as a distraction, an unnecessary—even counterproductive or "inefficient"—luxury.

George Marsden, a professor of history at Notre Dame, has written that "The fact is that, no matter what the subject, our dominant academic culture trains scholars to keep quiet about their faith as the price of full acceptance in that community."[9] The same goes for students. As Marsden points out, the main issue here is not the separation of church and state, or the inappropriateness of proselytizing from the professorial pulpit. Rather, it is the rejection of the whole idea that religious faith has a potentially useful or important role or place in scholarship and programs of undergraduate and graduate education. Due to its irrationality and subjectivity, faith must be left at the doorstep of one's laboratory, office, or classroom. The implication is that it is not relevant to the work of higher education. Religious faith and values are therefore marginalized and trivialized, banished to the private life of families and individuals. Religion is viewed, as Stephen Carter has argued, as a kind of harmless hobby, like stamp collecting or building model airplanes.[10]

Civic principles and values are also marginalized in higher education. In general, the development of citizenship in higher education receives little serious attention. It is a distant afterthought, far from the center of importance. While some goal related to the development of citizenship is probably held by all colleges and universities, exactly what such a goal means and how it is supposed to be pursued is typically left remarkably vague. Often, the aim is described as the production of "informed" citizens. This suggests that institutions can dispense with their obligations related to civic development simply by offering classes about government, public policy, or current affairs. It rests on a sharply limited, government-centered view of citizenship as being mainly about voting and deliberating about public policy choices. Citizenship has also been trivialized as being about feel-good but mostly inconsequential "community service" or "volunteerism." Deeper and

richer understandings of citizenship—for example, citizenship as the public work of building the American commonwealth—receive little interest and attention.

There are two key questions to be asked here. First, why and how might both the development and practice of democratic citizenship and the exploration of religious or spiritual values be integrated into each of the three activities—research, teaching, and "service" (also called "outreach" or "extension")—that make up the work of a public land-grant university such as the University of Illinois? Second, what might the University YMCA's work and role be in the pursuit of such an integration? To ask such questions is to engage the long-standing and deeply challenging debate about the role of religious faith and the meaning and nature of citizenship in a democratic society. Such a debate cannot be conducted in private, nor can it be conducted by detached individuals. Its full engagement is a part of the promise of association.

•••

On December 4, 1953, Lloyd Morey, the acting president of the University of Illinois, gave a speech before the University YMCA's Faculty Forum titled, "Character Building Supplements to the Curriculum." In concluding his remarks, he declared that the University contributes "to the education of the sons and daughters of our State and Nation by training them to be persons and not merely technicians, to be citizens and not merely experts, and to live and not merely make a living."[11] This admirable statement captures not only the heart of the old land-grant mission in higher education, but also the core spirit of the mission and work of University YMCA. It should remind us of how closely in tune the University YMCA is to the "high mission," as Andrew Draper called it in 1903, of a land-grant institution such as the University of Illinois.

Yet the fact remains that this "high mission" has always been a challenge to pursue in a research university culture. Over time, the difficulty of the challenge has intensified as civic and spiritual aims and values have been increasingly flattened and marginalized.

While some weak echo of the old "high mission" might still be occasionally found at the center of public pronouncements by presidents and chancellors, its pursuit in practice lies mostly at the distant margins of academic life. Today, neither civic nor spiritual aims and values count for much in the day to day work of research, teaching, and outreach. It is in the careful assessment of the meaning and implications of this state of affairs that we might renew our understanding of the continuing importance of the mission and work of the University YMCA.

NOTES

[1] *Perspectives for the YMCA* (New York: Association Press, 1964), p. 17.

[2] See Ibid., pp. 28-45.

[3] Quoted in Ibid., p. 34.

[4] Excellent discussions of the problem of relativism in postmodern thinking can be found in two books by Charlene Spretnak: *States of Grace: The Recovery of Meaning in the Postmodern Age* (San Francisco: Harper Collins, 1991), and *The Resurgence of the Real: Body, Nature, and Place in a Hypermodern World* (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1997); and in Douglas Sloan, *Faith and Knowledge: Mainline Protestantism and American Higher Education* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1994), pp. 212-243.

[5] *Today's Campus Y*, the newsletter of the YMCA/YWCA at Washington University. December, 1995, p. 2.

[6] *The Spy*, the newsletter of the YMCA at Virginia Tech. December, 1995, p. 3.

[7] *The Torch*, the newsletter of the University YMCA at the University of Minnesota. March, 1997, p. 1.

[8] Adopted by the Board of Governors on November 16, 1995, and published in the *University YMCA 1995-96 Annual Report*, p. 4.

[9] George M. Marsden, *The Outrageous Idea of Christian Scholarship* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 7. For historical background on this point, see George M. Marsden, *The Soul of the American University: From Protestant Establishment to Established Nonbelief* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).

[10] See Stephen L. Carter, *The Culture of Disbelief: How American Law and Politics Trivialize Religious Devotion* (New York: Basic Books, 1993).

[11] Lloyd Morey, "Character Building Supplements to the Curriculum," p. 12. Unpublished transcript of a Faculty Forum speech delivered on December 4, 1953.

