THE NEGRO AND EDUCATION IN MISSOURI

A Thesis

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by

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SUMNER HIGH SCHOOL
ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI
March 17, 1942

DEAR COLLEAGUE:

Please be kind enough to record and send to me at your early convenience the following suggested leads concerning Negroes who have, in any way, influenced the growth, from early times to date, of educational opportunity for Negroes in Missouri:

(a) Name, or names of educators with whom you were personally acquainted:

(b) Approximate time the educator lived:

(c) Where educator lived:

   Labored?

(d) Nature of educational contribution, or contributions:

(e) Some benefits from the contribution, or contributions:

(f) Where can authentic information concerning educator's life be found:

(g) Any additional, helpful, remarks that you may care to make.

Remarks

Very respectfully yours,

Ulysses S. Donaldson
CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM AND DEFINITION OF TERMS USED

Many years of teaching in Missouri schools by the investigator have given rise to a multitude of questions concerning Missouri's past and present with regard to legal provisions for education and professional practices, together with much speculation as to what the future may bring in these same areas. Even the casual observer of present Missouri educational practices in the education of her Negro citizens may be very dubious as to the harmony between these practices and the ideal "American way of life" in operation in Missouri.

I. THE PROBLEM

Statement of the problem. It is the purpose of this study (1) to ascertain and reveal some pertinent facts relative to the practices concerning and some legal provisions for the education of Negro Missouri citizens; (2) to indicate some extraordinary circumstances in which the Negro obtained and must still obtain an education; (3) to enumerate some of his accomplishments because of such educational advantages as are provided for him; (4) to list some of his contributions to social welfare in spite of certain major educational disadvantages; (5) to suggest some procedures,
facilities and legal provisions that may eventuate in the correction of many socio-educational inequalities, limitations and deprivations.

Importance of the study. The problems of education in Missouri lie heavily upon the hearts of her Negro citizens, their friends, and some of their friendly acquaintances. Negroes in Missouri are daily confronted with some effects of failure to solve certain of their educational problems, or the unsatisfactory solution of others and/or the perfunctory handling of still others.

II. DEFINITIONS OF TERMS USED

Negro. The term Negro is too well understood politically, legally and socially to necessitate further analysis or definition.

Education. Throughout this study education is interpreted to mean the best that is accepted by those persons who are competent to judge human development as a result of the operation of formal and informal agencies. It takes notice of some ill effects of the absence of certain necessary agencies, means, equipment, supplies, etc.
Missouri. Reference herein is made to the one hundred-fourteen counties and the city of Saint Louis lawfully designated as the State of Missouri, one of forty-eight in the commonwealth of the United States.
CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

An abundance of invaluable material on this problem is available from sources too numerous to mention in detail. In fact, there is so much material available that exceeding care must be exercised as to which should be used in the solution of the problem.

Literature believed to be in the Missouri Historical Association files. For some unexplained reason the investigator was able to obtain neither an opportunity nor permission to use the files of the Missouri Historical Association, St. Louis Branch, at the historic Jefferson Memorial. In a rather indifferent manner, it was indicated that transcriptions, of what proved to be limited materials, were available at the St. Louis Central Library. 1

The Charles Sumner High School Library a source of abundant information. It was tremendously gratifying to the investigator to find in this high school library a wealth of priceless information in journals, books of reference, and some unusual texts, to be identified in footnotes from time to time. 2


2 For the purposes of this study, it is superior to the St. Louis Central Library.
Leads from Missouri educators. Another source of considerable assistance in the investigation were living Missouri Negro educators, who filled in and returned to the investigator an original questionnaire concerning the service and the accomplishments of deceased former Missouri educators. Of further assistance were facts presented by present Missouri educators concerning former Missouri educators who are serving today elsewhere still in the area of education, and, also, former Missouri educators now engaged in other vocations.

Cooperation of the State Department of Education. Authentic and very helpful information was obtained from the State Department of Education, on request, concerning specific questions. This service made it unnecessary for the investigator to go to the capitol.

Interviews granted by living educators. Many interviews with local and out-state educators, and clippings from them or their relatives, revealed rare information concerning the distant past, in particular, in the education of the Missouri Negro.

The history of local churches. The history of local churches was read and searched with greatest alacrity.

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3 Thanks to Mr. D. F. Martinez, State Supervisor of Negro Schools, Jefferson City.

4 The Rev. George E. Stevens, The History of the Central Baptist Church, 1847-1927.
"Your St. Louis and Mine". N. B. Young, Jr.\(^5\) has saturated an imposing and colorful little journal with rich and challenging material and released it under the caption "Your St. Louis and Mine".

\(^5\) Son of N. B. Young, Sr., educator, statesman, civic leader, former State Supervisor of Negro Schools in Missouri, late president of Lincoln University of Missouri.
CHAPTER III

RESULTS OF THE STUDY; DISCUSSION

That the greatest understanding of Missouri's past in the education of her Negro citizens may be achieved, it seems prudent to indulge in a bit of clarification of her political, educational and limited occupational backgrounds.

I. HISTORICAL ORIENTATION

The region of which Missouri is a part was discovered by Hernando de Soto. In 1541, this explorer led his company of Spanish adventurers across the great river that he had discovered, and entered the southeastern portion of the state, probably near the site of New Madrid.

When Father Marquette and Joliet, two French explorers, discovered the mouth of the Missouri river and made explorations along its course to the point at which it empties into the Father of Waters, thence down to the Arkansas, little did they dream that nine years later La Salle would formally take possession of the country near the mouth of the Mississippi river, naming it Louisiana in honor of the reigning king of France. Fifty-three years later, French Canadian traders, hunters and miners effected the first permanent settlement in Upper Louisiana west of the Mississippi river, naming it Ste. Genevieve.

1 The Mississippi

2 Albert Perry Brigham and Charles T. McFarland, "Geography of Missouri", Essentials of Geography, (Second Book, 1920) p. I. 3 In 1673. 4 April 9, 1682. 5 Louis XIV. 6 In 1735.
Meanwhile, in 1719, Sieur Philip Renault, director of the company of the West, brought into this region the first Negroes—slave laborers. For, on his way from France, he stopped at the Island of Santo Domingo and purchased five hundred Negro slaves to work in the mines which were to be opened.

Subsequent to these significant events, Auguste Chouteau, together with a number of men in the employ of the Louisiana Fur Company, arrived and began building a post on a site that had been previously selected. Soon thereafter Pierre Legueste Laclede followed, and upon his arrival, named the new post Saint Louis.

Then, in more or less rapid succession, several interesting historical events occurred: (1) France ceded Louisiana to Spain, whereupon Spain took over briefly; (2) by the Treaty of Ildefonso, 1800, the entire region was ceded back to France; (3) next, France sold it to the United States, the momentous transaction being known in American History as the Louisiana Purchase; (4) on March 26, 1804, the United States took formal possession of the land.

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8 February 15, 1763, *Early Time People and Old Time Things*, p. 15.

9 In 1764, the post was named in honor of Louis IX, patron saint of France.

10 A complete picture of this series of events is presented by (a) R. I. Brigham, "Ante-Bellum Missouri", *The Journal of Negro History*, XXX, 4, October, 1945, p. 405; (b) Frederic Arthur Culmer, *A New History of Missouri*, p. 62.
Missouri in Louisiana. The Missouri Territory was organized in Upper Louisiana. In a short time, Missouri, and probably the rest of the Louisiana Territory, were put under the authority of the President of the United States, thence under the authority of the Governor of the Indiana Territory.11

Population changes. It probably should be remarked at this juncture that, while political events of great moment were taking place, significant population changes were also occurring. By 1799, there were 988 slaves in and around St. Louis,12 as against 6,028 whites13 the white migrants coming from the Carolinas, Kentucky and Tennessee, bringing their slaves with them. In fact, it was asserted that

...the Ordinance of 1787 strengthened slavery as an institution in Missouri, by sending slave owners to Missouri.14

Yet slavery did not flourish in Missouri as it did in the states in which the plantation system was in vogue. As a slave state, Missouri was, in fact,

a region of small farms,15 small slave holdings, and relatively few slaves.16

**In 1812, with General William Henry Harrison governing, The Journal of Negro History, loc. cit.**


12 It should be noted that St. Louis had been established forty-eight years when the Missouri Territory was organized.


Few slaves; yet, increasing restrictions. In spite of the fact that Missouri never was in a position to boast of a great many slaves, there were serious misgivings, almost constantly, among the masters and the ruling socio-political classes as to what the few slaves might do if they were permitted to move about freely and assemble at will without supervision. So, in 1817 Missouri passed an act regulating the travel and assembly privileges of the slaves, thus circumventing possible plans and plots for insurrections against their masters; also precluding learning as a result of contacts. It is highly probable and barely possible that the legislators had in their thinking what had happened and/or contemplated at the hands of Toussaint L' Ouverture, Madison Washington, General Gabriel, Denmark Vesey, or Nat Turner.

