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Robert Irving Brigham

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THE EDUCATION OF THE NEGRO IN MISSOURI

by

Robert Irving Brigham, A.B., M.A., B.S., M.Ed.

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY in the GRADUATE SCHOOL of the UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI

1946
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The writer is indebted first to two men of high scholarship and deep understanding, Dr. Robert L. Ramsay and Dr. W.E. Drake, both of the University of Missouri. The former opened the writer's eyes to the beauty of the word and his heart to the thrill of original research and creative scholarship. The latter has worked long and patiently with the writer as he sought to fashion working tools of the knowledge he gathered. He made the writer aware of the organization of society and the place of the teacher in that society. Whatever there may be of merit in this piece of work stems from one or the other, or both, of these two forceful teachers.

A special debt, too, is owed to those like Miss Dannelle Sheley and Mrs. Vera Armil, who were ever patient with the writer, lending generously of their strength and sympathy.

To all others who gave their time and energy toward the completion of this work the writer extends his thanks. And only he and his wife can know how much this dissertation owes to her patience, her courage, and her strength.
Several sections of this dissertation have appeared in print during the past year. Chapter III was printed in the Winter, 1945, issue of the Journal of Negro History. The second half of Chapter II, "Recent Trends in Negro Education: A Sociological Survey", appeared in the Spring, 1946, issue of the Journal of Negro Education. The material in Chapter XII was the basis for an article published in the May, 1946, Survey Graphic and later reprinted and abridged in the St. Louis Post Dispatch, June 20, 1946.
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INTRODUCTION

"What America is constantly reaching for is democracy at home and abroad. The main trend in its history is the gradual realization of the American Creed.

In this sense the Negro problem is not only America's greatest failure but also America's incomparably great opportunity for the future. If America should follow its own deepest convictions, its well-being at home would be increased directly. At the same time America's prestige and power abroad would rise immensely. The century-old dream of American patriots, that America should give to the entire world its own freedoms and its own faith, would come true. America can demonstrate that justice, equality, and cooperation are possible between white and colored people."

America is free to choose whether the Negro shall remain her liability or become her opportunity."

So speaks Dr. Gunnar Myrdal, eminent Swedish economist, after conducting a survey, under the auspices of the Carnegie Foundation, of the inter-racial conditions in the United States.

He points out, as have many others, that education is the means of salvation of the Negro. The degree to which we allow the Negro education is the degree to which we allow him to rise. "Education means an assimilation of white American

2. Ibid., p. 1022.
culture. It decreases the dissimilarity of the Negroes from other Americans. Since the white culture is permeated with democratic valuations, and since the caste relationship is anything but democratic, education is likely to increase sharply dissatisfaction among Negroes." Dollard goes so far as to remark pertinently that "If equal opportunity were offered, Negroes and whites would tend to divide up according to ability and social values and not according to caste prescriptions." Whether educational advantages are withheld from the Negro because of the white man's fear that it will breed conflict or because such education erases arbitrary social lines of discrimination is to be questioned. More than likely the cause of any withholding of opportunity lies in a combination of both factors. Whatever the cause, Dollard concludes that "It was not the object of southern society to educate him (the Negro) for full participation, but rather for slave or caste participation in the American social order."

It is the purpose of this study to evaluate the attitude of Missouri toward democracy in education as exhibited in the facilities which she has offered to her Negro inhabitants. An

3. Ibid., p. 879.


5. Ibid., p. 190.
historical approach to the problem will be used the better to observe the developmental aspects of this attitude.

Such a study is pertinent at the present time because a second world war fought for ideological reasons has renewed interest in a clarification of democratic principles and the American Creed. The adjustment of the Negro in American civilization is one factor upon which the fulfillment of the American ideal is contingent. Education, as we have seen testified above, is a crucial matter in this adjustment. And Missouri, a border state, is pivotal in the solving of the dilemma of the education of the American Negro. The recent Festus, Gaines, and Bluford cases attest to this fact.

Though it seems that such a vital matter as the education of the Negro in Missouri would have received attention before this time, no extensive study has yet been made. Brief papers on "The Status of the Negro High School Teacher in Missouri" and "The Development of the Negro Public School System in Missouri" have been essayed by candidates for the Master's degree at more northern schools. Dr. W. Sherman Savage of the Department of History at Lincoln University has published a


history of that Institution. But the materials concerning
the full story of the development of Negro education in Missouri
have not yet been collected and compiled.

Studies have been made in those states having approxi-
mately the same percentage of Negro population as Missouri:
Kentucky and New Jersey. Under the heading of Contributions
to Education, Teachers College, Columbia University, are to be
found studies of the education of Negroes in other states:
Wright's *The Education of Negroes in New Jersey*, Davis' *The
Development and Present Status of Negro Education in East Texas*,
and Long's *Public Education for Negroes in North Carolina*.
At the University of Kentucky two studies have been published:
Meece's *Negro Education in Kentucky* and Galloway's *Higher
Education for Negroes in Kentucky*. Bond has published his
*Negro Education in Alabama, 1865-1930: A Study in Cotton and
Steel*.

8. The History of Lincoln University, (Jefferson City,


Dealing with wider phases of the question Bond has also published his *Education of the Negro in the American Social Order*. Woodson has studied pre-Civil War education for the Negro and presented the results in *Education of the Negro Prior to 1861*. Holmes, again under the imprint of Teachers College, Columbia University, has given us a study of *The Evolution of the Negro College*. McCuistion's scholarly *Graduate Instruction for Negroes in the United States* is a fine treatment of this specialized and limited field.

The present dissertation is a study of the development of education for the Negro in Missouri. To better enable evaluation of Missouri in terms of achievement in Negro Education generally, Chapter II is devoted to a concise treatment of education of Negroes in the United States. It presents an historic review of developments in Negro education in the United States down to 1910 and a sociological survey of conditions in the education of Negroes in the United States in the light of materials published in the last fifteen or twenty years particularly. Both sections of this chapter are included

17. (N.Y., 1934).
18. (Nashville, George Peabody College for Teachers, 1939).
so that constant references can be made to them when comparable problems and periods in the education of the Missouri Negro are discussed.

Chapters III through VI discuss the growth of elementary and secondary schools for Negroes in Missouri. Chapters VII through XIII deal with the various aspects of higher education for Negroes in Missouri.

The aim of this paper is to assemble and unify already existing materials and to work with primary sources to fill in the complete picture of the development of education for the Negro in Missouri. No wide acquaintance with current conditions and practices in schools for Negroes is assumed. The historical perspective can best be maintained by adhering to primary sources in print or otherwise obtainable. Nor does this paper desire to attempt to expose startling discriminations against the Negro in Missouri. It is well known that Missouri often expends more per capita on the education of the Negro than on the education of the whites. But it is the intention of this paper to present in concise and lucid form the story of the development of education for the Negro in Missouri, so that such material will be readily available for study when it is needed.
A. NEGRO EDUCATION TO 1916: AN HISTORICAL REVIEW

The story of the education of the Negro in Missouri is part of the greater epic, that of the education of the Negro in the United States. To understand the former it is necessary, then, that one be acquainted with the larger pattern into which it fits. It is with this intention, presenting the larger pattern, that this chapter is here included.

That the Negro was in "the depths of animalism and ignorance" at the time of his emancipation has been admitted by many. In a milder statement, C. F. Arrowood says, "Few slaves could read and write, and very few indeed were literate in any real sense". The outstanding authority on Southern history, U. B. Phillips, maintains, first, "Hundreds, doubtless thousands of slaves were taught their letters". Later, he states, "The bulk of the black personnel (of the plantations) was notoriously primitive, uncouth, improvident, and


inconstant, merely because they were Negroes of the time".

Whatever the condition of slave mentality, it must be realized that the Negro, as he was found here, was a product of our treatment of him. "The Afro-American retains, of course, the biological heritage of his race -- culturally he is a product of the United States". Or, more completely expressed, "America formed the Afro-American. It took him, stripped him almost completely of his African social heritage, imposed upon him cultural elements drawn from Europe and Asia, and forced him to share in building up the economic and social structure of the United States. The language, legends, music, moral codes, amusements, arts, and handicrafts of the American Negro at the outbreak of the Civil War had been supplied to him or produced by him after he had come to these shores".

The Negro was, so to speak, the white man's burden. The white man had brought him to these shores as early as 1619 and was immediately faced with the problem of what to do with him, how to handle him. In the early days of the country, until the turn of the 18th century, slavery was patriarchal in nature. The strong religious feeling attendant upon this country's

4. Ibid., pp. 199-200.
5. C. A. Arrowood, op. cit., p. 175.
founded continued in effect and worked wonders in alleviating the hardships of the slaves and in making for their advances toward the fuller acquisition of civil liberties and social betterment.

The Catholic French and Spanish early advocated the education and baptism of the Negro, entering such stipulations in their Code Noir. The wily English were more remiss to teach Christianity to their slaves. They feared that, having become Christians, the Negroes could no longer be held as slaves. It was not until the Bishop of London declared that conversion did not necessitate manumission that the English colonists could begin to educate their slaves, unhampered by the fear of economic loss.

As early as 1701 the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts was taking an active interest in the education of Negroes. Under such religious impetus, in 1708, Elias Beaux started one of the first schools for Negroes.

The religious impetus to educate Negroes was strengthened in 1721 when the Bishop of London issued an appeal to masters and mistresses of slaves to instruct their Negroes in the

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Christian faith. In 1741 Bishop Secker was going so far as to purchase Negroes, free them, and educate them so that they could teach other Negroes in this country or so that they could go to Africa as missionaries.

As Woodson indicates, the second impulse making for the education of slaves was a social one. The social doctrine of the 18th century, which inspired the Revolutionary fathers with a zeal for the rights of man, would not sanction slavery. "All men are created equal. They are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights..." was hardly compatible with an economic system or a social system based on human degradation. "Accordingly we find arrayed against the aristocratic masters almost all the leaders of the American Revolution. They favored the policy, first, of suppressing the slave trade, next of emancipating the Negroes in bondage, and finally of educating them for a life of freedom". Dr. Rush and Benjamin Franklin devised plans for such an education. Divines like John Woolman, Jonathan Boucher, and Bishop Warburton preached that liberty was the right of all men. History tells us that societies for the abolition of slavery were popular the whole

9. Ibid., pp. 33-34.
10. Ibid., p. 53.
11. Ibid., pp. 56-57.
country over in the 1780's and the 1790's. Presidents belonged and contributed funds. Even the best Southerners thought the slave should be freed, though he usually favored sending the Negro back to Africa.

Under such a benevolent regime Negroes were provided with opportunities for education even above and beyond the reading and writing level, though it must be remembered that few schools for the whites went much beyond this. Anthony Benezet, a Philadelphia philanthropist, left money in 1781 to found a school where Negroes could be taught arithmetic, plain accounts, and sewing, as well as the usual reading and writing. Thaddeus Kosciousky left money with Jefferson, instructing him to buy slaves, liberate them, and provide for their education. By the end of the century a host of Negroes, including the poet Phyllis Wheatley, the mathematician Benjamin Banneker, and the teacher John Chavis, gave evidence of the fact that, in the new United States, there was opportunity for the exceptional Negro to advance, if he could secure white assistance.

The invention of the cotton gin in 1793, the onrush of the Industrial Revolution with the series of inventions in the

12. Ibid., p. 79, and C. A. Arrowood, op. cit., p. 36.
13. Ibid., pp. 82-92 offers further examples.
field of textile manufacturing during the decades directly preceding and following the turn of the century, and the tremendous increase in the demand for cotton which these brought on turned patriarchal slavery into economic slavery. The Negro became an investment rather than a human being. No longer did any thought of abolition linger in the minds of people south of the Mason-Dixon line. Even in the minds of the vast majority in the North, who were to reap the profits of the boom in cotton textile manufacturing, the fire of the American revolutionary spirit burned low, kept flickering only by the more rabid Abolitionists.

Coming with the economic necessity for slavery brought about by the increased demand for cotton was the constant and deep-rooted fear of slave insurrections. Gabriel's uprising in 1800, that of Denmark Vesey in 1822 and of Nat Turner in 1831, together with the tales of horror that reached the United States from Santo Domingo made every slave a potential 14 Toussaint L'Ouverture.

The natural consequence of such a fear was the complete collapse of education for the Negro. Virginia prohibited the meeting of Negroes for educational purposes and silenced all

14. Cephas C. Carroll, Slave Insurrections in the United States 1800-1865, (Boston, Chapman & Grimes, Inc., 1938), and Herbert Aptheker, American Negro Slave Revolts, (N.Y. Columbia University Press, 1943) are the most exhaustive studies on this question.
Negro preachers. Mississippi demanded that all free Negroes leave the state within ninety days, and Delaware prohibited all meetings of Negroes except for church or funeral. Of the slave states, the border states of Kentucky, Tennessee, and Maryland alone never passed laws forbidding the teaching of slaves. South Carolina led the procession with a law passed in 1740 prohibiting the teaching of writing to any slave. Georgia followed suit in 1770. Missouri early (1817) passed an act regulating travel and assembly of slaves and, in effect, thus prohibited Negro attendance at school. In 1819 Virginia law forbade the teaching of reading and writing to slaves. In 1823 Mississippi forbade five or more Negroes to meet for purposes of education. In 1830 Louisiana laid down a penalty of death or life at hard labor for writing, printing, publishing, or distributing anything to lead to discontent among the slaves. Small wonder that the Negro, when emancipated, could be described as floundering in the depths of animalism and ignorance!

It should be remarked at this point that the North was hardly more tolerant than the South in respect to the education of Negroes. The influx of free Negroes from the South had given the Northerners a slight taste of the problem. The record of schools burned and teachers maltreated because of sympathy toward Negro students is hardly a pretty one.
Williams College was sued for refusing admittance to a Negro applicant at an early date.

Students and faculty both resigned in protest when two Negroes were admitted to the Berkshire Medical School in 1858, "No Negro had graduated from a college before 1828, when John B. Russworm...received his degree from Bowdoin. During the thirties and forties, colored persons, however well prepared, were generally debarred from college...We have no record that as many as fifteen Negroes were admitted to higher institutions in this country before 1840". We may be sure that the number of Negroes who received formal schooling in the first half of the 19th century was exceedingly small.

The education of the Negro took place less formally on the plantation where most of them lived and worked. Phillips says, justly, "The civilizing of Negroes was not merely a consequence of definite schooling, but a fruit of plantation life itself. The white household taught perhaps less by pre-

cept than by example". C. A. Arrowood states the case more fully in a statement that deserves to be quoted at length:

"Down to 1860, the farm, the farm house, the rural neighborhood and rural church were by all odds the most important educational forces in the lives of the most Americans. They were almost the only educational forces in the lives of black Americans; and the type of rural life which predominated in the education of Negro slaves was that of the slave plantation." "The plantation was the school of citizenship of the American Negro, which inducted him into American life." "The weakness of the plantation system as a character-forming agency was inherent in the institution; but the strength of the plantation was in the human characters which formed it a community".

Sometimes the members of the plantation owner's family taught slaves to read and to write. More often the instruction was more practical, more to the immediate advantage of the slave owner. "The real training of the plantation was designed to make of the slave a competent, industrious worker, and a complaisant, contented servant, on good terms with his masters and his fellows". With this end in mind masters often encouraged their slaves to become blacksmiths, bakers, coopers, barbers, printers, carpenters, and so on down the list. The apprenticeship involved in the mastery of these

20. C. A. Arrowood, op. cit., p. 175.
22. Idem
vital trades educated many of the plantation Negroes much more fully than the meagre schools would have, could they have attended them.