APPENDIX
LEADERSHIP of the University of Illinois YMCA

Student Presidents

1873	E. S. Steele
1873-74	A. L. Dunning
1874-75	C. G. Elliott
1875-76	J. 0. Baker
1876-77	Ira 0. Baker
1877-78	R. P. Colburn
1878-79	C. G. Neelsey
1879-80	W. A. Pepoon
1880-81	James E. Armstrong
1881-82	W. B. Carman
1882-83	W. Sondericker
1883-84	Samuel W. Parr
1884-85	George S. Bannister
1885-86	E. L Cantine
1886-87	William D. Pence
1887-88	W. R. Mitchell
1888-89	A. D. Folger
1889-90	C. A. Bowsher
	N. H. Camp
1890-91	Ulysses S. G. Plank
1891-92	Cyrus D. McLane
1892-93	Robert E. McCloy
1893-94	William K. Yeakel
1894-95	E. Stanford Hall
1895-96	Warren E. Durstine
1896-97	William A. Pepper
1897-98	Edward F. Nickoley
1898-99	James C. Bradley
1899-00	Harry A. Roberts
1900-01	Percy A. Smith
1901-02	Ralph Mather
1902-03	Neil McMillan, Jr.
1903-04	William A. McKnight
1904-05	Edwin R. Smith
1905-06	Russell N. Smith
1906-07	William P. Wright
1907-08	Edward L. Hall
1908-09	Roger F. Little
1909-10	C. Loren Harkness
1910-11	Bryant Bannister
1911-12	Ralph C. Scott
1912-13	James A. Hunter
1913-14	Louis A. Boettiger
1914-15	Peter J. Nilsen
1915-16	John W. Watson
1916-17	Jesse Ward Nelson
1917-18	Harry W. Gibson
1918-19	Philip S. Westcott
1919-20	David K. Malcolmson
1920-21	Ambrose A. Arnold
1921-22	Walter A. Mueller
1922-23	Vernon W. Henry
1923-24	Dr. Ernest R. Hilgard
1924-25	Edmond G. Williamson
1925-26	Corliss D. Anderson
1926-27	Arthur M. Rubeck
1927-28	Norman R. Miller
1928-29	Dr. John R. Orndorf
1929-30	Dr. Fred W. Rutherford
1930-31	Paul C. Brines, Jr.
1931-32	A. T. Mosher
1932-33	Donald B. Black
1933-34	James H. Lake
1934-35	Frank Lawrence Seamans
1935-36	Charles B. Younger
1936-37	Robert R. Lauber
1937-38	John A. Douglas
1938-39	Richard E. Younggren
1939-40	Louis A. Hauptfleisch
1940-41	Dean Leeper
1941-42	Robert J. Trobaugh
1942-43	Loren W. Beal
1943-44	Arthur R. Hall, Jr.
	Forrest C. Orr
1944-45	Adrian R. Wells
1945-46	Ralph D. Dralle
1946-47	Marion L. Beal
1947-48	Hubert J. Wetzel
1948-49	William W. Erwin
1949-50	Robert L. Larson
1950-51	Thomas Edwin Moore
1951-52	Robert C. Lauchner
1952-53	Richard L. Thies
1953-54	Sidney A. Stutz
1954-55	Walter W. Faster
1955-56	G. William Howard III
1956-57	Ronald S. Kareken
1957-58	Ronald W. Maris

1958-59	Thomas R. Chandler
1959-60	David G. Lindstrom
1960-61	Richard Hutchison
1961-62	Robert F. Robinson
	I. Waldner
	Williarn Sommerschield
1962-63	John W. Gwinn
1963-64	Dale Mueller
	William A. Elder
	Jerry Glashagel
1964-65	Rick Harper
1965-66	Larry Miller
1966-67	C. John Anderson
1967-68	Robert E. Marshall
1968-69	George Anderson
1969-70	John Herm
1970-71	Dr. Robert E. Phillips
1971-72	Steve B. Meyer
1972-73	Dennis G. Petty
1973-74	Kimball Anderson
1974-75	David O'Holleran
1975-76	David Van Metre
1976-77	Glenn Halfacre
1977-78	Greg Tissier
1978-79	Marita Hawryluk Chiles
1979-80	Vidya Patil
	Barb Webber
1980-81	John Thompson
1981-82	Elizabeth Wakefield Winches
1982-83	Rosanne Hinz
	Bruce Tinkler
1983-84	Zach Pitluck
	Sue Soenksen
	Jack Lavin
1984-85	Sue Carlson
	Kelly Day Wolf
1985-86	Linda Biersach
1986-88	Dan Mercer
1988-89	Mike Mallon
1989-91	Joseph Chamley
1991-92	Carmen Andrews
1992-93	Chirag Mehta
1993-94	Anjali Bhat
1994-95	Eric White
	D. J. Dunn
1995-96	D. J. Dunn
	Steve Frankel
1996-97	Monique Norington
	Lisa Peraino
1997-98	Michelle Green

