MISSOURI'S BLACK HISTORIC SITES:

A VIEW OVER TIME

For

The Missouri Department of Natural Resources

by

Gary R. Kremer, Project Director
Ann Jenkins, Research Assistant

Department of Social Science

Lincoln University

1982

MISSOURI DEPARTMENT OF NATURAL RESOURCES
P.O. Box 176 Jefferson City, Missouri 65102

March 27, 1985

Mr. John McGlone
Department of History
Middle Tennessee State University
Murfreesboro, Tennessee 37132

Dear Mr. McGlone:

In response to your letter requesting information regarding the memorialization of Black Military History in Missouri, I'm afraid I can be of little assistance. Our office maintains a Cultural Resource Inventory file that contains information on over 50,000 historic sites and National Register properties throughout the state; however, to my knowledge, there is no information pertaining to your specific request. I can, however, refer you to the following:

Missouri State Historical Society
3 Ellis Library
Columbia, Missouri 65201

Gary R. Kremer
Department of Social Science
Lincoln University
Jefferson City, Missouri 65101

Dr. Dominic Capeci
Department of History
Southwest Missouri State University
Springfield, Missouri 65804

I sincerely wish you good luck on your dissertation, and if possible, upon completion of your survey, would appreciate a copy or listing of the markers and monuments in Missouri for our files.

I hope this is some assistance to you, and please don't hesitate to contact our office if we can be of further help.

Sincerely,

DIVISION OF PARKS & HISTORIC PRESERVATION

Joetta Davis-Smith

Joetta Davis-Smith
Cultural Resource Preservationist

JDS:meb

cc: Gary Kremer
Dr. Dominic Capeci
bcc: General Information File (Joetta)

John D. Ashcroft Governor

Claire ← Booker - Reply direct. NB

MIDDLE TENNESSEE STATE UNIVERSITY
MURFREESBORO, TENNESSEE 37132

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

January 30, 1985

RECEIVED
MAR 18 1985
Historic Preservation Program

Dear Sirs:

I am writing to request your advice or assistance in locating any monuments, statues, historic plaques or other memorialization to Black Military History within your state. I am completing a doctorate in historic preservation and the subject of my dissertation is Black Military History, the monuments which exist to that history, and the preservation of those monuments.

I have finished the military history and general preservation sections. I am now in the process of locating and surveying any memorials to Black Military service from colonial time through the nineteenth century. Your help or referral to other interested parties would be most appreciated.

I am,

Sincerely,

John McGlone

John McGlone

CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS ii

PREFACE. iv

I. MISSOURI'S BLACK HISTORIC SITES: A PHOTOGRAPHIC SURVEY OF THE STATE, CONTINUED. 1

Fulton. 2

Keytesville 7

Versailles. 9

Warrensburg 16

II. BLACK RESIDENTIAL PATTERNS IN SELECTED JEFFERSON CITY BLOCKS: A VIEW OVER TIME. 30

III. BLACK ROOTS OF AN ALL-WHITE TOWN: ELDRIDGE, MISSOURI. 54

IV. "TUSKEGEE OF THE MIDWEST": THE DALTON VOCATIONAL SCHOOL. 66

V. APPENDIX: HISTORIC INVENTORY SHEETS FOR SELECTED JEFFERSON CITY BLOCKS 82

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This fourth volume of the Lincoln University Black Historic Sites Research Series owes its existence to many people. We would like to take this opportunity to thank each of them.

Dr. Arnold G. Parks has been one of the Black Sites Project's strongest supporters from the very beginning. His advocacy is deeply appreciated. Equally gratifying have been the gestures of support and encouragement offered by Vice President John Chavis and Dean Thomas D. Pawley.

Myra Norman, of the Lincoln University Grants Office, has always been willing to take time out from her busy schedule to help us hurdle one or the other of the bureaucratic obstacles that are inevitably placed in the paths of persons doing research under goverment grants.

Students did much of the work which went into the preparation of this report. Students who worked on this project through the Black Culture Sites course include the following: Ann Jenkins, Donna Kennison, Larry Thomas, Marian Fleischman, Leamon Cobbs, John Jaeger, Clyde Umphenhour, and Antonio D. Silvers.

Scores of people all over the state have provided us with bits and pieces of information that have been invaluable to our research. People such as William Turner and Harriet Robinson of Jefferson City, Bob Burriss and Bud Green of Versailles,

Janet Weaver of Keytesville, George Case, Eunice Winfrey, and Harry Foman of Lebanon, Ruby Moore and Irene Fohn of Eldridge, the Reverend M. Piggee and Mrs. J. Richmond of Fulton, Mrs. Leona Mackey and Mrs. Hoseatta Brown of Warrensburg, and a host of others, are the single most important reason we were able to produce this volume. We want them to know that.

Since this project is made possible through a grant from the Missouri Department of Natural Resources, we want to express our gratitude to officials of that agency. Our desire to do so stems from a much deeper sentiment than the obvious impulse to kiss the hand that feeds us. Department of Natural Resources employees have been so gracious and helpful that they have caused us to forget from time-to-time that we were actually dealing with a government agency! We can think of no higher compliment to pay them. Jim Denny and Jerry Stepenoff, both of the Office of Historic Preservation, have been particularly helpful, and always a pleasure to work with.

As always, Patty Ewalt has used her considerable artistic talents to prepare a cover for this report.

None of the persons mentioned above is responsible for any errors that remain in this report. That dubious distinction we claim as our own.

Jefferson City, Missouri
October 1, 1982

Gary R. Kremer
Ann Jenkins

PREFACE

This report contains data gathered for four "mini-projects." Chapter One of this report should be regarded as a supplement to Volume III of the Lincoln University Black Historic Sites Research Series. It represents our effort to update the list of one hundred and fifty buildings contained in that monograph.

Chapter Two consists of a study of four blocks in a traditionally-black Jefferson City neighborhood, prepared against the background of black residential patterns in the city from approximately 1880 through the era of the Second World War. Our goal in doing this "mini-project" has been to determine the historic importance, if any, of buildings remaining in those four blocks. Among other things, we hope that this section of the report will provide historians interested in preservation with a model for determining the significance of structures in other ethnic neighborhoods. The Appendix to this report contains Historic Inventory Sheets on each of the structures remaining in the four blocks under study.

Chapter III of this report traces the black roots of an Ozarks community whose last black citizens moved away in 1941. It amply illustrates that black historic sites can often be found in what are considered to be all-white areas. Chapter III is largely the work of Ann Jenkins.

Chapter IV tells the story of what at least some people

hoped would become the "Tuskegee of the Midwest," an all-black vocational school in Chariton County, Missouri. Although the school never reached the lofty heights its founders hoped it would, buildings remaining on the school's "campus" offer silent testimony to the vision of one of Missouri's most prominent early twentieth-century black leaders, Mr. Nathaniel C. Bruce. Chapter IV is largely the result of work done by John Jaeger.

CHAPTER II

BLACK RESIDENTIAL PATTERNS IN SELECTED JEFFERSON CITY BLOCKS: A VIEW OVER TIME

Jefferson City was the scene of an acrimonious debate in 1981-82 between those who advocated the razing of the Old Jail at the corner of Monroe and McCarty Streets, and those who sought to preserve the building as a historic landmark. Despite the fact that the structure was already listed on the National Register of Historic Places, it was demolished. Demolition came, however, only after tremendous expenses in time, money, and cordial community relations. The "victory" for the proponents of demolition may well have been a Pyrrhic one.

More such debates are already taking shape in the city. Urban planners who contemplate a massive demolition and rebuilding project in the so-called Mill Bottom, or Capitol West, part of town are at loggerheads with preservationists who seek to save what have been proven to be some of the oldest buildings in Jefferson City. Again, the debate has resulted in, and will continue to result in, great expense to both sides.[1]

In addition to the controversy surrounding the future of the Mill Bottom, a debate surfaced over what to do with the so-called Hagan House at 501 Cherry Street. City planners, unaware of the historic significance of any structure in the block bounded by Cherry, East Miller, Chestnut Street, and the Rex Whitton Expressway, developed a strategy for razing all of the structures on the block and replacing them with a parking facility for city busses. A subsequent determination that the Hagan House had National Register potential stopped the project, at least temporarily, causing a still greater loss of time and money. In July of 1982, that very important building was destroyed.[2]

Obviously, all parties involved in the controversies surrounding the Old Jail, the Mill Bottom, and the Hagan House would have profited had determinations about these buildings' historic worth been made prior to the formulation and execution of other plans predicated upon their destruction. This study seeks to provide a strategy for doing that. Clashes between preservationists and urban planners can be minimized if a serious effort is made to assess the value of an area's cultural resources before new plans that might destroy those resources are put into effect.

Urban renewal areas, therefore, should be surveyed before any demolition or re-building projects are planned. The survey which is conducted must place the remaining structures in the context of the role they played in a community over time. Urban planners tend to look at an area as it is and envision what it could become with a fresh start. Such an approach ignores a community's past, however, and it paves the way for the destruction of the symbols of that past--the remaining buildings. The random destruction of buildings that serve as material links connecting several generations contributes to a lack of understanding on the part of one generation about how they are connecting links to those who preceded and those who will follow them.

This unfortunate circumstance tends to occur with greater frequency in lower-class and ethnic neighborhoods. Residents of these often blighted areas, first of all, are relatively powerless. They have no representatives in the arenas of

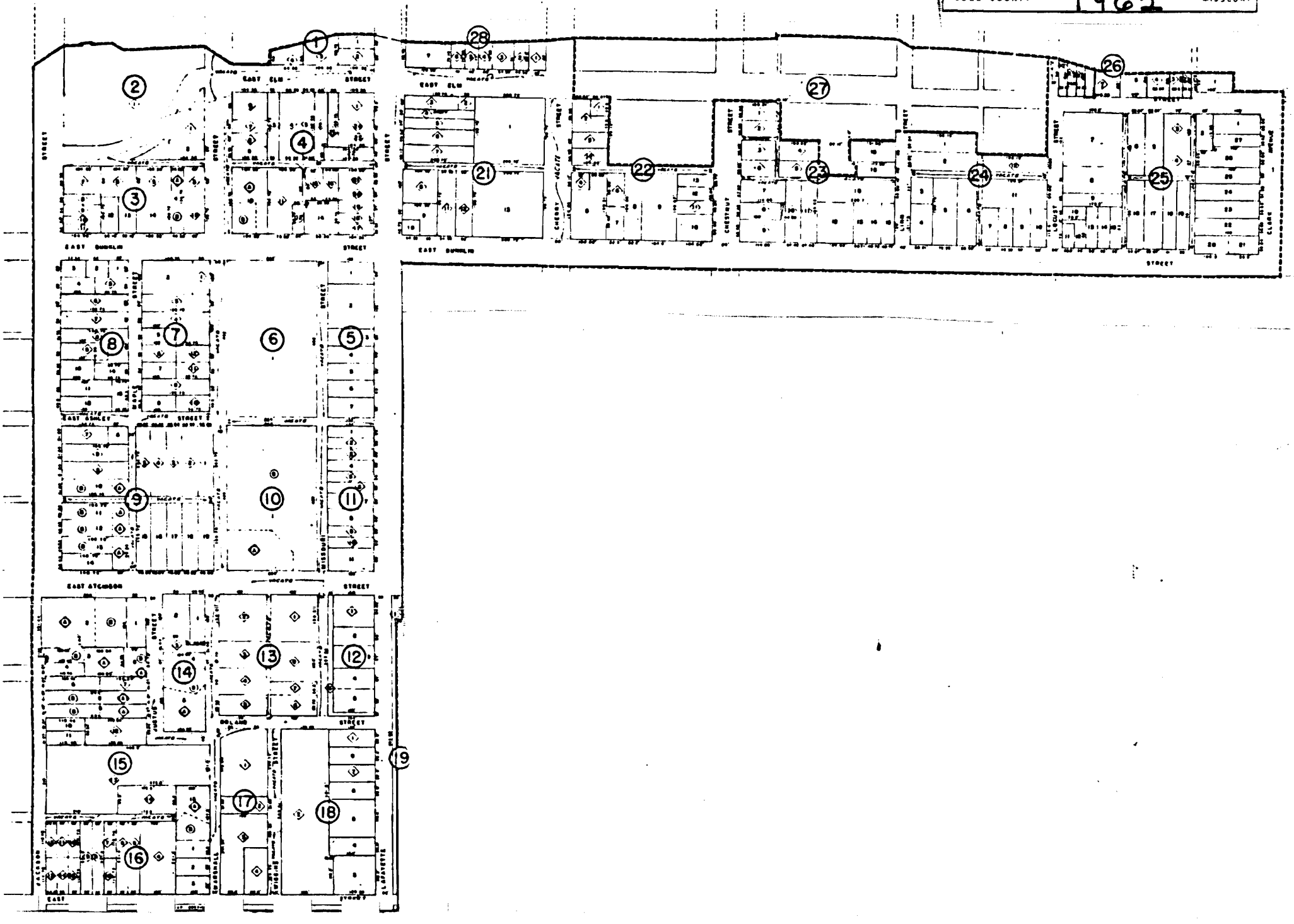
power where decisions are made. Moreover, their very poverty and social marginality preclude their living, worshipping, and otherwise interacting in elaborately built, architecturally sophisticated buildings. Ironically, then, we often find ourselves in a position of preserving the material culture of an unrepresentative body of people, while we destroy the houses, businesses, schools and churches of the masses. When we do this, we not only frustrate and further alienate the uprooted residents of such communities, we literally cut them and ourselves off from the past.

A clear example of how this can happen is evident in the Campus View Urban Renewal Project which occurred in the 1960s. That project, for example, left an entire block, which was once a black business and social focal point barren of buildings. That area, the block bounded by East Dunklin, Lafayette, East Elm, and Marshall Streets, once boasted of the only black-operated hotel in town: the Booker T. Hotel, at 600 Lafayette. It had the Turner Gas Station at the corner of Dunklin and Lafayette, a barber and beauty shop, a restaurant, and much much more.

