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JEFFERSON CITY, MISSOURI 65101

Department of Social Science
June 29, 1979

Mr. James Denny
Section Chief
Nominations--Survey
Department of Natural Resources
Jefferson City, Missouri 65101

Dear Mr. Denny:

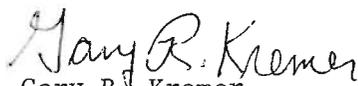
Please find enclosed our final report for the Lincoln University Black Historic/Cultural Site Project, Phase I, Number 29-8394.

Specifically, our report consists of seventy-nine Historic Inventory Sheets on Ville (St. Louis) buildings, accompanied by 8x10 photos, a narrative account of the historic significance of the neighborhood, and a brief account of literature available for a similar survey of Jefferson City's black historic sites.

As you know, we have already begun work on the nomination of four Ville buildings to the National Register, along with a Lincoln University Historic District.

Thank you for your interest in and support of our project.

Sincerely,



Gary R. Kremer
Assistant Prof. of History and
Project Director

LINCOLN UNIVERSITY
BLACK HISTORIC/CULTURAL SITES SURVEY:
PHASE I

For

The Missouri Department of Natural Resources

By

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Department of Social Science
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June 30, 1979

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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INTRODUCTION

In recent years increased numbers of individuals, groups, and governmental agencies have begun to recognize buildings as important historic artifacts. This awareness is the product of a growing desire to preserve our diverse cultural heritage and discover our "roots". We are increasingly coming to realize that buildings of all varieties are a very real part of that heritage. Buildings are history. They allow a unique glimpse of the past that is unattainable in any other way; and they provide a background to our forebearers daily life--their history. More importantly, buildings can illuminate an "era of style" that no longer exists or is only vaguely remembered. In many ways we attain a more vivid picture, discern some of the charm and the flavor of a neighborhood, as well as visualize the environment in which people worked, played and dreamed. In short, buildings can widen our perceptions of what life was like in the past. In this respect, the preservation of buildings is but another means of recording the past to better understand the present.

Buildings, when seen in this light, are more than a mute testimony to a distant past. No longer are they merely inanimate objects or relics. Certainly, not all buildings

are historic sites worthy of inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places, but many manifest interesting architectural styles reflecting the builder's craftsmanship and his ability to employ certain materials in the execution of a particular style or design. Even buildings with no architectural distinction were deeply woven into the fabric of the community.

There is the very real danger of losing, or at least greatly diminishing, the variety and excitement that once existed through the thoughtless and indiscriminate demolition and razing of buildings in the name of progress and urban renewal. We are trading our buildings for parking areas, thoroughfares, and weed covered vacant lots. This phenomenon is especially true for ethnic neighborhoods. Much ethnic culture has been obliterated because "properties associated with these peoples were often working class homes and shops, construction frequently was not substantial and is subject to rapid deterioration. Urban structures in particular have been prey to freeways and clean-scape renewal programs."¹

Furthermore, Constance M. Greiff, an architectural historian, has written, "We are losing not only identity in place, but in time. The buildings that have gone and the ones that are threatened constitute a valuable historic and artistic testimonial, recorded in brick and mortar rather than in ink, of what America has been and what it is becoming. We need our old buildings as a point of reference, not just to tell us about the past, but to place the present

and future in perspective."²

Elleardsville, Missouri: Forerunner to the Ville

The focus of this study is the area known as the Ville, in St. Louis. It is a neighborhood whose heritage is rich, but whose buildings are now threatened by urban blight.

The Ville was once known as Elleardsville, Missouri. Elleardsville derived its name from Charles M. Elleard, a prominent white citizen and horticulturist, who set up a nursery in a rural area northwest of St. Louis in the 1860's. The original boundaries of the district were quite extensive, stretching from Vandeventer Avenue on the east, to Taylor Avenue on the west, south to Easton (now Dr. Martin Luther King Drive), and north to Fairground Park. Recent studies define the parameters of the Ville in smaller terms.³ For the purpose of this research project we have adopted the reduced area for several reasons. The territory within the boundaries of Sarah and Taylor Avenues and St. Louis and Easton contain the cultural, educational, medical, religious, and recreational institutions that made the Ville a unique neighborhood where many of St. Louis' elite blacks lived. Secondly, current as well as former residents define the Ville in these smaller terms. Lastly, the reduced area most nearly approximates the census tract boundaries mapped out in the 1930 census. With the exclusion of Sarah Avenue, census tract 11-C is identical to the more narrowly-defined Ville. At the time, the United States Census Bureau permanently established tract boundaries with an eye toward

approximate uniformity of area and fairly homogeneous population characteristics.⁴