Chairpersons of the Board of Directors or Board of Governors

1900-13	Thomas J. Burrill
1913-25	Samuel W. Parr
1925-26	Ira O. Baker
1926-28	Albert J. Harno
1928-29	Loring H. Provine
1929-30	William L. Burlison
1930-31	George P. Tuttle
1931-33	Arthur B. Mays
1933-34	Joseph C. Blair
1934-35	George P. Tuttle
1935-38	Charles M. Thompson
1938-43	Arthur B. Mays
1943-44	Clell Lee Metcalf
1944-49	Emil W. Lehmann
1949-54	Paul M. Van Arsdell
1954-56	John E. Cribbet
1956-59	R. W. Fleming
1959-61	W. L. Everitt
1961-63	O. Hobart Mowrer
1963-65	Halbert E. Gulley
1965-67	Allen E. Weller
1967-70	Bruce L. Larson
1970-71	E. Eugene Oliver
1971-73	Robert W. Bohl
1973-74	James W. Carey
1974-76	Harold G. Halcrow
1976-78	Stephen A. Douglas
1978-80	W. D. Buddemeier
1980-81	Gerald D. Brighton
1981-82	Robert C. Hiltibran
1982-83	Richard A. Zollinger
1983-84	Wendell Anderson
1984-85	Howard Diamond
1985-87	James C. Schroeder
1987-89	Maynard J. Brichford
1989-90	John W. Thompson
1990-92	Thomas A. Seals
1992-95	Frederick D. Neumann
1995-97	Priscilla J. Fortier
1997-	Mary E. Beastall

General Secretaries or General Directors or Executive Directors

1896-97	W. E. Durstine
1897-98	Adam V. Millar
1898-00	William W. Dillon
1900-04	Philip A. Conard
1904-06	Neil McMillan, Jr.
1906-08	Dwight W. Weist
1908-12	William A. McKnight
1912-13	Ralph C. Scott
1913-15	Lloyd C. Douglas
1915-16	E. Glen Hersman
1916-46	Henry E. Wilson
1946-48	Philip B. Morgan
1948-50	Howard A. Amerman
1950-58	Harold B. Ingalls
1958-67	J. Frederick Miller
1968-81	Harold R. Reinhart
1981-84	David G. Lindstrom
1984-89	Mark C. Johnson
1990-	John E. Jordan

Former Professional Staff*

Gregory Albert	1974-76
Howard A. Amerman	1946-54
G. W. Avison	1939-41
Bruce Bart	1963-64
N. G. Bitterman	1941-42
William G. Black	1946-50
Sheldon Blaisdell	1935-38
Rick Boyd	1987-89
Dwight F. Bracken	1929-32
Edith Buhs	1992-93
L. R. Cadwell	1941-50
J. G. Cattron	1926-29
Judy Checker	1976-84
Lena Choe	1990-91
M. I. Coldwell	1918-56
Anne Heinz Colgan	1976-78
Harold W. Colvin	1919-20, 23-26, 61-76
Philip A. Conard	1900-04
William W. Dillon	1898-00
Lloyd C. Douglas	1911-15
W. E. Durstine	1896-97
Bobbi Fein	1979-84
Russell Fey	1950-52
F. Grover Fulkerson	1950-51
Edward L. Hall	1908-10
C. L. Harkness	1910-11
C. C. Hatfield	1927-30
C. D. Hayes	1918-24
N. E. Heikes	1930-31
Bernard M. Heisner	1987-93
Alan C. Herrnan	1956-59
E. Glen Hersman	1914-16
E. R. Hilgard	1924-25
Ralph Hines	1950-52
Roy D. Hudson	1928-31
L. L. Huntingon	1920-24
Harold B. Ingalls	1950-58
Mark C. Johnson	1984-89
Michelle Johnson	1995-97
M. T. Kennedy	1925-28
Jack R. Kerridge	1953-55
Robert Kirk	1960-61
Lester A. Kirkendall	1948-50
Donald A. Leak	1959-60
E. R. Leibert	1925-26
Edwin Lindberg	1974-76
David G. Lindstrom	1977-84
Grover J. Little	1924-27
J. W. Longest	1950-51
D. K. Malcolmson	1925-26
Stevens Bobby Mauoane	1993-97
Richard Martin	1949-50
Fred Mastny	1979-84
R. A. Matzke	1947-50
Adam V. Millar	1897-98
J. Frederick Miller	1958-67
Philip B. Morgan	1941-48
Earl S. Mulley	1958-59
L. C. Murray	1911-12
Joseph McArthur	1945-47
Brian McCullough	1993-95
J. M. McKendrick	1919-20
William A. McKnight	1908-12
Neil McMillan, Jr.	1904-06
Robert Naiman	1993-94

Edward L. Nestingen	1959-91	J. W. Stafford	1936-38
Nicholas A. Page	1973-74	Robert Stiles	1960-61
Scott J. Peters	1984-90, 91-93	Christopher Swartout	1984-85
John W. Price	1950-68	Martha Swisher	1957-79
Harold R. Reinhart	1967-81	Katharine W. Taylor	1946-48
E. E. Rice	1934-35	J. Mark Thompson	1955-57
C. Philip Ross	1956-65	J. W. Walton	1946-49
Robert D. Scarborough	1968-74	A. Delmar Wedel	1950-55
Ralph C. Scott	1912-13	Dwight W. Weist	1906-08
Jay R. Shenk	1953-54	Adrian Wells	1946-48
Rocho Sinderson	1932-33	Frank H. West	1923-24,30-36
Joseph W. Skehen	1966-67	Henry E. Wilson	1916-46
T. N. Slosson	1938-41	Avery Wood	1942-45
Maria Somma	1987-92	James O. Young	1970-72,89-90

* Some persons may have been unintentionally omitted, especially if they served for a rather short period; please send any corrective information to the YMCA. (Temporary and interim staff persons have not been included.)