Urban planners, however, ignored the psychological and social worth of these buildings to the black community, razed them all, and replaced them with tennis courts, a basketball court, and a softball field. Now, twenty years later, elderly members of the black community still harbor resentments toward urban renewal officials and an entire

CAMPUS VIEW URBAN RENEWAL AREA MO. R-18

HOUSING AUTHORITY OF THE CITY OF JEFFERSON
COLE COUNTY 1962 MISSOURI



generation of black Jefferson Citians have grown up without any appreciation of what pre-urban renewal black community life was like. To this day, however, urban renewal officials tersely assert that there were no buildings of any historical import destroyed.[3]

What happened, of course, is that no one even asked the black residents of that community what buildings they thought were important, much less tried to understand the role these buildings had played in their lives over time.

One strategy for doing that, the strategy we have followed in this project, would be to do the following. First of all property transfers over the years should be examined through abstracts and deeds in an effort to establish when blacks purchased land and/or houses. Property records can be supplemented with city directories, which give addresses, occupations, racial classification and, in some instances, land ownership. Likewise, census returns for 1880 and 1900 list residents, addresses, and occupations. Moreover, an oral history of a community should be compiled.

Using the above tools, we have surveyed four blocks in what is generally considered to be the most heavily-populated black section of Jefferson City: the area bounded by McCarty Street on the north, Adams on the west, Clark Avenue on the east, and Leslie Blvd. on the south. We chose, somewhat at random, two blocks which seemed to represent blocks largely unaffected by urban renewal, and two which had already been extensively altered by urban renewal. We tried to place

those blocks, and the houses which remain on them, in the context of their development over time. The story we have pieced together is as follows.

One of the earliest references to a distinctly separate physical location in Jefferson City for a black community appears in a reminiscence of the city written by Julius H. Conrath in the mid-1930s. Although Conrath is unclear about the dates to which he refers, he implies that it was as early as the 1870s and 80s that the area "East of Adams and south of McCarty Street was called 'Niggertown' for in this locality most of our colored people lived."[4]

It is doubtful that most blacks in Jefferson City lived in that area until much later. The strongest immediate post-slavery black institution in the city was the Second Baptist Church, which was formed in 1859-60 by a group of blacks who were no longer allowed to worship at the First Baptist Church. The black Baptists met at first in a small frame building near the corner of Jefferson and Main Streets (currently Capitol Avenue). Later they moved to the Presbyterian Church and held services there until the congregation refused them the use of the building.[5] In 1863, the church was moved to a location at the corner of Main (now Capitol) and Monroe Streets.[6]

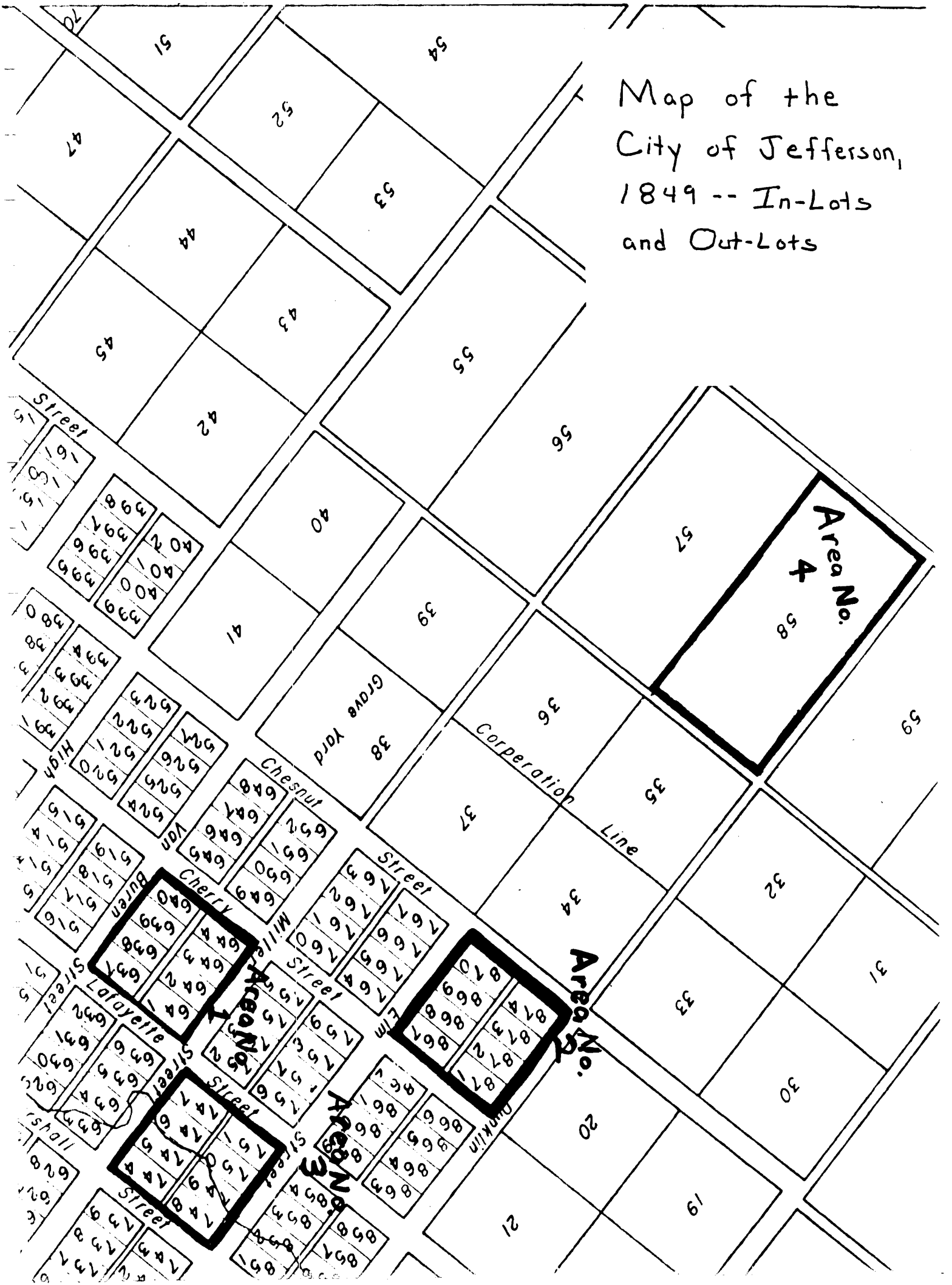
In 1865, the black Baptists purchased the church of the First Baptists, located at the corner of Monroe and Miller Streets. The Second Baptist Church has remained at that location since 1865, although two new buildings have been erected since that date.[7]

The African Methodist Episcopal Church was established about 1862, by the Reverend John Turner, in a log structure at 116 East Miller Street which had been donated by Elijah Ramsey. Although the A.M.E. Church served a smaller congregation than the Second Baptist Church, the fact that both of these churches chose sites less than two blocks apart suggests that in the late 1860s the bulk of Jefferson City blacks lived within easy walking distance of the 100-200 blocks of East Miller.[8]

The earliest source book that would provide an indication of where blacks were living is the 1877 City Directory.[9] There are listings in that directory for 110 black households, with 105 of those having addresses. Interestingly, 75 of those households (71.4%) were north of McCarty and west of Adams, outside of the area defined by Conrath as the part of town most heavily populated by blacks. In fact, in 1877 the directory suggests that blacks were living at addresses all over the city (many of them as domestic live-in servants), and that a large number remained in the downtown area. Four households lived in the first five blocks of Jefferson Street, eleven in the same area of Madison, and four on Monroe. The first five blocks of East Water Street had two households, East Main (Capitol) two, East High nine, and East McCarty nine.

One can see, however, the first hint of an emerging black population concentration in the 1877 directory. In fact, the most frequently listed address for a black household in that year was the corner of Cherry and Elm Streets, clearly in the heart of the area described by Conrath. Oral tradition has it that a small number of free blacks and ex-slaves settled in

Map of the City of Jefferson, 1849 -- In-Lots and Out-Lots



the vicinity of the 800 blocks of Miller and Elm Streets and the 500 and 600 blocks of Cherry and Chestnut Streets.[10] One of the earliest pieces of property in that area owned by blacks was In-Lot 760 (site of the Hagan House, 501 Cherry), purchased in 1855 by a black woman named Martha King. At least one other piece of property in that area was owned by a black person in the years before slavery was formally ended in Missouri on January 11, 1865. Sarah Bolton bought In-Lots 643 and 644 in August of 1863.[11]

Presumably then, while the majority of the black population remained west of Adams and north of McCarty in the 1870s, a nucleus of a black community had begun to emerge in the area of the King and Bolton properties. The manuscript census for 1880 lists 635 blacks in Jefferson City.[12] More than 82% (526) of those blacks, however, lived in the area north of McCarty and west of Adams. In fact, the highest concentration of blacks in the city was downtown in what was known as Hog Alley. Seventy-six blacks lived along this alley which stretched from Adams Street to Madison, between High and Main.[13]

There were, however, heavy concentrations of blacks in the 400 and 500 blocks of East Miller (a total of 45) and the 400 blocks just on the fringes of the neighborhood defined by Conrath. The 300 block of East Miller (the block immediately east of the Second Baptist Church) had 46 blacks, for example.

The presence of Lincoln Institute, the state's black "Normal School", at the corners of Dunklin and Lafayette Streets surely attracted some blacks south and east of the downtown area. So

too did the fact that, by contrast with the downtown area, there was open land that could be purchased, and there was an already existing group of black property owners.

Of the four blocks we have chosen to survey, clearly the one which had the earliest black property owners was the block bounded by East McCarty, Cherry, East Miller and Lafayette Streets. In-Lots 643 and 644, as mentioned above, were purchased by a black woman named Sarah Bolton in August of 1863. In-Lot 642, immediately west of 643 and 644, was purchased by Harriet Russell, another black woman, in October of 1868.

By the turn of the century, then, the attractions offered by Lincoln Institute and a black propertied class in the southeast part of town had attracted the majority of blacks to that part of the city. The establishment of two institutions in that area provides an index to this southeasterly migration. In 1903, the Elm Street Community Christian Church was established at 718 East Elm.[14] Likewise, in 1903 a new school for blacks was erected on Elm Street, between Lafayette and Cherry. This new building, the Washington School, replaced a facility in the 100 block of West McCarty which had been used since 1875.[15]

The establishment of those institutions provides tangible proof of a demographic shift evidenced in the 1900 City Directory.[16] There are 546 specific addresses listed for blacks in the city for that year. Three hundred and sixteen of those addresses (or nearly 58%) are south of McCarty and east of Adams. The heaviest concentrations of blacks, outside of Lincoln Institute

students and faculty members living on campus, were in the 800 block of East Elm (12), the 700 block of Locust (25), and the 600 block of Lafayette (15).

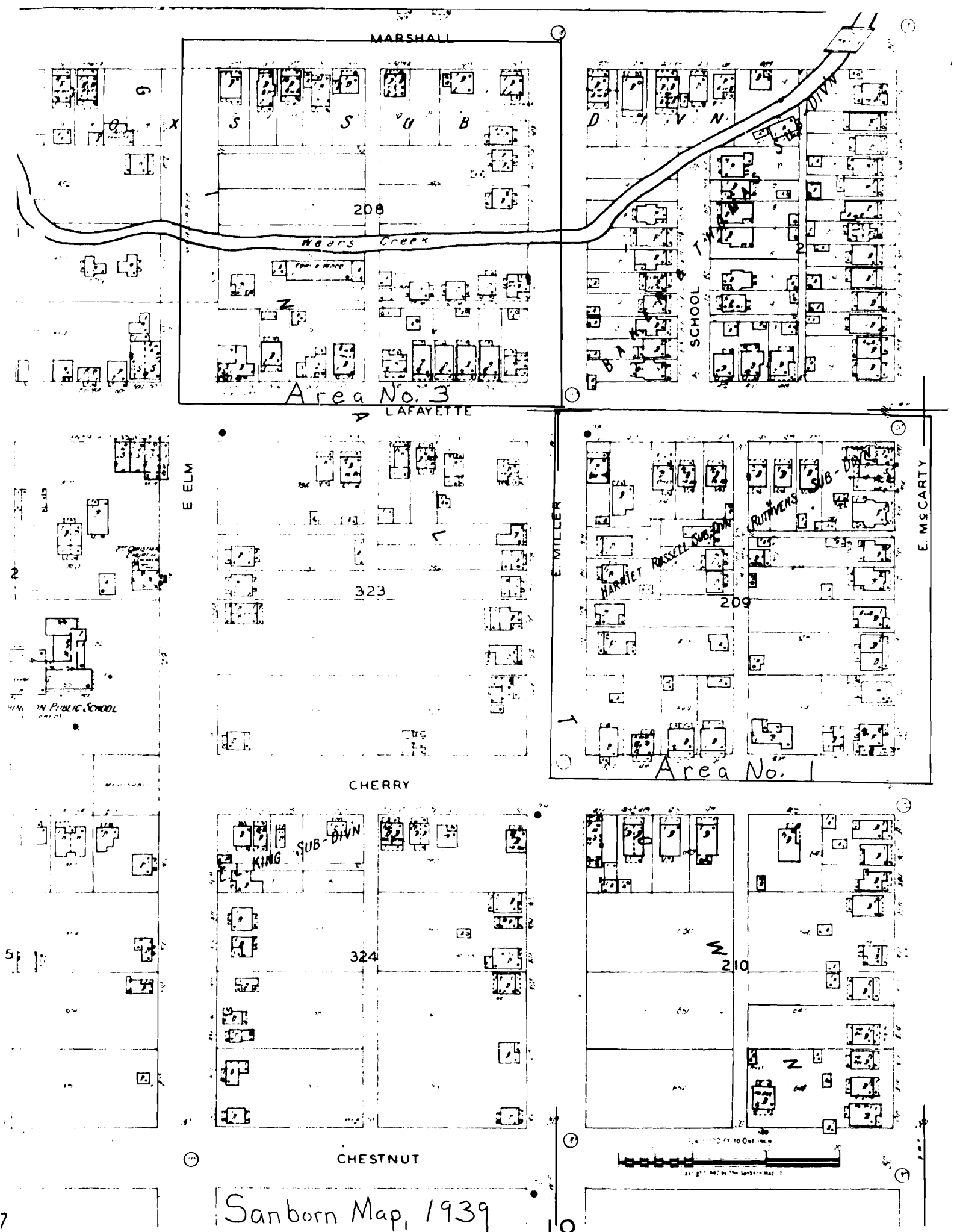
The concentration of blacks in that area continued unabated throughout the early years of the twentieth century. The 1913 Directory contains 564 entries for blacks.[17] Three hundred and forty-three of those households were in the area south of McCarty and east of Adams, with another 22 (or 4%) within one block of that area. The blocks with the heaviest concentration of blacks in 1913 were the 800 block of East Elm (24), the 400 block of East Miller (19), the 500 block of East Dunklin (23), the 600 block of East Miller (19), the 500 block of East Dunklin (23), the 600 block of Lafayette (28), and the 700 block of Locust (29). Moreover, while three of the four black churches remained outside of the immediate area, a number of black businesses had begun to emerge within it to respond to the increasing concentration of blacks. Duke Diggs, for example, operated a moving business at 526 Lafayette. Other neighborhood businesses included a dry cleaner's, a small grocery store, and several cafes.