Black Migration into the Ville, 1870-1910: The Era
Preceding Restrictive Covenants

Native white Americans, German, Irish, and Italian immigrants, as well as blacks, were represented in the Elleardsville region in the 1860's. Early in the 1870's, this quiet open area proved to be attractive to affluent blacks from St. Louis. Blacks who initially moved into the Ville saw themselves as being socially superior to the poorer class of black workers. Prior to the Ville's existence, Cyprian Clamorgan, a black barber, referred to this social distinction in a tract on the colored aristocracy of St. Louis in 1858. He described the differences that already existed between the black elite who owned property or businesses and poorer blacks, slaves, and runaways. Prior to 1900, however, it is reported that the majority of the blacks residing in the Ville were live-in servants, although there were two or three areas of well-to-do blacks.⁵

The possibility of owning one's home was a value held by many blacks. The residential potential of the Ville was a strong magnet that attracted them. In the late 19th century, there were few restrictions on the purchase of property; all one needed was approximately two thousand dollars to buy a lot and a house. Initially only the prosperous could afford their own homes, but a black managerial class began to establish itself in the Ville. Clearly, the Ville was

becoming a desirable residential neighborhood for blacks.⁶

In fact, the black community was sizeable enough to warrant establishing the Elleardsville Colored School No. 8. This elementary school opened in 1873 on Claggett (St. Louis Avenue). Evidence of the black influx into the Ville can be gleaned from the attendance records of the local elementary school. Fifty-three students enrolled during the school's first year of existence under the tutelage of Mr. Richard Cole, a black man. The school's records are the most accurate source available for measuring the growth of black settlement in the area of the Ville during the last three decades of the 19th century. These figures also provide occupational information on the parents. For instance, in 1880, out of 226 students, five families had a mother or father who considered themselves working in a professional or managerial capacity. By 1890, the same year No. 8 was renamed Simmons School, this figure had risen to twenty-two families out of 390 students. And from 1891 to 1900 the number of students attending Simmons during the preceding decade had averaged 527 annually; information regarding parental occupation is not listed.⁷ In order to accommodate the continual black growth in its neighborhood, it was necessary to construct a new brick building, which was completed in 1899, replacing the former two-story frame structure. Located at 4234 St. Louis Avenue, a Simmons School has stood on that site for 106 years.

Within a year after Elleardsville had been incorporated

into the city of St. Louis, blacks could attend their own church. In 1877 Reverend Alfred B. Johnson started the Elleardsville Church on Lambton (now Lambdin Avenue) near St. Ferdinand Avenue. Shortly thereafter Antioch Baptist Church was organized and occupied temporarily a building on Lambdin Avenue near Kennerly Avenue. Antioch Baptist Church incorporated in 1884 and was joined the following year by the St. James A.M.E. Church; both churches are still a dynamic part of the community.⁸

St. Louis grew rapidly around the turn of the century. Its population increased from 451,770 in 1890 to 687,029 in 1910. With the growth and expansion of business and industry, the advent of the streetcar and omnibus, wealthier residents moved westward. Real estate manipulators helped to promote this exodus from the central districts of St. Louis. Following in the tracks of native Americans came German and Irish immigrants along with blacks of means.⁹

Many of the buildings that remain in the Ville clearly manifest the craftsmanship of those German immigrants. The Arts and Architecture of German Settlements in Missouri, written by Charles van Ravenswaay, gives a thorough account of Missouri's German heritage through architecture and the decorative arts. According to van Ravenswaay, German masons and joiners brought to the United States building techniques and stylish motifs from the home country. These were adopted to new American environmental and social conditions and the result has been called a Missouri-German vernacular

style. The brick structures which display a German influence are characterized by gable roofs, brick cornices, common bond brickwork, and stone foundations. Other distinguishing features include segmental relieving arches above window and door openings, jigsaw-cut boards in a foliated pattern, and string courses in various types of molded brick. Parapet walls and parapet chimnies are also found. It is a handsome style of substantiality and strength without an excess of ornamental decoration. The characteristic features of this Missouri-German style are well illustrated in many of the Ville's buildings.