With very little change, the education of the slave was the education of the freed Negro. Though we are apt to remember those fortunate Negroes who went through Northern colleges, we must remember, too, that they were few in number. Many of the freed-men had bought their freedom through their earnings accumulated as hired out craftsmen. Once freed they continued their trades, often bringing their children up to follow in the same occupation. The echo as late as the 1890's comes from Booker T. Washington who, in the freed Negro tradition, still said that the salvation of the Negro was in his learning a trade. Unfortunately, vocational and industrial education for Negroes were made farces in the South when it appeared that the white economic supremacy might be endangered by the presence of Negroes skilled in the techniques needed in industry.

When all the Negroes became free men and were faced with the problem of making a living under these new circumstances, they had to start from zero academically.


For the first quarter century (1860-1885) the Union Army, Northern benevolent societies, and religious groups, together with the Freedmen's bureau, acted as guardian angels. The latter, the centralizing force, was by far the most powerful influence on incipient Negro education.

Organized by virtue of a Congressional bill in 1865, the Bureau was fortunate to have as its Commissioner General Oliver O. Howard. It was he who insisted that the education of the newly freed Negroes be a part of the duty of the Bureau, and Congress, over President Johnson's second veto, so stipulated in 1866.

Such sentiments gave a great impetus to the Northern religious groups who sent missionaries and teachers South in great numbers. And these 'New England schoolmasters', motivated by religious impulses, humanitarian zeal, or pure greed, depending upon your interpretation, began to build the Southern schools, starting pretty much from scratch. Although the South had made initial provisions for public schools for whites before the Civil War, even these were kept meagre and inefficient by the aristocracy's dread of a lessening of class cleavages, a fear that seems to echo down from the colonial utterances of Governor Berkeley.

27. E. W. Knight, Public Education in the South, (Boston, Ginn and Co., 1922) pp. 306+. 
With this attitude prevalent on the part of the Southerners, active opposition to the teaching of Negroes was not long in coming. Much of the activity of the Ku Klux Klan was directed against early schools and school teachers. Negroes were intimidated, teachers threatened and attacked, schools burned, and many other methods, direct and indirect, were utilized in a fervent attempt to stop the new schools.

That such efforts at intimidation were destined to fail and that the Freedmen's Bureau and its cooperating agencies succeeded in laying strong foundations for Southern education is indicated by some telling statistics from the Superintendent of Schools semi-annual report: In the five years of its operation, the Bureau, under Superintendent J. W. Alvord, helped 4,239 schools get under way, employed 9,307 teachers, instructing 247,333 students at a total cost of six million dollars. "The Negroes themselves had sustained 1,324 schools and purchased 592 school buildings. The Bureau had provided 654 school buildings, and in addition to the elementary schools, had established 74 high schools with 8,147 students, and 61 industrial schools with 1,780 students". The Census


Bureau reports on the decline of illiteracy among Negroes bears witness to the fruits that were to ripen from the seed sown by the Bureau: 1880, 70% illiterate; 1890, 57.1%; 1900, 44.5%; 1910, 30.4%; and 1920, 22.9%. Thus, in spite of opposition from without and in spite of its share of graft and mismanagement from within, the Freedmen's Bureau did make surprisingly effective beginnings in the education of the Negro.

In order to supply the teachers it needed for its tremendous program of eradicating Negro illiteracy, the Freedmen's Bureau founded, or helped to found, scores of colleges, universities, and institutes. Horace Mann Bond goes so far as to declare that "The list of colleges and 'universities' established by the Bureau in cooperation with religious societies includes almost every well-known Negro institution of this caliber in the present day". But D.O.W. Holmes reminds us that the names of many of the institutions founded at this time were 'distant hopes rather than actual descriptions'.

There were, however, a few Negro colleges founded before the Civil War period. Friendly white people had estab-


lished Liberia College in Africa in 1851, and Avery College had been established in Pennsylvania as early as 1849. Pennsylvania was the site of another of the early colleges for Negroes, Ashmun Institute, now Lincoln University, established in 1856. Wilberforce University, still one of the top-ranking schools for the higher education of Negroes, was established in 1856, catering to the "mulatto children of Southern slaveholders".

Although Oberlin was not a school for Negroes exclusively, it was famous for its co-racial educational policy and as a center of abolitionist sentiment, a school for abolitionist leaders. Its beginnings as a schism of anti-slavery students and teachers from Lane Theological Seminary make it an interesting item in the story of the breakdown of racial prejudice, as does the fact that one-third of its student body was Negro at the beginning of the Civil War.

In the main, however, the aftermath of the Civil War saw the birth of the Negro college. And the Freedmen's Bureau, together with three great denominational boards, had a major hand in its beginning. The American Missionary Association, later to come under the jurisdiction of the Congregational Church, the American Baptist Home Mission Society,

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34. Ibid., p. 272-273.
and the Freedmen's Aid Society of the northern Methodist Episcopal Church together founded more than twenty-five colleges for Negroes.

That the sum total of the work of these institutions has been beneficial to the Negro seems too apparent to need mention here. E. B. Reuter, however, decries their sectarian and classical lines and the element of Northern interference in Southern affairs of which they are a symbol, constantly keeping sectional animosity awake. Certainly it is unfortunate that the various religious denominations had to duplicate each others efforts in the same vicinity and fight for supremacy. But it is equally certain that it is better that we have had these institutions to which Negroes might go rather than none at all. It is difficult to imagine what would have happened had the churches not been willing to take up the cause of Negro education when they did.

To be sure, the non-denominational institution to which the Freedmen's Bureau gave rise, Howard University, is a fine example of education in a democracy; but it is a single instance, an isolated case, the only institution of higher


learning in this country supported solely by funds from the Federal government. Established in 1867 and named for the Commissioner of the Bureau who was its first president, Howard has enjoyed phenomenal growth and expansion and has exerted a wide and sound influence on Negro education in the United States. In 1917 the Secretary of the Interior, Franklin K. Lane, rightly termed it "a national challenge", "a center of influence for national good".

With the exception of Howard University, the greater part of the Negro schools, both secondary and higher, depended upon philanthropy, religious organizational or private, for their support. Any analysis of the expenditures for public education for Negroes in the former slave states, even today, shows that without the benevolence of private individuals, Negro schools would have been and would continue to be ineffective, half hearted attempts at education. It is only through the generosity of Peabody, Slater, Rockefeller, Jeanes, and Rosenwald that the South has a semblance of education for its Negro citizens today.

The first of the great philanthropic funds was that established by an initial gift of $1,000,000 from George Peabody.


When the fund was dissolved in 1914, the $350,000 remaining in it was turned over to the John F. Slater Fund, the income from $1,000,000 which was set aside in 1882 to be used in "uplifting the lately emancipated population of the Southern states, and their posterity, by conferring on them the blessings of a Christian education". The General Education Board, backed by the Rockefeller millions was founded in 1903 for the purpose of giving aid to education without regard to race, color, or creed. Its objectives and powers were broad enough to cover the subsidization of any of the multitudinous phases of modern education. The fourth large grant was that of $1,000,000 by Miss Anna T. Jeanes of Philadelphia in 1907. She desired to improve the rural schools through cooperation with each county superintendent of schools who was given money to hire a teacher of home industries. This so-called Jeanes teacher works throughout the county, giving demonstration and helping the teachers and students in every possible way. The local self help aspect of the operation of this fund makes it especially appealing and effective. The county superintendent is not interfered with; he is helped. No Jeanes Teacher is provided unless the superintendent so requests, and this local authority has the responsibility of approving of all checks in

payment of Jeanes teachers.

Other philanthropic foundations deserving of mention are the Phelps-Stokes Fund, $900,000 set aside in 1909 for the education of Negroes in Africa and the United States; the Daniel Hand Fund, $1,550,642 set aside in 1888 but now expended through the American Missionary Society; and the Carnegie Corporation, which carries on the benevolences of Andrew Carnegie, whose gifts to Hampton and Tuskegee alone totaled $989,240 and $720,000 during his life-time.

Hampton Institute, one of the institutions founded by the American Missionary Society, is an example of the work fostered by these agencies. Under the direction of General Samuel Chapman Armstrong, it purported, "to train selected Negro youth who should go out and teach and lead their people, first by example by getting land and homes; to give them not a dollar that they cannot earn for themselves, to teach respect for labor; to replace stupid drudgery with skilled hands; and to these ends to build up an industrial system for the sake not only of self support and intelligent labor, but also for the sake of character." Because of such a philosophy


Hampton enjoyed success and reaped large rewards in contributions from philanthropists, such as that from Carnegie mentioned directly above.

Booker T. Washington, a graduate of Hampton in 1875, has done more than any other one individual to enhance the reputation of that school. His pictures of life there are the source of information of most people who know about Hampton. But the school which he himself founded, Tuskegee, is even more famous, and again because of the name and fame of its founder and first principal. From a one teacher school with a $2,000 annual grant from the state legislature in 1881, Washington built Tuskegee to be an influence in education not only in this country but the world over. Ever one to capitalize on the laissez-faire, individual success ideals of the American business men both North and South, Washington preached the philosophy of social separation of the races and of working for freedom rather than expecting it to be given. Always he accentuated the economic aspect, teaching that recognition and any equality that was to be gained would come through the


acquisition of property and a good credit rating. In the plantation tradition he preached that the way to this was through the mastery of a trade. Hampton and Tuskegee were not colleges; they were large vocational and industrial high schools.

Though many Negroes and whites alike were pleased to have Negro education given this turn in the direction of the immediately practical, perhaps under the indirect pressure of philanthropy, many others of both races objected strongly. President Charles W. Eliot of Harvard saw a college education as the Negro's salvation. The battle between factions favoring collegiate as against industrial education was not waged in full strength until Washington's declining years, since a word from him would have left any individual or school for the Negro race without the sadly needed philanthropic support.

Only W.E.B. DuBois of Atlanta University, a Harvard Ph.D. (1895) and a scholar of wide repute, dared to take issue with the powerful Negro leader, and he repeatedly and vigorously assailed the plantation labor schools of the Hampton and Tuskegee type. The mere fact that Tuskegee itself was reor-

44. Quoted in DuBois, op. cit., back cover.

45. A glance at the Reader's Guide entries for the years 1900 to 1915 in particular reveals that about one half of the articles written on the subject of Negro education in the United States are from Washington's pen.
ganized as a college after the World War should indicate that DuBois finally won out. But it is true that he made no great gains against the spirit and ideals that founded the National Negro Business League in 1899 until Washington had died. 46

At the advent of the first World War, then, Negro schools were still in the process of beginning. Many schools had been founded through the initiative and ambition of the Negroes and with the help of private philanthropists and religious organizations, but only the beginnings had been made. The development of a system of schools which could at all approximate those provided for the whites was still in the future.

46. Horace Mann Bond, op. cit., p. 362-365, discusses the controversy.

47. Thomas Jesse Jones, Negro Education: A Study of the Private and Higher Schools for Colored People in the United States. (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1917) is an exhaustive treatment of the condition of Negro schools at this time.
B. RECENT TRENDS IN THE EDUCATION OF THE NEGRO:

A SOCIOLOGICAL SURVEY

Although the Negro population of the United States has been constantly on the increase since 1790, the percentage of the total population that has been Negro has decreased with almost equal steadiness. And although the Negro population has tended to move cityward and northward, the majority of

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total pop.</th>
<th>Negro pop.</th>
<th>Per cent Negro</th>
<th>Increase Per cent Negro</th>
<th>White</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1790</td>
<td>3,929,214</td>
<td>757,208</td>
<td>19.3</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1800</td>
<td>5,308,483</td>
<td>1,002,027</td>
<td>18.9</td>
<td>32.3</td>
<td>35.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1810</td>
<td>7,229,981</td>
<td>1,377,508</td>
<td>19.0</td>
<td>37.5</td>
<td>36.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820</td>
<td>9,638,453</td>
<td>1,771,566</td>
<td>18.4</td>
<td>28.6</td>
<td>24.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1830</td>
<td>12,865,020</td>
<td>2,328,642</td>
<td>18.1</td>
<td>31.4</td>
<td>23.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1840</td>
<td>17,069,483</td>
<td>2,873,648</td>
<td>16.8</td>
<td>23.4</td>
<td>24.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>23,191,876</td>
<td>3,638,808</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td>26.6</td>
<td>27.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>31,443,321</td>
<td>4,441,830</td>
<td>14.1</td>
<td>22.1</td>
<td>27.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>36,558,371</td>
<td>4,880,009</td>
<td>12.7</td>
<td>9.9</td>
<td>24.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>50,155,783</td>
<td>6,580,795</td>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>34.9</td>
<td>29.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>62,947,714</td>
<td>7,488,676</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>12.8</td>
<td>27.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>75,994,575</td>
<td>8,823,994</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>18.0</td>
<td>21.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>91,972,266</td>
<td>9,826,763</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>11.2</td>
<td>22.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>105,710,620</td>
<td>10,463,131</td>
<td>9.9</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>15.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*</td>
<td>122,775,046</td>
<td>11,891,143</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>15.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>131,669,275</td>
<td>12,665,518</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

the Negroes still live in the South and still live in rural areas.

Of the repercussions brought about by the great movement of Negroes northward and cityward since 1917, the protest for the improvement of educational opportunities was the loudest. The Negro saw his hopes for the future in terms of education. "Education has become a symbol representing escape from all that made life difficult and attainment of all that so far has been withheld".


**Shift from Rural to Urban: Negro Population in the U.S.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Urban</th>
<th>Rural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>2,684,797</td>
<td>7,142,966</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>3,559,473</td>
<td>6,902,688</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>5,193,913</td>
<td>6,697,230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>6,253,588</td>
<td>6,612,230</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


We are even told that it was this great driving desire for education that led the Negroes northward.

If such was the case, the Negroes were bound to be disappointed. The Northerner was certainly not without prejudices. His schools are often closed to the Negro. And when they are open by law, housing congestion often leads to separate schools. A Negro may be made to feel unhappy in schools with whites, and other more subtle forms of discrimination may be practiced.

The Southerner can often be less prejudiced than this.


Arthur Raper, and the earlier Baldwin are certainly interested in education for the Negro. They realize that the welfare of all is tied up in the welfare of the separate individuals. They are able to think in terms of the common good.

That most of the Southern population does not feel so sympathetic is evident from the slightest reading on the subject. Some believe that no Negroes should be educated at all. Some think that a few Negroes are capable of benefiting from education. Some insist upon a restricted type of education, vocational or industrial. And some fear that education will lead the Negro away from his rural situation.

60. Quoted in B. Schrieke, Alien Americans, (N.Y., Viking Press, 1936).
61. Hortense Powdermaker, op. cit., p. 302 "No matter how much education you give them, a million years from now, a nigger will still be a nigger in the South", she quotes a moderately liberal white school teacher as saying. P. 301 Miss Powdermaker says that a small minority of whites would withhold all education from Negroes. Page 302 she quotes an educational official who believes, "Education hurts the Negro".
62. Ibid. p. 302 and again on 301, "Maybe there are a few who might be able to take some education" says a Southerner.
64. Allison Davis, and Mary R. Gardner, Deep South, (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1941) p. 413 quotes opinions epitomized by this excerpt, "Educate a niggah and you ruin him for a farm!"
Those who oppose the education of Negroes altogether do so on two grounds: (1) that education tends to make the Negro forget his place and (2) that the Negro is not mentally able to benefit from education. The first of these two suspicions is a valid one. The very truth of the first negates the second.

Since Booker Washington asked for separate but equal schools, there has been endless discussion of segregation in the schools. C. S. Johnson maintains that segregation in the schools is the worst form of discrimination. Virginius Dabney says that the South will stand for nothing other than separate schools, the Supreme Court of the United States not-


66. Hortense Powdermaker, op. cit., p. 303 quotes Southerner who says to go on and educate the Negroes though they are inferior, as the thickness of their skulls shows. Again, on page 300, Hortense Powdermaker says, "Today most people sincerely believe that the Negro mentality is inferior" and goes on to tell why.


withstanding. A few stalwart and perhaps foolhardy Southerners maintain that it's time for co-racial education. But even the Negroes aren't united in their opinions on the subject. W.E.B. DuBois speaks against co-racial education while Ira D.A. Reid gives the arguments in favor.