By 1921, the number of households listed at addresses south of McCarty and east of Adams had increased to 472 (75% of the 632 entries). In short, Jefferson City was becoming more segregated as the twentieth century wore on. And, as the black community became more concentrated in that part of town, more black entrepreneurs set up shop there. In reality the fact that they did only gave the community additional attractiveness to blacks in other parts of town.[18]

The 1921 Directory lists seven black businesses; five of the businesses were south of McCarty and west of Adams. Benjamin Russell operated a barbershop at 603 Lafayette. There were two black grocers in the 600 block of Lafayette: there was a store run by James Caly, at 601 and another by Mrs. Cornelia Rutledge, at 605. Another grocery store was located at 412 Adams. It was operated by Miss Lessie Robert. Duke Diggs operated a baggage transfer business at 526 Lafayette. The two black businesses outside of the black community were a barbershop at 101 East High Street and the office of H. E. Johnson, listed as a physician at 209 Monroe. The barbershop, operated by Al Thomas, probably catered exclusively to white customers, as had often been the case with other black barbers in the downtown area.

The trend that had become clear by the turn of the century continued. Still, while the area of Jefferson City south of McCarty and east of Adams was becoming known as "Niggertown," many whites continued to live there. This reality is clearly evident in the four blocks we chose to survey.

Area No. 1, bounded by East McCarty, Cherry, East Miller, and Lafayette, was, as has been pointed out earlier, one of the oldest areas of black ownership in the city. Although blacks owned property on the Miller Street or south side of the block as early as the 1860s, the east and north sides of the block remained almost totally white for a hundred years more, and the west side of the block remained predominantly white until nearly the mid-twentieth century. By contrast, the south side of the block seems to have been dominated by blacks from the beginning.



Sanborn Map, 1939

The 1908-09 City Directory lists three households on the south side of the block; two of them were occupied by blacks.[19] The north side, on the other hand, had five households, only one of which (the John Goins household at 712 East McCarty) was occupied by blacks. The east side of the block had three households, all of which were white, and the west side three households, only one of which was black.

The 1915 Directory reveals that the Cherry Street side of the block was still all-white, that the north (East McCarty) side had picked up three black families, and the East Miller and Lafayette sides remained substantially unchanged.[20] By 1921, however, three sides of the block were all-white, with the Miller Street side the only side having blacks.[21] This remained substantially the case for nearly twenty years more. In 1938, for example, the Cherry Street and East McCarty Street sides of the block remained all white and the Lafayette Street side had only one black (Dr. Richardson, on the corner of East Miller and Lafayette). The East Miller side, by contrast, had six households, four of them black.[22]

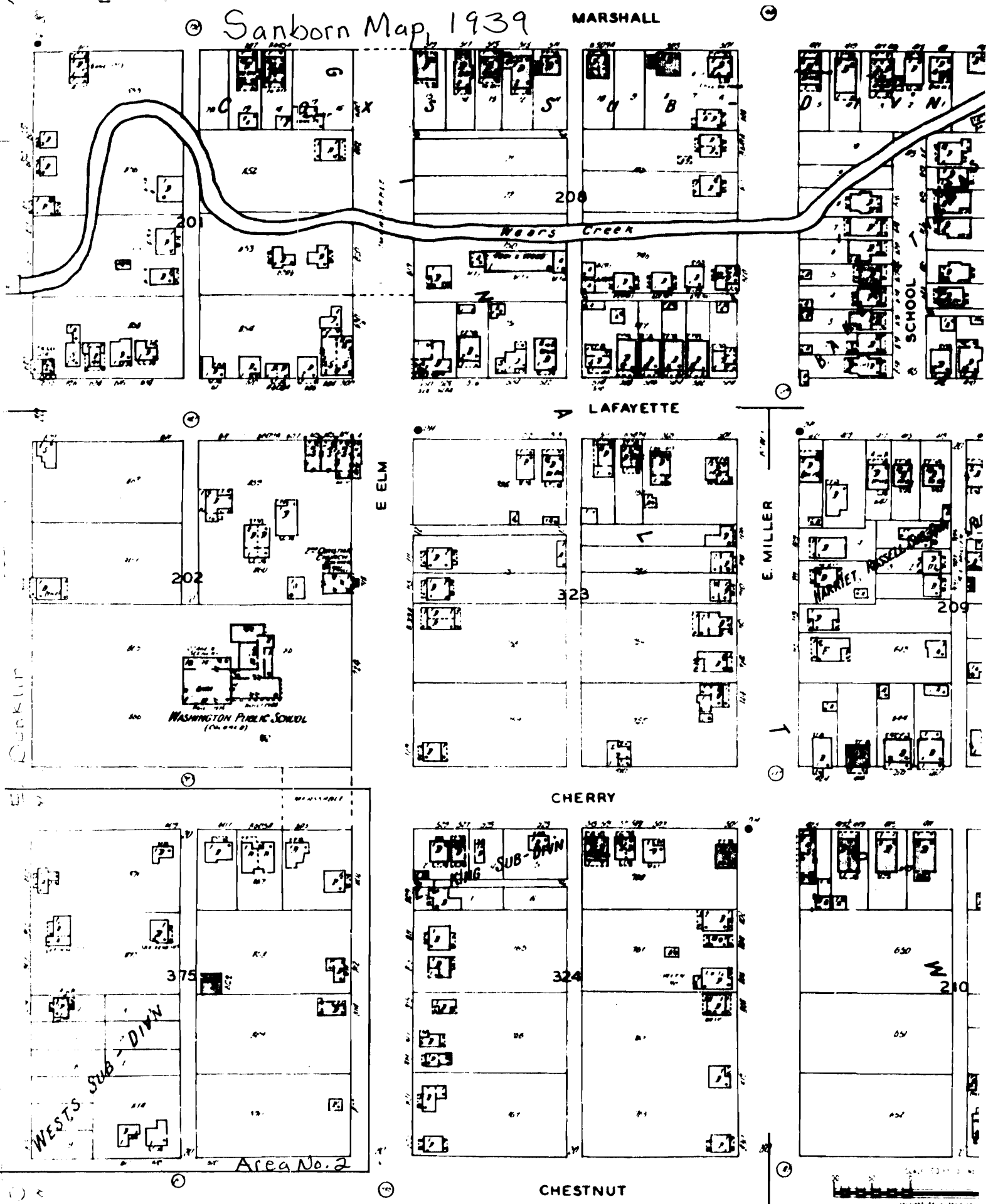
The 1940s, however, witnessed a dramatic change. In the early 40s, blacks began to buy property on the Lafayette side and the East Miller side. The 1946 Directory clearly reveals what happened: the Cherry Street side and the East McCarty Street side remained all-white and the Lafayette and Miller Street sides became all-black.[23] Although there have been minor alterations to this trend over the years, the pattern has remained the same ever since.

Area No. 3, an area heavily affected by urban renewal, indicates a similiar pattern. The south half of the block was leveled in the early sixties to make way for an overpass carrying the Rex Whitton Expressway. It was that half of the block that had the earliest concentration of black residents. The entire block was almost completely white until the early 1930s. By 1938, however, only the northernmost houses on the Lafayette side of the street were occupied by whites. The East Miller, or northern side of the block, by contrast, had only one black household and on Marshall Street (west) the only two black households were the southernmost residences. Wears Creek allowed only two houses on the south or Elm Street side. One of those was occupied by a black family, the other by a white family.[24]

By 1946, all nine buildings on the Lafayette side of the block were occupied by blacks. The northern boundary, East Miller Street, however, still had only one black family. On Marshall Street, the five northernmost households were occupied by whites, with the remaining three households nearest Elm Street being occupied by blacks. The only remaining household on Elm Street, at 617 East Elm, was occupied by Louis Smith, a black man.[25]

Area No. 2, as mentioned above, was occupied by blacks in the immediate post-Civil War period. The earliest source which provides city addresses, the 1877-78 City Directory, lists seven black households on south Elm Street, east of Cherry. That was the single most often cited address for a black household in that year. There were also two black households on the

Sanborn Map, 1939



north side of Elm Street in that same year.[26] Not surprisingly, then, that block on East Elm (the 800 block) quickly became one of the most heavily populated black sections of town. In 1900, there were twelve black households in the 800 block of East Elm, a total exceeded only by the 600 block of Lafayette, which had fifteen.[27] By 1921, the 800 block of East Elm had thirty-four black households, more than any other single block in the city.[28] Both the 1938 and 1946 city directories reveal that all of the houses on the East Elm Street side of Area No.2 were occupied by blacks.[29] That side of the block remained a residential area until, tragically, the north half of Area No.2 was razed in the early 1960s, without any thought to the significance of the block being one of the oldest black residential areas in town.

The south side of Area No.2 was developed much later. The Cherry Street side had three black households as early as 1900.[30] The 1938 and 1946 directories identify four buildings on the east side of Cherry Street, all of them occupied by blacks. All of those buildings, however, also fell victim to urban renewal in the early 1960s. The east side of the block (Chestnut Street), by contrast, had two buildings, both of which were occupied by whites in 1938 and blacks in 1946.[31]

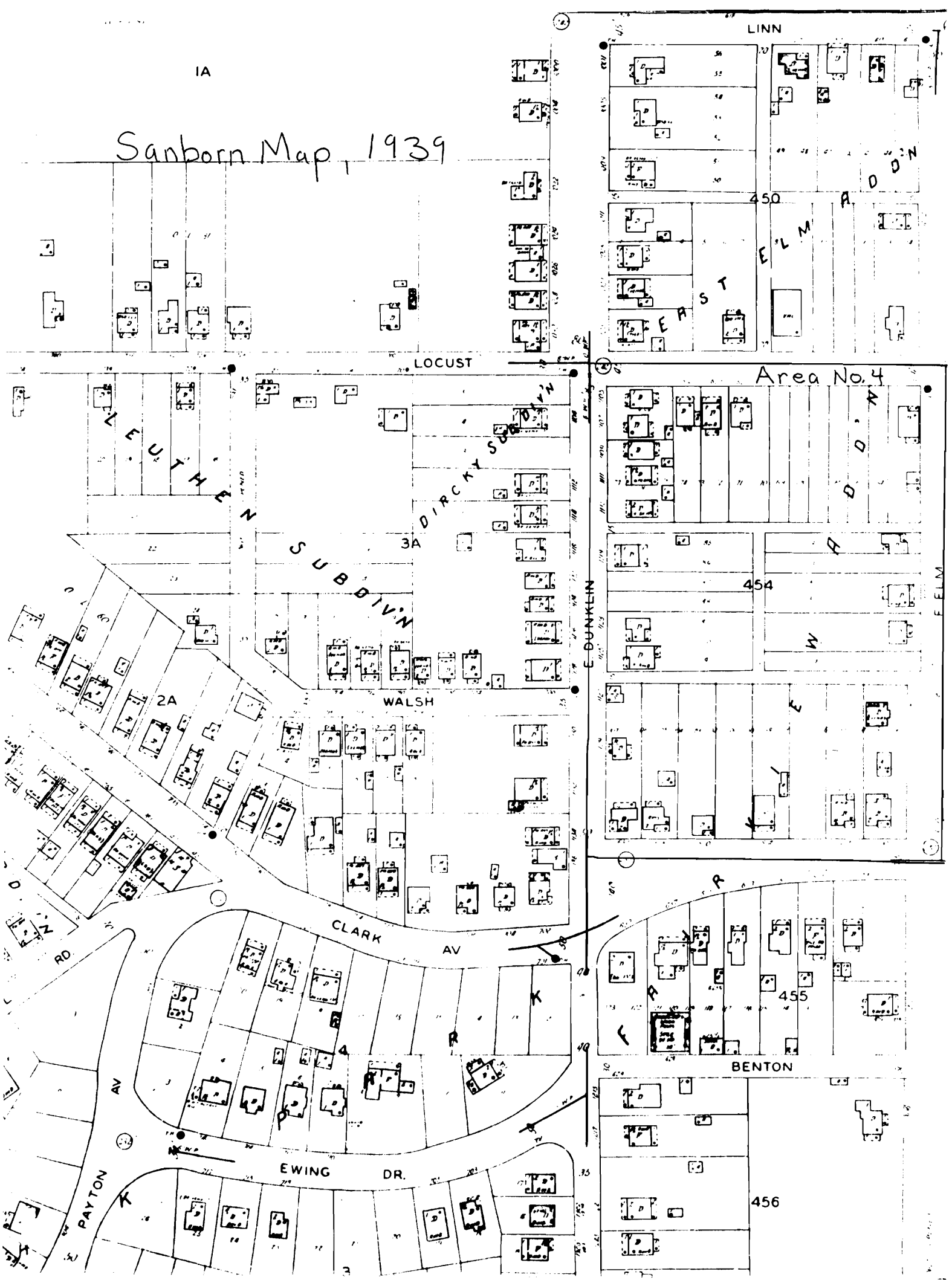
The Dunklin Street side of the area was the last to be built up. By 1911, there was still only one house on the block, at 809 East Dunklin, occupied by a black man, Charles A. Dixon.[32] In 1917, a black Lincoln Institute instructor, Romeo West, purchased the eastern half of the Dunklin Street side of the block

and subsequently subdivided the area into a number of smaller building lots.[33] The 1938 Directory lists only two houses, both owned by blacks. Charles A. Dixon lived at 803 East Dunklin and Professor W. W. Dowdy, a noted Lincoln University entomologist, lived at 809. Two more houses (those at 805 and 807) were added in 1946.[34] The remainder of the houses have been built since that time.