PERSONS IN LEADERSHIP IN THE 125TH YEAR

(as of October, 1997)

BOARD OF GOVERNORS

Mary E. Beastall, *Chair*
Stephen A. Douglas, *Vice-Chair*
Elise L. Krejci*, *Secretary*
Richard E. Ziegler, *Treasurer*

Celia Bergman
Bruce Berndt
Jim Brown
Joseph Chamley
Abdul El-Jamal
Priscilla Fortier
Karen Francis-Shephard
Prosper Godonoo
Michelle Green*
Dan Hartman*
Rosanne Kason*
Eve Komosa*
Valinda Littlefield
Ronald Peters
Bill Reker*
Giraldo Rosales
Helen Satterthwaite
Nisa Tawjareon*
Hera Vlamakis*
Joanne Vokoun*
Eric Zulaski*

* student members of the board

BOARD OF TRUSTEES

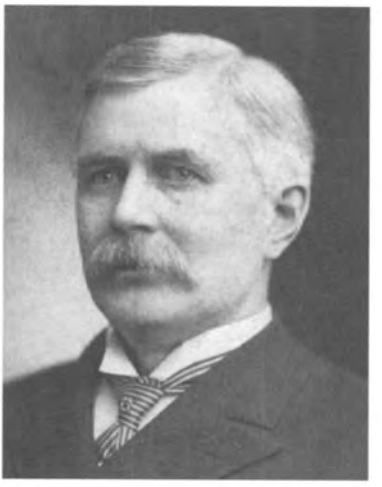
Darrell L. Hartweg, *Chair*
C. John Anderson, *Vice Chair*
Richard L. Hutchison, *Secretary*

William B. Browder
Audrey C. Brown
Ralph E. Davis
Kenneth W. Freelain
Gus W. Giebelhausen
Michael J. Hamblet
Scott N. Herrick
Lowell M. Hoffman
Ronald H. Hoffman
Bruce L. Larson
Philip H. Martin
Joseph H. Smith
Shirley Stillinger
Glenn E. Stout
Arthur R. Wyatt

STAFF

John E. Jordan, *Executive Director*	*1990*
Betty A. Earle, *Director of Operations*	*1990*
Rebecca J. Crummey, *Program Director*	*1995 (Dir. since 5/97)*
Patrick Oray, *Program Coordinator*	*1997*
Eugenia Fitzgerald, *Development Officer*	*1997*
David Eisenman, *Bailey Scholarship Director*	*1991*
Joyce Shields, *Receptionist/House Director*	*1983*
Joyce Blessman, *Administrative Secretary*	*1974*
Mike Weishaar, *Building Superintendent*	*1986 (Supt. since 6/95)*
Scott Rhodes, *Custodian*	*1995*

E.S. Steele, first student president of the UI YMCA, 1873

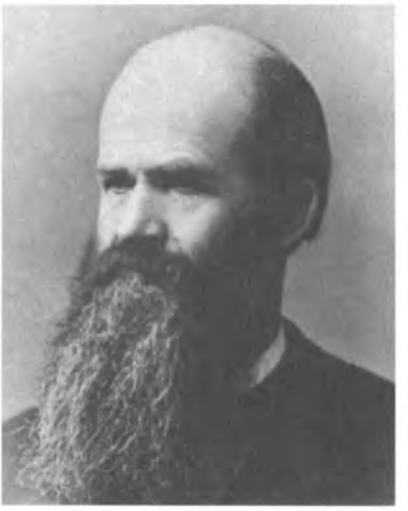


Andrew S. Draper, UI President 1894-1904

YMCA student officers, 1892

"Association House" at the southwest corner of Wright and John streets, owned jointly by YMCA and YWCA during 1899-1908

"Association Hall" at the northwest corner of Wright and John streets, built *by* the YMCA as the first residence hall at UI and used during 1908-1917 (later Illini Hall)



Thomas J. Burrill, first chairman of YMCA Board of Directors, 1900-1913, a long-time UI faculty member who also served briefly as Regent in the mid-1890s

Samuel W. Parr, second YMCA Board chairman, 1913-25, a professor who had been active in the YMCA since he started in 1878 as a student here