15 Even today there are no great plantations in the State. Possibly the largest landholder, farm operator, in Missouri is Thad Snow of Southeast Missouri, popular for his humorous, pointed, challenging, periodic open letters in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, and serious observations on what is best for "Swampeast Missouri"; for his interpretations of signs of the times and current political issues.

16 Harrison A. Trexler, Slavery in Missouri, 1804--1865, Baltimore, the Johns Hopkins Press, 1914 (Ph. D. Dissertation) p. 53.

17 Ante-dated by a similar, possibly milder, Act of 1813.

18 Laws of the Missouri Territory, p. 498.

19 The Creole Case in American History.
In 1833, Missouri passed an act to regulate travel and assembly of slaves even more strictly than had been accomplished by the law of 1813. Legislation of the above-mentioned type was predicated upon a pre-Civil War attitude of Americans toward the education of Negroes that had a strong tendency to be dictated by economic conditions and fear of Negro revolts. After 1800, when the Negro became an economic asset, his education was neglected more and more where his services were valuable and increasingly profitable. The more completely the masters could keep their slaves in mental darkness the less likely they were to be a menace and a problem to them.

While the plantation system did not become the vogue in Missouri, the Missouri slave probably became increasingly profitable to his master because he could be "hired out" as a day laborer, as a factory hand, as a handy man, as a house servant, and as a craftsman. Logically the operation of this source-of-income system accounted for the fact that the Missouri slave often "picked up" considerable practical education. In spite of their masters, many of the slaves did learn to read, having been taught by (1) children, (2) mistresses, (3) religious masters, (4) the men who taught them trades.

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20 Laws of the State of Missouri, 1833.

21 R. I. Brigham, op. cit., p. 410. 22 The slave habitually received education of a certain type from the plantation system.

23 Brigham, op. cit., pp. 411, 412. 24 Ibid., p. 420
There is no way to prevent an alert person from learning when the will to learn is present. The record indicates that there were many alert individuals among any considerable number of slaves.

Missouri types of hysteria. Missouri seems to have been less subject to social than to political and financial hysteria. Prior to 1847, no definite law prohibiting the education of the Negro was enacted. In fact, it is a matter of record that some masters had no objection to schools and classes in which Negroes were taught to read and interpret the scriptures. Moreover, some masters were known to have allowed their slaves to attend the same church that they attended and take communion after they had received theirs; only, the slaves were required to sit in the back pews and/or in the balcony.  

In 1847, Missouri passed laws providing that

...no person should keep or teach any school for the education of Negroes.

In spite of all the laws, and everything that could be done against it, some masters did allow their slaves to be taught. Indeed some slaves learned to read despite the


27 Brigham, op. cit., p. 413.
laws and/or their masters. Bruce declares

Certainly the slaves
often showed more in-
telligence than their
opponents when they
outwitted the patrols
from time to time. 28

An authentic account is given of a southerner, who immi-
grated to Missouri, purchased a 700 acre farm near Brunsw-
wick,29 and, inasmuch as he "intended to free his slaves
and give them his lands" and other property, joined his
wife in the opening of a school "to teach the slaves
those things they should know in order to cope with life
as free men."

Prior to the Civil War. At a very early date, Sis-
ters of the Sacred Heart in St. Charles and Florissant,
Missouri, maintained free day schools; church groups30 show-
ed an interest in giving instruction to Negro and half-breed
Indian children.31

28 Henry Clay Bruce, The New Man; Twenty-nine Years
a Slave, P. Anstadt and Sons, York, Pennsylvania, 1895, pp.
97-100.

29 Ibid., pp. 76-77.

30 J. W. Evans, "A Brief Sketch of the Development
of Negro Education in St. Louis, Missouri," The Journal of

31 Floyd Shoemaker, Missouri and Missourians, Vol. I,
Because of the interest and the combined efforts of the Reverend John Mason Peck and the Reverend James E. Welch, white missionaries, a Sunday School for the instruction of Negroes was organized in St. Louis. While this school began with only fourteen persons, its enrollment early reached one hundred, and it actually became the nucleus of what is now the First Baptist Church, organized in 1827.

In 1825, the Reverend Peck said,

I am happy to find among the slaveholders a growing disposition to have the blacks educated, and to patronize Sunday Schools for the purpose.

It should be borne in mind that attempts by the white master class to educate the Negro, slave or free, were the exceptions, not the rule.

It is of real worth to note at this time the lamentation of another courageous, pre-Civil War, St. Louis minister, the Reverend Galusha Anderson, over the educational plight of the Negro:


33 Shoemaker, op. cit., p. 523; (b) The History of the Central Baptist Church, p. 7; (c) J. W. Evans, loc. cit.


Although the Negroes in St. Louis owned taxable property, assessed year by year at a valuation of hundreds of thousands of dollars, and had long paid annually no inconsiderable school tax, it had been used for the education of white people.

Hence, it is not too much to say, as has been above-stated, "...the education of the Negro, if he got it, was more apt to be from his environment." In his efforts to obtain an education, although at times he was only slightly vocal about it, he was aided a great deal by the nature of Missouri slavery, particularly the tendency of the masters to allow the Negro to "work out." Free or slave, Negroes who had the opportunity to "work out" had also a greater number of chances to learn than were at the disposal of the southern plantation slave. Fundamentally the real training of the slave came from the work that he did, far more than from the book.

The educated Negro a "rarity." The educated Negro in pre-Civil War Missouri was a "rarity." Why, schools for whites did not fare very well until after the Civil War. Although the constitution of 1820 provided that education should "forever be encouraged," not until 1825 did a Missouri legislature pass a law dealing with education.

36 Galusha Anderson, Story of a Border City, Boston, Little, Brown, and Co., 1908, p. 338; Cf. J. W. Evans, loc. cit., $3,000,000.00.

37 R. I. Brigham, op. cit., 415.

38 Woodson, loc. cit. 39 Brigham, op. cit., p. 408.
It was thirty years, or more, after the organization of state government before a law was passed appropriating any portion of the taxes paid by the people for educational purposes. Learning for the Missouri Negro probably would have been less difficult than it had been for many of his fellows for the reason that the level of slave intelligence in Missouri was considerably higher than it was in the more southern states of the plantation system.

II. DEMANDS AND EARLY EDUCATIONAL EFFORTS

No easy means of education. Obtaining educational facilities by Missouri Negroes was no matter of spontaneous generation. It was, and still is, a matter of protests over long periods and the payment of property taxes on millions of dollars worth of property from which they received very little or no educational benefits.


Evans declares:

All of this school tax had gone for the education of white children and not a dollar of it had gone to educate any Negro children. This led to protests on the part of the Negroes. 42

Miscellaneous, some surreptitious, efforts to educate Negroes. Past the middle of the nineteenth century the earliest organized facilities for the education of Negroes were provided in schools conducted in the basements of five Negro churches in the guise of Sunday Schools or under the pretense of offering religious instruction. 43 Schools of this type were not molested, but history reveals the fact that whenever it was discovered that the pupils were being taught to read and write the schools were broken up. These were tuition schools without equipment, in which the children used benches and chairs for seating purposes and candles for light. 44

In 1863, the Unitarian Church (now the Church of the Messiah), under the leadership of the Reverend Greenlief Eliot, conducted an excellent high school in its basement, its budget being underwritten by philanthropic friends of Reverend Eliot and the Western Sanitary Commission.