From 1890 to 1920 the United States Census Bureau compiled statistics on the total number of blacks and whites living in each of St. Louis' wards. From this information an indication of the Ville's steady growth can be inferred. These statistics must be used with caution, however. After 1880, the total number of wards in St. Louis remained static at twenty-eight; however, ward boundaries changed every five years (in 1887, 1892, 1897, etc.); oftentimes the Ville is split and placed in two wards. Therefore, the statistics cited below indicate the particular ward that contained the larger geographical proportion of the Ville. Furthermore, the total number of blacks indicated for a particular ward may not have resided within the confines of the Ville.¹⁰

POPULATION BY WARD CONTAINING THE VILLE
FROM 1890 to 1970 BY WHITE-NONWHITE

| Year | Ward | White | Percent | Nonwhite | Percent | Total |
|------|------|--------|---------|----------|---------|--------|
| 1890 | 28 | 21,046 | 93.98 | 1,346 | 6.02 | 22,392 |
| 1900 | 26 | 21,398 | 91.35 | 2,026 | 8.65 | 23,424 |
| 1910 | 22 | 19,159 | 86.04 | 3,108 | 13.96 | 22,267 |
| 1920 | 22 | 20,610 | 78.80 | 5,542 | 21.20 | 26,152 |

More accurate figures for the Ville's black population became available in 1930 with the creation of census tracts. As mentioned earlier, census tract 11-C is nearly identical to the Ville's boundaries.

POPULATION IN CENSUS TRACT 11-C FROM
1920 to 1930 BY WHITE-NONWHITE

| Year | White | Percent | Nonwhite | Percent | Total |
|------|-------|---------|----------|---------|--------|
| 1930 | 1,470 | 13.90 | 9,107 | 86.10 | 10,577 |
| 1940 | 1,031 | 9.81 | 9,477 | 90.19 | 10,508 |
| 1950 | 531 | 5.02 | 10,031 | 94.98 | 10,562 |
| 1960 | 46 | .51 | 8,979 | 99.49 | 9,025 |
| 1970 | 33 | .50 | 6,571 | 99.50 | 6,604 |

By 1930, it is clearly evident that the Ville was primarily a black neighborhood; by 1960 it was almost totally black.

Institutional Development in the Ville, 1910-1954: The Golden Years

Between 1900 and 1920 the Ville began to project its image as the elite area in the black community. A racist and hostile society had unwittingly provided an opportunity for blacks to demonstrate their ability to build their own institutions. As black institutions gradually found a home in the Ville, and since racial housing codes were not rigidly enforced in it, the Ville proved very attractive to blacks who could afford to leave less desirable wards in downtown St. Louis. Generally speaking, black adults in the Ville were employed in a wide variety of occupations and, therefore, the occupational groupings had little influence on the development of an elitist image for the Ville. Rather, the development of the Ville's elite image was due to its black leaders, a well developed institutional network within it, and the institutions' service to the wider St. Louis black population. Blacks from outside the Ville who came for services began to see it as a special community and the residents who inhabited it as privileged people.¹¹

Sumner High School, and the furor surrounding its enlargement or relocation, is a case in point. When Sumner opened in the downtown district in 1875, it was the only black high school west of the Mississippi River. By the turn of the century, the area immediately surrounding Sumner was rapidly becoming a business center. Despite the close proximity of three large factories within a stone's throw of the school, an abundance of saloons, pool rooms, and houses of ill-repute, the Board of Education planned to expand the school's

facilities at that location. When black leaders in the Ville became apprised of the Board's intentions, they petitioned it in 1906 to relocate Sumner High in the Ville. Relocating Sumner, the petitioners argued, would provide a central location for the scattered black population and also take into account the westward trend of black residential settlement. Demographically the argument is indefensible. The largest concentrations of blacks lived in the central city and by comparison the population of the Ville area was quite small.¹²