The opposition to separate schools lines up behind three major arguments: (1) segregation is based on an assumed mental and moral inferiority of the Negro; segregation, through its high cost, is depriving both whites and Negroes of adequate schooling; and segregation is not separation, but ward-


70. Virginius Dabney, op. cit., quotes Dr. Jackson Davis of the General Education Board as wanting Negroes admitted to the graduate and professional schools in the South.

71. Ibid., p. 214 claims that the fact that 43% of the student body at Fisk University in Nashville come from the North shows that Negroes prefer Negro schools.


73. Ira D.A. Reid, op. cit., p. 39, "In most of the states where there are separate schools for Negroes, the schools for white children are below the national average, yet Negro schools are only about half as well supported as the white schools". Page 35, "The major problem in the education of the Negro youth today is one that is closely allied with the separate school system program of our Southern states -- the problem of adequate financing".
ship, with the Negro having no control over his own schools.

But the Negro, in his complaints against discriminations within or without the bounds of legalized segregation, may be highly justified. Aside from Louisiana, with its exceptional conditions, especially in New Orleans, separate schools were made legal as soon as the Reconstruction under the jurisdiction of the Union Army had ended. Ten years ago, of 4,000,000 Negroes of school age, 2,000,000 were in school; and of these four-fifths were taught by 48,000 Negro teachers in separate schools. Less than 500,000 were in mixed schools, mostly staffed by whites. Seventeen states made separate schools

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74. C.S. Johnson, Patterns of Negro Segregation, pp. 12-13, "This dual system, far from supporting separate but autonomous units, has the effect of a dominant system and a wardship, for Negro parents have little voice in determining or administering school policies for their children. The Negro school public is impotent, without authority and without responsibility. The situation fosters inefficiency and graft."

75. Betram W. Doyle, The Etiquette of Race Relations in the South, (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1937) gives the following dates (footnote, page 266):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Louisiana</td>
<td>1862</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tennessee</td>
<td>1866</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alabama and</td>
<td>1875</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Carolina</td>
<td>1876</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Texas</td>
<td>1876</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mississippi</td>
<td>1878</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Florida</td>
<td>1887</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

compulsory by law. But, as has been pointed out time and again, segregation can be equally as rigid and as painful in those states where it is prohibited by law.

In New Jersey, where it is illegal for a member of the board of education to vote to exclude any person between four and twenty from school because of religion, nationality, or color, and where a fine and/or imprisonment is stipulated for breaches of this law, the authorities find ways around the hill. Chicago has separate schools despite laws forbidding it. Pennsylvania, Indiana, Ohio, Illinois, are not above segregation, law or no law.

Often, in the Northern situation, the separate but equal idea is carried out in practice; there is some high degree of


equality in the two types of education offered. In the South this is almost never the case. The schools of Washington and Baltimore do offer the Negro an education which almost approximates that of the white pupils, but elsewhere conditions are lamentable, in spite of the supposed changes in the attitude of the Southerner toward the education of the Negro.

Though the number of schools for Negroes has increased tremendously since 1916, there are still far too few, especially of high school calibre.


83. "High School Education of Negroes", School and Society, XXXVII (June 3, 1933) 703-4, from Dr. A. Caliver, United States Office of Education, report to National Advisory Committee on Education of Negroes, states that two-thirds of Negro high schools in the South were started after World War I.

84. Chronologically presented, several of the references to substantiate this point make an interesting study.

Ibid., "Only 39% of the four year high schools (in 15 Southern states) were available to the 68.7% of the total Negro population who live in rural areas" and "Of the 1,413 counties in 15 states, 220 having a Negro population of 12.5% of the total population had no high school facilities for Negroes". In this area were 158,000 Negro educables.

1935, Edward E. Redcay, County Training Schools and Public Secondary Education for Negroes in the South, John F. Slater Fund, Washington, D.C., says that there are still 190 counties in the South entirely without public secondary facilities for Negroes.

1941, L. Eubanks, "Negro Education in the Deep South", School and Society, LIII (February 1, 1941) 152-3, "of counties (in Mississippi alone) 25 have no high school facilities for Negroes".

1943, C.S. Johnson, Patterns of Negro Segregation, p.18, reveals that 13 Southern states had 87 counties with no high school facilities for Negroes, though Negroes constituted 12% or more of the population in 1940 in all of these counties. In 14 of these counties the Negro constituted more than 50% of the population; and in 40 others, he constituted from 26 to 50%.
Consolidation is still a dream of the future as far as Southern Negroes are concerned, because it requires transportation. And this the Negroes do not have. C. S. Johnson tells us that, in 1935-36, though 48% of South Carolina's school population was Negro, it received only ½ of 1 per cent ($3,642) of the $860,379 spent for transportation of school children. Hortense Powdermaker conjectures, "The discrepancy between enrollment and attendance is due partly to lack of transportation for Negro children."

Lack of transportation facilities has an unfavorable influence on the attendance, which is often low. But there

85. Ambrose Caliver, Fundamentals in the Education of Negroes, United States Office of Education, Bulletin 1935, No. 5, (Government Printing Office, 1935) p. 61: 24,400 or nearly ½ of the Negro teachers are employed in 1 and 2 teacher schools. 93% of Negroes schools are 1, 2, and 3 teacher schools; 64% are 1 room schools.


88. Hortense Powdermaker, op. cit., p. 315. The figures for the locality of her study were, 1931, enrolled 10,000, in attendance, 7,000. That transportation for Negroes was lacking is revealed on pp. 307-308.

89. Education and Economic Well-Being in a Democracy, p.10, "In two southern states less than 5% of the Negro population of high school age are enrolled in school, and in five the percent is less than 10."

Hortense Powdermaker, op. cit., Enrollment in 1929-30 in the vicinity in which her study was conducted was 79.5% for the educable whites, 59% for the educable Negroes. This, she tells us is far above the state as a whole.
are other factors to be evaluated, too. A child who becomes a field hand at the age of eight is more valuable to his family in the field than in the classroom. Thus, though we find a large enrollment in the early school years, there is a strong falling off in attendance as the higher grades are reached.

Perhaps another reason for small attendance at the Negro schools in the South is in the very condition of the schools themselves. Many of the buildings are on the verge of collapse.


Percent Negro enrollment is of total:  - Elementary 10.8%  
  Secondary  4.2%  
  Higher  3.2%

Comparison of Negro with whole country as to enrollment at various levels:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Negro</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Elementary</td>
<td>73%</td>
<td>90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

John Dollard, op. cit., p. 192: statistics on the dropping out of school in the area of his study:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Negro</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7-13</td>
<td>94%</td>
<td>89%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14-15</td>
<td>85%</td>
<td>81%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16-17</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18-20</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This, he says, is progressive compared with the whole state.

Embree, op. cit., p. 37, "For the South as a whole, a survey in 1936 showed 2,439,000 Negro children in school, 189,000 in high school, and 11,000 in the several state colleges for Negroes."
A great majority of them have insufficient light, heat, and ventilation. More often than not, for the lack of a better building, classes are held in lodges, churches, or empty tenant cabins.

It is only natural that such 'borrowed', make-shift, and dilapidated school buildings are furnished only in the poorest fashion. Investigators speak of the lack of windows, ceilings, desks, and blackboards, of the overcrowded conditions. Supplies, where there are any, are supposed to be provided by the students themselves.

92. Ira D.A. Reid, and Raper, op. cit., picture opposite 180 as well as the pictures in Raper Preface to Peasantry; the latter is the most complete picture of unhealthy, unsafe school conditions. Hortense Powdermaker, op. cit., p. 308.

93. L. Eubanks, op. cit., p. 193, "1,428 of the 3,737 Negro schools were housed in privately owned buildings, barns, lodges, cabins, or churches."
C.S. Johnson, Patterns of Negro Segregation, p. 20; C.S. Johnson, Shadow of the Plantation, p. 186; Hortense Powdermaker, op. cit., p. 308, "of the 122 schools in the county, 86% are in churches."
Raper, and Ira D.A. Reid, op. cit., p. 112; Raper, op. cit., pp. 324-5.

94. Raper, op. cit., pp. 325-9, who adds that no money was spent on repairs or improvements of Negro schools in either of the counties he studies.
Raper, and Ira D.A. Reid, op. cit., p. 274 cites an example of 80 schools with a seating capacity of 3,794, having an enrollment of 6,391 and an attendance of 5,832.

95. E. B. Reuter, op. cit., p. 309, "Only a few have books, pencils, or paper. None has a slate."

96. Hortense Powdermaker, op. cit., p. 24, "Hundreds of the one room Negro schoolhouses have no window sash or inside ceilings, no desks, sometimes not even a chair for the teacher."
Just as naturally, the curricula presented by such schools are severely limited by the inadequacy of the building and of the facilities, to say nothing of the teacher. Often the Negro students are supposed to keep pace with their white 'brothers' of the same age. They use the same books, if somewhat later, and follow the same course of study, if in a condensed form. But the gradations within the Negro school mean nothing. Except in the relatively few select, accredited, and usually urban schools, it is not extraordinary to find a seventh grader who can't read or write.

The chief cause of the preposterously poor school conditions described above is inadequate financing, and this in spite of the fact that the South acknowledges levies heavier taxes for the support of her schools than does any other part of the country. The South just does not have the taxable wealth to give it the financial resources needed by a modern state.

98. Aaron Brown, op. cit., pp. 69-82, tells of the curriculum of the better school.
99. B. Schrieke, op. cit., p. 101 tells of an eighth grader who could not spell 'cotton' or 'April'.
101. Raper and Reid, op. cit., p. 11, "Southern states actually levy heavier taxes for education than do the Northern States. The Advisory Committee shows that, if each state made an average effort, there would be available for each child in
In answer to this argument often used by the Southerner it has been repeatedly pointed out that the racial differentiations in money spent on schools in the South are usually much greater than regional differentiations. In 1930, when the average expenditure per capita for schools was $99 nationally, the average for whites in the South was $44.31 and for Negroes in the South was $12.57. By 1936 the difference had been reduced slightly; the average for the nation per capita was $80.26, for white Southerners $49.30, and for Southern Negroes $17.04. In 1935-6, when Georgia, Mississippi $12.21; in South Carolina $13.30; in Alabama $13.28; in Arkansas $15.20; and in Georgia $16.42; as compared with Massachusetts $78.55; New Jersey $83.67; California $91.16; New York $125.06; and Delaware $147.85."

Howard Raper and Ira D.A. Reid, op. cit., p. 111 point out the following racial discrepancies in expenditures for 1920:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>for white</th>
<th>for Negro</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mississippi</td>
<td>45.34</td>
<td>5.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Carolina</td>
<td>60.00</td>
<td>7.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Georgia</td>
<td>35.42</td>
<td>6.38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These figures are per capita in daily attendance. If one took figures on the basis on enrollment, the disproportion would be further accentuated. If one broke the figures down to smaller units, say counties, differentiations would be more glaring, since the expenditures in large cities would not be there to raise the average.

Vide: also Klineberg, op. cit., pp. 56-7; E.B. Reuter, op. cit., pp. 272-3 for additional statistics. C.S. Johnson, Shadow of the Plantation, p. 136 tells that, in the area of his study, $57,286 was spent on 1,435 whites, $27,815 on 7,145 Negro educables.

Hortense Powdermaker, op. cit., p. 307, says that, with three times as many Negroes as whites the county budget (1931-2) spent $56,000 on whites, $26,000-$37,000 on Negroes.

B. Schrieke, op. cit., p. 54.

Embree, op. cit., p. 38.
ppi, and South Carolina were spending $42.53, $44.64 and $40.00 per annum per capita respectively for the education of whites, they were spending $8.75, $9.30, and $10.63 respectively per annum per capita for education for their Negro youth. In 1937-8 Mississippi appropriated $10,982,026.08 for education for white children, $1,419,263.02 for education of the Negro. Thus 55% of the children received 11.4% of the school revenue. In other words, $1 was spent on each Negro child for each 9.44 spent on a white child.

This record of intra-state discrepancy and injustice might be divulged further, but it also might be excused with the statement that distribution of a state's funds is a state's own business. The misappropriation of national funds, funds entrusted to the state or county for distribution, is a less easily defensible action. Johnson tells how, since the first Morrill Act in 1862, Federal funds have been entrusted to the Southern states.

The growth of the size of these gifts is indicated by three figures: $5,000,000 to 17 states in 1922-3; $10,000,000 in 1934-5; and $16,000,000 in 1935-6. Of this last amount, for example, the Negroes, who constituted one-quarter (25%) of the population from 18 to 21 years of age in the seventeen

states received 5.4% of the allotments.

In its study of the two Georgia counties, Green and Macon, Raper's Preface to Peasantry is a glaring indictment of the Southern system of inequalities. Not only are the differentials of expenditures of state funds by race alarmingly out of proportion, but the expenditures of C.W.A. and F.E.R.A. funds were uneven. Of $24,425.07 given to Green County (57% of whose school population was Negro), a total of $1,730.63 was spent on the education of Negroes: The other $22,704.94 was spent on the white students (who constituted 43% of the school population). Macon County was as bad. Of the received $8,186.37, $544.23 or 6.6% went toward improving the education of the Negro; $7,642.14 or 93.4% went for the improvement of the education of the white. For each 75 cents spent on a Negro child, $12.45 was spent on a white student.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1928</th>
<th></th>
<th>1934</th>
<th></th>
<th>Proportion of pop.in School</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Amount</td>
<td>Proportion</td>
<td>Amount</td>
<td>Proportion</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greene</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negro</td>
<td>3.11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.84</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>36.53</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>30.87</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Macon</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negro</td>
<td>2.85</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.82</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>70.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>53.23</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>47.10</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>29.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

At this time the state averages for Georgia were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1928</th>
<th>1934</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>$36.88</td>
<td>$32.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negro</td>
<td>$5.07</td>
<td>$6.73</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

109. Ibid., pp. 309-310 furnishes the material for these two paragraphs.
One of the first and most serious consequences of such limited funds is the curtailment of the length of the school year. "Opened October 15. Closed December 7. Lord, teach us to pray" is too real a picture of the actuality. Six months is the longest school term most Southern Negroes have experienced.

All of these conditions together, number and location of schools, condition of buildings and equipment, availability of transportation, expenditures and length of term, mean a reduction of attendance, of course. More than that, summed up, they must mean a parody on education. Gunnar Myrdal, viewing Southern schools objectively, sees them as ineffectual attempts at education, as abysses of ignorance, and is succinct and definite in his recital of what is necessary for their salvation.

110. B. Schrieke, op. cit., p. 158. A note this investigator found on the window of a closed school.

111. L. Eubanks, op. cit., p. 152, says that 6 months (1938-40) was the longest period Mississippi Negro schools had ever seen. John Dollard, op. cit., pp. 195-6, talks of short terms. Hortense Powdermaker, op. cit., speaks of 5-6 month terms, p. 317. Again, p. 317, she says that Negro schools last only half as long as those of the whites. C.S. Johnson, Patterns of Negro Segregation, p. 20, lists Mississippi terms in 1942 as 4-7 months.


113. Ibid., p. 904.
For the hope of the South, it should be remarked that North Carolina has led not only the South, but the whole nation in her provision of public schools for Negroes, with 2,141 public schools, 168 of them at high school level, 5 state supported public institutions of higher learning, and $7,000,000 annual expenditures for Negro education.