Area No. 4 is unusual, in that it appears to have had a heavy black concentration on one of its boundaries early on, only to have become a virtually all-white block by the 1940s. Area No. 4 was part of a tract of land known as the "Fairview Addition," which was purchased by Jessie Henry of the Jefferson Home Land Company in 1887.[35] The area does not show up in either the 1885 or 1898 Sanborn Maps, suggesting that it contained few houses prior to the turn of the century.

By 1908-09, the East Elm (north) side of the block contained four residences, all of them occupied by blacks. The south side (Dunklin St.) of the block contained two residences, one of them black. The east (Clark Ave.) and west (Locust St.) sides of the block contained only whites.[36] By 1917, the East Elm Street side remained all-black, but the other three sides of the block were all-white.[37]

By the late 1930s, there appears to have been only one black household in Area No. 4: the residence of F. B. Enloe, at 1116 E. Elm Street. Although there were a few black tenants living at different locations in the 1100 block of East Elm during the 1940s, the entire block remained overwhelmingly white. In fact,


Sanborn Map, 1939
Area No. 4
IA
LINN
LOCUST
WALSH
CLARK AV
EWING DR.
BENTON
E DUNKLIN
PAYTON AV
RD
SOUTHERN SUBDIVN
DIRCKS SUBDIVN
EAST ELMWOOD
FARKER
3A
2A
4
3
450
454
455
456

the 1946 Directory contains the names of no blacks at any of the residences on any one of the four streets bordering Area No. 4.[38] This is particularly ironic, considering the fact that although no blacks lived on the east side of the 600 block of Locust Street, all of the residences on the other side of that same street were occupied by blacks. Heavy movement of blacks back into Area #4 did not occur until well after World War II. The Clark Avenue side of the area remains predominantly white to this date. East Elm, Locust, and East Dunklin Streets are predominantly black, although each of those streets has several white residences.

Conclusion:

It seems strange that of the four blocks we have chosen to survey, the one which had the oldest and largest concentration of blacks experienced the most extensive destruction of its buildings in the 1960s. Indeed, the 800 block of Elm Street was the city's most populous black residential area and the 600 block of Lafayette Street (outside the scope of this survey), the city's most important black commercial area. Not one building on either block remains. Conversely, the area which was almost untouched by urban renewal was Area #4, a block which remained predominantly white until the very recent past.

All of the blocks surveyed reveal a general pattern of black and white separation from each other, although there are two kinds of exceptions to this rule. First of all, although it happened infrequently, it was not unheard of historically to find a black person living on a street and in a block occupied

almost uniformly by whites. Secondly, it was even more common to find blacks and whites living along blocks which housed only members of their own race, while literally just around the corner or across the street there was a collection of houses whose occupants were all members of another race. In short, Jefferson City may have had a racially-segregated neighborhood, but that neighborhood had some all-white streets. Thirdly, the geographic concentration of blacks into the area embodied by the Campus View Project Area did not occur until around the turn of the century and the trend of all-black streets seems not to have gathered steam until the late 1930s and early 1940s. The trend toward segregated housing in Jefferson City intensified in the years during and after the Great Depression, making it a fairly recent phenomenon.

In fact, as recently as the early 1920s, according to a housing survey done by the Missouri Negro Industrial Commission, housing conditions for blacks were deplorable. According to this report, there were 1,028 blacks living in 250 different houses. However, the report emphasized:

> Only 89 of the houses are located on the streets. The majority are either built in the rear of the lot, in alleys or on back streets, where it is almost impossible to reach them in rainy weather, because of the unpaved muddy streets . . . . [T]hose houses with three rooms or less number 172. . . . Eighty per cent of the homes are without water in them and the water must be furnished by wells and cisterns.[39]

The reason that things were so bad, according to the Industrial Commission, was that "there are but few occupations opened to colored in this town," making it extremely difficult for blacks to accumulate the capital necessary to become property

owners.[40]

How and why did all of this change? "Lincoln Institute" became "Lincoln University" in the early 1920s, and for the next two decades, Lincoln University presidents, particularly Nathan B. Young (1923-27; 1929-31) and C. W. Florence (1931-37), tried to attract better qualified instructors by improving salaries at the school. The result was the emergence of a well-trained, financially-better-off, class of professional blacks who could afford to buy houses which other Jefferson City blacks could not afford. It was no accident, then, that the blacks who bought up most of the black-owned property in the areas we have studied were Lincoln University professors who made their purchases in the late thirties and early forties.[41]

Recommendations:

Quite naturally, one would expect to find the largest number of buildings of importance to the black past in those areas which had the oldest and largest black population. However, as has been pointed out above, those areas were leveled as a result of urban renewal. There remain, however, a number of buildings in our survey areas which we believe provide a necessary tangible link to the black past and which should be preserved for that reason. Following is a list of what we consider to be the most important buildings in our survey area. The fact that we do not include a building in the list below does not mean that we think it should be torn down. Rather, the buildings listed below deserve priority attention. Statements of historic significance about the other buildings in

in the survey area appear on the Historic Inventory Sheets which comprise Chapter V of this report.

Area No. 1:

712 East McCarty Street - Long-time home of prominent black minister and civic leader, the Reverend John Goins.

711 East Miller Street - A popular boarding house for Lincoln University professors in the 1930s. Among the more well-known residents of this building was Professor of English and short-story writer Cecil A. Blue.

713 East Miller Street - Another of the popular homes occupied by Lincoln University professors during the 1930s. Historian Lorenzo J. Greene lived here in 1935.

715 E. Miller Street - Among the Lincoln University professors who lived in this boarding house during the 1920s was famous black poet Sterling Brown.

421 Lafayette Street - This building served as a residence and office for one of Jefferson City's earliest black physicians, Dr. Reginald G. Richardson.

417 Lafayette Street - This building was the long-time home of Lincoln University Professor Alan T. Busby.

413 Lafayette Street - This house served as the residence of Dr. Thomas D. Pawley III in the mid-1940s. A playwright and Professor of Speech and Theatre at Lincoln University, Dr. Pawley now serves as the Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences.

411 Lafayette Street - Since the mid-1940s, this house has been the home of Professor Cecil A. Blue. Professor Blue attended Harvard University from 1921 through 1926 and came to Lincoln

University as an instructor of English in 1928, a position he held until his retirement in 1973.

409 Lafayette Street - Long-time home of Professors Arthur and Marcia Hammons. Arthur Hammons was a Professor of Agriculture and Marcia Canty Hammons was a Professor of Home Economics. Marcia Hammons still resides in this house.

407 Lafayette Street - In the mid-1940s, this house served as the home of Professor James Seeney, long-time principal of the Lincoln University Laboratory School and Head of the Department of Education at the University.

Area No. 2:

803 E. Dunklin Street - Although this building is less than twenty years old, it should be taken note of, inasmuch as it is the home of Dr. O. Anderson Fuller, a nationally-known Professor of Music and the first black American to be awarded a Ph.D. in music.

807 E. Dunklin Street - Since 1941 this has been the home of Dr. Sidney J. Reedy, a Professor of Education at Lincoln University from 1928 to 1972.

809 E. Dunklin Street - This building served as the home of Dr. William W. Dowdy from the early 1940s to the late 1950s. Dr. Dowdy was a Professor of Biology at Lincoln University for approximately forty years and a nationally-known entomolygist.

Area No. 3:

500 Lafayette Street - Long-time home and office of Dr. William Ross, D. O., black physician and president of the Jefferson City chapter of the NAACP.

502 Lafayette Street - Long-time home of Charles "Lefty" Robinson, prominent black community leader and a clerk for the Missouri Senate.

504 Lafayette Street - This building, known as "The Monastery" in the 1930s and 1940s, is currently owned by Lincoln University Emeritus Professor Dr. Lorenzo J. Greene. The Monastery was a popular gathering place in the 30s and 40s for Lincoln University intellectuals and their guests. Professor Greene lived in the house during those years, as did Professors A. A. Kildare, Booker T. McGraw, and Walter Talbot.

Area No. 4:

1117 East Dunklin Street - This simple saddlebag house is the only one of its type in the four blocks we surveyed. Although a black man lived in this house shortly after the turn of the century, it was occupied by whites for most of the time since.

1125 East Dunklin Street - Current residence of black physician and president of the local NAACP, Dr. William Ross, D.O.

NOTES

[1]Craig Sturdevant, Ruthi Sturdevant, Gary Kremer, Cultural Resources Inventory and Evaluation, Capitol West: Jefferson City, Missouri, a report prepared for the Jefferson City Housing Authority, June 1982.

[2]Craig Sturdevant, A Cultural Resource Survey of the Area Within the Proposed Jefferson City Central Maintenance and Bus Garage Project: Cole County, Missouri, a report prepared for Booker and Associates, April 1981.

[3]Perhaps the most articulate expression of this resentment came in an interview with Ms. Harriet Robinson at the Inman E. Page Library, Lincoln University, on January 20, 1982. William Turner expressed similar views in an interview on January 22, 1982, at his home (1126 East Elm Street).

[4]"Conrath Reminiscences Bridge Century", in James E. Ford, A History of Jefferson City (Jefferson City: New Day Press, 1939), p.208.

[5]Ford, A History of Jefferson City, p.289; Ernestine J. Terry, "The Second Baptist Church of Jefferson City, Missouri, 1859 to 1903", a paper prepared for a Seminar in Negro History at Lincoln University, January 1971, p.8.

[6]Terry, p.9.

[7]Ibid

[8]C. Seymour-Cole, "Status of the Negro Churches of Jefferson City, Missouri", a paper prepared for the Graduate School, Lincoln University, 1942, pp.21-23.

[9]Beasley's Jefferson City Directory, (1877-1878).

[10]Interview with William Turner, January 22, 1982.

[11]All information on property holdings and transfers was gathered in the Office of the Recorder of Deeds, Cole County, Missouri, Courthouse, Jefferson City, Missouri.

[12]Tenth Census of the United States, Cole County, Missouri (1880).

[13]Hog Alley was Jefferson City's late nineteenth century ghetto. Lorenzo J. Greene, Gary R. Kremer, and Antonio F. Holland, Missouri's Black Heritage (St. Louis: Forum Press, 1980), p.100.

[14]C. Seymour-Cole, pp.12-15.

[15]Jerena E. Giffen, The House on Hobo Hill: The History of the Jefferson City Public Schools (Jefferson City, 1946), pp. 58-59, 82, 102.

[16]Illustrated Sketch Book and Directory of Jefferson City and Cole County Missouri (1900).

[17]Hacman's Jefferson City Directory, (1913).

[18]Hackman's Jefferson City Directory, (1921).

[19]Hackman's Jefferson City Directory, (1908-1909).

[20]Hackman's Jefferson City Directory, (1915).

[21]Hackman's Jefferson City Directory, (1921).

[22]Hackman's Jefferson City Directory, (1938).

[23]Hackman's Jefferson City Directory, (1946).

[24]Hackman's Jefferson City Directory, (1938).

[25]Hackman's Jefferson City Directory, (1946).

[26]Beasley's Jefferson City Directory, (1877-1878).

[27]Illustrated Sketch Book and Directory of Jefferson City and Cole County Missouri (1900).

[28]Hackman's Jefferson City Directory, (1921).

[29]Hackman's Jefferson City Directory, (1938, 1946).

[30]Illustrated Sketch Book and Directory of Jefferson City and Cole County Missouri (1900).

[31]Hackman's Jefferson City Directory, (1938, 1946).

[32]Hackman's Jefferson City Directory, (1911).

[33]Office of the Recorder of Deeds, Cole County, Missouri, Courthouse, Jefferson City, Missouri.

[34]Hackman's Jefferson City Directory, (1938, 1946).

[35]Office of the Recorder of Deeds, Cole County, Missouri, Courthouse, Jefferson City, Missouri.

[36]Hackman's Jefferson City Directory, (1908-09).

[37]Hackman's Jefferson City Directory, (1917).

[38]Hackman's Jefferson City Directory, (1946).

[39]"Sociological Survey of the Colored Citizens of Jefferson City, Missouri," Third Biennial Report of the Missouri Negro Industrial Commission, 1923-24, pp. 36-37.

[40]Ibid., p. 33.

[41]W. Sherman Savage, The History of Lincoln University (Jefferson City: New Day Press, 1939), Chapters X, XI.

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CHAPTER IV

"TUSKEGEE OF THE MIDWEST": THE DALTON VOCATIONAL SCHOOL

The Dalton Vocational School, near Dalton, Missouri, was once a thriving, vibrant, academic community for blacks in Chariton and surrounding counties. Integration ended the school's role in the Missouri educational picture; black youths who previously had nowhere else to go to school could, after the 1954 Brown v. Board of Education decision, attend schools much closer to home.