The city, after considering the matter for four years, decided to support the petitioners for a variety of reasons. A large tract of undeveloped lots was available and for sale at the time the site was needed. Subsequent pressure from black leaders, the existence of a home-owning, black minority, and the long established presence of both black churches and an elementary school were probably influential in the city's decision. This victory was significant for the Ville's black leadership because it further reinforced the community's image as a neighborhood where a powerful group of black elites lived.¹³

Locating Sumner High School in the Ville came only after supplanting resistance from whites living adjacent to the Ville. Much opposition stemmed from white fears that blacks were invading "their" neighborhoods. Racial tensions increased as blacks and whites competed for living space in the immediate vicinity of the Ville. As

one historian has commented, ironically, "the long-established black neighborhood of Elleardsville . . . became encircled by whites." If anything, long-time black residents in the Ville "might well have been angered by the white 'invasion' of their" neighborhood!¹⁴ Attempts by whites to prevent further black encroachments assumed various forms. Efforts to prevent the building of Sumner High had failed. Voters rejected the idea of creating a public park as a means of thwarting black settlement. So-called neighborhood "improvement associations" were formed to prevent blacks from settling in the Ville area. Association members used diverse techniques, including persuasion, arson, violence, and closed covenants (agreements made by whites in a specific area not to rent or sell to blacks in that area). Such actions eventually culminated in St. Louis' ill-fated attempt to enact a residential segregation ordinance in 1916. A temporary injunction stayed the ordinances' enforcement until November 1917, when the United States Supreme Court ruled against a similar ordinance in Louisville, Kentucky, which automatically nullified the St. Louis ordinances. St. Louisans concocted 378 race restrictive housing agreements between 1910-1942, however.¹⁵

Near the center of a section where racially restrictive housing covenants were enforced was the Ville and the Finney district where the covenants did not always apply. With the segregation of blacks into enclaves, black businesses and institutions chose to locate in neighborhoods

where a stable, home-owning black population had settled. Under such conditions as just recounted did Mrs. Annie Turnbo Malone, considered St. Louis' first black female millionaire and founder of the Poro College of Beauty Culture, establish her business in the Ville. Poro College was an important landmark in the Ville from its opening in 1917 until 1930 when it was moved to Chicago. Located at the corner of St. Ferdinand and Pendleton, Poro College by 1920 was an impressive complex that contained the instructional department and beauty parlor, an auditorium, general offices, a cafeteria, dining room, sewing shop, guest rooms, a dormitory, emergency rooms for first-aid treatment, a roof garden, and an apartment for Mr. and Mrs. Malone. One resident of the Ville has stated, "the social life [of the Ville in the 1920's] revolved around Mrs. Malone and Poro."¹⁶ Poro College like Sumner High School was a symbol of the Ville's eliteness.

Annie Malone, by recent oral history accounts, was a symbol of elite standing in the Ville. Through a gift of money and land, she helped relocate in 1922 the St. Louis Colored Orphans' Home, founded by Mrs. Sarah Newton in 1888, in the Ville. The Home was renamed in 1946 for Mrs. Malone and still serves children who are dependent or neglected. Recently a newspaper described the Annie Malone May Day Parade, the only annual fund raising event, as a "grand occasion where [black] people all over St. Louis had an annual get together. It was a matter of

pride. It was one of the most outstanding social events of the black calendar."¹⁷

Cultural life in the Ville was rich and varied in the 1920's. Across the street from Poro College the Elleardsville Branch of the YMCA opened in 1922. Frederick O'Neal organized the Aldridge Players in 1927 to provide opportunities for theatrical experience. Further educational avenues opened up to blacks when the Charles Henry Turner Open Air School for Handicapped Children was erected in 1925. When constructed the Turner Open Air School was considered the only school in St. Louis especially structured and equipped to meet the unique needs of the children in one school. The school remains today, as it was then, a two-story brick building with ramps and railings substituting for stairways, along with an open air department for tubercular children.¹⁸