Edmund J. James (photo about 1910), UI President 1904-19

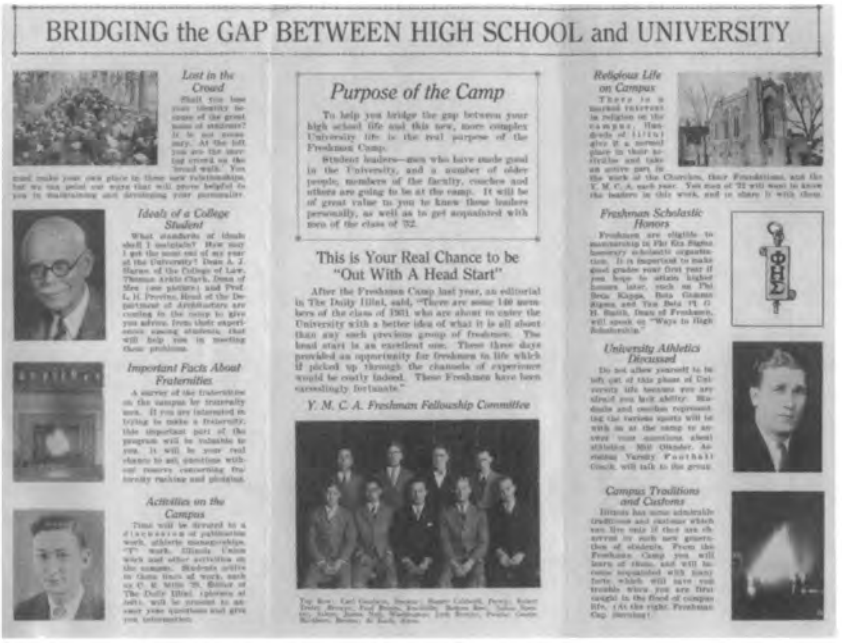
David Kinley, UI President 1919-30

Exterior of the YMCA's World War I "Hut" at the southwest corner of Wright and Green streets, Y home 1918-23

Interior of the Hut with large reading and meeting areas

Fireside Forum faculty leaders planning meeting at the Green Teapot, mid-1920s

YMCA staff 1924 (l to r): M.I. Coldwell, H.W. Colvin, H.Wilson (General Secretary), G. Little, C.D. Hayes



BRIDGING the GAP BETWEEN HIGH SCHOOL and UNIVERSITY

Lost in the Crowd

Ideals of a College Student

Important Facts About Fraternities

Activities on the Campus

Purpose of the Camp

To help you bridge the gap between your high school life and this new, more complex University life is the real purpose of the Freshmen Camp.

Student leaders—men who have made good in the University, and a number of older people, members of the faculty, coaches and others are going to be at the camp. It will be of great value to you to know these leaders personally, as well as to get acquainted with men of the class of '32.

This is Your Real Chance to be "Out With A Head Start"

After the Freshmen Camp last year, an editorial in The Daily Illini, said, "There are some 140 members of the class of 1931 who are about to enter the University with a better idea of what it is all about than any such precious group of freshmen. The head start is an excellent one. These three days provided an opportunity for freshmen to life which if picked up through the channels of experience would be costly indeed. These Freshmen have been exceedingly fortunate."

Y. M. C. A. Freshman Fellowship Committee

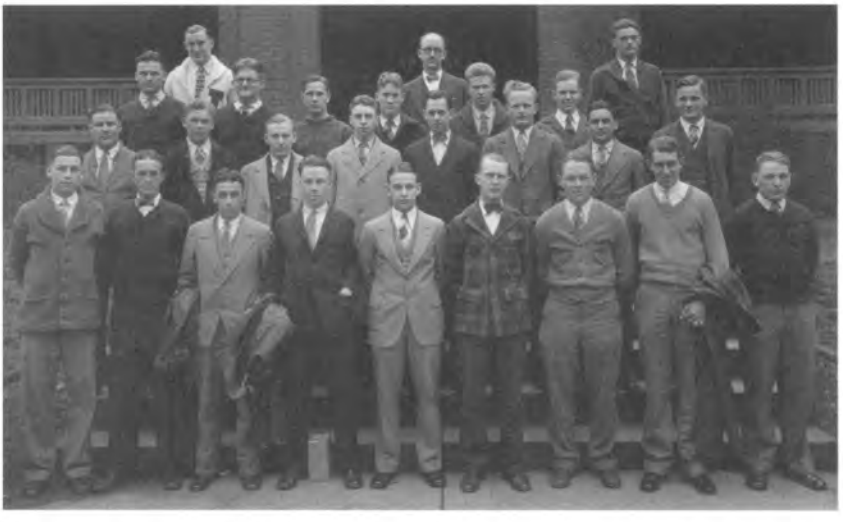
Religious Life on Campus

Freshman Scholastic Honors

University Athletics Discussed

Campus Traditions and Customs

Brochure (inside) for YMCA's Freshman Camp, 1928



Students in leadership training for boys' community work, with YMCA staff

Hopkins-Fraser houses (connected), Y home 1928-37 on site of current building

Faculty Forum luncheon program in the Hopkins-Fraser facility, 1933

General Secretary Henry Wilson (2nd from left) with freshmen in the 1930s

1939 Freshmen Camp leaders: Dean Leeper (standing), chair of the planning Committee (and later YMCA President, 1940-41), and Louis Hauptfleisch (center), President, 1939-40

Front of the YMCA's new building in mid-1938, soon after it was first occupied

"Watermelon cut" for servicemen on YMCA's rear patio, August 1943

All-pledge Banquet with YMCA President Dean Leeper and speaker Branch Rickey (left) plus Dean Fred Turner and Y staff Mic Coldwell (right), February 1940

South Side Y's Boys Annual Banquet (leader John Trutter, left rear), May 1941

Student Cabinet in 1942-43 (R.E. Davis, 3rd on left, later to become Chair of Y Trustees; President L.W. Beal, right)

Cabinet at George Williams College, April 1946; President M.L.Beall (front left) and staff: (rear) H.Wilson, M.Coldwell, (front) P.Morgan, L.Cadwell, W.Black.