As a result, the material remnants of the Dalton Vocational School's glory days bear little resemblance to their condition just thirty years ago. The entire "campus" is now a hog and tobacco farm. Although blackboards still hang on the walls of the main classroom building, the rooms themselves are used to dry and store tobacco. Hogs roam through the basement. Hay is stored in what were once dormitories. Weeds cover what once served as a track for budding athletes.

The buildings that remain on what was once the Dalton campus, however, have a proud past. Their silent walls bear mute testimony to a rich legacy which must not be forgotten.

A young black man named N. C. Bruce was the visionary who created the Dalton Vocational School (called the Bartlett Agricultural College until 1931). Bruce was born on December 6th, 1884, on a farm near Danville, Virginia. He attended Halifax County Public Schools while helping his father farm. At the age of fourteen he left home to attend the Shaw Normal and Industrial High School in Raleigh, North Carolina. After completing high school, he went on to Shaw University, where he received a Bachelor of Arts degree, graduating with honors.[1]

Bruce did not stop there. He continued to go to school,

first at Bates College, then Harvard, Hampton Institute, and, finally, Tuskegee Institute in Alabama. At Tuskegee, he fell under the spell of Booker T. Washington. Washington's plan for the uplift of blacks was to give them vocational and educational training so that they could achieve financial independence as a necessary prelude to obtaining social and political rights. Washington understood the magnitude of the problem he faced. Having been a slave himself, he knew that most blacks emerged from the Civil War illiterate, the victims of legislation which prohibited them from being taught to read and write.[2]

Washington made an impression on Bruce. Convinced that his mentor had the right answers about how black progress could best be achieved, Bruce dedicated his life to black education. His first teaching assigment was in St. Joseph, Missouri. After serving for a brief time as the principal "of a large school" there, he decided to strike out on his own and duplicate the Tuskegee experiment in the Midwest.[3]

For reasons that remain unclear, Bruce decided to establish his school in Chariton County in 1907 "in a log barn on 8 acres of land owned by John Ewing, an ex-slave, who then owned 120 acres of land adjoining the little town of Dalton." Initially, Bruce had five students: three boys and two girls, each of whom spent one-half the day in a classroom and the other half in the field. His goal, as expressed in a late teens brochure, was "to train the negro youth 'back to the land' and for efficient service in the home and on the farm."[4]

The school's early years were anything but auspicious.

Bruce rented land in the Missouri River bottom in 1908 and 1909 and floods in both years destroyed his entire crop. He and his students were forced to live on corn bread and water, in the absence of a food supply or money.

After the 1909 flood, Bruce decided he had to move his school to higher ground. Simultaneously, his plight came to the attention of several prominent St. Joseph residents with whom he had come into contact during his stay there. Mr. and Mrs. Herschel Bartlett, Judge and Mrs. W. K. James, and Mrs. Graham Lacy made contributions that allowed Bruce to purchase twelve acres of land from George D. Dalton. Later that same year, Bruce and his students erected the first permanent building on the school's campus: a frame structure which housed four classrooms and a boy's dormitory. The school was named the Bartlett Vocational School, after its chief benefactors.

The Bartlett School operated under the day-to-day supervision of Bruce and the ever-watchful eye of a fifteen-person Board of Trustees, dominated by James and Bartlett. An additional sixty acres of land was purchased in 1912 and a new building, containing two additional classrooms, an auditorium, and a girl's dormitory was built that year.[5]

By 1913, Bruce's meticulous attention to his crops began to pay off. Professor T. R. Douglas, secretary of the Missouri Corn Grower's Association, observed the fine corn crop being grown by Bruce and urged him to enter a state-wide contest sponsored by the Association. Bruce not only entered the contest, but won first price with a yield of 114 bushels per acre. Subsequently, John Case, a writer for the Missouri

Ruralist, inquired of Bruce how he had done it. Bruce penned this response:

> By straightforward work . . . . The particular 8-acre field which grew the champion yield was planted in cowpeas and navy beans. The vines were all turned under in the fall, then the land was disked and re-broken in the spring. The field was double disked and well harrowed before planting. Purebred tested seed was used and the field was check-rowed. The corn was harrowed as it was coming up, harrowed again before it was a week old, then plowed with 5-tooth harrows as deep as they could be plunged. After that we went into the field with cultivators plowing close to the corn and between 3 and 4 inches deep. Part of the field was plowed twice deeply and all of it once, the last cultivation being shallow. About that time rain came but by early rising and late quitting we fought weeds with plows and hoes until the field was clean and laid by.[6]

Such diligent efforts by Bruce and his students gained widespread attention for the school. Not only did the Bartlett School win the prize for the best Missouri corn again in 1915, Bruce and his students took their corn to the San Francisco Exposition, where they finished second nationally in corn production and were awarded a $3,000 prize. Bruce used the money to build a new barn and a new silo, and to purchase ten head of Holstein and Jersey cattle.[7]

Bruce, however, was not content to rest on his laurels. He wanted to use the favorable publicity generated by his prize-winning corn to plead for state support of his school. Calling his school "the first and only 'back to the soil' institution for black people not only in Missouri but in the West," Bruce argued that state support of the Bartlett School was an investment in an improved black citizenry:

> We have shown and are going to keep on showing that black people can make for themselves their best place and opportunity back upon black land. Our school

> needs, has earned and deserves to be equipped for just such service. It can be useful not only to the black people of Missouri but to all the West for the Negroes of this section are eager to learn better farming methods. Tuskegee has done and can do no better than Bartlett School when it gets one-hundreth part of the equipment that Tuskegee has had.[8]

Bruce's call for state support for the Bartlett School was warmly endorsed by the school's Board of Trustees. Board president, Judge W. K. James led the lobbying effort. He and other proponents of state support could point with pride to the Bartlett School's success, while documenting the miserliness of Missouri support of black education historically.[9]

Missouri, just as all the other slave states, had been afraid of black education before the Civil War. In 1847 a law was passed prohibiting the teaching of blacks, slave or free, to read and write. Not surprisingly, then, there were relatively few literate adult blacks in the state during the years immediately following the Civil War. Few whites were willing to pay taxes to rectify this situation after the War. Although the Radical Republicans provided some money for black education during the Reconstruction years, black education remained segregated and, consequently, inferior. In the era when the Bartlett School was seeking state support for its programs, the state of Missouri, with a black student population twice that of the state of Minnesota, was spending less money for black education than the less populous northern state. The District of Columbia was spending $1,660,206 per year for its 65,868 blacks' education (a per capita expenditure of $25 per person). By contrast, Missouri was spending $1,764,334 for its

925,504 blacks ($1.90 per person).[10]

With such a history of insensitivity to black educational needs, the Bartlett School's chances must have appeared slim. But Bruce had another asset, in addition to his school's proud record, and the lobbying efforts of James and others.

The Missouri Negro Industrial Commission was organized in February of 1918 by Governor Frederick D. Gardner. In the early days of America's involvement in World War I, Gardner had inquired of numerous black leaders how blacks could best be organized to support the war effort. The collective response of these leaders was that blacks had to be allowed to help themselves, without white interference. Gardner then appointed a commission of blacks whose purpose was "to unite blacks around a program of character building, hard work, and thrift . . . ."[11]

Commission members traveled the state encouraging blacks to plant gardens, offering them animal husbandry tips, explaining how to better cultivate crops, and how to avoid food waste, and generally "urging and stimulating our race's old time loyalty, fidelty[,] and hearty, persistent labor."[12]

Not coincidentally, the first chairman of this Missouri Negro Industrial Commission was Nathaniel C. Bruce. And from the very beginning of its existence, the Commission offered as one of its major legislative recommendations the establishment "of a sub-experiment station under control of the state and U. S. through our white College of Agriculture, the same as Arkansas, Mississippi, Georgia, Virginia, North

Carolina, South Carolina and other states have for years given their negro farmers, to the great benefit of the state and to their country life negroes."[13]

For the next several years, Bruce and his fellow commissioners used the medium of their Biennial Reports to argue for the establishment of a state-supported "experiment farm for Negroes."[14] Finally, the effort paid off: the 52nd General Assembly (1923) appropriated $15,000 "for the purchase of land, the organization and administration of a demonstration farm and agricultural school at Dalton, Missouri, for the negro race, provided that the purchase of land, construction of buildings and equipment and the administration of the demonstration farm and school shall be under the supervision and control of the college of agriculture of the University of Missouri."[15] In 1924 the school was placed under the general control of the University of Missouri's College of Agriculture and the money used to buy more land and erect new buildings.

On September 2, 1924, a dedication ceremony was held at the Bartlett School, commemorating the state takeover. Fifty acres of additional land adjoining the school was purchased with state funds and a poultry house and a hog house were built. Dignitaries from all over the state attended the ceremony on a day filled with speech-making and thanksgiving. Perhaps the most telling remarks, however, were offered by a white farmer named Littrell whose land lay in the vicinity of the Bartlett School. Mr. Littrell commented that

> These colored folks have won the respect of their white neighbors. At one time there was a bitter feeling here

> but it is changing. Many of the colored boys and men have worked for me and they make good hands. I hope this school will be developed into one of real service to the colored people of this state.[16]

The Bartlett School remained under the control of the University of Missouri until 1929. In that year, the Fifty-fifth General Assembly passed the following law:

> The board of curators for Lincoln university shall take over and conduct the demonstration farm and agricultural school for the negro race as now established at Dalton, Missouri, and the supervision and control of said school is hereby invested in the board of curators for the Lincoln university, and the board of curators of the State university is hereby directed to transfer and turn over to the board of curators of Lincoln university any properties that may be in its possession pertaining to said demonstration farm and agricultural school for the negro race at Dalton, Mo.[17]

The 1929 law also provided that black children living in a school district which made no provision for their education could attend the Dalton School without paying tuition.

The school continued to grow throughout the 1930s. Enrollment reached forty-two by 1931 and more than doubled over the next decade [see Table I]. Even though state appropriations were never adequate, state money continued to provide the main source of the school's financing [see Table II]. A fire in 1932 destroyed the original building which, at the time, housed fourteen girls and three female instructors. Although this dealt the school a temporary setback, the Missouri legislature subsequently appropriated money for a new building. Mr. F. C. Heariold, Superintendent of Buildings and Grounds at Lincoln University, designed the building and students and faculty pitched into help build it. The new building was dedicated in 1938 and was named after Mr. Herschel Bartlett, one

TABLE I

Enrollment Figures

Dalton Vocational School

1931 - 1946

Years	Students	Teachers
1931-1932	42	3
1932-1933	51	5
1933-1934	No figures available.	
1935-1936	94	6
1936-1937	No figures available.	
1937-1938	71	?
1938-1939	91	9
1939-1940	82	9
1940-1941	No figures available.	
1941-1942	106	10
1942-1943	109	10
1943-1944	101	7
1944-1945	No figures available.	
1945-1946	133	7

TABLE II

Funds Appropriated for the

Dalton Vocational School

Amount Appropriated	Inclusive Dates	Number of Months Covered
$15,000	1923-1924	24
Figures for 1925-1934 unavailable.		
$11,000	1935-1936	24
$65,000	1937-1938	24
$31,500	1939-1940	24
$30,000	1941-1942	24
$30,000	1943-1944	24
$16,500	Jan. 1945 - June 1946	18
$16,500	Jul. 1946 - June 1947	12
$24,000	Jul. 1947 - June 1948	12
Figures for 1948-1949 unavailable.		
$70,000	Jul. 1949 - Dec. 1950	18
Figures for 1951-1953 unavailable.		
$100,000	Jul. 1953 - June 1955	24

of the school's early benefactors.[18] The Bartlett Building, a two-story brick structure designed as a classroom building and containing an auditorium, remains standing today.

During the ten years which passed between the mid-thirties and the mid-forties, the school received approximately $173,000 of state funds, or an average of $17,300 per year. By the early 1950s, the school was receiving approximately $100,000 each legislative session, to cover a two-year period. Despite this increase in funding, however, the Dalton School still received less than it needed to operate adequately. A memorandum to the General Assembly, written in 1951, summed up the situation:

> Teachers in this school are among the lowest paid in the state. This school is without a physical education gymnasium and auditorium, adequate shops for both vocational agriculture and vocational industrial arts, a good barn for livestock and grain storage, and a library room with equipment and books.[19]

Despite these disadvantages, the Dalton Vocational School continued to turn out competent graduates whose experiences at the school facilitated their ability to become economically self-sufficient. Ironically, the force that ultimately destroyed the Dalton School was an occurence which men such as N. C. Bruce and others could only have hoped for: the 1954 Brown v. Board of Education case, in which the Supreme Court of the United States ruled segregated education to be unconstitutional.

With that decision came an end to the student pool from which the Dalton School had drawn. By the late 1950s students from communities such as Marceline, Salisbury, and the dozens of other little towns in and around Chariton County could now

attend school in their own home towns.

The Dalton School closed at the end of the 1955-1956 school year.[20] Uncertainty about what to do with the property caused it to stand idle for several years, making it fair prey for squatters, vandals, and the ravages of cruel Missouri winters. By the time the present owner acquired the property, at least some of the buildings had deteriorated beyond repair.[21]

Still, most of the buildings remain. The old Bartlett Building, in particular, continues to evoke visions of what a grand place this school must have been. The building is unabashedly a mess now. Nearly all of the many windows in it have been broken. Plaster has fallen all over the well-worn and warped floors. Poles for drying tobacco, four inches in diameter, hang horizontally from a ceiling at which daydreaming students must have once stared. Hogs wallow in a sea of mud that is the building's basement. Almost nothing appears to be intact or functional.

And yet, the building continues to look like a school. Lockers line the hallway which is otherwise strewn with debris. At the end of the hallway is a restroom, which once made the Dalton School the envy of white neighborhood youths.[22] Open a closet and you find textbooks, not-so-neatly stacked, under twenty-years' accumulation of dust. Blackboards hanging from walls make clear which rooms were for classes. One blackboard still carries the day's menu, more than a quarter of a century after the last meal was served to a Dalton School student.