Originally black teachers received their training at the Normal Department in Sumner High School, established in 1890. The Normal Department came to the Ville with Sumner in 1910. It was designated Sumner Teachers College in 1925 and graduated its first class in 1929. The following year it moved into a new wing and was renamed Harriet Beecher Stowe College. With the addition of the College, the Ville became one of the few communities in St. Louis where black children could attend school from kindergarten through professional training. This concentration of institutions attracted teachers to the Ville, adding further luster to

its image as a stable community and making it a desirable place to live.¹⁹

The Ville was "home" for many of St. Louis' most well-known blacks, among them, the following: Philip H. Murray, newspaper editor; physicians Samuel E. Moore, William L. Perry, and Theodore L. Walker; educators Ernest Calloway, a St. Louis University professor, Julia Davis, Ruth M. Harris, John and Leona Evans, and William Garrison Mosley; James E. Cook, Pine Street YMCA executive secretary and pastor of the Antiock Baptist Church; E. G. Hopson, U. S. Customs Clerk; J. Milton Turner, well-known nineteenth century political figure; and Oscar S. Ficklin, first black chemist to work for Union Electric in St. Louis. Some of the jobs indicated above may not appear significant, but within the black community they were held in high esteem.

The single most impressive structure in the Ville is due primarily to the efforts of Homer G. Phillips, after whom the hospital is named. Under his determined and intelligent leadership a successful campaign to locate a hospital for blacks in the Ville was waged. In 1922 Homer G. Phillips actively supported an \$87,000,000 bond issue, with the understanding that \$1,000,000 would be set aside for the building of a new hospital for blacks. The bond issue passed, but opponents of a separate black hospital sought to prevent its construction. Whether to build or not build the hospital was tied up in a political quagmire for the next ten years, during which time Homer G. Phillips was assassinated. But

in 1932, a year after his murder, construction finally began. On 22 February 1937 the hospital was dedicated. Homer G. Phillips Hospital is one of the most significant accomplishments of St. Louis' black community and it played a vitally important role in the Ville by providing many job opportunities and further strengthening its image as the elite black community in St. Louis. On a city-wide and even a national level, Phillips Hospital offers many different training programs and has served as a major center for the education of black doctors, nurses, and medical personnel. At one time, it was the largest and best equipped hospital in the world for blacks.²⁰

Shortly after the completion of Homer G. Phillips Hospital, the Tandy Community Center was created as a recreational facility for the community in 1938. Tandy Center provided diverse recreational activities that included a swimming pool, reading rooms, basketball court, boxing, and industrial arts. Both adults and children took advantage of the Center's offerings.²¹

The Ville, 1954-1975: In the Throes of Decline

For blacks in St. Louis, the Ville had represented a haven in a racially segregated society. Exclusionary forces operating within the city prevented the departure of its middle-class, professional residents. Those forces that made the Ville an economically stable community began to unravel at the end of World War II. The decisions of the United States Supreme Court, which represented a step

towards liberating blacks, marked the death knell for the Ville. The unconstitutionality of restrictive covenants on housing and of segregated educational facilities allowed blacks of means to move into previously exclusive areas of St. Louis. For example, in 1950 the professional class in the Ville totaled 571 individuals or roughly fourteen percent; by 1960 this figure had dropped to eight and a third percent or 263 individuals. The abandonment of the Ville by this professional class also marked a decline in home ownership from thirty percent in 1950 to eleven percent by 1970. The deterioration of homes and property came about with the increase in rental housing. Between 1950 and 1970 the total population in the Ville dropped by nearly thirty-eight percent. Clearly, expanded opportunities for blacks undercut the very foundation upon which the Ville had been built. Therefore, it was no longer necessary to live in an elite enclave in a segregated neighborhood.²²

Resurrection of the Ville, 1975-?: Hopes for the Future

The world in which the Ville served a valuable mission no longer exists. The forces which nourished its growth are severely diminished. The segregationist policies of white society and the desire of black leaders in the Ville to gain a greater measure of control over those institutions necessary for their own health and well-being led to the placement and concentration of institutions for blacks within its boundaries. No one who has lived in the Ville would welcome its resurrection at the expense of returning to a racial

caste system. Many wish to see its memory preserved and emphasize that the community had a special symbolic meaning for black people in St. Louis. And perhaps this is possible.