42 J. W. Evans, op. cit., p. 549.

43 Ibid., p. 550.

44 Loc. cit., in St. Louis: Chambers Street Baptist Church, First Baptist Church, the Farmer M. E. Church, St. Paul A. M. E. Church, Central Baptist Church.
This Commission conducted other schools at Benton Barracks and other convenient places, totaling nine by 1864, serving adults and children aggregating some 3500. Their teachers were all white. Through the generosity and the humanity of the commission 10,000 school books (among them, spellers, readers, geographies and arithmetics) and slates were furnished for the convenience of refugees, freedmen and two regiments of Negro soldiers.46

The approach of the Civil War. As the Civil War approached, conditions for the Negro grew steadily worse. As a state, Missouri was pro-slavery in sympathy.47 Only St. Louis, with its tremendous power, prevented the state from going Confederate.48

The War came and progressed toward victory for the Union forces. As the end approached and it became increasingly evident that the Union would be preserved and slavery abolished, the sentiment concerning the education of the Negro greatly changed: (1) schools for Negroes were opened and supported rather generously, (2) five tuition schools, taught by Negro teachers, under the control of

45 Loc. cit.
48 Ibid.
the Board of Education for Colored Schools, composed of Negroes, were established in St. Louis; (3) this board was aided materially and advised by members of the Western Sanitary Commission; the Board of Education for the white schools desired very much to do something for the benefit of schools for colored children but could not do so by reason of the operation of the law of 1847, which made it a crime to educate Negroes. So, the law was repealed and provision for the support of schools for the education of Negroes from public funds.49

The year 1866 in the annals of Missouri education.

In the education of the Missouri Negro, the year 1866 is memorable for several momentous events: (1) Lincoln University, first (and still the only) "Land Grant College" in Missouri for the benefit of Negroes, was founded by means of funds contributed by members of the Sixty-second and the Sixty-fifth Regiments of Negro Infantry, comprised chiefly of Missourians;50 (2) The St. Louis Board of Education opened its first schools for the education of Negroes (Number 1, Number 2, Number 3) as supplements to schools which Negroes had previously been allowed to conduct among themselves;51 (3) William Torrey Harris became


50 Formerly Lincoln Institute, university since 1929.

respectively, Assistant Superintendent of Instruction, then Superintendent of Instruction (1866-1880) in the St. Louis system.

It should be remarked here that, although the Board of Education had appropriated part of the money for the education of Negro children and the rest had come from sundry sources including contributions by colored citizens themselves, there were not sufficient funds for the erection of buildings to house them. TABLE I presents a fairly clear picture of the above-mentioned schools.52

As a result of the diligent efforts and the good offices of friends of the Negro,53 together with loud protests and unabated activities by Negro citizens, regular Negro schools were eventually established and articulated with the public school system, each getting a serial number in contrast to the white schools, each of which carried a name. By 1867 they distinguished four types of Negro schools:

52 Material in the hands of Julia Davis, a teacher in the grade schools of St. Louis.

53 Galusha Anderson, Cf. ante; Ira Divoll, Superintendent of Instruction, St. Louis; S. D. Barlow, President, St. Louis Board of Education.
**TABLE I**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Teachers</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Fifth near Gratiot Street (Board bldg)</td>
<td>Lydia A. Prescot, Principal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Maggie A. Stevenson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Laura D. Aldrich</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Tenth and Chambers Streets (Rented bldg)</td>
<td>Ruth Hammond, Principal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Esther Matthews</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Kate Dauber</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Twenty-fourth and Morgan Streets (Rented building)</td>
<td>Nellie Banard, Principal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Martha S. Matthews</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Couzens near Pratt Street</td>
<td>Charlotte C. Stanley, Principal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Eighteenth near Conde</td>
<td>Benjamin R. Nicholas, Principal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*For the Scholastic Year 1867-1868*
Perhaps the most potent factors in this connection were

(1) the awareness by Negro citizens of the sympathy that they were receiving from several quarters, (2) their motivation by the "desire to break all chains of the past", (3) their strivings "to remove the last discrimination against them". Too many circumstances kept them conscious of the fact that

They still represented a caste, and being educated separately proved it despite all talk of equal rights. The ferment worked slowly. In June 1874, The St. Louis Central Council, Auxiliary to the State Executive Committee (Colored), published a four-page pamphlet addressed to the Colored People of the State of Missouri which was strongly and unmistakably worded.55

54 Leidecker, op. cit., p. 645.

55 Leidecker, loc. cit.
The pamphlet contained a memorial, which appears to be worthy of consideration at this juncture:

Circumscribed in the enjoyment of our rights; subjected to continual ostracism, from the esteem, confidence and emoluments of our fellow-citizens; hindered by an inveterate prejudice which, while seeking to perpetuate caste, denies us the means of educational advancement; taxed in common with other classes, for the support and maintenance of the common schools, we are dependent upon the arbitrariness or caprice of Township Boards to grant or withhold the facilities which are ours by right.56

Some consequences of this memorial, "typical of many circulated in the United States",57 were: (1) the plea that colored children be admitted to the schools for white children in the counties where there were not enough colored children to warrant opening a school for them; (2) a mild suggestion that Negro teachers be employed to teach in schools set apart for the benefit of Negroes, inasmuch as there was too much stigma attaching to white teachers who were nonconformists enough to serve as teachers in Negro schools; (3) unqualified efforts were made to obtain admission of colored children to schools for white children so as not to hinder the most effective education of colored children.

56 Leidecker, loc. cit.
57 Leidecker, loc. cit.
They demanded also high and normal school opportunities. 58

At this juncture, the St. Louis Board of President and Directors of Public Schools took notice, petitioned the Senators and Representatives of Missouri in the United States Congress, addressing them by name (Carl Schurz among them), to block any, all, legislation that might require the admission of Negroes, along with whites, to any tax supported common schools, institutions of learning or benevolence, unless there shall have been "a failure to provide equally for the education of both races in separate schools or institutions." 59

They were sure that St. Louis had met its obligations toward the colored people. It was predicted that, if Negroes were admitted to white schools, because of prejudice and other adverse feelings, white children would be withdrawn from school in large numbers; which would strengthen the hands of those citizens who were hostile toward the public schools and sought to repeal the tax law by which they were supported. The document above-mentioned was signed by the President and Secretary of the Board and Superintendent William Torrey Harris. 60

58 On March 17, 1875, the Missouri General Assembly amended the original act of 1865 so as to provide for the education (including secondary) of the Negro children of St. Louis.

59 Leidecker, op. cit., p. 646. "They had established, according to capacity, colored schools. They would not have white and colored educated on the same benches."

60 Leidecker, loc. cit.
Nevertheless, the Board met the demand for high school facilities by having Colored School Number Three offer high school courses, with the bright prospect of its early elevation to the rank of a full high school.\textsuperscript{61}

At a time like this, whatever the Board of Education did was severely criticized. The situation was not helped a bit by the perfunctory and meagre treatment of "Colored Schools" in the extensive Annual Reports of Superintendent Harris.\textsuperscript{62} It was still the opinion of many St. Louis citizens that, if Negroes desired their children educated, it was their responsibility to do it and contribute something toward the erection of school buildings, as if Negroes were not part of the population and paying a reasonable portion of the property taxes. Even some of the most tolerant among the citizens were inclined to think that enough had been done for the Negroes when they had been given the Bible in one hand and the ballot in the other. The results were expected to take care of themselves. A more practical view would have driven such citizens to a realization that results depending upon such lopsided conditions do not take care of themselves. It has been

\textsuperscript{61} Leidecker, loc. cit.

\textsuperscript{62} Ibid.
above—shown that, for a long, long time prior to emancipation, free Negroes had consistently paid taxes on millions of dollars worth of property with no benefits by way of educational returns, to say nothing of the volume of taxes that they must have been paying at this time.

III. SYSTEMATIC EFFORTS TO EDUCATE NEGROES

As much good as was accomplished during the era of miscellaneous, surreptitious, efforts to educate Missouri Negroes, the genuine, measurable progress began with the era of systematic efforts and plans to provide desirable educational facilities.

Despite the edge that seemed to be enjoyed by those citizens represented by the prevailing patterned type of mind, the propagandists did not rest:

They pointed out, in 1876, that into the first three Sections of the Act of Incorporation of the School Board had been written the words "Free white males"—"as though to make triple surety that the colored races are without the pale of St. Louis humanity," as one paper phrased it. The colored people themselves began more and more to take the initiative.63

As early as September 17, 1875, Negro citizens insisted, in the daily papers, that, as tax-paying citizens, they had a right to uncrowded public schools, elementary

63 Leidecker, op. cit., pp. 646-647.
and high, located not too close to the Union Station, as was the Washington School, to which their children were transferred from Number 3 School on Christy Avenue. Its first teachers were all white. This faculty is presented in TABLE II. 