The Dalton School, of course, will never again be what it once was. Nevertheless, the buildings which remain as testimony to its proud past should be preserved: their story is a part of this state and this nation's history.

NOTES

[1]Information about Bruce contained in this essay, unless otherwise referenced, comes from a file of information designated "History of Dalton File." This file contains a brief biographical sketch of Bruce. The brief essay does not carry an author's name. Dalton Vocational School Papers, Lincoln University, Jefferson City, Missouri (hereafter referred to as the Dalton Papers). The authors wish to thank Mrs. Betty Helms for locating and making available these papers.

[2]Samuel R. Spencer, Jr. Booker T. Washington and the Negro's Place in American Life, Library of American Biography, edited by Oscar Handlin, (Boston and Toronto: Little, Brown and Co., 1955).

[3]John Francis Case, "Where Black Folks Made Good," Missouri Ruralist 20 July 1920, p. 5.

[4]Ibid.

[5]Ibid.

[6]John F. Case, "A Black Man Champion," Missouri Ruralist 5 December 1915, p. 18. See, also, an essay by Bruce entitled "The Champion Acre Yield," Missouri Ruralist 20 February 1914, p. 26.

[7]Case, "Where Black Folks Made Good."

[8]Quoted in Case, "A Black Man Champion."

[9]"Where Negroes Go To School," Missouri Ruralist 1 October 1924, p. 9.

[10]Robert I. Brigham, "The Education of the Negro in Missouri," Ph. D. dissertation, University of Missouri-Columbia, 1946, p. 15.

[11]Lorenzo J. Greene, Gary R. Kremer, and Antonio F. Holland, Missouri's Black Heritage (St. Louis: Forum Press, 1980), p. 109.

[12]"Report of Negro Industrial Commission," Appendix, House and Senate Journals, Vol. II (1919), p. 4.

[13]Ibid., p. 13.

[14]"Third Biennial Report of the Missouri Negro Industrial Commission," Appendix, House and Senate Journals (1923), p. 40.

[15]Laws of Missouri (1923), p. 49.

[16]"Where Negroes Go To School," p. 9.

[17]Laws of Missouri (1929), pp. 386-387.

[18]News Release, Cornerstone Laying--Dalton Vocational School, Dalton Papers.

[19]Unidentified Author, Memorandum to the General Assembly, September 24, 1951, Dalton Papers.

[20]See memo from Elliot Battle, Dalton Vocational School Principal, to school districts which had been sending black students to the Dalton Vocational School. Memo announced that the school's funding would cease May 31, 1956. It is dated August 6, 1955. Dalton Papers.

[21]Interview with Mr. Roland Hughes, current owner of the property once comprising the Dalton Vocational School, February 6, 1981.

[22]Mrs. Jane Enderle informed the author on February 6, 1981, that she and other white students envied the black students their fine facilities in the 1940s.

CHAPTER III

BLACK ROOTS OF AN ALL-WHITE TOWN: ELDRIDGE, MISSOURI

The decade following the Civil War began a short-lived era of optimism for America's blacks. Emancipation altered traditional boundaries within which slaves had been forced to live and Radical Republican policies encouraged freedmen to believe that they were on the verge of receiving full social, political, and economic rights.

Unfortunately, Radical solicitude of blacks did not survive the decade of the seventies. The Compromise of 1877, by which Republicans agreed to pull federal soldiers out of the South, signalled the formal abandonment of Southern blacks by the party of the Great Emancipator. Subsequently, racial violence flourished, as white Southerners moved to re-establish "home rule" in their section of the country. Whatever gains that had been made during the hopeful years of Reconstruction were undone by the "Redeemers".

Many blacks responded to this turn of events by fleeing the South in 1878 and 1879, first for the West African country of Liberia, and later for the "promised land" of Kansas and other points west.[1] The latter migrants first traveled up the Mississippi River to St. Louis and then headed west overland, across Missouri. Many simply stopped when they either ran out of money or found land that was available for homesteading.

The blacks who settled the small community of Eldridge, in Laclede County, were, in all likelihood, part of this exodus from the South. Indeed, the community was apparently named for one of the more prominent of their number, Alfred Eldridge.

The words "in all likelihood" and "apparently" are deliberately indefinite because the explanation of this now-all-white community's origin is so deeply steeped in folklore that it is difficult to separate myth from reality. The most commonly held view is that the village of Eldridge was settled in the immediate post-Civil War period by recently-emancipated slaves. Some old-timers even maintain that Eldridge was, during those early years, an all-black community.[2] Both of those premises appear to be incorrect.

What is the truth about the origins of Eldridge? The sources necessary to answer that question are not as readily available as the historian would hope. Traditional historical sources--diaries, memoirs, letters--which would normally serve as the starting point for writing the history of a community are not available to the historian who wishes to inquire into Eldridge's past. The former slaves who moved to Eldridge in the late 1870s were, in almost all cases, victims of the antebellum legislation which prohibited blacks to be taught to read and write. Not surprisingly, then, all of the blacks who appeared in the Eldridge community in the 1880 census were illiterate. They were unable to leave behind the traditional historical sources. Consequently, the story of Eldridge must be pieced together from a variety of other sources, including the gathering of the oral tradition of descendants of the town's original settlers.

One of those sources is the federal census. The decade between the 1870 and 1880 census reveals a marked increase in

the black population in the area that later came to be called Eldridge. The 1870 census lists a total of twelve blacks in Hooker Township, the north half of which became Eldridge Township later in the next decade. Four of those twelve blacks, James and Lucy Fulbright and Franklin and Lucy Hooker, bore the names of prominent area slaveholders, suggesting that they were not newcomers to the county.[3] By 1880, the number of blacks in the same area had risen to fifty-seven, including a twenty-five-year-old farm laborer named Alfred Eldridge, who was living in the household of a white widow named Tamatha Hufft.[4]

Not only does the 1880 census reveal a large increase in the black population, but it also makes clear that the majority of those migrants into the area were Southern born. The birthplaces most frequently recorded in the 1880 census for Eldridge area blacks were Georgia, Kentucky, Alabama, and Mississippi. Moreover, the census suggests that blacks in the area lived geographically very close to each other, in a tight-knit community. Since the census-taker tended to stop at each successive house as he went through a neighborhood, household numbers listed on the census give a fair indication of one household's proximity to another. Resident visit Numbers 106 through 116 were all made in black households, with only three other black families living elsewhere in the township.[5]

Not all of the residents of Eldridge township were black, however. Indeed, it appears that as the village of Eldridge emerged out of the sparsely settled northwestern section of Laclede County, blacks and whites were working together to

build it.

The first tangible evidence of the formal establishment of Eldridge was a store opened in the community in the early 1880s. Sources differ as to who actually owned this first store. Paul Odom, a life-long resident of Eldridge and the son of Thomas Benton and Emma Odom, whites who operated the town's first shoe shop, maintains that the first store was owned and operated by Alfred Eldridge. Others argue that John Owensby, a white, owned the first store in Eldridge.[6] Whether Alfred Eldridge owned the first store or not, he somehow made an impression on the remainder of the community that caused them to name the town after him. National Archives records reveal that the name "Eldridge" was used to designate the community's first post-office when it was established on June 12, 1886, with a white man named Coleman Poyntner as the first postmaster.[7]

Who was this mysterious Alfred Eldridge, whose name lives on in a community that knows very little about him? Alfred Eldridge was born in Tennessee about 1855 and, as mentioned above, apparently moved to Laclede County a year or so prior to the taking of the 1880 census. He had a wife and at least one child remaining in Tennessee when he came to Missouri to prepare a new life for them and himself. In December of 1885, "Alf," as he came to be known, settled two quarter sections of land in Township 36, Section 27, for which he received a formal land grant on October 26, 1892. Like most area homesteaders, Alf Eldridge was a subsistence farmer who raised wheat, oats, vegetables, and a small number of livestock.[8]

The 1890 national census was destroyed by fire, leaving 1900 as the next census year in which Alf Eldridge appears. The census for that year reveals that Alf had a wife named Laura and six children and that he was unable to read or write.[9] Sometime during the next four years, a controversy which eventually claimed Alf Eldridge's life flared up. A dispute arose between Alf and his daughter over her marriage to a neighbor named Fred Wellings. This dispute ended in the ambush-murder of Alf Eldridge by his son-in-law Wellings in approximately 1905. Apparently Wellings waited behind a tree for Alf to return from a trip to town for supplies and shot him as his horse and wagon passed the spot where Wellings stood. Although no one witnessed the shooting, Wellings reportedly confessed after being confronted with the "evidence" of wood shavings made by a left-handed whittler, collected from the site where the ambusher laid in waiting. Wellings was left-handed.[10]

Fred Wellings was never brought to trial. According to community legend, he was taken to the Greene County jail in Springfield, where an irate group of blacks murdered him before he could be tried for the crime. Anna Eldridge Wellings, Fred's wife, was arrested as a co-conspirator in her father's death and placed in the Laclede County jail in Lebanon. Irene Fohn, then a young, pre-school child, still recalls helping her uncle, the Laclede County Sheriff, prepare meals for the incarcerated Anna Wellings. Unfortunately, all records of the proceedings against Mrs. Wellings were lost in a Laclede County courthouse fire in 1920.[11]

Alf Eldridge was buried in a small all-black cemetery, approximately two hundred yards directly behind what is now the home of Mrs. Ruby Moore. His gravesite is marked with a simple hand-hewn red sandstone, the engraving on which is almost illegible. Alf Eldridge's land was passed on to his son Howard, who also received a patent to acreage adjoining his father's original homestead on August 6, 1909.[12]

Alf Eldridge was not the only black person who served as a bulwark for the community. Another was Tom Nash, one of the few blacks to appear in Hooker Township in the 1870 census. Nash was the only black soldier from Laclede County who served in the Civil War. He spent eighteen months in the Union Army as a teamster and a waiter and an additional twelve months as a member of Company I of the U. S. Artillery.[13] After the war, Nash and his wife Lucy settled in what would become Eldridge township and began farming. Subsequently, Nash became well known throughout the Ozarks for his breeding of horses and English Shepherd dogs.[14]

Another prominent community leader was William Driver, who homesteaded in the Eldridge area around the turn of the century. Driver served the black community as a minister and often preached to his black congregation in the same church used by whites.[15]

Frequently the Eldridges, Nashes, and Drivers joined with other blacks, and whites as well, in community picnics. On such occasions, the gatherings might be entertained by fiddler Will Driver, son of the minister, who was born in 1881 and whose remarkable musical talents are still remembered in

Ozarks folklore. Another popular entertainer of both blacks and whites was a black man named Frank Schell, remembered especially for his uncanny ability to improvise songs for any occasion.[16]

Black children growing up in and around Eldridge attended a segregated school, just north of town, in a building on land donated specifically for that purpose by James Case in 1915. The Case School served a student population which usually ranged from ten to twenty students.[17]

Most of the blacks living in the Eldridge area were farmers, however, and, as such, they were hard hit by the economic crisis which affected farmers nationwide in the 1920s. For farmers, the Great Depression started nearly a decade before it hit other segments of the American economy. Ironically, then, if opportunity had been the motivating factor for black settlement of the Eldridge area, lack of opportunity caused blacks to leave the community. In 1900 Eldridge township listed sixty-six blacks. By 1930 that number had dwindled to twenty-eight and by 1940 to fourteen.[18]

The blacks who left Eldridge tended to move to larger communities which offered better opprotunities for employment. Some simply went into Lebanon, only fifteen miles south, and settled in what has come to be called Old Town. Many went farther south, to Springfield. Still others left the state entirely. Lee Berry, for example, moved to Muskogee, Oklahoma, where he became that town's first black constable in 1930. Frank Schell, the community's songmaker, found work in a Dodge

City, Kansas, gas station in the early thirties.[19]

Unquestionably, Eldridge's most famous native son, whose fame came only after he left the community of his birth, was Jacob Kenoly. The son of ex-slave parents who moved to Eldridge in 1884, Jacob Kenoly worked as a hired hand in and around Eldridge, saving up money to go to school in Normal, Alabama. After three years of school in Alabama, he transferred to the Southern Christian Institute for the training of black youths at Edwards, Mississippi. He remained there for four years, preparing for a life as a Methodist home missionary. After several years of missionary work in Arkansas and in Indian Territory, Jacob Kenoly left for a post in Monrovia, Liberia, on the west coast of Africa, in the summer of 1905. For the next six years Jacob Kenoly ministered to the Africans, until his accidental drowning in a flood on June 9, 1911.[20]

Although Jacob Kenoly, and scores of others like him, left the Eldridge community to pursue better educational end employment opportunities, their search for upward mobility had a paradoxically negative affect upon the blacks who stayed behind. The fewer blacks that remained in the community, the fewer there were to provide and receive assistance that would increase black self-sufficiency. This was particularly evident in the area of education.

Missouri law required that a school district have a minimum of eight black pupils to be eligible for state financial support.[21] While the Case School had sixteen pupils in 1930,

five more Depression years drove that number below the mandatory eight. The Case School closed in 1936. George Case, now an employee of the City of Lebanon, remembers being in the last class of students to attend the school on his father's farm. After the school closed, the Case family moved into Lebanon and young George spent the school week in Springfield, attending high school, and returned home on weekends.[22]

With the school gone, area farms unable to provide more than a bare subsistence living, and the black community scattered, the remaining black residents moved away. Eunice Kenoly Winfrey, now living in Lebanon, remembers her family as being the last group of blacks to leave Eldridge. The Kenolys left in 1941.[23]

Today Eldridge is all-white. Few of the houses built and occupied by blacks remain standing. Most of those that remain are abandoned and decaying. The most visible reminder of Eldridge's black heritage is the cemetery on the Ruby Moore farm. There are buried there the men and women who homesteaded the Eldridge area and who, for at least a short time, gave life and hope to each other and to their community. Each year a number of their descendants gather at the cemetery for a reunion--a celebration of sorts, a time of helping each other to remember the black roots of an all-white town.