"Learn the Ropes" Conference for new veterans, Latzer Hall, June 1946

Courtship and Marriage Lecture, Dr. Katherine Whiteside Taylor (the first woman hired by the YMCA for program-related work), November 1946

International Friendship Dinner, Latzer Hall, April 1, 1948

Graduate Student Forum, Murphy Lounge, 1948

Effective Citizenship Committee and Professor Tom Page (standing left), 1950s *[note: an excerpt of this photo is on the front book cover]*

Brotherhood Week display and group, YMCA lobby, Spring 1951

YMCA staff 1952 (l to r): H.Ingalls (General Secretary), J.Kerridge, M.Coldwell, D.Wedel, H.Amerman, J.Price.

"Meet Your World Neighbors" on WILL radio, John Price and Indian students, 1952

T.Z. Koo (center) of China on one of many visits to the UI and YMCA, 1953

Popular professor Dr. Harry Tiebout (2nd from right), leading a freshman discussion on existentialism, 1953

Displays of special group events at International Student Supper, 1953

Social Recreation Committee meeting and plans, February 1954

The Kaeser Room as a two-year old popular social recreation center, March 1953

A typical "K" Room mix in 1954(l to r): faculty Hank Hannah (later wrote Y's Centennial history in 1973), student Bill Howard (was Y President in 1955-56, UI Trustee 1970-88, and a Y Trustee 1980-94); and Y staff Del Wedel (1950-55)

Former Democratic First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt at the YMCA, May 1954, part of an on-going series of special speakers on national and international affairs

Republican Vice President Richard Nixon addressing a political rally in front of the YMCA, April 1954, when the campus was closed to political speakers

Young Faculty Club, Fall 1956, with Prof.A.H.Taub (Jim Curtis, later on Y Board, 2nd from right)

1957 "TVA" International Tour (Y leaders: R.Lenz, center left; J.Price, front right) *[note: an excerpt of this photo is on the front book cover]*

UI "Y" staff attending an Estes Park CO meeting July 1959, with executives of the YM (F.Miller, left) and YW (E.Redenbaugh, center), also E.Nestingen (right)

YMCA staff 1961: from all aspects of the office, program, building and K Room cafeteria, (J.Frederick Miller, General Secretary—top right)

Folksinger Pete Seeger at the YMCA late 1950's or early 1960's.

Bailey Scholars with new program Director Harold Colvin (3rd row, left), 1961

Y Retreat at Allerton House (Y Program Director
Ed Nestingen, standing), 1961

YMCA Freshman Weekend at Lake Bloomington, Fall 1961, with key leaders (2nd row from left: E.Nestingen, Dean F.Turner, Danforth executive R.Rankin)

1962 Cabinet; officers (l to r): R.Maguire, J.Gwinn, D.Hartweg, L.Hoffman

1962 World Service program with (l to r) Larry Hansen and two former YMCA student Presidents: R.Hutchison (1960-61) and D.Lindstrom (1959-60)

Student leaders: E.Dunwoody (left) and H.Sievering (right), co-chairs for 1970 Environmental Crisis Week (and founders, Students for Environmental Concerns); former Pal Program chair J.Young and 1970 Student President R.Phillips (center)

YMCA staff 1970 (l to r): 1st row—M.Swisher, S. Hodges, A.Marshky, L.Rine; 2nd row—H.Colvin, H.Reinhart, J.Burnett, R.Scarborough, J.Young, J.Philpot; top row—M.Hegner, G.Wilkinson, J.Cummings, M.Schriefer, S.Tracy, M.Golubski, R.Kniss, E.Nestingen

"Pals" in mid-1960s—Senior Pal Lee Bailey and Junior Pal Ronnie Lee Smith, one of about 250 pairs annually in "a partnership today for understanding tomorrow"

Board of Directors 1972-73: officers (top) S.Douglas, R.Bohl, H.Reinhart (Executive Director), and F.Hohn; first woman member of YMCA Board, Keturah Reinbold (2nd from left); staff Martha Swisher (right)

YMCA Centennial dinner, April 29, 1973 (l to r): Executive Director H. Reinhart; UI alum ('00) and major donor honoree Jennie Latzer Kaeser; Board chair J.Carey; Paul Limbert, centennial speaker, former YMCA World Alliance General Secretary

Centennial group of Board chairs (spreading over 20 years) and spouses (l to r): John Cribbet (1954-56); Allen Weller (1965-67), Rachel Fort Weller; Marjorie and Bruce Larson (1967-70); and James Carey (1973-74)

Homecoming '73 (r to l): Janice and Ron Hoffman, John Price, David Crouse

Youth Service Clearninghouse 1978 Report by Judith Checker, director, with graphic showing the National Youth Project Using Minibikes (NYPUM) program