Some action has already been taken. On 29 June 1973 Ville Day was celebrated. The Girlfriends Historic District Committee and a Ville Historic District Committee have been formed to study and make plans to bring about the Ville's designation as an historic district. The Social Science Institute at Washington University has been intimately involved in collecting data on the Ville and in sponsoring a colloquium on Ethnic Heritage Studies at Washington University in May 1975. To rebuild the Ville, as some present residents would like to see, requires a reexamination of its historic roots. Our study represents a move in that direction.²³

Methodology

We began this study with a much clearer notion of what we wanted to accomplish than exactly how to go about doing it. Our interest in the Ville was much more historical and cultural than architectural. Consequently, we set out to identify buildings that had served either important social, religious, economic, or political functions in the Ville, or that had housed prominent black citizens.

We steeped ourselves in the available secondary sources, all of which are cited in the bibliography following this narrative. These sources yielded dozens of names and places, many of which have long since been torn down.

For additional prospective sites, we went to contemporary black newspapers, primarily the St. Louis Argus. We sought information that would allow us to identify important people and buildings. The following considerations determined what issues of the newspaper we looked at: the recognition that prospective historic sites to be included on the National Register must be fifty years old or more; the unavailability of editions of the Argus prior to 1915; our inability to examine in detail every edition of the paper. We made a thorough analysis of editions of the Argus for the first week of each month for the following years: 1915, 1916, 1919, 1923, 1924, 1925, 1926, 1927, 1928, 1930, 1931, 1932, 1933, 1935, 1937, 1938. In addition, we looked at scattered issues of the St. Louis Palladium.

Our analysis of the Argus and Palladium yielded literally hundreds of names and places that had once been intimately associated with the Ville. We then sought, through on-site inspections, to determine how many of the buildings remained. Unfortunately, more than half the buildings we looked for had been razed.

Our next step was to gather information about the buildings themselves. We did that by using records kept in St. Louis City Hall. Most useful to us was the office that issues building permits. Records dating back to the 19th century allowed us to determine when most buildings were built, by whom, at what cost, and for what purpose. When building permit information could not be obtained, we

tried, through city water records, to determine when water lines to the buildings in question had been laid.

Simultaneously, we sought additional information on the historic significance of the buildings by tracing the names of people who had lived in them through Gould's St. Louis Directory. In most instances, we were able to tell how long someone had lived at a specific address, or how long a business, church, school, etc., had existed at an address.

NOTES

¹Constance M. Greiff, ed., Lost America: From the Mississippi to the Pacific (Princeton: The Pyne Press, 1972), p. VIII.

²Constance M. Greiff, ed., Lost America: From the Atlantic to the Mississippi (Princeton: The Pyne Press, 1971), p. 11.

³Charles Bailey, "The Ville: A Study of a Symbolic Community in St. Louis" (Ph.D. dissertation, Washington University, 1978), p. 62; Carolyn H. Toft, ed., The Ville: The Ethnic Heritage of an Urban Neighborhood (St. Louis: Social Science Institute Washington University, 1975), pp. 32-33.

⁴United States, Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930: Population, 1:630; 3, Pt. 1:1388-1389; and United States, Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census, Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940: Population, 1:602, 603, 605.

⁵Sandra Schoenberg and Charles Bailey, The Symbolic Meaning of an Elite Black Community: The Ville in St. Louis, "Bulletin [Missouri Historical Society] (January, 1977): 94; see also Lillian Brandt, "The Negroes of St. Louis," Publications of the American Statistical Association 61 (March, 1903): 223.

⁶H. Paul Douglass, The St. Louis Church Survey: A Religious Investigation with a Social Background (New York: George H. Doran Co., 1924), pp. 68, 70; see also Toft, The Ville: The Ethnic Heritage of an Urban Neighborhood, pp. 3, 7.

⁷Schoenberg, "The Symbolic Meaning of an Elite Black Community," p. 95; and Lawrence Christensen, "Black St. Louis: A Study in Race Relations 1865-1916" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Missouri, 1972), p. 127.

⁸Gould's St. Louis Directory for 1877: Being a Complete Index to the Residents of the Entire City and a Classified Business Directory (St. Louis: David B. Gould Publishers, 1877), p. 1258; and Schoenberg, "The Symbolic Meaning of an Elite Black Community," p. 95.

⁹Schoenberg, "The Symbolic Meaning of an Elite Black Community," p. 94; see also Christensen, "Black St. Louis," pp. 133-135.

¹⁰Brandt, "The Negroes of St. Louis," pp.220-221.