These protestations bore much good fruit. In the year 1877 much commendable educational progress was made. The school year 1877-78 marked the introduction of the Colored Kindergarten, as an experiment, with Negro teachers. After much vigilance, planning, effort and pressure by the "Educational Council" (colored), in 1877 the first Negro teachers became a part of the St. Louis school system. The personnel and the organization of the council are presented in TABLE III.

Just how successful the experiment of introducing Negro teachers into the schools for Negroes was, let William Torrey Harris, Superintendent of Instruction, speak for himself in his Annual Report to the Board of Education for the year 1878:

64 In 1875 this school became the Charles Sumner High School, Eleventh and Spruce Streets.
65 Material obtained in an interview with Julia Davis, re: data used in an unpublished master's thesis.
66 Leidecker, op. cit., p. 647. 67 Leidecker, loc. cit.
68 Leidecker, loc. cit.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>POSITION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alva C. Clayton</td>
<td>Principal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nellie S. Beach</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mary E. Carr</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elizabeth T. Gould</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carrie L. Grumley</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mattie L. Harry</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emma C. Howells</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anna Macfarlane</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ida N. Mumney</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belle C. Summers</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
During the past year an experiment has been in progress in our colored schools. Colored teachers were engaged at the beginning of the year for the majority of them. The result has been in every way favorable. The attendance has increased forty per cent on the number enrolled in the schools.69

The years 1877, 1878, 1879 are memorable in the records of many contemporary Negro Missouri educators; for, in them some of the most remarkable of Negro teachers came into the St. Louis system. They are shown in TABLE IV. Appearing on the scene later were O. M. Woods and Arthur D. Langston of Oberlin, Ohio, son of Honorable John Mercer Langston, and father of John Mercer Langston, at present principal of the Cote Brilliante School. O. M. Woods is known to fame (1) for having been an extraordinary principal in St. Louis for sixteen years, at the time principal of the L' Ouverture School, (2) the first to introduce manual training to the Negro youth of St. Louis, (3) inspirer of Augustus O. Thornton, Sr., (now retired), who entered Washington University,70 St. Louis, in 1889 and graduated there in 1892.


70 To which at present, by what seems to be a "gentleman's agreement", except herein-after noted, Negroes are not admitted. They are admitted to the following Schools: Medicine, the Warren Brown graduate School of Social Work; just recently, the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences.
### TABLE III

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>RESPONSIBILITY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>J. H. Rector</td>
<td>President</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Roberson</td>
<td>Vice-President</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Turner</td>
<td>Secretary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. T. Bertha</td>
<td>Treasurer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Brooks</td>
<td>Member</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richard Smith</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alf White</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. P. Snerson</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Thomas</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This is the group of public spirited citizens who demanded Negro teachers for Negro schools.
In 1877, also, it was proposed by Walter Mc Intyre, a young St. Louis attorney, that Negro schools be identified by names instead of numbers. It appears that this proposal evoked considerable, more or less acrimonious, discussion. Hence, it was finally decided by the Board of Education that each school should be named by a Negro principal. TABLE V records the results of this action.

Beginning in 1875, with an all white faculty, it took the Sumner High School until 1882 to advance to the point at which an all Negro faculty offered the instruction and administered other affairs of the school. TABLE VI lists that first all Negro faculty, an epoch-making group in the history of the school. Its first graduates, Emma Vashon and John Pope, were awarded certificates of graduation on June 9, 1885, just ten years after it was designated a high school.

In 1890, the Sumner Training School, for the preparation of teachers for the elementary schools, was established as a part of the high school with O. M. Waring in charge. From time to time, as an independent unit or as a part of another unit, this school has been known by sundry designations, among them the following: the Sumner Normal, the Sumner Junior Teachers College, and, now, the Harriet Beecher Stowe Teachers College, with Ruth Miriam Harris as principal.

71 N. B. Young, Your St. Louis and Mine, pp. 13, 64.
### TABLE IV

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1877</th>
<th>1878</th>
<th>1879</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Richard H. Cole, Cincinnati</td>
<td>Edward S. Williams, Portland, Oregon</td>
<td>Nellie Potter (Agee), later taught at Sumner, 1882</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O. M. Waring</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter H. Clark, Cincinnati</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. Arthur Freeman</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David Gordon</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John B. Vashon</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The First Negro Teachers to Come to the St. Louis System

* Graduate of the celebrated Gilmore High School, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Composite information obtained from: N. B. Young, Your St. Louis and Mine, 1937, p. 12.
TABLE VII reveals the names of the class of June, 1891, the first to leave the school with their certificates of graduation.

Beginning in 1895, Haydee Campbell served, respectively, as Kindergarten Director, then as Kindergarten Normal Instructor of Negro Teachers until far into the late twenties. A worthy successor to her was the most refined and extraordinarily competent Emily Parker, now retired.

From time to time, by reason of community growth, the school population grew and facilities and equipment for the education of all children were expanded and increased. Although the "separate but equal" legal directive did not always bring to the Negro his proportionate share, there are in St. Louis in May, 1948, 515 Negro teachers, with an average of 40 plus pupils per teacher (the pupil load per white teacher is 29.0), two senior high schools, one technical high school, one teachers college, three evening schools, eight special schools and twenty-seven elementary schools; one Director of Elementary Education and one assistant in all matters of personnel.**

---

* James Armstrong Scott is the first, and current, Director of Elementary Education, serving in Negro schools.

** Samuel Shephard is the first Negro to serve in this capacity.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME OF SCHOOL</th>
<th>PRINCIPAL NAMING</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Dessalines&quot;</td>
<td>Arthur D. Langston</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Dumas&quot;</td>
<td>Hale G. Parker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;L' Ouverture&quot;</td>
<td>O. M. Woods</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Attucks&quot;</td>
<td>Edward S. Williams</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Banneker&quot;</td>
<td>John Kelly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Delaney&quot;</td>
<td>Joseph Piles</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**How Early Negro Schools Got Their Names**

*[Young, op. cit., p. 64.]*
**TABLE VI**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1882...FIRST NEGRO FACULTY; SUMNER HIGH SCHOOL...1882*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gertrude Wright : J. Arthur Freeman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. G. Morgan : Clark Peel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William H. Gibson : Eliza Armstrong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simon Lott : Oscar M. Waring¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John B. Vashon : Ozalia Rose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Douglass H. King : Nellie Potter²</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Young, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

1 First Negro principal

2 Nellie subsequently became: Nellie Potter Gibson-Agee, now deceased.

**First Principal of Sumner:** A. C. Clayton, 1875-1879  
**Second Principal of Sumner:** Oscar M. Waring, 1879-1908  
**Third Principal of Sumner:** Frank L. Williams, 1908-1929  
**Fourth Principal of Sumner:** George D. Brantley, 1929---
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FIRST GRADUATES</th>
<th>SUMNER TRAINING SCHOOL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Luella A. Brown</td>
<td>Ida M. Peters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lulu T. Casey</td>
<td>Ella E. Sevier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marietta Evans</td>
<td>Jennie C. Smith</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbie M. Hisom</td>
<td>Mittie F. Smith</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Priscilla A. Lewis</td>
<td>Emily B. Williams</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anna O. Parram</td>
<td>Mattie Wilson</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Savage\(^1\) shows that the school law of 1889 made it criminal for white and Negro children to attend the same school. This too frequently worked a hardship on Negro children where the Negro population was sparse.

The Thirty-sixth General Assembly created institutes for white teachers, with others for Negro teachers. There were fewer institutes for Negroes than for white teachers because there were, and still are, fewer Negro than white teachers in the state. Compensation at the rate of twenty-five dollars ($25.00) a week was provided for the directors of the Negro institutes. Their salary warrants were drawn on the state treasury. The warrants were never paid because there were no funds in the treasury for this purpose. Compensation at the rate of fifty dollars ($50.00) a week was provided for the directors of the white institutes. Warrants for this purpose were all drawn on the county institute fund. These warrants were paid.\(^2\)


\(^2\) Laws of Missouri, 1891, p. 213.
Out of the Thirty-seventh General Assembly came Section 8 of the general appropriations bill authorizing $1738.80 for the purpose of paying the Negro conductors and teachers of institutes, not paid under the law of 1891.

This same assembly provided $4000.00 for the Negro institute fund for the years 1893, 1894. This amount was appropriated each biennium for Negro institutes until they were discontinued. The institutes were attended in large numbers by Negroes because they welcomed "anything that tended to improve their condition."