Because teaching offers one of the few possibilities of making a steady, if small, income in a dignified manner, the Negro teacher is usually the aristocrat of Negro society. It is not surprising, then, that Education is listed as the most popular subject in the colleges and in the graduate schools. Negroes, like white people, see teaching as a way up the social ladder. Yet, the Negro teacher is woefully underpaid, even in comparison with the poorly paid white teachers in the South. Even in the Negro graduate school


116. Ira D. Walker, op. cit., p. 47 says 33 out of 129 students in his study wanted to be teachers.

117. Hortense Powdermaker, op. cit., p. 319, gives an example.

the average salary for a faculty member is only \$2,402.00 per year.

Because the elementary and secondary school term is so short, the Negro teacher must work as field hand in her off months in a good many cases. Even on the basis of training and experience these Negro teachers are discriminated against shamefully by the local authorities. Only the larger

salary in 17 states (1935-6) was \$510 compared with \$823 for whites. For male elementary school teachers in Kentucky and Tennessee, June 1940, he quotes \$54.00 for Negroes, \$83.00 for whites as monthly salaries in rural areas; \$58 for Negroes, \$130 for whites in urban areas. Hortense Powdermaker, op. cit., p. 308 cites \$35 per month for 5½ months as average for Negro teachers, \$75 per month for 8 months as average for whites. Howard Raper and Reid, op. cit., p. 24 cite \$30 and below as not unusual for the monthly salary of a Negro teacher.

E. B. Reuter, op. cit., p. 273 gives these annual appropriations for salaries for teachers of white and Negro children:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Negro</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alabama</td>
<td>9.41</td>
<td>1.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mississippi</td>
<td>10.60</td>
<td>2.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Carolina</td>
<td>10.00</td>
<td>1.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louisiana</td>
<td>13.73</td>
<td>1.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Georgia</td>
<td>9.58</td>
<td>1.76</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


120. Howard Raper and Ira D.A. Reid, op. cit., p. 113. "The 1937-8 teaching salaries for Fulton County and Atlanta reveal much. On the basis of training and experience, the average monthly base state salary for white teachers of Fulton County was \$74.73; that of the Negro \$51.17. But with the supplementary salary from the county added in, the white teachers averaged \$148.28, the Negroes \$60.19".
cities present a better picture. Here, in urban areas, the N.A.A.C.P. and other pressure groups are bringing about changes and will continue to do so. "Ultimate equalization is inevitable, as it should be," says a Southern newspaper editor.

Such salaries as Negro teachers are paid could not attract well trained persons, nor, more important, would they be likely to bring into being a high type of teacher training. Thus it is not surprising to find semi-literate teachers in the lower grades. Dabney and McCuistion speak of the general low level of academic training on the part of college faculties. Though, as McCuistion admits, "It is signifi-

121. Ibid., p. 114, figures for Atlanta, Georgia, in contrast to the figures in note 2, -

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Negro</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>base</td>
<td>74.73</td>
<td>58.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>with supplement</td>
<td>176.25</td>
<td>115.65</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


123. Virginius Dabney, op. cit., p. 207.

124. John Dollard, op. cit., p. 198. "Ten years ago (1927) educational tests were given to the Negro teachers and it was found that more than one-half of them tested around the fourth grade level."

Charles Dabney, op. cit., p. 475. In a test of 300 Alabama teachers 80% of whom claimed they had had a high school education, the reading and mathematical ability average was equal that of the average white eighth grader.

125. Virginius Dabney, op. cit., p. 276. "In 1928, a survey showed that of 299 members of faculties in the 37 colleges rated by the Southern Association of Colleges and Secon-
cant that whereas in 1927 the 18 major Negro colleges had 36% of their teachers with degrees above the A.B., today these colleges have 70% of their teachers holding graduate degrees."

The main need in teacher training on the lower levels is for a training that will fit the teachers to meet the needs of such schools as we have pictured above (pp. 38 to 42). The rural aspect, the ungraded situation, must be emphasized in teacher training. More money, more facilities, and more time at the secondary level must be spent with the sole purpose in mind of preparing teachers adequate to the existing situation. Recent studies show that this work is even now in progress.

The virtual mushroom growth of Negro colleges since the first World War has made teaching the profession in which secondary schools, only 75 were Ph.D's."

F. McCuistion, op. cit., p. 26, gives the further figures for the same survey: 587 M.A.'s, 285 A.B.'s, and 52 with no degrees. McCuistion, p. 97. The graduate faculties of Negro colleges offering work on that level include 9 A.B.'s, 69 M.A.'s, and 58 (40%) Ph.D.'s.

George W. Gore, In Service Professional Improvement of Negro Public School Teachers in Tennessee,(N.Y., Teachers College, Columbia University, 1940). p. 74 gives a bibliography of other studies of Negro teachers in the various states.
bitious Negroes have the widest field for advancement. From 1922 to 1935 the number of Negro colleges grew from 70 to 111, the number of students enrolled from 5,231 to 26,339. These schools, of course, were located largely in the South, and within the South there was a further concentration of the students in a few larger centers. In 1923, 67\% (2,205) of the students attended 8 of the 84 colleges. The 32 publicly controlled institutions attracted 16,138 students in 1938, while the 57 privately controlled institutions enrolled 19,302. In that year the largest college enrolled less than 1,500 Negroes.

The conditions of higher education for Negroes varied from state to state. Usually, like the secondary schools,

129. F. McCuistion, op. cit., p. 17, gives the full set of figures:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Schools</th>
<th>Students</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td></td>
<td>2,687</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>5,031</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>7,641</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1927</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>13,197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>22,197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>26,339</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1938</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>33,915</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Virginius Dabney, op. cit., p. 205 quotes these and adds 1941 figures for student population, 45,000.)

130. Ibid., p. 20, gives chart showing locations.


133. F. McCuistion, op. cit., p. 19.
they were poor in proportion to the number of Negroes in the state. The four states with the largest percentage of Negroes in the population, Mississippi, Georgia, South Carolina, and Arkansas, ranked lowest in the per capita appropriations for colleges. Seven had no provisions for accredited Negro college work.

In terms of endowments for white colleges, these Negro colleges were virtually bankrupt, only four boasting endowments over $5,000,000. Most of them are still affiliated with religious organizations and they run on faith and a shoe string. As a result, very few of the Negro colleges and universities can begin to compare with the better white institutions.

With the great emphasis on spreading the gospel, sometimes the gospel of literacy, many of these institutions became virtual teacher training schools, call them what you

134. Alabama, Arkansas, Oklahoma, Tennessee, Delaware, Georgia, and Mississippi.

135. Virginius Dabney, *op. cit.*, p. 227, lists Hampton as having an endowment of $10,000,000, Tuskegee, Atlanta, and Fisk as having more than $5,000,000. F. McCuistion, *op. cit.*, p. 25, enumerates as follows: 1 has more than 10 million, 2 more than 5 million, 2 more than 1 million, 4 between a half a million and a million, and 15 under half a million.


As Caliver points out, the Negro college needs more of an income, especially for scholarships and loans; less competition from other shoe-string colleges; a new purposive curriculum to fit the needs of the Negro; clearer objectives; and an extracurricular program to make it at all vital.

If undergraduate opportunities for Negroes are rare, graduate and professional training is almost impossible to attain. "The caste system as represented by the Southern state legislatures makes no provisions for the education of colored physicians, dentists, or lawyers." Only 10 of the Negro institutions give graduate instruction, and none

138. Ibid., p. 172.
Hortense Powdermaker, op. cit., p. 319, cites a representative case where "the allocation of students within the college is typical and suggestive". The five departments of study are represented by the following numbers of students:

- Arts and Science 56
- Mechanical Arts 1
- Agriculture 123
- Home Economics 76
- Teacher Training 160

B. Schrieke, op. cit., p. 174. "Fewer as well as better colleges for Negroes are indicated."


141. Virginius Dabney, p. 227; Howard, Atlanta, Fisk, Hampton, Prairie View State College (Texas), Virginia State College, Agricultural and Technical College of North Carolina, North Carolina State College, Xavier University and Southern University in Louisiana.
of these gives the Ph.D. in any subject. Of the average salary and training of the faculty members we have already spoken. It might be added, however, that the trained faculty members on Negro graduate school faculties have largely gained their backgrounds with considerable hardship at good white schools, but they are not numerous enough to make graduate schools for Negroes anything but feeble attempts.

Since the United States Supreme Court handed down its decision for equality of educational opportunity (Gaines Case, 1939), there has been much haste and activity to accomplish the impossible, to make the educational facilities for the Negro in the South equal those of the whites. In the field of graduate instruction this will be even more difficult than in undergraduate, with only one well equipped law school for Negroes in this country and only two schools for Negro students of medicine and dentistry. The Southerners suggest state funds to established private Negro colleges, out-of-state tuition for ambitious Negroes, the use of the faculties

142. Ibid., p. 226. pp. 48-54 give rating profiles for all ten of these schools.

143. F. McCuistion, op. cit., p. 28. Universities which trained Negro faculty included Chicago (111), Columbia (121), Howard (66), Iowa (48), Michigan (48), Fiske(44), and Oberlin (41).

from neighboring white state schools, and regional schools built up through the contributions of several states, each hoping that it fulfilled the provisions of the Supreme Court decision by being equal to the state university for whites in any of the individual contributing states.

First on the agenda in the new reconstruction, the reconstruction of Negro schools, must be a system of adult education. More W.P.A. projects in literacy after this war would employ many in a useful capacity. Three-fourths of Negro children in the past have failed to get beyond the fourth grade. They must be taught to read and write.

Just as the South's schools can't continue to be supported by private philanthropy, so must they not be supported by federal philanthropy. Schrieke tells of a superintendent of schools who had closed the Negro schools early because "he hoped for federal money, and closing the Negro schools would be the right policy to induce the 'nigger lovers' in

146. Ibid., pp. 221-222.
147. Reid, op. cit., p. 39 claims that W.P.A. projects taught reading and writing to 400,000 Negroes past school age in 1933-1937.
Apart from philanthropy there is need of federal support of Southern schools. It is to such Federal aid that Americans look for an erasing of existing disparity, even in white education. But this support must be wisely administered and supervised. Occasions such as those related by Raper must not be countenanced. Myrdal suggests that the Federal government pay original building costs and basic teachers' salaries all over the country, provided no local discrimination is made on any basis.

Educational policies Committee of the N.E.A. goes further into detail as to the need, cost, and financing, as well as the administration of such a program. For the purpose of this paper suffice it to say that such Federal aid is looked on as the deus ex machina of the present day educational drama.

Money given has strings attached. Though the Federal government will not want to dictate curriculum and educational policy, it will want to see, in addition to an equal distribu-

154. Education and Economic Well Being in American Democracy, Chapters VII, VIII, IX.
tion of funds, that an education is given that is in keeping with the democratic tradition. "What is needed is an education which makes the Negro child adaptable to and movable in the American culture at large," says Myrdal. J.W. Johnson, along the same track, says, "But we need not only an education that will enable us to meet the general situation as American citizens, we need also an education that will enable us to meet our peculiar situation as Negro Americans." There must, then, be education to the situation. Similarly, there must be education in the democratic principle; education for slave or caste participation must go. This will mean that tensions will result as one people gains privileges and another sees them gained and thinks it is losing. But such tensions certainly could not be more dangerous than the latent dynamite of the present situation.

With or without the acquiescence of the white man, the Negro will rise.

Literacy among the Negroes is making swift and accelerating strides. With it, despite obstacles and opposition, has come a broadening of economic opportunity and well-being.

Many feel that, since we must give way to a greater democracy, it should be done gracefully.

159. Hortense Powdermaker, op. cit., p. 322.
CHAPTER III

EDUCATION OF THE NEGRO IN ANTE-BELLUM MISSOURI

The history of Missouri, containing as it does the Indian, French, Spanish, as well as the American background, rivals that of any state in the Union, if we were to consider antiquity or variety. Marquette and Joliet discovered the mouth of the Missouri as early as 1673, and sixty-two years later the French had established the first permanent settlement at Ste. Genevieve. The more advantageously situated St. Louis was first settled by Laclede and the Louisiana Fur Company in 1764. In 1770 the Spanish took over the Louisiana Territory, but only briefly, for the Treaty of Ildefonso in 1800 gave the whole region back to France, and France promptly sold it to the United States, which took it over on March 26, 1804.

It must be added that, though 1735 was the date of the first settlement in what is now Missouri, it was not until 1769 that the first permanent settlement west of St. Louis was made, at St. Charles. The Boones made their famous trek further into Missouri in 1807. In 1810 Franklin, in what is now Howard County, was settled. When the Missouri Territory was organized in 1812, there were only five counties clustered on the Mississippi. Howard (1816), Cooper (1818), and Boone (1820) were the next to be organized, showing the development along the other principal waterway, the Missouri.
Administratively, the rule of Missouri was varied, even under American sovereignty. An Act of Congress in 1803 put the whole Louisiana Territory under the direction of the President. He made Amos Stoddard commandant of the Upper Louisiana district. An act of Congress in the following year divided the Louisiana Territory into two halves, the Territory of Orleans and the District of Louisiana. The northern half, the District of Louisiana, included present Missouri and was to come under the jurisdiction of the Territory of Indiana, General W. H. Harrison governing. The Missourians, largely St. Louisans, protested this subordination to Indiana Territory on two counts, lack of self government and failure to protect slavery in Missouri. Accordingly, in 1804 Congress gave separate territorial status to the area and territorial judges and officials were appointed by the president.

From 1810 to 1812 fifteen petitions went from the newly established territory asking for a higher status. When Louisiana was admitted as a state in 1812, the Territory of Louisiana further north was changed to the Territory of Missouri to the temporary satisfaction of the inhabitants. The new territory was of a higher order and was allowed to have a two house legislature for local governing. By an act of 1816 Missouri was raised to the highest rank of territories and was allowed to have a legislative set-up with members from each county.
In 1817 Missouri started asking for statehood. An 1818 bill permitted her to form a constitution and a state government was under way. The first attempt of Missouri to gain admittance to the Union was stopped by the Tallmage amendment asking that no more slaves be introduced and that the children of slaves be freed at the age of twenty-five. A third bill, introduced into Congress in 1819, attempted to open the way for Missouri's admission and was more successful. Maine wanted to come in as a 'free' state. The Thomas amendment, stating that the Louisiana Territory north of latitude 36°30' except Missouri be free from slavery, temporarily stilled the Congressional storm on the question of slavery long enough for Congress to grant permission for the Missouri Constitutional Convention of 1820. Her constitution framed, Missouri was admitted to the Union in 1821, forty years before the outbreak of the Civil War. During that forty years Missouri tried, under ten different governors, to build herself into full statehood.

The antagonisms of the pre-Civil War period did much to discourage unified and constructive action. The state as a whole, indicated by the temper of the governors chosen, was pro-Southern in sympathy. Only St. Louis and the power it wielded was sufficient finally to swing the state from 'going Confederate'.
The Negro then, free and slave, has played a large part in the history of Missouri. He came early on to the scene and is with us yet. "The first Negro slaves brought into upper Louisiana or the Illinois country came with Sieur Philip Renault, director of the Company of the West, in 1719. On his way from France, Sieur Renault stopped at the Island of San Domingo, and there purchased 500 Negro slaves to work in the mines which were to be opened."

By 1799, Houck tells us, there were 988 slaves in and around St. Louis, as against 6,028 whites, or an average of one slave per white family.

Slavery thus early established was strengthened as an institution in Missouri with the passage of the Ordinance of 1787, prohibiting slavery in the Northwest Territory and thus sending many slave owners to Missouri, shaping in part the future tide of emigration from such states as the Carolinas and Kentucky and Tennessee. Large numbers of Missourians boast of antecedents in these southern states, and their families came here well fortified with the sentiments of the home states.