Roger Ebert, UI alum and syndicated movie critic, at Friday Forum in 1973

Senior and Junior members, the Partners community service program, 1977

YMCA Trustees' 1979 meeting (l to r): front—C.D.Anderson, H.Reinhart (staff), W.B.Browder (chairman), J.W.Ruettinger, E.W.Schwemm; rear—R.E.Davis, T.F.Latzer, G.R.Catlett, J.T.Trutter, H.Sellers,Jr., Dr.G.Elfers, D.C.Miller

YMCA staff 1981 (l to r): front—B.Fein, G.Buhrmester, A.Marshky, J.Schriefer, M.Craig, M.Nunnery, L.Perdue; back—A.Miller, P.Brantley, S.Weishar, E.Nestingen, D.Lindstrom, D.Hyde, F.Mastny, J.Checker

1981 meeting of the "Thompsons"—student John (left), SECS Chair and 1980 Y President, and Governor Jim (center)—over scrubbers for UI Abbott Power Plant

Y Student Membership Benefits, 1987—Henry del Valle and Joyce Shields

YMCA Trustees' 1988 meeting (l to r): front—C.J.Anderson, C.D.Anderson, R.E.Davis (chairman), T.F.Latzer, J.W.Gwinn; rear—R.S.Kareken, Q.L.Snook, Dr.G.W.Giebelhausen, D.L.Hartweg, P.H.Martin, R.H.Hoffman, J.G.Glashagel

Homecoming 1987 and re-dedication of the renovated Kaeser Room, with (l to r): Ralph Davis and John Gwinn, trustees; Marion Kaeser Piper and Vernon Piper, whose gift made the renovations possible; and Maynard Brichford, Y Board of Governors chair

YMCA staff 1988 (l to r): front—J.Blessman, G.Buhrmester, C.Spencer, D.Ragan, M.Somma; back—L.Segreti, B.Heisner, E.Nestingen, M.Johnson, W.Roberts, R.Boyd, M.Weishaar, S.Peters, J.Shields

Annual Meeting 1992 group of student program leaders being honored, along with the program staff(center row): Maria Somma (4th from left) and Scott Peters (right)

The first (1991) Harold W. Colvin Award for Undergraduate Leadership recipient, Joseph Chamley, with his mother Paula Chamley (center); also participating were Hal's daughter, Elizabeth Colvin Clarke (left), and Jill Constantino, presenter

The Edward L. Nestingen Symposium at the time of his full retirement (fall, 1991) with panel members Joseph Smith and Sylvia Ronsvalle (left), honoree Ed (center), one of two main speakers Philip Martin and Executive Director John Jordan (right)

Former YMCA Leadership Gathered at 120th Annual Meeting, April 1993

Student Presidents (l to r): Chirag Mehta (1992), George Anderson (1968), Dr. John Orndorf (1928), Robert Trobaugh (1941), John Gwinn (1962), David Lindstrom (1959), Hubert Wetzel (1947), Forrest Orr and Arthur Hall (1943-44)

Staff members (l to r): Norm Bitterman (1941-42), Ed Nestingen (1959-91), David Lindstrom (1977-84), Martha Swisher (1957-79), William Black (1946-50)

Board chairpersons (l to r): James Schroeder (1985-87), Richard Zollinger (1982-83), Bruce Larson (1967-70), Paul Van Arsdell (1949-54), Wendell Anderson (1983-84), Gerald Brighton (1980-81), Maynard Brichford (1987-89)

1993 Nestingen Symposium and 25th Anniversary of SECS—leadership (l to r): John Thompson, 1981 SECS president; Herman Severing, SECS co-founder (1969) and 1993 Y Alumni Awardee; Ed Nestingen, was SECS staff and reunion coordinator

Recognition of 120th Anniversary Major Funds Campaign leadership, April 1994: Ralph E. Davis, with his wife, Evelyn (center front), Campaign Cabinet Chair and major contributors; and other members of the Cabinet and Major Gifts Committee

Red Bison prairie restoration and preservation group, an outgrowth of SECS, sorting grass and other seeds in the Student Program Office, Clark Lounge, 1996: Mindy Watts-Ellis (front left), Steve Frankel (standing)

Know Your University program, April 1995, featuring retiring 16-year UI President, and long-time supportive friend of the University YMCA, Stanley Ikenberry in a talk on "Reflections on My Years at the University of Illinois"

SECS project leader Dan Johnson (center) and others about to unveil the first new multi-compartment recycling bin provided by SECS for the campus, fall 1995

The Rainforest Action Group (RAG) display table at Quad Day, August 1996
[note: an excerpt of this photo is on the front book cover]

YMCA Trustees at April 1996 meeting (l to r): front—C.J.Anderson (Vice-Chair), D.L. Hartweg (Chair), J.T.Anderson (Secretary); rear—J.H.Smith, S.Stillinger, M.J.Hamblet, A.C.Brown, R.L.Hutchison, G.E.Stout, Dr. G.W.Giebelhausen

Campus chapter of Oxfam America, newly affiliated with YMCA, Quad Day 1996: Elise Krejci (center), Oxfam leader and later the 1997-98 YMCA Board Secretary