In 1892, of approximately 700 Negro teachers in the state, 432 attended the twenty-three institutes. It was an exceedingly commendable average when it is taken into account that Negro teachers had to travel farther to their institutes than was necessary for white teachers, inasmuch as they had an institute available in every county.3 The institutes were of three weeks duration and supplied at least meager professional training for teachers and prospective teachers.

3 A total of 114 counties and the city of St. Louis.
Listed among institute conductors for the year 1892 were the names of Missourians who were, for many years, leaders in education in the state: the late C. G. Williams, then principal at Boonville, subsequently first State Inspector of Negro Schools under the law, later member of the Board of Curators at Lincoln University; the late Joe E. Herriford, teacher in many Missouri communities, for many, many years principal of the W. W. Yates Elementary School, Kansas City, remembered most for his life long activities in fraternal and educational circles in the state; the late J. B. Coleman, then principal of the Frederick Douglass High School, Columbia, later served several terms as curator at Lincoln University.

The Thirty-seventh General Assembly also enacted a law, providing that, if there were fifteen Negro children in a district, the board was compelled to maintain a school for them; if the enrollment should fall to eight for one month, "then the school could be closed for a period of not less than six months."

It is significant that, while this law did not solve all the problems encountered in the processes of educating Negroes in Missouri, it did make it possible for the school for Negro children "to be closed when the number of children in the district dropped to ten or eleven."

4 Laws of Missouri, 1893, p. 247.
Today, this is not a trivial matter. It should be seen and the fact appreciated that in several communities a change of one or two children may mean the significant difference between a school or no school for the Negro children in the district.

The Report of the State Superintendent of Public Schools for 1897 further discussed the separate school bill. He had the courage to insist on the equality of school facilities without regard to color. In the opinion of the superintendent, what was provided for the Negro, ... did not comply with the spirit of the law.\footnote{Report of the Superintendent of Public Schools, 1897.}

Despite the legal provisions in this connection, at times, many Negro children had no school because there were not enough of them in the district to require a school.

The Thirty-eighth General Assembly enacted a law making it possible for two districts with a Negro school population less than twenty-five, respectively, to merge, or consolidate, their population, facilities and equipment so that there would be enough children for them lawfully to maintain a school. The law stipulated that each district's contribution should be in proportion to the number of children it had in attendance in the school. Another important proviso of the law was that...
the directors to have charge of the school were to be selected from the district in which the school was located. For, it was believed that those nearer the school could better understand and care for its needs. The net result of this action was that a larger number of Negro children were reached and served. 6

The Forty-third General Assembly made a noble attempt to provide for better school attendance by passing compulsory attendance legislation, affecting children between the ages of eight and fourteen. 7 Chief of the good effects of this legislation was that it hindered many parents from keeping their children out of their classes to work as they had formerly done.

The Forty-fourth General Assembly enacted school legislation making it possible for any district with less than twenty-five Negro children to send them to some other district if it did not wish to maintain a separate school for their benefit. 8 Some good results of this law were: (1) it made a way for some form of consolidated school; 9 (2) the teachers' fund of the district from which the children came could be drawn upon for tuition; (3) the incidental fund could be drawn upon for transportation; (4) the


8 Laws of Missouri, 1907, p. 424.

9 Some form of community or cooperative school is very much needed at present.
child of one parent, or who was an orphan, could attend any school in the state.\textsuperscript{10}

Obviously there had been failures somewhere to establish schools for Negro children; for, the school law for 1907 placed two penalties on a district for failure to establish a school for Negro children when fifteen or more Negro children were residing in the district: (1) the district forfeited all public funds due the district from the state school funds, and (2) directors could be removed from office for neglect of duty.\textsuperscript{11}

The Forty-fifth General Assembly made it possible for the Negro child to attend any school in the county: (1) the district in which the child lived was forced to pay the expense; (2) the Negro children were allowed to attend for only the length of time that children attended school in the district where they lived; (3) it provided, also, that any board refusing to send Negro children to some other district, there being no school in their district, should be held individually responsible.\textsuperscript{12}

Legislation presented thus far has made provisions only for elementary schools. Hitherto the need for high schools had not been felt.

\textsuperscript{10} Laws of Missouri, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 425.

\textsuperscript{11} Revised Statutes, 1909, III, Section 10794.

\textsuperscript{12} \textit{Ibid.}, 1907.
The Forty-ninth General Assembly made it compulsory for all districts in counties having a population of more than 100,000, which, then or later, might adjoin a city having a population of 500,000 or more maintaining a high school for whites, to establish high school facilities for Negroes. This was done so that all the children, without regard to color, should have the same opportunities. The new district was to be known as the colored consolidated district. 13

It should be noted that: (1) the districts composing the consolidated district were to have one vote each in determining the policy of the school; (2) Negro high schools had previously existed only in the first class cities; 14 (3) this effort constituted the initial effort to extend them into the counties; (4) this law had the misfortune of reaching only a few sections of the state because only a few counties, for population reasons came under the law. 15

13 Ibid., 1917, p. 498.
14 St. Louis, Kansas City, St. Joseph, Springfield, Sedalia, Joplin.
15 Of the 114 counties in the state, 87 have population totals ranging below 25,000.
The Fifty-first General Assembly endeavored to make the schools practical and easily accessible to the Negro high school pupil. By its action county and district boards were forced to pay the tuition to any community where a Negro high school was maintained.  

On paper, these provisions looked very good and appeared to be nothing less than decidedly advantageous. It was easy for one to be reassured that they should have adequately taken care of the school needs of Negro children. But, they did not do so for the reason that too many of the children whom they were intended to benefit were too small to go so far from home to attend school.

The high school law tested. As early as 1924, Corneal Herman, a Negro girl of Normandy District, St. Louis County, having finished elementary school, applied at and was admitted to the Charles Sumner High School; 17 after some considerable time, because her tuition was not paid, she was suspended from school. Her father brought mandamus proceedings against the Board of Education in the county court to secure her tuition at the Sumner High School. The case was taken up to the State Supreme Court under the act of 1921, which authorized the establishment of a high school for Negroes in all communities having more than 100,000

16 Laws of Missouri, 1921, p. 626.
17 4248 West Cottage Avenue
   St. Louis 13, Missouri
and less than 200,000 population. Judge Ragland of the Missouri Supreme Court held that: (1) the payment of tuition was no concern of Corneal Herman; (2) the school Board of St. Louis did wrong in suspending the girl, for she had a right to attend the Negro high school; (3) it was the duty of the St. Louis Board of Education to collect the tuition from the Normandy District. In fact, the state had offered a remedy if the Negro student would avail herself of it. 18

The Fifty-first General Assembly, also, created the office of State Supervisor of Negro Schools, an appointive officer by, and to be under, the State Superintendent of Public Schools, his salary to be the same as that of other supervisors. 19 This law brought into being, in fact, "The Division of Negro Education," the program of which was designed to make education, facilities and equipment as nearly equal as they can be while they are separate from these same items for white children, and other citizens.

18 The case was reported in the St. Louis Globe-Democrat, December 4, 1925.

19 Laws of Missouri, 1921, p. 641.

20 Section 10604, R. S. 1939; (b) Official Manual of the State of Missouri, 1943-1944,"Division of Negro Education," pp. 627, 634.
While the program of the Division of Negro Education, as outlined under the law, is explicit and gives the supervisor all the latitude necessary to the constant development of an effective program of education for Missouri Negroes, it seems to be the consensus of opinion that only three supervisors have had the backbone to do a really creditable job in office: the late Nathan B. Young, Roland L. Wiggins, and indubitably the present incumbent, Daniel F. Martinez, religious and educational crusader.\(^{21}\) TABLE VIII lists the supervisors from their inception to date.

The Fifty-fifth General Assembly reduced the required number of Negro children under the provision for the maintenance of a school from fifteen to eight.\(^{22}\) This significant legislation brought education much nearer to every Negro child. Yet, there were many who had no school facilities. On this specific problem, the late

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\(^{21}\) Appointed to succeed himself by Hubert Wheeler, first Commissioner of Education, under the provisions of the new Missouri State Constitution, adopted February 27, 1945. The new law created a State Board of Education, to have supreme authority over the State Department of Education, with the commissioner of education and the members of the staff responsible to it.