¹¹Bailey, "The Ville: A Study of a Symbolic Community in St. Louis," pp.48, 50-51.

¹²Schoenberg, "The Symbolic Meaning of an Elite Black Community," p. 97.

¹³Ibid.

¹⁴Christensen, "Black St. Louis," pp. 136, 140.

¹⁵Ibid., pp. 140-141, 265-266.

¹⁶Toft, The Ville: The Ethnic Heritage of an Urban Neighborhood, p. 12.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 13; see also Bailey, "The Ville: A Study of a Symbolic Community in St. Louis," pp. 67-70.

¹⁸Toft, The Ville: The Ethnic Heritage of an Urban Neighborhood, pp. 13, 17.

¹⁹Ibid., pp. 17, 18.

²⁰Ibid., pp. 20-22.

²¹Ibid.

²²Schoenberg, "The Symbolic Meaning of an Elite Black Community," pp. 98-99; see also Bailey, "The Ville: A Study of a Symbolic Community of St. Louis," pp. 40, 46, 47.

²³Toft, The Ville: The Ethnic Heritage of an Urban Neighborhood, pp. 30, 35.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Any discussion of the Ville's historic significance should begin with the small booklet produced in 1975 by the Washington University Social Science Institute and edited by Carolyn H. Toft: The Ville: The Ethnic Heritage of an Urban Neighborhood. In addition, Sandra Schoenberg and Charles Bailey's article "The Symbolic Meaning of an Elite Black Community: The Ville in St. Louis," Bulletin [Missouri Historical Society] (January 1977): 94-102, is useful. This article describes the process by which the Ville became the place of residence of a black professional and managerial class. It contains particularly good information on public buildings. "The Ville--A Unique Part of the City," was a news feature article, accompanied by photos, which appeared in the St. Louis Globe-Democrat April 16-17 (Saturday-Sunday), 1977, Section B, p. 1.

The most detailed studies of the Ville are two doctoral dissertations: Charles Bailey's, "The Ville: A Study of a Symbolic Community in St. Louis," Washington University, 1978, and Lawrence O. Christensen's "Black St. Louis: A Study in Race Relations, 1865-1916," University of Missouri-Columbia, 1972. Bailey's study is sociological while Christensen's is historical. Other useful graduate theses include William A. Crossland's "The Occupations of Negroes in St. Louis," M.A. thesis, Washington University, 1913, and Herman Dreer's

"Negro Leadership in St. Louis, A Study in Race Relations," Ph. D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1955. Crossland speaks of the Ville as a distinct neighborhood and provides information on occupations of blacks who lived there. Dreer provides biographical sketches of St. Louis's historically significant black leaders, a number of whom lived in the Ville.

Much information about the Ville can be gained through oral history. The following persons provide a good starting point: Sandra P. Schoenberg, Assistant Professor of Sociology and Project Director of the Washington University Ethnic Heritage Study; Dean Charles Bailey, LeMoyne Owen College, Memphis, Tennessee 38126, whose dissertation is cited above; William E. Allen, M. D., 720 N. Sarah Street, St. Louis, 63108, who has been a resident of St. Louis since 1930; Reverend Herman Dreer, 4435 Enright Avenue, a retired teacher, whose dissertation is cited above; Mrs. Ina Cunningham, 1700A Pendleton Avenue, a resident of the Ville for fifty-nine years; Mrs. Virginia McCoy, 1706 Pendleton Avenue, who moved to St. Louis from Fulton in 1928; Mr. Louis Cunningham, son of Ina Cunningham and a resident of the Ville for thirty-nine years; Mr. James Hale, 2708 Taylor Street, and a resident of the Ville for seventeen years; Mr. and Mrs. Charles A. Crusoe, 1523 Pendleton Avenue, St. Louis, Ville residents for forty-two years; Rev. Chester Gaither, Pastor of St. Matthew's Catholic Church in the Ville and an active participant in community affairs; and, Mrs. Charlyne Tyus, 516 E. Dunklin St., Jefferson City, Missouri, a former Ville resident.

The Official Proceedings of the Ancient Free and Accepted Masons of Missouri, housed in the State Historical Society of Missouri at Columbia, offer information about a number of Ville residents who were Masons. We have found the volumes for the 1920's to be most useful. Gould's St. Louis Directory, a complete set of which is located in the Missouri Historical Society in St. Louis, is invaluable in determining occupations of people whose names and addresses are already known. Likewise, it lists the addresses of public buildings. Also useful has been the St. Louis Board of Education's Directory of Public Schools, 1913-1914.