The desire of the majority of Missouri's inhabitants for slavery for the Negro can be seen in the apprehension, men-

2. Ibid., p. 241.
tioned above, that coming under Indiana Territory's jurisdiction might effect Missouri's slavery. The choice of early governors, as already cited, showed pro-slavery sympathy. Though a few men, like Thomas Hart Benton, may have thought of a free Missouri, they were easily frightened from their dreams. The more common attitude of early Missourians is best indicated by Violette's statement, "Acceptance of Missouri's Constitution was delayed in Congress over the fact that the legislature was empowered by it to pass any laws necessary 'to prevent free Negroes and Mulattoes from coming to and settling in the State under any pretext whatsoever'."

As for the education of Negroes in the pre-Civil War period, that must certainly have been a rarity in Missouri, when, as we have discovered in Chapter II, such education was far from common in northern, supposedly free states. As a matter of record, the schools for whites did not fare very well in Missouri until after the Civil War.

Although the Constitution of 1820 said that education should 'forever be encouraged' in the state and further specified that, 'one school or more shall be established in each township, as soon as practicable and necessary, where the poor


shall be taught', there was much public sentiment against such schools. As had been the case in other new states, the United States government set aside the sixteenth section in every township to help support the schools. But it was five years before the Missouri legislature passed a law having to do with education. This provided that Congressional townships form a district to be controlled by the County Court. In this district schools should be maintained and supported by leases of school lands, penalties, fines, and forfeitures.

Lucien Carr summarizes the condition of the schools in pre-War Missouri as follows:

--perhaps owing, also, in some degree to the sparseness of population and to a feeling of prejudice which still lingered in certain quarters against the use of schools that were wrongly called 'free', the cause of public education was in anything but a flourishing condition. In some portions of the State, especially in the remote and thinly populated districts, schoolhouses were necessarily few and far apart; and in those regions where they were more common, they were often 'nothing more than log huts, unplastered and unceiled, with chimneys constructed of sticks, mud, and straw, and without school furniture, unless long, backless benches, made of inverted puncheons, and wide planks fastened to the wall for a writing desk, can be called furniture'. Rude and unsuitable as these buildings would now be considered, they were all that could then be afforded, and not unfrequently, it is to be feared, they were in keeping with the

5. Constitution of the State of Missouri, 1820, Article VI.
qualifications of the teachers and the elementary character of the instruction given. Webster's Speller and Pike's Arithmetic were the textbooks in general use, and when a boy had 'been through' these, and was able to write 'fine hand', his education, so far as these primitive institutions were concerned, may be said to have been completed.

Such, in brief, seems to have been the condition of public instruction throughout the State of Missouri during the earlier years of its existence.

Indeed, when regarded from this point of view, it must be confessed that Missouri, despite the positive injunctions of her constitution to the contrary, had done but a little to forward the cause of popular education.

Switzler says, more succinctly, that despite constitutional provisions, "More than thirty years elapsed after the organization of the State government --- before a law was passed appropriating any portion of the taxes paid by the people to educational purposes."

That Missouri was not alone to blame for this condition must be admitted. As a Territory, from 1812 on, she had been under the jurisdiction of the Federal government, and this larger organization had set the pattern of legislating idealistically in behalf of public schools, then doing nothing practical to see to it that they came into being. Between


1833 and 1861 Missouri did struggle repeatedly to establish schools and was laying the groundwork for the establishment of the schools in the post-War period.

When the average salary of the teacher is $117 per year and when the Superintendent calls the schools 'virtual pig-pens', it can hardly be expected that much attention is being paid to the formal education of the slave class. In Missouri, as elsewhere, Arrowood's observations held true: "Down to 1860, the farm house, the rural neighborhood, and the rural church were by all means the most important educational forces in the lives of the most Americans. 'They were almost the only educational forces in the lives of black Americans.'"

Section A of Chapter II has already been devoted to the story of the education of the Negro in the United States. In it we discover that, prior to the Civil War, the attitude of Americans toward the education of Negroes tended to be dictated by economic conditions, as well as by fear of Negro revolts. After 1800, when the Negro became an economic asset, his education was neglected more and more, especially in those

10. Some ideas of the gropings of Missouri toward schools can be found in the following sources: *Laws of Mo.*, 1835, p. 137; *Laws of Mo.*, 1837, p. 137; *Laws of Mo.*, 1839, p. 113; *Laws of Mo.*, 1841, p. 142; *Laws of Mo.*, 1853, pp. 148-160.

areas where his services were valuable and where, accordingly, it was more profitable, even if only in peace of mind, to keep him ignorant.

Such a story as Woodson's *The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861* must be, then, the recital of early attempts, many of these abortive, and the listing of laws enacted to further restrict the possibilities of education for the Negro as the days of the Civil War grew closer. The educated Negro was a rarity. The more usual sight was the entirely untutored and ignorant Negro or the Negro who had used his native ability to take advantage of the only learning available to him, the learning of the plantation, the completely extra-curricular, omnipresent education that is within arm's length of any man awake to life around him. This was the education of the slave in the South and, to a large degree of the free Negro, even in the North. The Northern Negro and the Southern free Negro were educated by their environment, farm, town, or city. The slave was educated by the plantation system which was his habitat.

In Missouri the plantation system did not flourish. The rice of South Carolina, the cane of Louisiana, and the cotton of the Black Belt did not thrive here, though the latter was to become the leading concern of the southeastern tip in subsequent years. Tobacco was successfully grown in Missouri;
but Virginians had discovered earlier that, unlike cotton, rice, and sugar cane, tobacco did not require a large, seasonal, and concentrated labor supply. If Missouri could be said to have grown any staple for export, that would certainly have been hemp. But hemp did not necessitate the plantation system.

Trexler tells us that "As a slave state it (Missouri) was a region of small farms, small slave holdings and relatively few slaves." In his first chapter, "Missouri Slavery as an Economic System", he goes on to say that "Slavery in Missouri was more a domestic than an economic institution." The slaves were more often general farm workers than producers of staple crops. The slaves were used as domestics, especially in the cities; they helped clear the land; they worked as deck and cabin boys on the river boats; they labored in the lead mines; and they worked about the towns and cities much as Negroes do today.

The border state atmosphere which characterized Missouri slavery was further accentuated by the great amount of hiring out of slaves which was carried on. This not only made it

15. Ibid., pp. 29-37
easier for the slave to buy his freedom eventually, but it also made his acquisition of a trade more nearly possible. In a system which values the handy man above the laborer, the slave had many more advantages when it came to being allowed the opportunity to pick up a practical education.

The nearness of free territory in Illinois, Iowa, and Kansas, the lack of any staple crop requiring strenuous slave labor, and the small farm, small holding situation in Missouri all combined to make life easier for the Missouri Negro than for his brothers to the South, though it is to be doubted that everything was as rosy as Trexler would often like you to imagine.

Trexler may also be brought to task for his treatment of the education of Negroes, which, like his treatment of the free Negro, is virtually lacking. The latter may be excused because of the nature of the title of the book, though Trexler does include an abortive discussion of this classification in his last chapter. Concerning the education of the slave, how-

16. Ibid., especially pp. 37, 49, and 51. A few instances to disprove Trexler's insinuations could be garnered from any edition of a Missouri paper. The Liberty Weekly Tribune gives the following, among others: May 3, 1850, 2-2, slave attempted to poison family; May 7, 1852, 2-3, slave ran away disguised as Indian; August 27, 1852, 1-6, slave drowns herself after being whipped; July 13, 1855, 2-4, slave killed by overseer; January 28, 1859, 1-7, master murdered by slave; and December 5, 1862, 1-4, slave ran away with some of master's property and his neighbor's wife.
ever, Trexler's errors of omission are more truly sins. In Chapter III, "Social Status of the Slaves", Trexler tells us that elsewhere in the United States fear of servile insurrections had led to laws forbidding the teaching of reading to slaves. "Missouri, however, he goes on to say, "was less subject to social than to political or financial hysteria."

Now although it was not until 1847 that Missouri passed laws to provide specifically that no person should keep or teach any school for the education of Negroes, Missouri did pass an act as early as 1817 regulating the travelling and assembly of slaves, apparently with the intention of making it more difficult for slaves to plan or to carry out open insurrection against their white masters. This law certainly could have been used most effectively to put a stop to any attempts at educating slaves. Whether the law was rigidly enforced or not we cannot say for a certainty, but it is interesting to note that, in 1833, the law of 1813 was amended so as to regulate slave travel and assembly even more strictly. Yet Trexler mentions neither the law of 1817 nor the 1833 amendment.

17. Ibid., p. 82.
18. Laws of the State of Missouri, 1847, pp. 103 and 104.
In Missouri, as elsewhere, in spite of the law of 1847 and the fine of $500 and the imprisonment of not more than six months which were threatened as punishments for offenders, some masters did allow their slaves to learn to read, and many slaves learned to read in spite of masters who would have whipped them had they known.

That there were ignorant and uneducated Negroes throughout Missouri, as elsewhere, we know. Featherstonaugh tells us that some of the Negroes were worse than animals. "A pack of ragged young Negroes performed the service of chambermaids and waiters, and did it about as well as a pack of grown monkeys, caught in Brazil, would do in three month's teaching."

But despite the failure of Trexler to include mention of the education of the Negro or of the educated Negro, there were examples to counteract Featherstonaugh. Although Shoemaker states that, "Complete citizenship was never given a Negro (before the Civil War), however, for he could not be educated, he had no standing in court unless on trial, and he was usually treated with contempt and indignity", the same author gives us two of the infrequent references to schools.


for Negroes in the same period. He says later, "The Sisters of the Sacred Heart in St. Charles and Florissant maintained free day schools, and church groups showed an interest in giving instruction to Negro and half breed Indian children". 23 Again he tells us "The first Sunday School in St. Louis was opened in April, 1818, as a result of the work of the Reverends Peck (John Mason) and Welch (James E.). These missionaries also organized a Sunday School in St. Louis for colored people in 1818. This latter Sunday School began with 14 people, but the enrollment rapidly increased to about 100 and the school proved to be the nucleus of the colored Baptist church in St. Louis, organized about 1827."

Peck himself said, in 1825, "I am happy to find among the slaveholders in Missouri a growing disposition to have the blacks educated, and to patronize Sunday Schools for the purpose." 25

But it must be remembered that attempts on the part of the white master class to educate the Negro, free or slave, were the exceptions rather than the rule. Another fighting St. Louis minister of the pre-Civil War period, Galusha Anderson laments, "Although the Negroes in St. Louis owned


taxable property, assessed year by year at a valuation of hundreds of thousands of dollars, and had long paid annually no inconceivable school tax, it had been used for the education of white people."

The Negro's education, if he got one, was more apt to be along the lines indicated by Arrowood, an education gained from the environment. In this struggle for education, they were aided by the nature of Missouri slavery, especially the tendency to let the Negro 'work out'. Slave or free, Negroes who could work out found much more chance to learn than did the Southern plantation slave. "There was a Negro pastor in the city by the name of Richard Anderson. When a boy he was a slave, and had been brought from Virginia to Missouri. When he was twelve years old his master, Mr. Bates, had given him his freedom. He now began to do odd jobs about the city. He became a newspaper carrier, and thus aided in distributing among its subscribers, the Missouri Republican. While doing this work he learned to read. The newspaper that he carried from door to door was his spelling book and school reader."

Such a story as the above makes us wonder about the beginnings of Negro education. Unfortunately, the Negro him-


27. Ibid., p. 12.
self was not very vocal during this period and could leave us little record. Nor were the white people, aside from a few Northern ministers, interested in observing the colored folk and leaving us records of their life and habits. For this reason there is but scant material to inform us of the social and intellectual life of the Negro.

The only recourse we have is that adopted by Arrowood in his study of the education of the plantation slave; that is, the inference concerning education that may be drawn from what we do actually know about the life of the Negro in that time.

The conditions in Missouri, for our purposes, can be studied most pertinently by following a former slave's recital of his autobiography. Henry Clay Bruce's story may not represent a typical picture of the education of a Missouri slave, but it is a rare record of the conditions in his time. Though Bruce may well have been one of the more intelligent slaves, his life and experiences present much of what could have happened to any other Missouri slave.

Significantly, Bruce was not born in Missouri, but in

28. Henry Clay Bruce, The New Man: Twenty-nine Years a Slave (York, Pennsylvania, F. Anstadt and Sons, 1895).
Virginia. His family was moved to Chariton County, Missouri, in 1844, when he was approximately eight years old. Here he continued the early childhood education he had been undergoing in Virginia. Like any youngster of any color, he had benefited by days out of doors, by the asking of countless questions, by experimenting, and by observing.

Unlike most white boys he was put to work at the age of nine, hired out to a brick maker in Randolph County. But here he worked with the owner's son, feeding stock and hauling trees. The next year he was hired out again, this time to the owner of a tobacco factory. This was characteristic of Missouri for two reasons: (1) slaves were hired out much more often than in the deeper South and (2) the small 'factories' of the state were manned with slave labor for the most part.

By the time he was thirteen, Bruce was back in Virginia again. Significantly he tells us, "I had been taught the alphabet while in Missouri and could spell 'bake', 'lady', 'shady', and such words of two syllables, and Willie took great pride

29. Newspaper items such as the following, indicating the importation of Negroes, were common: "Description of twenty-five Negro boys and girls, late from Virginia, to be sold by G. P. Dorris" in Liberty Weekly Tribune, February 9, 1849, page 3, column 1. "Dr. Perry en route to Missouri (from Virginia) with nearly 100 slaves to be sold" also in Liberty Weekly Tribune, May 18, 1849, p. 2, column 2.

in teaching me his lessons each day from his books." This ability to spell was discovered by his Virginia owner who made a great to-do about it. Like many a master, he thought that reading was permissible, since it opened the Bible to the slave; but writing was forbidden, for much evil might come of it, in the master's opinion.

In 1850 Bruce was brought back to Missouri and hired out to a tobacconist; in 1854 he was splitting rails for a farmer; in 1855 he was back in a tobacco factory again; in 1856 he went to work as a farm hand, working his way up to the post of foreman or supervisor. Certainly the nature and variety of these tasks illustrates conditions in Missouri. If we were to add that his two brothers meanwhile were trained as bricklayers and his mother was hired out as a cook, the versatility demanded of Negro slaves is apparent.

Of the general level of intelligence among Missouri slaves Bruce says, "In order to show that education and intelligence are the great powers which have been the means of dispelling the gloom of superstition and voodooism among the Colored people, especially, I will state that the Colored people of Missouri, particularly those of Chariton, Howard, Carroll, and Randolph Counties, were above the ordinary slaves in the more extreme Southern states in intelligence and educa-

Yet, though the level of slave intelligence in Missouri was higher than in the more Southern states, "A colored man who could read was a very important fellow, for they (the slaves) would come miles and bring stolen papers for him to read to them at night or on Sunday." We should remember at this point, however, that the white people were often hardly more literate than this at the time. Bruce tells incidents of slaves fooling the white patrols by presenting them with any piece of writing and calling it a pass. Certainly the slaves often showed more intelligence than their opponents when they outwitted the patrols time after time.

Learning must have been sweeter to the slave, since it was a forbidden fruit, to a certain extent at any rate. Negroes could and did learn despite state laws to the contrary. "Slavery in some portions of Missouri was not what it was in Virginia, or in the extreme South, because we could buy any book we wanted if we had the money to pay for it, and masters

32. Ibid., p. 58.
33. Ibid., p. 86. This reading was mainly in connection with Fremont's bid for the Presidency and the hopes it brought the Negroes.
34. Ibid., pp. 96 and 97.
35. Ibid., pp. 97-100.
seemed not to care about it, especially ours, but of course there were exceptions to the rule."

Certainly the laxity of control that accompanied Missouri's policy of hiring out Negroes differed greatly from the policy found in the deep South. Bruce says, "When the factory closed at sunset, we were free to go where we pleased until sunrise next day. I remember that the M.E. Church, South, allowed the Colored people to meet in the basement of their church, and their minister preached to them every Sunday, commencing at three o'clock, p.m., and his text was not always from Luke xii. 47 or Titus 11. 9."