\(^{22}\) Laws of Missouri, 1929, p. 382.
Nathan B. Young had this to say in 1929:

There are in round numbers 3000 Negro children in 54 counties ranging from 1 to 200 per county, respectively. In these 54 counties the one-teacher school predominates. In many of them, there is no school at all for Negro children. In these counties at least 200 Negro children are fitted each year for high school, but there is no such school available for them.

Today the situation is very little better than it was in 1929. There are too many places where there no high school facilities for Negroes and there can be none. At present there are in the entire state for Negroes only twenty-six first class high schools; three second class, eight third class and nine unclassified high schools.

The legislators must have thought that they were creating one mitigating circumstance when, in contemplation of circumscribed high school facilities and opportunities for Negroes in Missouri, they designated Lincoln University High School as the State High School to which any Negro boy or girl in need of high school facilities and opportunities may go.

23 Dr. Young had the unusual experience of serving as president of Lincoln University, Jefferson City; later, State Inspector of Negro Schools, beginning in 1927.

24 Nathan B. Young, Distribution of Negro School Age Children of Missouri, Spring 1929.

TABLE VIII

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INSPECTOR</th>
<th>APPOINTED BY</th>
<th>DATE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Virgil E. Williams</td>
<td>Sam A. Baker*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. G. Williams</td>
<td>Sam A. Baker</td>
<td>1921</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. C. Bruce</td>
<td>Charles A. Lee</td>
<td>1923</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nathan B. Young</td>
<td>Charles A. Lee</td>
<td>1927</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linnear H. Bryant</td>
<td>Charles A. Lee</td>
<td>1930</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rebecca C. Davis</td>
<td>Charles A. Lee</td>
<td>1931-35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ernest O. Boone</td>
<td>Lloyd W. King</td>
<td>1936</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roland L. Wiggins</td>
<td>Lloyd W. King</td>
<td>1937-42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burt A. Mayberry</td>
<td>Lloyd W. King</td>
<td>1942-Jan.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daniel F. Martinez</td>
<td>Roy Scantlin</td>
<td>Jan. 1943</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daniel F. Martinez</td>
<td>Hubert Wheeler¹</td>
<td>1946</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Negro Inspectors and Supervisors of Missouri Schools for Negro Children

* Appointment made before the creation of the office in 1921.

¹ First Commissioner of Education
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Assistant State Supervisors</th>
<th>Area Jeanes Supervisors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Marinda N. Ferguson</strong>, by Lloyd W. King</td>
<td><strong>Charleston</strong> Supervisor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Alberta E. Douglas</strong>, by Roy Scantlin</td>
<td><strong>Caruthersville</strong> Supervisor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Marie Branche</strong></td>
<td><strong>Kewanee</strong> Supervisor</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As of 1948: Area Jeanes Supervisors
The Fifty-fifth General Assembly, also, enacted legislation setting up the machinery by which students who wish to take courses not offered at Lincoln University but offered at Missouri University may attend some accredited institution in an adjacent state. The same law provided for tuition for Missouri students at the Lincoln University High School. The original appropriation for the above-mentioned projects was $15,000.26 The total appropriation for these projects in 1931 was $15,000. In 1933 the High School Law was made applicable to all students, for the operation of which the sum of $20,000 was appropriated.27

All of the above-listed legislation would appear to indicate that persevering effort has been made by Missouri to solve, at least, the major problems encountered in the discharge of her duties in the education of her Negro citizens, despite the conditions, forces, circumstances and attitudes of mind that have existed, or were brought to bear, to hinder the successful and effective operation thereof.

26 Laws of Missouri, 1929, p. 61, Appropriation Section 73c.

27 Ibid., 1933, p. 88. A.
Quite the contrary is true. It is not too much to state that, from time out of mind, much that the Negro has obtained educationally, and in every other public connection, locally and state wide, has been obtained by petition, protest and resorting to mass meetings and the courts.28

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28 Some of the most recent instances being the court fight by the citizens of St. Louis to prevent the Board of Education from erecting the New Waring School in backyard of the Vashon High School.

Petition, protest and mass meetings were the devices employed by Negro citizens to obtain buildings and equipment for the Sumner High School, the Vashon High School, the Stowe Teachers College, the Cote Brilliante School and the Dunbar Elementary School, to mention a few instances of petition, etc.

Despite the Gaines Decision, Negroes have not been admitted to the Law School of the University of Missouri; instead, the Negroes have been given a segregated School of Law as part of Lincoln University. Yet, leaders of thought in the state are all agog over the recent appropriation of $400,000.00 for the erection of a new law building to house the Lincoln University School of Law in St. Louis.
CHAPTER V

WHAT NEGROES HAVE TODAY

While much progress has been made in the education of Missouri Negroes from 1865 to 1948, much remains to be done to equalize their facilities, equipment, supplies and housing with those same items provided for white citizens within the state. At present there are in the state a total of forty-eight institutions for the training of citizens above the secondary level, and Negroes are unqualifiedly excluded from thirty-four of them. They are excluded from all tax-supported educational agencies by law, except those institutions designated for them. To prevent them from attending any institutions financed by public money is to require them to support agencies from which neither they nor their children may receive direct benefits. In this category are the State University and the five State Teachers Colleges.

They are hindered from enrolling at certain private institutions by means of a quasi-gentlemen's agreement inasmuch as they may not attend state, tax-supported, institutions. All of this had the effect of hindering them from enjoying to the full much of that democracy that is due them.

1 The date of the voluntary emancipation of her slaves.

2 Constitution of the State of Missouri, Article IX, Section 1, adopted February 27, 1948.
Their exclusion is certainly not predicated upon their lack of capacity to learn. For, the number who have received higher training with distinct credit and succeeded in the professions and technological occupations is legion. Their successes in multitudinous vocations are beyond peradventure. Their training was received, much of it, perforce in other states and institutions. One high school alone boasts of the brilliant successes of some sixteen of its sons and daughters, indicated in TABLE IX.

Negro Missourians are justly proud of the records made by Grant Reynolds, John A. Moreland and Joseph S. Gomez, as graduate students, at Eden Theological Seminary. The admission of Lucille Brantley to study at Font Bonne College, located in a suburb of St. Louis, is sufficiently recent to make unavailable authentic information as to how well she is adjusting herself to her new college surroundings. They could feel much happier

3 Consult Who's Who in America, Who's Who in Colored America, and the records of the leading universities at home and abroad. This investigator has done graduate work at King's College, the University of London.

4 May 1948 elected to the bishopric in the African Methodist Episcopal Church, Kansas City, Kansas.

5 Daughter of George Dennis and Lucille Brantly. Mr. Brantley is principal at the Sumner High School.

6 A member of the St. Louis University System.
over the attendance of Vada Easter, Barbara Sutton, Rosalyn Harris, and Irene Thomas at Webster College if they did not remember how authorities at this Christian college and the late John Cardinal Glennon, then Archbishop, gave a worthy Negro Catholic girl "the run around" when she sought admission to the student body. She never matriculated at Webster College.

The joy of Missouri Negroes was full when St. Louis University reopened its doors to them (1) the summer of 1944, then (2) the fall semester of 1945, thence to date. This result came as much because of a ringing and challenging sermon of Father Claude H. Heithaus, S. J., at the College Church and the consistent passing of hand bills among the students by Charles H. Anderson, a faithful Catholic, as any other factors.

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7 Some five or more years ago.
8 In the School of Music.
9 In the School of Arts and Sciences.
10 The transcript of the entire correspondence is in the possession of the investigator.
11 Subsequently removed from the St. Louis University faculty and assigned to the faculty of Marquette University, Milwaukee; honored as "man of the year" by the city; the fact reported in the Pittsburgh Courier, February 21, 1948.
Their readmission to Washington University was the occasion of far more discussion among them and their friends. For, it appears that it has been a much longer time since they were students there than since they attended St. Louis University. Elsewhere in this study, mention was made of the fact that Augustus O. Thornton, for a long time teacher of Industrial Arts at the Sumner High School, now retired, was the last Negro to finish there. He graduated in 1892. A few Negro students were admitted, with considerable trepedation, to the Washington University School of Medicine. Two Negro women were admitted to the George Warren Brown School of Social Work. It could be, but it does not seem likely that, of a Negro population of from 100,000 to 125,000, only two Negro women would make application for admission to the graduate school of social work. Within the last three weeks announcement was made of the opening of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences to Negroes.