NOTES

[1]Nell Irvin Painter, Exodusters: Black Migration to Kansas After Reconstruction (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1977).

[2]Lois Roper Beard, The History of Laclede County (Lebanon, Missouri: Heritage Publishing Co., 1979), pp. 74-75.

[3]U. S. Census, Ninth Report, 1870, Population Schedule, Hooker Township, Laclede County, Missouri.

[4]U. S. Census, Tenth Report, 1880, Population Schedule, Hooker Township, Laclede County, Missouri. While census information effectively reveals relative population densities and migratory trends, census returns must be used cautiously. The 1880 census, for example, lists Alfred Eldridge as a white man, information which is disproven by all other sources.

[5]Ibid.

[6]Interview with Paul Odom, April 2, 1982; History of Laclede, Camden, Dallas, Webster, Wright, Texas, Pulaski, Phelps and Dent Counties (Chicago: Goodspeed Publishing Co., 1889), p. 72.

[7]"Record of Appointment of Postmasters, 1832-1930," Rolls 168 and 169, National Archives Microfilm Publication M841, National Archives, Washington, D.C. Beard, The History of Laclede County, p. 74, calls Alf Eldridge the "respected leader" of area blacks.

[8]U. S. Census, Tenth Report, 1880, Population Schedule, Hooker Township, Laclede County, Missouri; Index to Patent Records, Laclede County, Volume I, 1857-1962, Book E, p. 152. See, also, page 3 of Plat Map of Township 36, Range 17, for Laclede County.

[9]U. S. Census, Twelfth Report, 1900, Population Schedule, Eldridge Township, Laclede County, Missouri.

[10]Interviews with Ruby Moore (January 28, 1982), Harry Foman (February 11, 1982), Eunice Winfrey (February 11, 1982), and Irene Fohn (March 15, 1982).

[11]Ibid.

[12]Index to Patent Records, Laclede County, Volume I, 1857-1962, Book E, p. 33. See, also, page 3 of Plat Map of Township 36, Range 17, for Laclede County.

[13]Frances Ethel Gleason, The First Hundred Years, 1848-1949 (Lebanon: Lebanon Publishing Co., 1949), p. 120.

[14]Interviews with Ruby Moore and Ethel Waterman, January 28, 1982, and George Case, February 11, 1982.

[15]Ibid.

[16]Interivew with Harry Foman, February 11, 1982.

[17]Interview with George Case, February 11, 1982; Beard, The History of Laclede County, pp. 74-75.

[18]These figures were gathered from census reports for the years listed.

[19]Interview with George Case, Harry Foman, and Eunice Winfrey, February 11, 1982.

[20]C. C. Smith, The Life and Work of Jacob Kenoly (Cincinnati: Methodist Book Concern, 1912.

[21]Robert I. Brigham, "The Education of the Negro in Missouri," Ph. D. Diss., University of Missouri-Columbia, 1946, p. 141.

[22]Interview with George Case, February 11, 1982.

[23]Interview with Eunice Winfrey, February 11, 1982.

MISSOURI'S BLACK HISTORIC SITES:

A PHOTOGRAPHIC SURVEY OF THE STATE

For

The Missouri Department of Natural Resources

by

Gary R. Kremer, Project Director
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CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS iii

NARRATIVE. 1

NOTES. 21

PHOTOGRAPHS. 23

BOONVILLE 24

CHAMOIS 32

COLE CAMP 38

COLUMBIA. 40

DALTON. 49

DIAMOND 54

FAYETTE 56

FULTON. 60

HANNIBAL. 64

HARTVILLE 66

JEFFERSON CITY. 76

JEFFERSON CITY--LINCOLN UNIVERSITY. 104

KANSAS CITY 126

KEYTESVILLE 142

KIMMSWICK 144

MEXICO. 154

NEOSHO. 166

POTOSI. 173

SEDALIA 179

SPRINGFIELD 196

ST. CHARLES 206

ST. JOSEPH. 209

ST. LOUIS 222

STE. GENEVIEVE. 270

TIPTON. 272

WEBSTER GROVES. 278

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we would like to thank Patty Ewalt for designing this cover and the cover of the preceding volume of the Black Historic Sites Series.

If the readers of this report do not find their favorite historic site(s) mentioned in these pages, we hope they will not be offended. We do not pretend to have done more than scratch the surface. Indeed, we invite comments, criticisms, and suggestions for additions to our list.

No matter how scrupulously scholars try to avoid errors, at least a few always manage to creep into a finished product. This treatise, we suspect, will be no different. In anticipation of that reality, we announce here and now that in the case of this research monograph, blame for persisting deficiencies may be clearly fixed: they are my colleague's fault!

Jefferson City, Missouri
November 1, 1981

Gary R. Kremer
Donald H. Ewalt, Jr.

There is a great deal of conversation these days about "the crisis" of the historical profession. The declining college enrollments of the last few years and the de-emphasis on the liberal arts have forced historians to redefine themselves and their role in society.

Like it or not, we live in an age in which "usefulness" is the Rosetta's stone. Consequently, more and more historians have felt obliged to demonstrate the practicality of the craft of Clio.

One manifestation of that trend has been the creation of an entirely new field of historical inquiry: Public History. And one of the very important trends of public history has been the increased interest of historians in buildings as silent testimonials of our cultural past. Members of our profession are discovering, as a past president of the Southern Historical Association noted not long ago, that Americans can become excited about and interested in tangible artifacts such as buildings and that historians can use the skills peculiar to their training to nurture that excitement and interest.[1] Americans may not turn out in large numbers to hear our eloquent lectures on historical topics or wait in long lines to buy our research monographs, but they will wage war against those who threaten to destroy buildings that tie them to their past. Equally important, they are receptive to learning more about that past, if the "lessons of history" can be told around the central figures of the buildings they seek to preserve. And, after all, illuminating the past is the

historian's avowed goal.

It was our desire to find an alternative way to illuminate the past that prompted us to begin the Lincoln University Black Historic Sites Project in 1978. We began with a grant from the Missouri Department of Natural Resources, matched by University funds. Those of us who were involved in initiating the project were distressed by the alarming rate at which we saw historic sites generally, and Black historic sites specifically, being destroyed in the state, particularly by urban blight and urban renewal projects. We resolved, through this grant, to identify and describe buildings in the state that had particular significance to Missouri's Black heritage with the hope of having at least some of them included on the National Register of Historic Places.

We began by familiarizing ourselves with recent trends in the preservation movement. We found, much to our satisfaction, that many of our own thoughts and anxieties were shared by others. We viewed as particularly relevant comments and work done by Constance M. Greiff, who argues that this nation's thoughtless and indiscriminate demolition of buildings in the name of progress threatens to destroy the variety and excitement of our architectural landscape. America is trading its buildings for parking areas, thoroughfares, and weed-covered vacant lots. This phenomenon is especially true for ethnic neighborhoods. Much ethnic culture has been obliterated, as Greiff points out, 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."[2]

Greiff goes on to argue that we need our old buildings to attain a clearer picture of our past and as a reference point for the present and future. "We are losing not only identity in place, but in time," she writes:

> 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 us about the past, but to place the present and future in perspective.[3]

With Greiff's words fresh in our minds, as both incentive and justification, we focused our attention on a St. Louis neighborhood that we knew had once housed many of Missouri's most prominent and wealthy Black citizens--an area we knew only as "the Ville." It is a north-central St. Louis neighborhood whose heritage is rich, but whose buildings are now threatened by urban decay. Our task was to discover and tell the story of these buildings, what they represented and how they have come to occupy their current precarious position. In short, we had to tell the story of the rise and fall of a neighborhood and pick out buildings in that neighborhood that represented the best of what the community had once been.

We quickly discovered that we had a much clearer notion of what we wanted to accomplish than exactly <u>how</u> to go about

doing it. Our interest in the Ville was much more historical 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, particularly graduate theses on the St. Louis Black community.[4] These sources yielded dozens of names and places; many of the buildings have 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; and our inability to examine in detail every edition of the paper. We made a thorough analysis of editions of the Argus 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 nineteenth 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 building 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 and the Prince Hall Ancient Free and Accepted Masons' records. 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 a specific location. Ultimately, we collected rather detailed information on seventy-five buildings in the neighborhood; photographs and descriptions of twenty-five of them appear in this report.[5]

After a year of intensive study, we became convinced that the entity we had come to know as "the Ville" was more than the sum of its parts. We decided to recommend nomination for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places the four buildings that we had come to believe played the most important part in attracting "elite" Blacks to the community and which served as the greatest source of pride for

all St. Louis Blacks.

The oldest of these buildings, Sumner High School, was erected in 1910. When an earlier Sumner building first opened its doors in 1875, it was the only Black high school west of the Mississippi River. Another building, the Annie Malone Children's Home, was erected in 1919. The home still serves children who are neglected or dependent. It was named after Annie Turnbo Malone, whose donation of land and money made possible the building of the orphanage. Mrs. Malone was a prominent St. Louis businesswoman, whose Poro College of Beauty Culture was located in the Ville also. Antioch Baptist Church was the third of the four buildings nominated. Erected in 1920, this building served a congregation of over seven hundred and has remained a focal point for social and religious activity ever since. The newest of the four buildings, Homer G. Phillips Hospital, was built in the mid-1930s. For more than two decades it was the major American center for the training of Black doctors, nurses, and other medical personnel.[6]

Having completed an intensive study of one urban neighborhood, and having nominated four of its most important buildings for National Register inclusion, we began to re-think our approach to identifying Black historic sites. We decided that while in-depth studies such as the one we had done on the Ville were useful and even necessary, we might have put the cart before the horse. Were there other Black sites, perhaps even more important and more in jeopardy, than the buildings in

the Ville? How many potentially significant sites would be destroyed while we plodded on in our neighbor-by-neighborhood studies? Would it be possible to determine areas and communities in the state where potentially significant sights would be likely to remain? If so, could we establish a priority list of potential survey areas, along with a strategy for completing future surveys after the fashion of our Ville study?

We decided that we should begin by knowing, at least generally, where Blacks have lived in the state. Since buildings must be fifty years old or more to be eligible for nomination to the National Register, we first looked at the census records for the years 1890 through 1940. We examined each county for these six census years in an effort to establish the twenty-five areas of the state which had the largest Black population from 1890 to 1940.[7]

One of the most extraordinary pieces of information yielded by our demographic study was that the Black population was extremely mobile during this period. For one thing, each of Missouri's 114 counties had Black residents in 1890. By 1940, eighteen counties, or nearly 16% of the total, had no Blacks.

Other counties experienced widely ranging and as yet unexplained fluctuations in their Black population. Buchanan County, for example, had 3,974 Blacks in 1890, jumped 64% to 6,509 in 1900, and fell another 46% to 4,457 in 1910. Mississippi County had 1,311 Blacks in 1920, went to 3,997 (205%

increase) in 1930, and 6,645 (66% increase) in 1940. Just as dramatically, New Madrid County's Black population increased 188% between 1920 and 1930 and Pemiscot's 160% during the same decade. While such demographic shifts are obviously interesting and important, their explanation and significance lay outside the scope of our study. One thing that they did tell us, however, was that we could expect to find Black sites in virtually any and every part of the state. In addition to looking at county totals, we also decided to compile population totals for Missouri towns.

All of this data allowed us to prepare a priority list of communities where there was the greatest likelihood of locating Black historic sites. We then began to gather more information about those communities. We wrote letters of inquiry to city and county historical societies in the areas where we knew large concentrations of Blacks had lived. We informed our correspondents about our project and asked if they had information available that would help us or if they could suggest the names of persons who might. The response was much better than we had anticipated. In fact, one letter often netted us a list of a half dozen leads in a particular community.

We were so satisfied with the eagerness of people to share information about buildings in their communities that we decided to send out letters to every local historical society in the state--a total of 176. Again, the response was overwhelming. Ultimately, we made on-site observations of

buildings in seventeen communities: St. Louis, Kansas City, Mexico, Fulton, Hartville, Lebanon, St. Charles, Webster Groves, Cape Girardeau, Hayti, Poplar Bluff, Sikeston, Springfield, St. Joseph, Fayette, Tipton, and Chamois.

The most obvious generalization that our research allowed us to make, of course, was that there are many buildings in Missouri that have significance to the Black past. While those buildings tend to be located in communities that have had large numbers of Black people for over fifty years, there are other structures in other areas of the state that are no less significant.

There are entire Black neighborhoods and communities in the state (both in St. Louis and Kansas City, as well as in outstate Missouri) which are potential historic districts. Just as clearly, there are isolated buildings in rural areas and small towns which have great importance but which may be destroyed if they are not attended to until the areas in which they happen to be located are surveyed. Finally, many more sites than the ones we found remain to be discovered.

Our major recommendation at the end of our second full year's research, then, was that future projects aimed at the identification and description of Black historic sites should take into consideration all of these realities. Future projects should simultaneously survey neighborhoods and communities which show promise of containing a large number of Black sites, survey and nominate isolated, important, but threatened buildings outside the primary survey area, and continue a

network of correspondence and oral history in an effort to gather information about additional sites.

Unfortunately for historic preservation, just about the time we were making these recommendations, the country was taking its first uncertain steps toward the "revolution of 1980" with the election of President Ronald Reagan. The cutting of "dollars for scholars" went into high gear.

Thus, we entered the 1981 phase of our project expecting that it would be our last opportunity to use federal funds to identify Black sites. Consequently, we agreed with Natural Resources officials to photograph as many as possible of the buildings we had identified during the previous phase of our project.

We have gathered for this report 150 photographs of buildings all over the state. We recognize that our list is more illustrative than exhaustive. What it illustrates is that there are literally hundreds of buildings in this state that have tales to tell about a proud past, an often uncertain present, and, even more often, a fearful future.