That the slave had money with which to buy books, should he want them, is indicated by Bruce's assertion that the slaves gave a suit to one of the white ministers whose sermons they particularly appreciated.

As in the South, when a colored preacher held forth for a slave congregation, there was supervision and often censorship by the master class. But the Negroes did meet in spite of any laws to the contrary. Bruce even mentions a school for

36. Ibid., p. 67.
37. Ibid., p. 71.
38. Ibid., p. 72.
39. Loc. cit. and p. 73.
slaves established by a Southerner who had immigrated to a 700 acre farm near Brunswick, Missouri. Since he intended to free his slaves and give them his lands and property, he and his wife started a school on the plantation to teach the slaves those things they would have to know in order to cope with life as free men.

Though the Germans who had settled in Missouri would appreciate such humanitarian sentiments, many Missourians objected strenuously. The master of Bruce's sweetheart was a case in point, "I was engaged to marry a girl belonging to a man named Allen Farmer, who was opposed to it on the ground, as I was afterwards informed, that he did not want a Negro to visit his farm who could read, because he would spoil his slaves."

As the Civil War approached, conditions for the Negroes in Missouri, as in the South, got worse. Owners were filled with a fear of losing their investments and/or their lives. They guarded their slaves more strictly, punished them more severely. The whole situation became more and more critical.

40. Ibid., p. 76-77.
41. Ibid., p. 90 states that Germans never hired slaves.
42. Ibid., p. 108.
43. Ibid., p. 76.
For the free Negro in Missouri conditions were never as rosy as they were for the slave. The free Negro had even less of a chance to be granted privileges, because he lacked the patronage and protection of a master. He was cared for less, because he didn’t mean $500 to $1,000 to some white man. As the War came on, these free Negroes, suspected of intrigue with slaves, were harried from pillar to post. No wonder newspapers often carried stories of Negroes returning gladly to slavery.

To conclude the story of Bruce, it should be remarked that, before the War started, he borrowed a horse from his master and escaped over to Kansas, taking with him his bride-to-be.

There is a more didactic lesson in this, for our purposes, than is suggested by this romantic conclusion. The whole book illustrates many of the truths concerning the nature of slavery in Missouri: the Missouri Negro was often born out of the state and transported in; he was a jack-of-all-trades, used most often as a general farmer’s hand, but found also as a brick layer, cook, miner, domestic, carpenter, or factory worker; more often than not the slave would be

44. Ibid., p. 77.
45. Liberty Weekly Tribune, April 30, 1858, 4-1; April 29, 1859, 2-4; November 2, 1860, 1-2.
hired out, living under less strict supervision, able to make a little money of his own; if he wanted to, then, it was possible for him to get a rudimentary knowledge of reading and writing, as well as vocational and religious education.

What goes for the rest of the slave territory goes for Missouri, too, modified only by the revealing details of Bruce's story. Slavery, like the university, turned out all sorts of men. The great majority of the slaves never learned to read; their masters didn't encourage it, perhaps because it was an accomplishment of theirs only recently if at all, but more likely because it would not improve the economic value of the slave and because they, the masters, feared the element of insurrection that might come with learning. Yet, in spite of the opposition of the masters, many slaves did learn to read, taught by children, by mistresses, by religious masters, by the men who were teaching them trades.

The real training of slaves, their real education, came not so much from the book, secular or religious, as from the work they did. They were compelled to learn the household arts, the crafts, the trades. In Missouri more than elsewhere, since there was more reward for individual initiative and accomplishment here, slaves could develop good work habits along with their knowledge of a skill. In a system where they were hired out, their social education came through their learning
to get along with those with whom they worked. Their moral and religious education came from better masters and mistresses and from such ministers as Bruce describes.

Undoubtedly this 'university' graduated many fine slaves. But some one else controlled the slave too much. His opportunities for development were far too limited. He still had to cross over the river to a freer land before he could really develop and grow to his full height.
CHAPTER IV

THE BEGINNINGS OF PUBLIC ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION: 1865-85

Before the Civil War was even over forces had started to work with the Negroes, freeing them mentally as well as bodily. Chief among the agencies which worked with the Negroes in Missouri was the Western Sanitary Commission, working out of St. Louis.

During the fall and winter of 1863-4, Brigadier General Wm. A. Oile, organized three brigades of colored troops, at Benton Barracks, and in order that they might have every benefit that was possible, during the period of their organization and drill, the Commission purchased 3000 copies of Sargent's Standard Primer, for their use, and teachers were provided to instruct them in reading; their officers and Rev. W.H. Bradley, in the service of the Commission, taking part in this work.1

Thus early and systematically did the friends of the Negro begin to educate them. In 1864, the same author tells us:

"A school for colored children is now taught at that place (Benton Barracks) by Miss Knight, a lady employed by the Western Sanitary Commission, books are furnished, and a similar work is carried on for the colored soldiers while they remain."2

In St. Louis itself the Commission was also engaged in the good work. Its members were tending to the education of

2. Ibid., p. 34.
Negroes and already bringing to the attention of the city fathers the fact that such education was a municipal responsibility.

This home (Freedmen's Orphan's Home, 12th Street between O'Fallon Street and Cass Avenue) had a school in connection with it, in which the teacher, Miss Hess, is sustained by the Commission.

Besides this school the Commission, during the school year ending in September, 1865, appropriated $100 a month to aid the colored people of St. Louis to sustain schools for their children. An excellent high school, in the basement of the church on the corner of Locust and Eighth Streets, was taught through the same year by Miss Anna E. Wall and Miss Ide M. Bell of New Bedford, the latter a daughter of the Hon. T. D. Eliot, M.C. from Massachusetts. This school which was for the advanced scholars of the colored people, numbered from fifty to sixty scholars, and was equal to the same grade of schools in any city of the Union. It was sustained by funds contributed from friends in Massachusetts, through Rev. Dr. Eliot, of the Western Sanitary Commission.

There are five schools for colored children at the present time, taught by colored teachers, and supported by tuition fees. The schools contain about 400 pupils. Although the colored people are taxed for the support of the public schools of St. Louis, there has been no provision made as yet for the education of the colored children of the city, and they receive none of the benefits of the public schools for which their parents are taxed, beyond an appropriation of $500. There is prospect, however, that this reproach will be removed during the year.

Thus early did the education of the Negro in Missouri begin, and thus early did St. Louis take the lead in devel-
oping a school system for the Negro. But we must look at the picture for the state at large.

When Missouri acted, as the first slave state to free its slaves, public schools and the idea of public school education were not yet popular even for the white population. Article Six of the Missouri State Constitution drafted in 1820 placed public schools in the category of 'poor schools', providing them only as a means for educating the indigent 'gratis', as they said. The general populace did not want public school education generally, much less public school education for Negroes.

But the same convention that freed the slaves, the Missouri State Convention of 1865, also drafted a new constitution, Article Nine of which provided for the establishment and maintenance of free public schools for the instruction of all people in the state between the ages of five and twenty-one. All funds were to be appropriated in proportion to the number of children enumerated, without regard to color.


To enforce this progressive ideal, brought into being undoubtedly because of the disfranchising of the participants in the late Civil War, the Twenty-Third General Assembly further stipulated that separate schools were to be established by a township if there were twenty or more Negro children enumerated. The same officers were to be in control of the Negro schools who were already in control of the schools for whites. If, however, the average attendance at any established Negro school fell below twelve in any month, the school could be closed for a maximum of six months. In such localities as had less than twenty Negroes of school age the money raised for their schooling was to be used for their education in such a way as the Board saw fit.

This was legislation which looked in the right direction, but it was certainly not well received by a state which had, just a few years previously, been highly sympathetic with the Southern cause. As Superintendent Parker pointed out in his annual report in 1867, there was no effective way of enforcing such mandates in the state of Missouri.

In 1868 the legislature tried to remedy the situation by stipulating that the State Superintendent of Schools could

assume the powers of the Board and establish and maintain such schools for Negroes if the Board did not so provide them.

And this the State Superintendent did, establishing a precedent that could easily have led to his doing all of the work which should have been done by the Boards individually. Additional legislation, however, made it an offense liable to a fine of from fifty to five hundred dollars for a school official to neglect or fail to perform his stipulated duty. In spite of this law there were evasions and the Superintendent still had to take action in many instances.

By 1870, amazingly enough, Missouri was lauded as the former slave state with the largest proportion of schools for Negro children. That this might well have been a condemnation of the other states rather than high praise of Missouri is evident if one looks at the Fourth Annual Report of the State Superintendent of Schools. For white schools as for the Negro schools, lack of teachers, lack of sufficient funds, lack of interest in the idea of public schools, especially in


the idea of public schools for Negroes, was retarding the growth of that institution.

With the Negro in particular sparsity of settlement was an item which gave the whites a fine excuse not to establish schools for him. Though some county superintendents of schools went so far as to suggest joining whites and Negroes in the same school where the Negroes were reported as too few in number for their own, the legislature tried another device. In 1869 this body decreed that two districts, each having less than fifteen Negroes, should together establish a school. Even this arrangement did not change the minds of some counties; yet some counties, on the other hand, continued to educate Negroes with whites in the public schools.

Reading the reports of the county superintendents to the State Superintendent of Schools, as they appear in the latter's reports, one gets the feeling that two forces were at work in Missouri, both affecting seriously the progress or retardation of education. On the one hand were those reactionaries who did not want anyone, particularly the Negro, to be educated at public expense; on the other hand were those democrats who had

caught the fire of the times, the tremendous import of the freeing of a whole people from bondage, and were trying to make the most of the opportunity which the times presented for the establishment of a system of public education. To the former the latter would be carpet baggers; to the latter the former would be the worst kind of fascists.

John Monteith, the Superintendent who submitted the reports in 1871, 1872, 1873, and 1874, fell in the category with those who followed the bright light of democracy. Under his direction the schools for both white and Negro prospered. The opposition evident in the Fifth Annual Report was lessened by the time the Seventh Annual Report was published. The Negroes took courage and worked in their own behalf. The attendance of school children, white and Negro, rose slowly but perceptibly:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{Year} & \text{White} & \text{Negro} & \text{Enrolled} \\
1872 & 631,524 & 35,969 & 389,956 \\
1873 & 667,574 & 38,247 & 391,955 \\
1874 & 669,907 & 38,447 & \text{-------}
\end{array}
\]

The Report for January 1876 is written by a new Superintendent, R. D. Shannon, and, on the basis of investigation which he had made into the files of the records of the office, he entitled it the Twenty-Sixth Annual Report rather than the tenth.

On the question of Negro education Mr. Shannon was as positive as he was concerning the number of his report. He explained how, though no district could be compelled to maintain a school for white children, it could be made to establish and maintain a school for Negro children. He mentioned his successful experience in getting the 'Kingdom of Calloway' to found a school for its Negroes, even though the county had the wide spread reputation of being strongly pro-Southern in its attitudes. His one sentence points out a strong disagreement with Mr. Monteith and sets off his own decisive attitude: "My experience has led me to believe that if it were not for a few fanatical busy-bodies - marplots - in certain localities, who have come among us with the impression that they know more of the Negro race than ourselves, and that their presence is necessary to save this race from oppression and outrage, we would experience little trouble from this source."

Shannon has, he says, been able to detect no opposition "by a single county or county official in the State to affording the colored youth of the State the full benefit of

23. Twenty-Sixth Annual Report, 1875, p. 12.
public education". And this in Missouri in 1875!

The line of approach is readily recognized: first assurance that the law that exists will be kept; then accusation of outsiders who try too drastically to enforce it; and finally the statement that local talent can handle the situation so that the formerly grieved will 'make no trouble'.

One suspects that now the advances of the preceding ten years will suffer. The Civil Rights Bill, which attempted to force co-racial education on the people of the state, had frightened even the fairly liberal Monteith. The excess of the left had resulted in a victory for the right.

For some ten years after the Civil War the victorious Republicans had ruled in Missouri, taking advantage of their complete victory to disfranchise citizens, to keep them from practising law, teaching, or preaching. By 1870 the memory of the late war had died out sufficiently, and the more liberal element in the Republican Party in Missouri had come sufficiently to the fore, so that, with that more liberal faction gaining power in that year, the more offensive of the restrictions against former Confederates or sympathizers were erased from the statute books. By 1874 the Democrats them-


selves, formerly vanquished, were in the saddle.

The new governors were quick to call a Constitutional Convention and revamp the state's laws to suit themselves. A tremendous movement toward decentralization took place, a decentralization that tended to hamper the erstwhile rapid development of the system of public schools throughout the state. The school age was changed from 5-21 to 6-20. Full, almost complete power was vested in the local boards. Collecting records through the county superintendents became an almost impossible chore for the State Superintendent.

As for Negro education in the state, it was already well enough established, had grown up so conjointly with the late developing white system, that it could not be stopped in its inevitable advance. Though the ten years from 1875-1885 slowed the rapid pace that had been initiated in the first ten years, they really served but as a counter force, straightening the line of development for Negro schools to a long, slow, uphill pull.

The seed of Negro education in Missouri had already been well planted, especially in the cities, by 1875. At least three cities had shown early and strong development. St. Joseph had started her first Negro school in 1866. By 1871 she had 27

26. E.M. Violette, op. cit., Chapter XXI.
two one-room schools; by 1874 of 651 Negroes enumerated 386 were enrolled under four teachers.

Kansas City had started its Negro school system in 1867. Six years later, 408 Negroes were enumerated; 165 were in average daily attendance. In 1874, in one school 350 pupils were instructed by five teachers.

St. Louis, with the largest concentrated Negro population, was making the fastest strides. The state legislature had granted power to this city to establish separate schools for Negroes in 1865. In the next year three schools were established for Negroes, one in the north, one in the south, and one in the central part of the city. By 1868 there were five Negro schools. In 1871 a sixth school was established. By 1875 there were twelve Negro schools, including one Negro high school, formerly the Washington School but to be known as Sumner High henceforth, complete with a Normal Department to help fill the need for teachers in the Negro schools of the

29. Ibid., p. 185.
30. Tenth Annual Report, 1875, p. 77.
32. Fourteenth Annual Report of Board of Directors of St. Louis Public Schools, 1868, pp. 65 and 67.
state, a need heretofore filled only by the struggling attempts of Lincoln Institute.

With these bulwarks already constructed the Negro schools could stand the shock of the next ten years, then settle down to the long slow fight to maintain their gains and add to them slowly.

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Under the new administration, as was to be expected, the Negro schools suffered serious setbacks, setbacks which were not to be overcome for ten years. The Negro school population enrolled in 1875 was 14,832 out of an enumeration of 41,916. In 1878 the enumeration of Negroes of school age had dropped to 37,880, the student population to 14,505. The statistics are interesting in that they illustrate that wherever the Negro was enumerated he went to school in increasing proportions. While the attendance figures may have dropped, they did not drop as rapidly as did the figures representing enumeration, over which the white officials had more control.

Date of Report | Enumeration | Enrollment | Number of Schools
---|---|---|---
1875 | 41,916 | 14,832 | 
1876 | 32,411 | 14,506 | 
1877 | 24,476 | | 
1878 | 37,880 | | 
1879 | | | 
1880 | 39,018 | | 492
1881 | | | 501
1882 | | | 
1883 | | | 
1884 | 43,954 | 26,131 | 528
1885 | 43,059 | 27,678 | 520

Failure to enumerate was but one of the devices by which the Negro was deprived of his schools. The more complicated procedures for so depriving him are well described in the Superintendent's Twenty-Ninth Report. When the white board was approached by the Negroes who desired schools established, it asked for 'time to look into the law'. This usually took a matter of months, often resulting eventually in a delay until 'the next year'. If such stalling did not prove effective, the board could always use the excuse that it could not find a competent teacher. By the time all of these aspects to the problem had been ironed out, a new board was elected to replace the old, and the whole succession of events could begin anew.