12 July 5, 1947.

13 Lillie V. Holland and Leona Evans, social workers, December 12, 1947; reported in the St. Louis Globe-Democrat, February 22, 1948.

14 May 20, 1948.
TABLE IX

SCHOLASTIC HONORS, ACHIEVEMENTS, POSITIONS; GRADUATES
of the
Charles Sumner High School
Part I

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>HONORARY SOCIETY</th>
<th>ADVANCED DEGREE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Carter, John H.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ph. D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Curtis, L. Simington</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ph. D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Diggs, Mary Huff</td>
<td>Phi Beta Kappa</td>
<td>Ph. D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Greene, Harry</td>
<td>Sigma Xi</td>
<td>Ph. D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Higgins, Rodney G.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ph. D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Hodge, Beulah Payne</td>
<td>Phi Beta Kappa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Harris, Ruth M.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ph. D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Inge, Frederick</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ph. D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Jones, Virginia L.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ph. D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Reedy, Sidney J.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ph. D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 Scott, James A.</td>
<td>Phi Beta Kappa</td>
<td>A. M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Smith, Edith M</td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 Sutton, Thelma S.</td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 Taylor, Modie C.</td>
<td>Sigma Xi</td>
<td>Ph. D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 Wheeler, Albert</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ph. D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 Williams, Frances H.</td>
<td>Phi Beta Kappa</td>
<td>A. M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INSTITUTION</td>
<td>PRESENT SITUATION</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University of Illinois</td>
<td>Florida A. and M. College</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; Chicago</td>
<td>Research, Fisk University</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; Minnesota</td>
<td>Professor of Sociology, Hunter College, New York</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ohio State University</td>
<td>A. and T. College</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University of Iowa</td>
<td>Southern University</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; Kansas</td>
<td>Deceased</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Columbia University</td>
<td>Principal, Stowe Teachers Coll.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University of Iowa</td>
<td>Bethune-Cookman College</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; Chicago</td>
<td>Library Science, Atlanta U.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; Colorado</td>
<td>Lincoln University, Mo.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; Kansas</td>
<td>Director Elemty Ed., St. L.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; So. Cal.</td>
<td>Journalism, St. Louis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; Chicago</td>
<td>Teacher, St. Louis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>Lincoln University, Mo.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; Michigan</td>
<td>Research, University of Mich.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; Chicago</td>
<td>Govt. Service, Washington</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Other things being equal, Negroes attend Lincoln University, Jefferson City; Lincoln Junior College, Kansas City; and the Harriet Beecher Stowe Teachers College, St. Louis in compliance with the legal requirements of the "separate but equal" principle of education, hotel and travel accommodations, and what not, a myth, a dictum whenever and wherever stipulated, that never was intended to be what it says. Thompson takes the position that:

To date, the validity of the 'separate but equal education' principle has not been demonstrated anywhere; and theoretically it is impossible as well as undemocratic.

The institutions which Negroes attend, other than those allotted to them by Missouri law, admit them on a very restricted basis. It appears that Du Bois' position is as applicable to Missouri today as it was to the nation the day that he wrote it:

Negroes have small chance here because of race exclusion and yet no scientist in the world can today write of insects and ignore the work of Charles Henry Turner.

15 The only Missouri State Teachers College for Negroes.

16 The St. Louis Board of Education supported teachers college for the preparation of elementary teachers for the local system.


In Missouri, this fact is equally true in church, housing, recreation, commerce and industry, labor unions of certain types and crafts, and living.

Other agencies in the community that contribute to the development of the higher and finer life of Negroes are his own church,19 the Pine Street Young Men's Christian Association, the Phyllis Wheatley Young Women's Christian Association, the Boy Scouts of America, the Girl Scouts, the Greater St. Louis Youth Conference,20 the Legend Singers and the Cosmopolitan Choir under the direction of their founder Kenneth Brown Billups, the Celestial Choristere under the direction of C. Spencer Tocus, the Sumner A Cappella Choir under the direction of Wirt D. Walton, the Vashon Choir under the direction of Ruth E. Greene, the St. Louis Branch of the Urban League and its Nursery School under the leadership of John T. Clark, the Federation of Block Units with its emphasis on sanitation and civic beauty, the Annie E. Malone Orphans' Home and the Ferris Old Folks' Home; as art centers there are The Peoples Art Center, cosmopolitan in clientele, and the St. Louis Art Museum; the cultural

19 The church is the most completely segregated of the institutions that are designed to contribute to community harmony.

20 Under the auspices of the Pine St. Y. M. C. A. It derives its members from churches, schools, Sunday Schools and other organized groups in St. Louis and vicinity.
advantages of the Municipal Auditorium and the Municipal Theatre, the Shaw's Garden \(^{21}\) and the Forest Park with its remarkable Zoological Garden and the Jewel Box are not to be overlooked.

Availing himself of the above-mentioned facilities is an indication of the effort made by the Negro to do a great deal toward the improvement of his cultural, spiritual and social status in the community.

Another side of the picture is shown by the exhibits which follow. They indicate that there are many spots in the state where the community is not discharging its full educational responsibility to its Negro citizens. They cause the Negro often to wonder if the separate facilities of any type can ever be equal.

\(^{21}\) The greatest botanical garden in the world, next after Kew Gardens in Richmond, England. It was left to the State by the late Henry Shaw, an Englishman, for a long, long time a successful merchant in the city of St. Louis.
THEY TELL THEIR OWN STORY

O' Bannon High School
New Madrid, Missouri

Gobler School
Pemiscot County

One teacher
Poor condition
New school promised

Agriculture Building
O' Bannon School
New Madrid, Missouri
Texas Bend, Missouri
One Teacher
Forty-four pupils
Grades 1-8

Public School
Ste. Genevieve, Missouri
One teacher
Built in 1824

Fish Lake, Missouri
One teacher
Eighty-five pupils
Grades 1-8

Out House
Texas Bend School
Wyatt, Missouri
Two buildings
Four teachers
Four rooms
187 pupils
Grades 1-8

Colored High School
Poplar Bluff, Missouri

Deventer, Missouri
One teacher
Sixty-three pupils
Grades 1-8
High School, Front View
Caruthersville, Missouri

Another view of the same school
Caruthersville, Missouri
CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

I. SUMMARY

As long as this study has become, it is shorter than it was planned. To prevent it from becoming much too long, the investigator found it prudent to withdraw from the finished report three chapters, the withdrawal of which has not materially affected the value of the solution of the problem.

To close the study, the pertinent facts appear to be the following-listed:

Reasons for making the study. Far beyond the notion of obtaining credit for the work done was the desire of the investigator to know more concerning the past and even the present of Missouri's provisions for the education of her Negro segment of her population. Twenty-eight years as a Missouri teacher furnished a sufficient background in knowledge, experience and questionings for the urge to make the study.

Practices and legal provisions. (1) Inasmuch as Negroes have been among the inhabitants of this region since very early times, having been brought here as slave
laborers by Sieur Philip Renault, in 1719, the practices with regard to their education have been compatible with their social and political status, a constant evolution from slavery to citizenship of some type. (2) Legal provisions for the education of Missouri Negroes have varied from "a mutual UNDERSTANDING against" means of education to the laws of 1813, 1817, 1833, and 1847, restricting freedom of travel and assembly to the extreme of making it criminal to teach the Negro, in 1847. The 1847 law was repealed in 1865, the same year that Missouri voluntarily abolished slavery in the language:

'by the irrevocable action of the Convention slavery is abolished in the State of Missouri, now and forever.' None hereafter shall 'know any master but God.'

From 1865 to 1948 much legislation, educationally beneficial to the Missouri Negro, has been enacted; but, it has been, and still is, unlawful for Negroes and whites to be educated in the same classes in institutions financed by public money.2 this study is in Chapter IV, pp. 37-51.


2 Constitution of the State of Missouri, loc. cit.
Negroes educated in extraordinary circumstances; yesterday and today. Before the abolition of slavery, it was necessary for the Negro to attend clandestine schools, operated in the basements of churches, under the guise of Sunday Schools in which the lessons appertained to religious education. Whenever books were discovered in these schools they were broken up, shown in Chapter III.

It is no fault to inject here the fact that James Milton Turner was representative of the ripest fruit of these schools.