We have found, for example, the remnants of what was once the Dalton Vocational School, near the small town of Dalton in Chariton County. Originally known as the Bartlett Agricultural and Industrial School for Negroes, this school was founded by N. C. Bruce in 1907. In later years, Bruce became a highly successful Inspector of Negro Schools for the State of Missouri.[8]

The money used to establish the Bartlett School came

from area Blacks who simply wanted a place where they could see their children educated. Chariton County, being a Missouri River valley county, had had a large slave population. Although its Black population declined steadily after the Civil War, there were still more than 3,000 Blacks in the county at the turn of the century. As late as 1923, Bruce reported, Chariton County had nearly six hundred school-age Blacks.

In 1911 the school formed its own Board of Trustees. In 1913, Bruce, who was then acting as principal of the school, gained some notoriety for it by winning a prize for corn shown at the San Francisco Exposition. Bruce's yield of 108 bushels and 11 pounds was the best in the country grown on "up-land."

In 1925 the school's trustees donated fifty acres of land to the State of Missouri for the purpose of establishing an agricultural extension model farm to be used for offering vocational and industrial training for Black youths. The University of Missouri acted as overseer of this project until 1929, when control was transferred to Lincoln University.

In the mid-1930s, fire destroyed the main classroom building and a re-building project was begun. A two-story brick building was to be erected at the end of a long lane of fruit and ornamental trees. The road leading to the main building was to be flanked by several other buildings, including at least two dormitories, and places of residence for the principal and faculty. A football stadium and tennis

courts were to be constructed behind the main building and an orchard in front. Although the school never quite achieved the splendor its most ardent supporters envisioned, it was an extremely successful and important instrument of vocational education for Black youths throughout the first half of the twentieth century.

The Brown v. Board of Education decision, striking down a segregated school system, brought about the demise of the Dalton School. The school closed in the mid-fifties and the buildings stood vacant for several years. Subsequently, the buildings and the land on which they stand were sold to their current proprietor, Roland Hughes, a Black farmer. Two dormitories remain, the well-worn frame structures of both setting tenuously in the middle of a hog pen. The more substantial, brick main building is also in very poor shape. Most of the windows have been broken. The building is still recognizable as a former school: lockers remain in the hallway, with restrooms at the end of the hall. The classrooms have been converted into a tobacco warehouse--four-inch poles are hung horizontally from the ceiling and have tobacco draped over them for seasoning. The principal's home has been remodeled extensively and now serves as Mr. Hughes's place of residence. Unfortunately, the house is the only one of the remaining four buildings receiving any maintenance.

We have found in Mexico, Missouri, the house and barn of famous Black horseman Tom Bass. Bass was born a slave in

1850 on a Boone County farm that boasted of 5,000 acres and 300 slaves. His father was William Bass, third-generation heir to the large estate, and his mother was Cornelia Gray, a slave. Bass began working with horses at an early age. By the time he died in November 1934, Bass had become internationally famous as a trainer of saddle horses.[9]

Bass spent most of his life in Mexico. One can still see, in that town, the house where the popular horseman entertained Presidents William McKinley, Theodore Roosevelt, and William Howard Taft. He rode in Grover Cleveland's inaugural parade at the special request of the new President and once put on a command performance for President Calvin Coolidge. One of Bass's favorite house guests was the humorist Will Rogers.

The barn where Bass trained such famous saddle horses as the world champion Belle Beach is also standing. It was also in this barn that Bass made the first practical application of "the Bass Bit," a training bit he invented with the sensitivity of the horse's mouth in mind. Bass did not patent his invention; his interest was only in a more humane treatment of the horse. His invention worked so well that it is still in use today.

Kansas City boasts of an entire neighborhood that ought to be designated a historic district. The 18th and Vine area of the city was the heart of the Black community in the early twentieth century. Black-owned businesses thrived in this neighborhood: hotels, grocery stores, drug stores, profes-

sional offices, newspapers, even funeral homes.[10]

This solid, economically and socially self-sufficient neighborhood attracted big traveling bands and soon-to-be famous musicians. The musicians, playing a strongly syncopated combination of ragtime and traditional blues, gave birth in the 1920s to Kansas City Jazz. Count Basie, Lester Young, Bennie Moten, Mary Lou Williams, Charlie "Yardbird" Parker, Pete Johnson, "Hot Lips" Page, and a host of others played the dance halls and saloons of the 18th and Vine district.

Many of the buildings associated with this important movement remain standing. The Mutual Musician's Union Hall, built in 1904 and serving as the home of the Negro Musician's Union, Local 627, since 1928, is already on the National Register of Historic Places, as is the Kansas City Call Building, a late nineteenth-century structure which has been the home of the nationally-known Black newspaper since 1922. More than twenty other important buildings closely related to the 18th and Vine district's golden age of jazz also remain.

Potosi, Missouri, has an impressive church designed by one of the state's earliest Black architects, John Lankford.[11] Lankford was born in Potosi in 1874. He attended elementary school there, then went off to Lincoln Institute in Jefferson City, where he studied for seven years. Subsequently, he also attended Tuskegee Industrial School, Shaw University, Morris Brown College, Wilberforce College, and Alabama A & M College. Lankford worked at a number of jobs until in 1902 the Grand United Order of True Reformers of Richmond, Virginia,

employed him to design and supervise the building of True Reformer Building in Washington, D. C. At the time, this building was the largest in the country designed, built, and owned by Blacks. Lankford remained in the Washington, D. C., area as an architect in partnership with his brother Arthur, until his death in 1946.

Lankford designed the very ornate Potosi Presbyterian Church, built in 1908 at the corner of Breton and Mine Streets. Reportedly, Lankford wished to design the church as a testimonial to his father. Lankford was intimately involved in every detail of the church's planning. Despite this extensive effort, Lankford refused to be compensated for his work.

Another building in the state that is particularly relevant to the Black past is the former Missouri Industrial Home for Negro Girls at Tipton. By the turn of this century, there was a growing sentiment in favor of segregating Black and white juvenile delinquents. Legislation authorizing the building of the Missouri Industrial Home for Negro Girls was first proposed by Representative William Hicks of Jackson County in 1909. Five commissioners were appointed to find a suitable location for the building, oversee its construction, and ready the new facility for its first inmates.[12]

Unfortunately, however, the first inmates would not be received for another seven years because of a dispute over where to construct the building. Efforts to establish the institution in various parts of the state met with protest.

Indeed, an attempt to establish the Home in Sedalia met with near-violence. Eventually, a fifty-acre tract of land one and one-half miles from Tipton was purchased, a building erected on it, and the first inmates received in May 1916.

For the next forty years, the Missouri Industrial Home for Negro Girls received more than one thousand youths between the ages of seven and twenty-one. By the mid-1950s, Missouri legislators became convinced that the state could no longer afford separate facilities for Blacks and whites. Consequently, the Tipton inmates were transferred to the facility for white girls at Chillicothe. The Tipton facility is still owned by the State of Missouri and is currently being operated by the Department of Corrections as a pre-release center.

One of the ironies that we have discovered is that there remain Black historic sites in communities that no longer have a Black population. The small Missouri River town of Chamois in Osage County is a good case in point. Osage County had more than two hundred slaves on the eve of the Civil War, most of them concentrated in the Chamois area.[13] The location of the Pacific Railroad's headquarters in Chamois in 1873 provided jobs for many Blacks. The Black population of the county grew to 326 in 1870 and 400 in 1880.

This relatively large Black population nurtured the development of rich social institutions centered in Chamois. A Black Methodist Church was organized in 1872 and a Masonic Lodge in 1878. A Black Christian Church was established in

1879, followed by a Black Baptist Church in 1896. Each year on August 4th (a symbolic month after whites celebrated their Independence), Osage County Blacks had a Colored Picnic at Chamois, commemorating their freedom. The picnics continued until the mid-1920s.

Although the Black population of Osage County stood at 400 in 1880, it has declined steadily ever since. Today, one Black person remains in Chamois. The only tangible reminder of the once-numerous Black presence in the town is the Maceo School, a one-room schoolhouse built for the Black children of the community in 1884. The school had thirty-five to forty students in it throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The school continued to operate until the end of the 1954-1955 school year. At that point, school enrollment had dropped to just four students. The building is now owned by a local factory, and it stands vacant.

There are many Black historic sites in the state which have personal tales to tell about success in the face of great obstacles. While they are not architecturally majestic edifices or the homes of nationally-famous figures, they represent a part of our collective past which we need to remember. One such example is a house in Cole Camp, Missouri, once the home of a town folk hero, Ezekiah Fowler, and was probably built by him.[14]

Ezekiah, or "Uncle Ki," as he was commonly known, was born sometime during the first quarter of the nineteenth cen-

tury; even he did not know the exact date. He served four different masters before slavery was finally ended, taking the name of "Fowler" from the last of the four, William Fowler. When he died in 1909, he left an estate that included, among other things, a 100-acre farm and his house in Cole Camp. While that did not represent a vast amount of wealth, it did speak well of a man who spent at least half his life a slave. More importantly, Uncle Ki left behind a host of friends and acquaintances, both Black and white, who remembered him as one of the finest men of either race to live in the county. As the Cole Camp Observer noted in Uncle Ki's obituary: "he was a man deserving of the respect of every man regardless of color."

While the above structures are not immediately threatened with destruction, other buildings are not so fortunate. The Robinson Mortuary building at 1216-1218 Broadway in Hannibal is a noteable example. This building was designed by a famous Black architect, James T. Brown, in 1910. Also known as the United Brothers of Friendship (UBF) building, the structure housed several Black fraternal groups in its earlier days. It is one of two buildings remaining in an area known as "the Wedge," which once contained a thriving Black business district. Strong support for its preservation has come from local citizens who have written letters to the editor of the local newspaper, expressing their disapproval of plans to use Community Development Block Grant funds for its demolition. If preservation efforts by local citizens

are not successful, this extremely important building will be replaced with a supermarket.[15]

The stories behind Uncle Ki's house, the Maceo School, the Tipton Home, the Potosi Presbyterian Church, the 18th and Vine District in Kansas City, the Tom Bass house, the Dalton Vocational School, and Robinson's Mortuary, barely scratch the surface of what we have found. Similarly exciting tales can be told about each of the buildings in this survey. And for each building whose photograph appears in these pages, two or more remain to be identified.

The amount of work remaining to be done is staggering. The richness of details about Black life that surfaces when buildings are made the focal point of inquiry suggests that Black historic site surveys may become one of the most important ways of doing local Black history. Already we have more questions than answers. One historian, for example, who has combined the study of Black culture with architectural history has argued persuasively that the familiar "shotgun" house ("one room in width and from one to three or more rooms deep, with frontward-facing gable") was an African creation "that has been adopted by whites and effectively incorporated into popular building practices."[16] We have only begun to think about testing his hypothesis in Missouri.

The future is uncertain, however, for projects such as ours. Even though the federal government is already well into its 1982 fiscal year, no one knows whether or not there will be money for historic preservation in 1982. We hope, of

course, that there will be. The buildings that remain as silent testimonials to Missouri's Black heritage have remained silent far too long already.

NOTES

[1]Holman Hamilton, "Clio With Style," Journal of Southern History 46 (February 1980): 6.

[2]Constance M. Greiff, ed., Lost America: From the Mississippi to the Pacific (Princeton: The Pyne Press, 1972), p. viii.

[3]Ibid., p. 11.

[4]The most thorough study of the Ville available is a doctoral dissertation done in the field of sociology: Charles Bailey, "The Ville: A Study of a Symbolic Community in St. Louis," (Ph. D. diss., Washington University, 1978). For other sources we consulted, see Gary R. Kremer and Donald H. Ewalt, Jr., Missouri's Black Historic Sites: St. Louis' Ville, Lincoln University Black Historic Sites Research Series, vol. 1 (Jefferson City: Missouri Department of Natural Resources, 1979).

[5]For the original report in its entirety, see Kremer and Ewalt, Missouri's Black Historic Sites: St. Louis' Ville.

[6]During the four-month period in which we prepared the Ville nominations, we also prepared a nomination for nine of the oldest buildings on the Lincoln University campus. That nomination was entitled "The Lincoln University Historic District."

[7]Gary R. Kremer and Donald H. Ewalt, Jr., Missouri's Black Historic Sites: A Preliminary Survey of the State, Lincoln University Black Historic Sites Research Series, vol. 2 (Jefferson City: Missouri Department of Natural Resources, 1980).

[8]W. Sherman Savage, History of Lincoln University (Jefferson City: New Day Press, 1939), pp. 240-241, 271.

[9]The best available study of Tom Bass's life is William Downey's Tom Bass, Black Horseman (St. Louis: Saddle and Bridle Magazine, 1977).

[10]"18th and Vine Historic District Project," unpublished manuscript, prepared by Landmarks Commission, 26th Floor East, City Hall, Kansas City, Missouri 64106.

[11]Most of our information about Lankford has been obtained from material provided to us by Mr. George Showalter, an

administrative assistant in the Potosi R-3 School District.

[12]Gary R. Kremer and Linda Rea Gibbens, "'Mother Couldn't I Just Be Free': Life in the Missouri Industrial Home for Negro Girls," unpublished paper delivered at the Missouri History Conference, April 1981, Columbia, Missouri.

[13]George Kishmar, History of Chamois, Missouri (Jefferson City: Jeff-City Printing, 1975), pp. 10, 36, 192, 194-195.

[14]Our information about Fowler has been provided by Mr. Roy Donnell, President of the Cole Camp Area Historical Society.

[15]Our information about the Robinson Mortuary has been provided by Mr. Esley Hamilton of the Hannibal Arts Council.

[16]John Michael Vlach, "The Shotgun House: An African Architectural Legacy," Part I, Pioneer America 8 (January 1976): 47-56. Part II appears in the subsequent issue, (July 1976): 57-70.