The autobiography of a teacher who came west from Indiana and taught in Jasper County, Missouri, from 1874 to 1879 gives 36. P. 14.
an interesting picture not only of rural school conditions at the time but of the beginnings of a Negro school. Jeremiah Hubbard tells of school terms of three and four months, of pay ranging from $40.00 to $45.00 per month, of one-room schools with 50 to 70 pupils, and of schools without desks. He also relates the following story about his experience with incipient Negro schools:

There were about 25 scholars the first day; in a few days there two or three little darkies came to school, one morning. I soon saw that it did not set well with some of them; at recess the pupils would gather together in groups and talk. The next day the children were telling what their parents were going to do, if those darkey children kept coming. I did not care, so far as I was concerned. The law of Missouri was, that in a district where there were not 15, or more, darkey children of suitable age to go to school, having no school of their own, they could go to the white school. The breeze kept up hot for about two weeks, and the directors finally concluded that it was best to put the darkies by themselves. So they got an old man to take them to his house and teach them.

County and local officials who deprived the Negroes of their schools often robbed the state of monies which they used

40. Ibid., p. 103.
41. Ibid., p. 159.
for their own purposes. Stories of such complete lack of honesty and bald appropriation of school monies were told by the State Superintendent in his Report for 1881. And where there might not have been actual theft there was often outright evasion of the law concerning the establishment and maintenance of Negro schools.

Most of this dishonesty and disregard of law the State Superintendent of Schools blamed on the tendency toward decentralization in government. He had, he assured the Governor and the Legislature, no way of enforcing the legislation in effect, no matter whether he liked it or not. This he kept repeating until action was taken to relieve him of the duty of enforcing the law in regard to the establishment and maintenance of Negro schools.

In spite of the fact that the white authorities, in many cases, were not cooperative and in spite of the fact that, as the Superintendent reported in 1882, the poverty, the sparsity, and the migratory nature of the Negro population made it most difficult for the Negro to build up strong schools,

42. pp. 11-13.
43. Twenty-Seventh Report, 1877, p. 17; Twenty-Ninth Report, 1879, p. 18.
Negro enrollment did increase steadily and strongly. A comparison of the relationship between some white and Negro figures as they are found under enumeration and enrollment headings in the Thirty-First Report might be pertinent:

<table>
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<tr>
<th>School District</th>
<th>Enumeration White</th>
<th>Enumeration Negro</th>
<th>Attendance White</th>
<th>Attendance Negro</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Boonville</td>
<td>995</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>486</td>
<td>183</td>
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<tr>
<td>Brunswick</td>
<td>480</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>212</td>
<td>70</td>
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<td>Breckinridge</td>
<td>290</td>
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<td>198</td>
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<td>Cape Girardeau</td>
<td>1,396</td>
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<td>521</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glasgow</td>
<td>488</td>
<td>330</td>
<td>282</td>
<td>228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greenfield</td>
<td>241</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hannibal</td>
<td>2,939</td>
<td>610</td>
<td>1,598</td>
<td>420</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jackson</td>
<td>305</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jefferson City</td>
<td>1,447</td>
<td>312</td>
<td>726</td>
<td>224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kansas City</td>
<td>13,240</td>
<td>2,035</td>
<td>5,845</td>
<td>748</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kingston</td>
<td>193</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>224</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kirksville</td>
<td>764</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knob Noster</td>
<td>305</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Another indication of the degree of interest in schooling taken by the so recently freed Negroes was the alacrity with which they founded an association of Negro teachers. Starting at Columbia, with the willing assistance of members of the faculty of the University of Missouri, these teachers met during the Christmas vacation in 1879 for their organizational meeting. A second annual meeting at Jefferson City followed.

47. Thirty-First Report, 1881, pp. 104-121.
Successive meetings at Sedalia, Kansas City, and St. Louis, got the new organization off to a good beginning.

In the cities, still, the progress of education for Negroes was making most headway. Negro enrollment in 1877 was 1,503 students in St. Louis' separate schools. 1879 saw forty Negro schools with an enrollment of 2,484. And by 1881 there were 3,670 students in attendance.

St. Joseph, too, increased her facilities for Negroes. Of 640 Negroes enumerated in 1877, 397 were in attendance. In 1879 two colored schools had four teachers for the 403 students. Kansas City schools went from an enumeration of 837 in 1877 to 1,446 in 1880. Of these 657 were in school. By 1881 that city listed 2,035 Negroes in its enumeration and claimed 748 in classes.

51. Thirty-Sixth Report, 1885, p. 20.
52. Twenty-Seventh Report, 1877, p. 71.
55. Twenty-Seventh Report, 1877, p. 69.
57. Twenty-Seventh Report, 1877, p. 67.
58. Thirtieth Report, 1880, pp. 119-120.
59. Thirty-First Report, 1881, p. 117.
CHAPTER V

THE YEARS OF SLOW GROWTH

In the Fifty-Seventh Report to the Legislature Superintendent Carrington has given the following division of periods of growth for public schools in Missouri: 1875-1883, period of organization; 1883-1891, period of elementary schools; 1891-1899, period of all-round, general development; and 1899-1907, period of construction, with emphasis on correlation and coordination. Whether or not this arbitrary division into periods is true for the white public schools is questionable. But that such was certainly not true of the Negro schools is evident from even the most cursory examination of the Reports for this period.

At best, for the Negro, this was a period of slow, steady growth of elementary schools. In spite of unfavorable attitudes on the part of the public and of the school officials, the strength, if not the number, of the Negro elementary schools, especially in the city, grew slowly and steadily.

The official attitude toward the Negro schools seemed to be one of neglect. Usually statistics for enumeration and enrollment in the Negro schools were all the information made, available in the Reports of the period. Early in the period under study there was mention of the Negro State Teacher's
Association and of the Negro Teachers' Institutes. But, by and large, the Negroes were merely neglected. Whether the Superintendent's Report studied Supervision, Curriculum Problems, Industrial Education, Consolidation, Free Texts, State Aid, or Literary Emphasis, there was no mention of Negroes. When reports from individual county superintendents were printed, they were invariably distinguished by their complete lack of mention of Negroes. In the light of the earlier Reports, just after the Civil War, when such matters as Negro schools were essential to a report, this disregard is the more striking in the long years between 1886 and 1915. Typically, among the illustrations in the thirty volumes of Reports which constitute the backbone of this chapter, no picture of a Negro or of a school for Negroes is to be found until a lone picture of Lincoln's exhibit at the 1912 state fair appeared in the Sixty-Third Report. Typically, too, in letters from teachers, from board members, from school administrators, as they appear in page after page of the successive volumes, there is no inclusion of contributions from Negroes, though there must have been interested and informed Negro teachers, ready and willing to contribute.

The problems of the time had to be met by the Negro schools as well as by the white. In 1887 and 1888 the question of supervision for the schools was most prominent in the Superintendent's mind. Negro schools were as sadly in need of

supervision as were white; though, we shall see later, they did not as often receive it. Curricula studies interest the Superintendents from 1896 on, with many of the Reports including elaborate curricula plans and course suggestions. Here comments were made and suggestions submitted, by the white teachers. Part of the curriculum study centered, especially in 1897 and 1898, about the incipient industrial education, here tempered with happy balance of emphasis on the study of literature. Though Negro schools were not mentioned in these discussions or included in the pictorial representation of work in progress, it was during this period that a superintendent made the one remark concerning Negro education that is to be found in these thirty volumes. He said, simply, "I do not think Negro education in Missouri is in a very satisfactory condition."

The approach of the turn of the century raised the more contemporary questions of consolidation and transportation as well as of state aid to equalize educational opportunities throughout the state. Though the Negro was becoming increasingly urban in Missouri as elsewhere, those rural Negroes who did remain should have presented a special problem, sparsely scattered as they were and needing, as they did, separate schools. There was no mention of a special problem, nor of

the Negro as an aspect of the larger problem. Likewise, from 1902 on, when free texts and further curriculum progress were up for discussion, one feels that the Negro had a stake in the developments. One is no longer surprised to find the Negro among the missing. There comes over one the same oblivion in regard to Negro schools that must have made the life of a State Superintendent of schools happier in those times. The reader of the Reports forgets that there were Negro schools in Missouri. Only the statistical reports, where the cataloging minds have differentiated 'colored' and 'white', serve to keep one aware of the presence, in the background of a persisting and growing system of Negro schools.

After all, we can well say, the Superintendent of Schools in Missouri had plenty to do with the organization of one school system, let alone two. An excerpt or two from the Report for 1894 might serve to illustrate to show how times have changed since the state was fifty years younger:

During my four years' term I have visited and addressed 136 institutes, and visited 91 town schools, addressing the people at night. Including other speeches where I did not visit school or institute, I have made more than 265 addresses, to more than 52,000 teachers and patrons. To do this, I traveled by railroad more than 30,000 miles, and by hack, buggy, etc., more than 1280, traveling much by night, sometimes making two and even three addresses a day.

and driving 50, 60, and once 80 miles a day, over the roughest parts of the state. Once, failing to catch a steamer, I hired a Negro to row me 40 miles down the Mississippi river - from New Madrid to Gayoso. Assisting him to row, I made the appointment in time, and caught a boat up the same night. One time a boy tried to drive me over 30 miles of very rough country, at night. He lost his way at 1 a.m., and we slept in a cabin one or two hours, and then resuming our journey, made the appointment in time. Another time the driver got lost down on Brush Creek, and we unhitched and slept in the buggy until the moon rose, driving into Warsaw at 3 a.m. I breakfasted at 6, spoke at 8;30 a.m., and drove 50 miles for an evening address at Buffalo. The next morning I drove 20 miles before breakfast, to my next appointment. Sometimes driving as rapidly as we could, I reached the town with only sufficient time to take a drink of water and speak on an empty stomach."

The Superintendent of Schools must surely have been a sturdy man!

This W. E. Coleman certainly was; and, too, he was a man of definite opinions. His fight against the German influence on the incipient schools in German communities was relentless and effective. His attitudes toward Negro schools were equally definite. After having made the remark, now somewhat simple sounding to us but most epoch making then, that 'The public schools are here, and here to stay', Coleman goes on to discuss the superior benefits which the Negroes enjoy.


5. Ibid., p. 5.
There is another question often agitated and discussed by the Negro teachers, viz: 'What shall be done with the Negro children when there are not enough to run a school in a district, and they are too far distant from a Negro school to attend?' At their state association at Carrollton, during the Christmas holidays, they appointed a committee to formulate a law, wait upon the next General Assembly, and see what can be done relative to these Negro children. These children are now permitted to have a school with 15 Negro children - the whites must have thirty to organize a separate district - and if there be less than 15 in any district, they can attend school in any district in the county - a right the white children do not possess - and the district from which they go must pay their tuition. 6

Mr. Coleman goes on: "Now, what are the facts in this case? Simply these: there are ten times as many white children deprived of school privileges by law in this State as there are Negro children." To be specific, he points out that white children could not have a school for 19 children, much less 15; and they couldn't be sent elsewhere 'gratis'.

"But should two or three Negro children be deprived of school facilities, even though they have the right to go anywhere in the county - when there is a Negro school - the charge of discrimination is set up, and the cry of oppression goes along the line." 8

The same arguments used here by Mr. Coleman are still used today by many white citizens of Missouri who feel that the

6. Ibid., p. 9.
7. Ibid., p. 10.
8. Loc. cit.
Negro cries 'wolf' too loudly. But the same answers can be
given now that could have been given then: those who dance
must pay the piper. And those who insist on privacy must
pay. If the whites wish their schools to be exclusive in any
way, in this country, based on the principles which lie at
its foundations, the exclusiveness must cost; if it results
in special benefits for the group discriminated against, that
is but part of the cost to the privileged.

In his report Mr. Coleman makes another observation
which is worthy of our notice here. He defends the separate
schools, and in a measure justifiably, because they give Ne­
groes opportunities, as teachers or administrators, which
these people would not otherwise have.

Many educated Negroes come to Missouri in search
of positions as teachers, who have been educated in
Northern States, in the same schools with the white
children, but who are not permitted to teach in said
states. Missouri has now more than seven hundred
Negro teachers employed in her public schools; these,
of course, teach only Negro children; but this is
seven hundred more Negro teachers than are employed
in the public schools of all the old free states."

In the preceding argument, as has been admitted, Mr.
Coleman may well have had ground upon which to stand. He
could have pointed to the Report of the United States Com­
missioner of Education for proof that Missouri was doing more

9. Ibid., p. 31.
to eradicate Negro illiteracy than any of the former slave states, with a Negro illiteracy rate decreasing from 72.7 per cent in 1850 to 41.7 per cent in 1870. But in the following he was arguing without sense:

Still we have a few Negro fanatics, agitators, and would-be philanthropists, who are continually trying to stir up confusion and contention because a few Negro children happen to live in districts remote from a Negro school. They grow furious if the children have to walk two or three miles, while there are ten times as many white children who walk as far - and some farther - to attend their own district schools. The question is often asked, 'How much do the Negro children learn?' Are they as apt as white children? 'No!' might be given as a definite answer; but that does not satisfy. The truth is, there are not one thousand full-blooded African children in the schools of the state. The Negro population of Missouri is an amalgamated race of people, in which the genuine Negro and the Caucasian races have been mixed; and it is a fact - that cannot be consistently denied - that when you have the opportunity to test the ability of the Negro child from six years old until he reaches twenty, it will become apparent that as he advances in the grades -- from the primary department to graduation in high school -- the African characteristics drop out and the Caucasian predominate, thereby showing conclusively that the African is not capable of receiving and utilizing the school advantages afforded him, with the readiness and to the extent of the Caucasians. Among the seven hundred Negro teachers in Missouri, there are not ten of pure African antecedents.

What a study for the logician or the semanticist! And this was the last word on Negro education by a Superintendent

11. Ibid., pp. 32-3.
of Schools in Missouri until after the 1915 date with which this chapter ends. Coleman may not have expressed the opinions of the superintendents who followed him, but no voice was raised to deny his statements. He had made the pronouncements, and the Negro was accordingly left to his own devices. At least no Superintendent of Schools was to bother the Negro schools to the extent of examining them for weaknesses and strengths.

In spite of neglect and disapprobation the Negro schools progressed. In 1894 there were five high schools listed for Negroes: Hannibal, Jefferson City, Kansas City, Will Spring, and Sedalia. Coleman's comment about out-of-state teachers is another case in point. When the backgrounds of teachers in Missouri's new high schools were given in 1898, the two first ranking Negro high schools are seen to be manned by staffs as well trained as the personnel at the best of the white high schools. Whereas the faculty of white high schools might be trained at Warrensburg or the University of Missouri, the staff of Lincoln High in Kansas City included graduates of Roger Williams University, Oberlin, Fiske, Brown, Kansas University. On the faculty of the Sumner High School in St. Louis were graduates of Oberlin; Karlsruhe, Germany; Alcorn, Howard, and

13. Forty-Ninth Report, 1898, p. 120.
The Negro teachers were apparently ambitious to improve, despite their African blood. In 1892, with the beginning of the holding of institutes for Negro teachers, we find 432 of the 700 teachers in attendance at the 23 institutes. In 1894, there were 304 teachers attending 21 two-week institutes. Again in 1896 we find 336 enrolled at 21 institutes. The average daily attendance is listed at 305, with 281 certificates recommended when the institutes were finished. Further statistics follow:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. of Institutes</th>
<th>Attendance</th>
<th>Certificates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1897</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>345</td>
<td>308</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1898</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>345</td>
<td>309</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>396 (apr)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>418</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

After 1904 statistics on attendance at institutes are not available, but we do know that institutes were held regularly and in number:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In order to evaluate Negro schools at this time one needs to remember the conditions that prevailed in schools generally, white as well as Negro. In 1898 there were only 2,000 students doing college work in the whole state. Only 21,000 students were doing work above the elementary level. 205 high schools were listed in 1898; and of these only 48 were 'approved'. Of the 205 two were for Negroes, one in St. Louis (Sumner) and one in Kansas City (Lincoln). The former had 233 students, the latter 208. It is revealing to note further, however, that Lincoln listed 10 seniors; Sumner 35. The rate at which the

Negro students dropped out was extremely high.