Other more general works, which contain more general but still useful information include the following: Constance M. Greiff, ed., Lost America: From the Atlantic to the Mississippi (Princeton: The Pyne Press, 1971) and Lost America: From the Mississippi to the Pacific (Princeton: The Pyne Press, 1972); Gary Allen Tobin, The St. Louis School Crisis: Population Shifts and Voting Patterns (St. Louis: Washington University Department of History, 1970); Lillian Brandt, "The Negroes of St. Louis," Publications of the American Statistical Association 61 (March 1903): 209-268; H. Paul Douglass, The St. Louis Church Survey: A Religious Investigation with a Social Background (New York: George H. Doran Co., 1924); Roger Baldwin, Report of the Committee on the Problems of Negroes of the Missouri Conference for Social Welfare (St. Louis: Civic League, 1914); William Jefferson Harris, "The New Deal in Black St. Louis: 1932-1940," Ph. D. dissertation, St. Louis Uni-

versity, 1974; Daniel M. Hogan, "The Catholic Church and the Negroes of St. Louis," M.A. thesis, St. Louis University, 1955; J. W. Evans, "A Brief Sketch of the Development of Negro Education in St. Louis, Missouri," Journal of Negro Education 7 (October 1938): 548-552; Ralph and Mildred Fletcher, "Some Data on Occupations Among Negroes in St. Louis from 1866 to 1897," Journal of Negro History 20 (July 1935): 338-341; Frederick Hodes, "The Urbanization of St. Louis: A Study in Urban Residential Patterns in the Nineteenth Century," Ph. D. dissertation, St. Louis University, 1973; Paul Dennis Brunn, "Black Workers and Social Movements of the 1930's in St. Louis," Ph. D. dissertation, Washington University, 1975.

The St. Louis Argus has been a most important source for us. We have examined editions for the first week of each month for the following years: 1915, 1916, 1919, 1923, 1924, 1925, 1926, 1927, 1928, 1930, 1931, 1932, 1933, 1935, 1937, 1938. In addition, the following black newspapers are useful: the St. Louis American, the St. Louis Palladium, and the St. Louis Sentinel.

APPENDIX A:

LITERATURE SURVEY FOR POTENTIAL BLACK SITES IN JEFFERSON CITY

We have spent a relatively small part of this grant period in compiling sources for a future study of potentially significant black historic sites in Jefferson City. The single most important source is the Jefferson City Directory, which carried the notation "colored" for black residents during the late nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth century. While there is no complete collection of the directories, we have found volumes for the following years: 1877, 1911, 1912, 1913, 1917, 1918, 1922, 1908-09, 1921. These directories have been methodically examined and a record made of each black resident and his or her address for each of these years.

Additionally, we have examined in detail a black newspaper, the Western Messenger, published in Jefferson City, for the years 1914 and 1915. Obviously the most important black historic sites in Jefferson City are the various buildings comprising the Lincoln University campus. The starting point for a study of Lincoln is W. Sherman Savage's History of Lincoln University (Jefferson City: New Day Press, 1939). Phase II of the "Lincoln University Black Historic/Cultural Sites Project" calls for us to nominate nine Lincoln buildings as an historic district for inclusion on the National Register

of Historic Places. That project will be completed by September 30, 1979, and will include a detailed bibliography of useful sources.

There are a number of individuals whose knowledge of Jefferson City's black community we have found useful. They include the following: retired Lincoln professors Lorenzo J. Greene, 325 Crest Dr., Cecil A. Blue, 411 Lafayette, Sidney J. Reedy, 807 E. Dunklin, James D. Parks, 923 E. Dunklin. Ms. Harriett Robinson, 725 Walsh St., and Lincoln University Reference Librarian, is also a good source. Wilbur Kirkpatrick, 510 E. Dunklin, a long-time black Mason, possesses a wealth of information about local black affairs. In addition, two black physicians can be of help. They are Dr. Charles W. Cooper, 423 Cherry St., and William A. Ross, 500 Lafayette St.