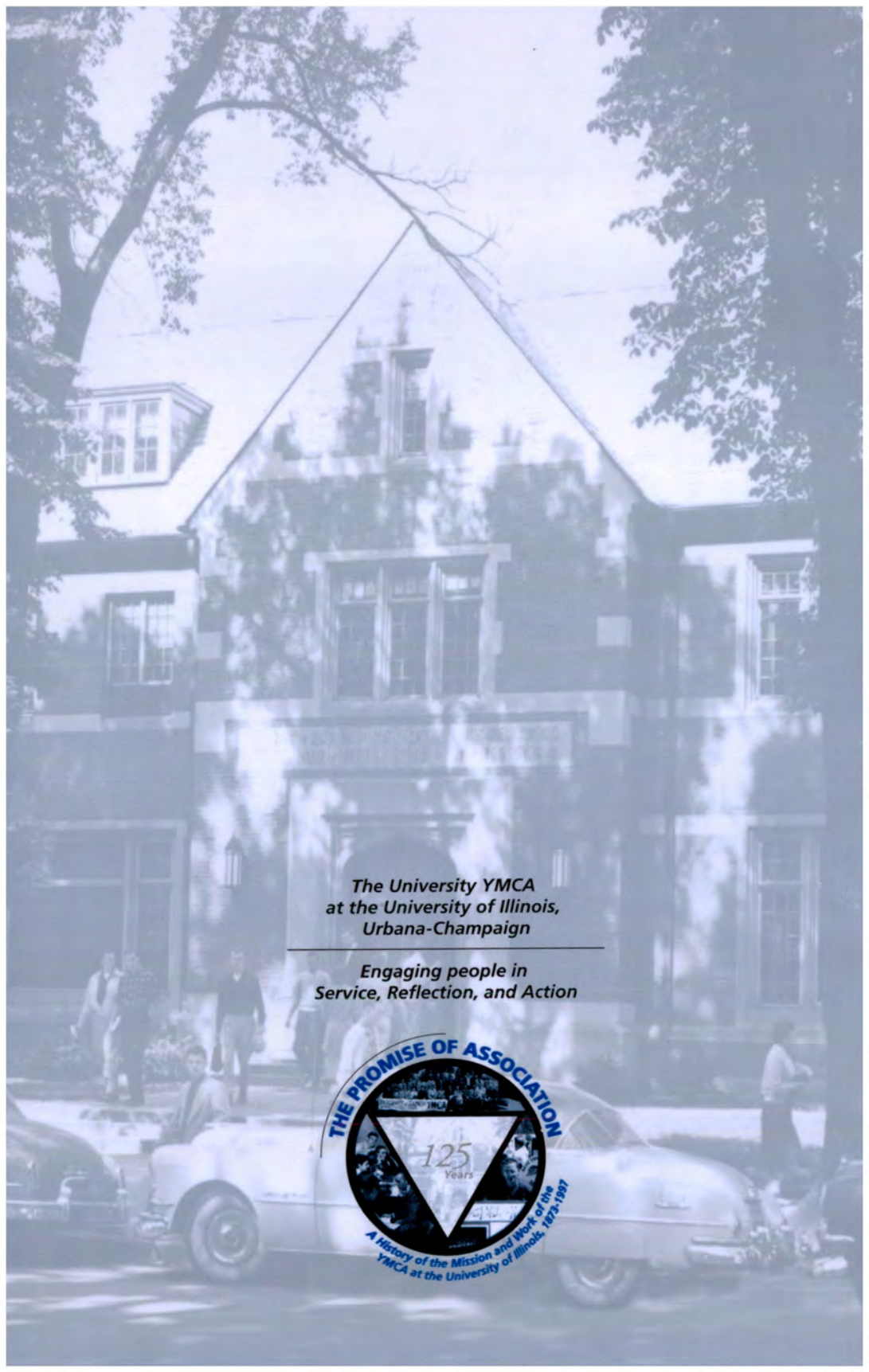
YMCA staff 1996 (l to r): 1st row—M.Weishaar, J.Jordan, B.Mauoane; 2nd row— J.Blessman, M.Johnson, B.Earle, J.Shields, M.Healy; 3rd row— P.Murphy, R.Crummey, P.Johnson, A.Bonick (absent: D.Eisenman, S.Rhodes)

YMCA Governors at April, 1997 Board Development Retreat for new, continuing and retiring members: Board Chairpersons are (for 1995-97) Priscilla Fortier (back row, 5th from right) and (for 1997-98) Mary Beastall (just in front of Fortier)

Heritage Circle (group to recognize planned giving and all Endowment donors) 2nd Annual Dinner Party, April 25, 1997 (l to r): front—Bob and Hazel Spitze; 2nd row—Walt and Carolyn McMahon, and Bruce Larson, Committee co-chair and host at Crystal Lake Park, Urbana

Alternative Spring Break (ASB) project group—one of 12 in 1997—ready to leave from the YMCA by van for its intensive week of service and learning, March 1997

First event of our 125th Anniversary—a Retreat, June 1997, for alums from the 1930s to 1990s plus a few former and current staff, to celebrate and rethink the history of this YMCA in the process of advising the author about writing this book



The University YMCA
at the University of Illinois,
Urbana-Champaign

Engaging people in
Service, Reflection, and Action