Today, Negroes still are restricted in their educational opportunities within the state: of forty-eight institutions of higher learning within the state, Negroes are excluded from thirty-four of them. They attend only one state, tax-supported, school: Lincoln University, consisting of the Arts and Sciences, the School of Education, the School of Agriculture, the Graduate School, and the School of Journalism, all on the campus at Jefferson City; the Vocational School at Dalton, Missouri; the School of Law in St. Louis, which is giving the bar associations of St. Louis and Missouri a great deal of concern because a recent act of the Missouri General Assembly appropriated

3 Turner was born a slave in St. Louis County in 1841, whose father was a veterinarian; he attended yellow tallow candle schools in St. Louis church basements, and in Lovejoy, Illinois when these schools were broken up; he established the first public school in the state for Negroes, Kansas City, later became deputy state superintendent of schools for the development of Negro schools, Minister Resident and Consul General to Liberia by appointment of
$400,000.00 for the purchase of sufficient land and the erection of a suitable structure to house the Lincoln University School of Law, because Missouri courts, the University of Missouri and other forces in the state have done everything that could be done to circumvent the execution of the Gaines Decision. They are admitted to private schools, in rather restricted numbers, of the status of St. Louis University, Eden Seminary, Font Bonne College, Webster College; and, very lately, Washington University; they are admitted to the following municipally operated schools: Lincoln Junior College, Kansas City; Harriet Beecher Stowe Teachers College, St. Louis; in this connection, Western Seminary, a Baptist school in Kansas City, Missouri should not be overlooked.

Information in detail, in this category, together with TABLE IX, pages 56 and 57, and, also, EXHIBITS indicating educational limitations in spots in the state are shown in Chapter V, under the caption What Negroes have Today.

For advanced training, the Negro must leave the state. State provision is made for tuition, and that is all, for such students.

3 (continued) President Ulysses S. Grant. Then he spent fourteen to sixteen years fighting, and finally won payment of oil royalties for the Cherokees in Oklahoma.
Tables I--VII, Chapter III, pp. 21, 28, 30, 32, 34-36 represent important steps in the educational advancement of the Missouri Negro. Table VIII, p. 49, Chapter IV, presents the line of succession of state inspectors and supervisors from their inception to date.

Some of his accomplishments. Despite the inconvenience and the added expense to which the Negro has been put to obtain advanced and special training, he has accomplished phenomenal success in sundry gainful vocations, represented by the following-named persons, to name a few:

Grace L. Nichols, for a long time, and still, teacher of creative art at Sumner High School, has been the inspirer of Elmer Simms Campbell, Commercial Artist, whose illustrations may be currently seen in Esquire and Fortune, and, whose comic strip (Cuties) is syndicated to hundreds of daily papers; James D. Parks, artist, and, for a long time, head of the Department of Art at Lincoln University, Jefferson City; Jessie Housely, teacher in the elementary schools of St. Louis, and, for a long time, illustrator for several of the downtown department stores; Lyle Suter, Frances Inge, Spencer Banks and many others engaged in art pursuits. (2) Langston Hughes, Missouri born, poet, dramatist, novelist and lecturer; one of three

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4 Information from questionnaire results and information possessed by the investigator by reason of his acquaintance with the persons.

5 Pratt graduate, teacher and world traveler.
Negroes, at present, reputed to be earning a living from their activities, exclusively, as literati; the late W. T. Vernon as Register of the United States Treasury; the late William J. Thompkins as United States Recorder of Deeds; Augustus Oliver Thornton, Jr. as current First Deputy Recorder of Deeds in Washington; James Milton Turner, J. R. A. Crossland and Lester A. Walton as ministers to Liberia, Walton serving from 1935 to 1946.

Some of their contributions to the world's work or welfare. This investigator found one hundred thirty-five brilliant examples of contributions in this category in "Who's Who in Colored America," in questionnaire results and in conservative estimates of Missouri educators and other reliable citizens, some among them are the following-listed: the late Edward Randolph Carter, slave-born Missourian, who pastored the Friendship Baptist Church, Atlanta, Georgia for sixty-one years, meantime becoming one of the co-founders of the World Baptist Alliance; Blind Boone, musical genius, who could hear a selection for his first time, then go to an instrument and reproduce it, errors, if any, and all; W. C. Handy, not native-born

6 They are: Langston Hughes, Richard Wright of Native Son fame, Frank Yerby of Foxes of Harrow fame.

7 The Pittsburgh Courier, August 17, 1944.
but, who as a resident of St. Louis, had the memorable experiences that motivated the writing of the unforgettable *St. Louis Blues*; Lloyd Gaines and Lucille Bluford as litigants in epoch-making court cases; Hiram R. Revels, formerly pastor and teacher in St. Louis, who later moved to Mississippi and distinguished himself by serving in the United States Senate from that state; Sidney Redmond, Mississippi-born, now, and for a long time, resident of St. Louis, one of the legal representatives of Lloyd Gaines in his celebrated case before the United States Supreme Court; Redmond is at present Alderman from the Eighteenth Ward in the City Board of Aldermen; George L. Vaughn, for forty-three years a practitioner in the courts in the land, attorney before the United States Supreme Court in the recently decided *J. D. Shelly Restrictive Covenant Case*; Blanche L' O. Tucker and T. Parker Smith as founders of business colleges in Missouri, the former, at present, very much the president of the Tuckers Business College of St. Louis.

8 The widely known Gaines Case, which eventuated in the establishment of the Lincoln University School of Law in St. Louis in 1939.

The Lucille Bluford Case, less widely known, which eventuated in the establishment of the Lincoln University School of Journalism, on the campus, 1942.

9 *History of the Central Baptist Church*, pp. 11, 31.
II. CONCLUSIONS

The summary of this study appears to point to the following conclusions:

(1) Negroes have been in this territory from the beginning; before Upper Louisiana was discovered; before St. Louis was planned. St. Louis was founded before the Missouri Territory was established.

(2) From the beginning, despite efforts to the contrary on the part of their masters, some type of desultory learning was taking place among the slaves.

(3) The fact that so many slaves did learn in this fashion was a manifestation of considerable ability to learn; yet, with the urge to learn, they should have been able to do a great deal for themselves by reason of their close contact with the masters and their families as house servants, handymen, craftsmen.

(4) The few Christian masters who allowed their slaves to learn to read and interpret the scriptures, despite the vogue and the law, aided the slaves far more than they knew.

(5) Legal restrictions never prevented the alert and eager slaves from learning any more than four walls a "prison make."
(6) For the reason that Missouri was a region of small farms, small slave holdings, the plantation system could not get a foothold in the state.

The resulting close human contacts made slave education inescapable and inevitable.

(7) Even during pre-Civil War and Reconstruction days, the slave had his friends, in the state, among good white people of the type of John Mason Peck, Galusha Anderson, Greenleaf Eliot, and the members of the Western Sanitary Commission.

(8) It was a mistake for Missouri not to repeal all educational legal restrictions concerning the education of Negro and white citizens in institutions supported by public money at the time that it repealed the law of 1847 and all similar previous legislation. The duality of such legislation (concerning schools, supplies, equipment, etc.) is discriminatory, an affront to tax-paying and patriotic minorities, unreasonable, unfair, undemocratic, unjustifiable and unwarranted.

(9) The separate but equal principle of education is a myth that was never intended to be what it says, deceives not even the most unsuspecting.

(10) This type of patterned thinking is outmoded and action and legislation predicated upon it circumvents the full enjoyment of citizenship rights guaranteed to all American citizens. To measure out to any minority condi-
tions that degrade them in any way, or deprive them of maximum symmetrical development, will affect adversely the majority segment of the population in many ways that cannot be measured in health reports, any types of delinquency regulation, or unemployment and vagabondage among those citizens who need most to work. There are many undisclosed evils lurking in the reception, as well as in the administration of so-called organized charity.

(11) Missouri's Negro citizens have demonstrated beyond peradventure their capacity to learn and to achieve success in sundry vocations and technological pursuits.

(12) A fair trial of the Springfield Plan in education, and the principle applied to housing, health facilities, recreation, the church, etc., will, or should, bring invaluable returns to every community that sees fit to apply it.

(13) The "To Secure These Rights" program must eventually, inevitably, succeed or the whole of the community fabric will fall to pieces.

(14) With eighty-seven of Missouri's 114 counties having population ranges below 25,000, and in every county seventeen or more county officers on the pay-roll, one solution appears to be inevitable. That solution is the elimination of all counties under 25,000 population and a reorganization of the remaining counties to secure to all the most equitable educational and political benefits.
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