Negroes as well as whites suffered from the fact that, as yet, Missouri did not support its schools as well as its neighbors did theirs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>School Children</th>
<th>Expenditures</th>
<th>School Days</th>
<th>Per Capita Expenditures</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Missouri</td>
<td>981,422</td>
<td>6,249,000</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>$2.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wisconsin</td>
<td>691,000</td>
<td>6,676,000</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>2.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michigan</td>
<td>623,000</td>
<td>6,428,000</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>2.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illinois</td>
<td>1,270,000</td>
<td>17,000,000</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>3.55</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The manner in which the Negro schools existed through this long period of trial and slow growth might be better visualized by examining statistics drawn up on the basis of the thirty Reports covering that period from 1886-1915. Here we see a rise in the enumeration until 1898, then a steady, if slow, decline. Enrollment figures are much more irregular than those for enumeration, rising somewhat erratically to peaks in 1891-1892, and again in 1900. After the 1900 peak, there is a gradual, equally erratic dropping away. Although the statistics for number of teachers shows shifting, the series of figures seems to center about a 750 average. And the steadily decreasing number of schools reflects the increasing urbanization of the Negro. His fewer schools were often bigger schools.

29. Ibid., p. 28.
### NEGRO SCHOOL STATISTICS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Enumeration</th>
<th>Enrollment</th>
<th>Number of Colored Schools</th>
<th>Number of Colored Teachers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1886</td>
<td>45,930</td>
<td>29,125</td>
<td>520</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887</td>
<td>47,663</td>
<td>30,469</td>
<td>468</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1888</td>
<td>47,462</td>
<td>33,217</td>
<td>547</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1889</td>
<td>48,478</td>
<td>32,168</td>
<td>509</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>48,047</td>
<td>32,804</td>
<td>507</td>
<td>720</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>49,097</td>
<td>34,622</td>
<td>491</td>
<td>722</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892</td>
<td></td>
<td>34,513</td>
<td></td>
<td>711</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1893</td>
<td>51,235</td>
<td>33,916</td>
<td>476</td>
<td>745</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1894</td>
<td>51,369</td>
<td>32,199</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895</td>
<td>51,643</td>
<td>33,096</td>
<td>483</td>
<td>730</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>51,905</td>
<td>31,915</td>
<td>508</td>
<td>762</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1897</td>
<td>52,588</td>
<td>31,767</td>
<td>497</td>
<td>758</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1898</td>
<td>50,872</td>
<td>30,114</td>
<td>484</td>
<td>629</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899</td>
<td>50,421</td>
<td>34,540</td>
<td>472</td>
<td>804</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>49,699</td>
<td>32,511</td>
<td>459</td>
<td>794</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>48,525</td>
<td>31,260</td>
<td>388</td>
<td>749</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>48,452</td>
<td>(no available breakdown)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>48,198</td>
<td>32,745</td>
<td>440</td>
<td>762</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>46,756</td>
<td>32,234</td>
<td>414</td>
<td>710</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>45,978</td>
<td>33,070</td>
<td>415</td>
<td>757</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>44,873</td>
<td>32,796</td>
<td>405</td>
<td>726</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>44,778</td>
<td>29,937</td>
<td>417</td>
<td>775</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>43,857</td>
<td>30,406</td>
<td>440</td>
<td>759</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>42,899</td>
<td>29,562</td>
<td>409</td>
<td>783</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>38,279</td>
<td>27,469</td>
<td>382</td>
<td>750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>37,339</td>
<td>27,383</td>
<td>382</td>
<td>756</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>37,923</td>
<td>31,909</td>
<td>368</td>
<td>770</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>37,444</td>
<td>28,632</td>
<td>362</td>
<td>792</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>37,029</td>
<td>28,205</td>
<td>358</td>
<td>773</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As we have already noted the period under study was one of growth of high schools. As we have already pointed out, too, the Negro was becoming increasingly urban. This combination resulted in more high schools for the Negro than he would otherwise have had. In the cities, first in Kansas City and St. Louis, later in those centers of population of much smaller size, the Negroes sought and got high schools.
To the two high schools already mentioned a third and fourth were added in 1899. The Fred Douglass school in Columbia listed 46 students of high school grade and the Douglass school in Hannibal listed 41. The eighteen high school teachers were paid a slightly lower wage than were the white teachers, with the salaries ranging from $675 in Columbia to $2,000 in St. Louis. The expense to the district to maintain such schools is illustrated by the following distribution of Hannibal's 41 Negro high school students in this year: freshmen, 4; sophomores, 5; juniors, 13; seniors, 19.

1901, the year that saw the creation of a 'college union' for the leading white colleges, largely for the purpose of exacting certain standards in preparation from the growing high schools, six more Negro high schools are recorded:

- Boonville with 34 students
- Fulton 29
- Hannibal 38
- Macon 12
- Marshall 15
- Springfield 39

In the next year the Negroes could boast of eleven high schools, with 672 students. It is interesting to note, how-

ever, that 468 of these students attended the two high schools in Kansas City and St. Louis; 204 attended the other schools in smaller localities.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Students</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Boonville</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chillicothe</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fulton</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hannibal</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lincoln</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louisiana</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Macon</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marshall</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sedalia</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Springfield</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Louis</td>
<td>295</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In four years, then, the number of high schools for Negroes increased from two to ten. This increase might be compared with a two year increase in the total number of high schools: 1904, 202; 1906, 430. Thus the high schools for whites were increased by 42 in two years. The Negroes, of course, could have the happy privilege of figuring their increases in geometrical progression. In the four year period they had doubled the number of their high schools once and were on the way to a second doubling; though statistics in the Commissioner's Report credited Missouri with an even greater feat. This source quotes the number of Negro high schools in Missouri as the second highest of any state maintaining separate schools. In one instance the number of high schools for Negroes is stated as twenty, with eleven of them.

being one teacher schools. In another instance Missouri is credited with twenty-one Negro high schools for the 1904-5 term.

Beginning with Fifty-Seventh Report the high schools of the state are graded into five classes. In 1906 they line up as follows: First, 63; Second, 71; Third, 97; Fourth, 90; and Fifth, 109. In 1907 (a year, incidentally, when the Superintendent pleaded for an increase of the school year to eight months, pointing out that more than 7,055 schools in Missouri met for less than an eight week term) the rating record had changed upward: First, 82; Second, 44; Third, 149; and Fourth, 58. In 1908, out of 100 First Class high schools listed there are no Negro institutions. Nor are Negro schools listed yet in Second or Third class, though, later in the same volume, Lincoln (K.C.) and Sumner (St. Louis) are listed as Class A.

37. Ibid., p. 1295.
38. P. 57.
40. Ibid., p. 25.
42. Ibid., p. 26.
43. Ibid., pp. 114-6.
Significantly again in 1909, when 34,741 students are listed as attending 414 high schools in the state, the Negroes are represented by six high schools with a student population of 790, only 120 of whom attend high school outside of St. Louis and Kansas City.

In 1910, when the high school population of the state was 36,810, the Negro high school population was still in the vicinity of 800. Yet, in 1912 Lincoln and Sumner were listed as First Class high schools, with the Negroes represented in this category for the first time. Progress was being made! The high schools in Hannibal and Springfield were listed as Second Class. But, more pertinent than these gains was the fact that Negro high schools in Higginsville, Lexington, Boonville, Chillicothe, Fulton, and Sedalia were listed as 'neither inspected nor classified'.

In 1912, too, as was mentioned above, the first picture of buildings, personnel, or activity associated with the Negroes' schools was included in the Reports. It was in this

45. Ibid., pp. 116-125.
47. Ibid., pp. 116-125.
49. Loc. cit.
50. Ibid., p. 73.
volume that the first list of Missouri high schools accredited by the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools was published. Happily, Sumner High School, the Negro's prize high school, in St. Louis, was included on the accredited list.

This recognition should have marked a turning point for the progress of Negro education in Missouri. Here an outside agency recognized that one of its schools, granted it was a large city school and not the run of the mill, was ranked with the best in the state! The next year finds 12 Negro schools listed among the 341 high schools in the state. Of these three ranked in the first class, two in the second. Seven were unvisited and, therefore, unclassified. In this same year, incidentally, the Report of the United States Commissioner recorded 156 high schools for Negroes, 15 of which were located in Missouri. This gave Missouri more Negro high schools than any other state with segregated schools save Texas.

51. Ibid., p. 79
54. Ibid., p. 492.
We have remarked previously concerning the relatively high degree of training characteristic of the Negro teachers in the state's high schools. We might, at this juncture, examine the comparative statistics in the better high schools, white and Negro. In 1914 the teachers in the schools on the secondary level in Missouri's two largest cities were paid as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Teachers</th>
<th>Monthly Pay Received</th>
<th>High School</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kansas City</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>5,460</td>
<td>Central</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>1,725</td>
<td>* Lincoln</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73</td>
<td>9,369</td>
<td>Manual Training</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>2,405</td>
<td>Northeast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>9,395</td>
<td>Westport</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Louis</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>12,489</td>
<td>Central</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>10,573</td>
<td>McKinley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td>12,010</td>
<td>Soldan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>3,448</td>
<td>* Sumner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>10,400</td>
<td>Yeatman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>* Negro</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examining the average monthly salaries in the St. Louis secondary school system, we see the following results:

Yeatman........$192 Average Pay Per Month
Central.......173
McKinley......165
Soldan.......160
Lincoln.......114

Even though some of the Negro teachers were at least as well trained as their white colleagues, they were paid, on the average, $46 per month per capita less than the lowest average monthly pay for teachers in the white high schools.

In the smaller schools the difference was even more noticeable. The two Negro high schools listed in the Second Class ranks employed teachers at from two-thirds to one-half of what the white high schools in the same town paid:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Average Salary (Monthly)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hannibal:</td>
<td>$87 white 56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>58 Negro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$105 white 58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Springfield:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>49 Negro</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Even if it be assumed that the Negro high school teachers in the smaller localities were not as well trained as were the Negro high school teachers in St. Louis and Kansas City, the differentiation in monthly salary is startling.

Small wonder that we can call this period the time of slow growth. Actually the high schools show us our advances. Total school enrollment in 1915 was only 28,632 Negro children as compared with 29,125 in 1886! The enumeration of Negro

children of school age had dropped from 45,930 in 1886 to
37,444 in 1915. Most significantly the number of teachers had
shifted from 720 in 1890 to 773 in 1915. There was a slow
and steady concentration and strengthening of Negro schools
developing the drop in enumeration and enrollment. Those Ne­
groes who were going to school were receiving better school­
ing and were being prepared to take up the fight for more and
better schools for all Negroes. And, most encouraging of all,
there were a dozen Negro high schools listed among the 653
which the state Department of Education recorded. And of
those Negro high schools which were visited and inspected for
classification all were given ratings, two as first class,
(Kansas City and St. Louis), one as second (Springfield) and
one as third (Chillicothe). Of the first two of these a
visiting inspector from the Bureau of Education remarked that
they were excellent schools. Of the Negro high school in
St. Louis he had the following high praise:

"In equipment, quality of work, and educational
opportunities offered, this school stands first
among the public high schools for colored people in
the United States."

The rest of Missouri's high schools remained unclassified as


61. Thomas Jesse Jones, Negro Education, Bulletin 1916,
No. 38, Bureau of Education, (Washington, Government

62. Ibid., p. 386.
the first world war and its aftermath brought renewed interest and activity to the forces that were struggling and had been struggling for forty long years, against the forces of inaction and neglect.
CHAPTER VI

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

In an interview with the investigator Professor J. D. Elliff once remarked that Missouri had no Negro schools to speak of before the administration of Superintendent of Schools Charles A. Lee; and, in many ways, the statement is true. If we may say that a Negro school system exists in the state, it is in part because of those men who struggled for it during the early years after the Civil War and because of the long and fruitful regime of Mr. Charles Lee.

Though the school system of Missouri had been making a long, slow up-hill pull in the direction of progress, conditions that existed during and directly after the first World War did not differ drastically in many details from the conditions we have seen to have existed after the Civil War. In St. Louis, once again, a heavy Negro migration had increased enrollment greatly only to lower the average daily attendance. The whole state of Missouri, in 1917, was appropriating less money for schools than was the state of Minnesota, though the latter had but half as many students enumerated. The District of Columbia, with 65,868 Negroes was appropriating $1,660,206.00 while Missouri, with 925,504 Negroes (both figures on popula-

tion taken from the school census) spent only $1,764,334.00.

The salary schedule of the teachers bespoke the nature of the school. Teachers in Missouri getting less than $360 per year numbered 12.2% of the total; 31.5% got less than $450 annually; and 75.5% got less than $500. Teacher training was still being done in the high schools more than any place else. Of the 20,667 teachers in Missouri in 1918, some 17,838 were possessed of mere high school training. Nearly 3,000 were without even such training. Of Missouri's 9,000 country school houses, 2,700 had open foundations, 1,800 were without drinking water, 7,000 were without cleaned wells, and 1,000 were without any toilet facilities. Missouri ranked with the states to the extreme South in such matters as length of school year, attendance, expenditures per child and per capita, number and condition of high schools, salaries of school personnel, and condition of school plant. Though she ranked seventh nationally in wealth, fifth in agriculture, third in hogs and corn, first in poultry and pure bred stock, she

ranked thirty-second in education. Her teachers were paid less, on the average, than were cleaners, scrubbers, house servants, and stenographers in Kansas City and St. Louis. 9

An eye witness of conditions in this period tells us of some of the Negro schools. He points to black paint on wooden walls used as blackboard. Some schools seated three students at the same desk; another had twenty-four students sitting at five long benches of hewn board. No desks were available. There was no source of water within 200 yards of one school. Teachers, with third grade certificates, got from $45.00 to $75.00 per month for teaching such schools. And to such schools Negroes in Missouri traveled from one to seven miles a day, with attendance quite regular, according to the testimony of whites. 10

Such conditions were certainly not indicative of a progressive state. And it was to such conditions that Superintendent Lee was heir when he came to the post at the head of the state's schools in 1923, though some credit must be given to his immediate predecessors who started the trend in the right direction. Uel Lamkin insisted on a raising of the

8. Ibid., p. 99.
9. Ibid., pp. 62-64.
salaries for teachers as one method of raising the standards in the state's schools. He stressed the great need for new organization and methods of administration. Sam Baker, the superintendent after Lamkin, and later to be Governor while Lee presided over the schools of the state, did much to awaken an interest in and support of education.

Twice, under the caption, "The New Education", Superintendent Baker tells of his conception of the nature and function of education:

"The dawn of a new era in education is awakening the interest of the people of our state. The actual principle upon which true education is based is beginning to receive visible recognition. The idea of practical helpfulness is creeping in everywhere... The new education dignifies labor... How beautiful it is that one of the main functions of the new education is to bring into sympathetic union all interests of life. The world is a school in which we are all fitted for an eternal useful service."

Here was a man of an idealistic turn of mind. Here was a man of the same stamp as those who had moulded the early schools, both for whites and Negroes, after the Civil War. Such an attitude as his implied that all schools would benefit from his care.

No mention of Negroes and Negro schools is made in the Report for 1919 when expenditures for teaching home economics and agriculture are listed. Nor do the County Superintendents, in their reports on the educational outlook and the general school conditions of Missouri, give a line to the Negro and his problems. A discussion of teacher-training high schools, in the 1920 Report, contains mention of no such institution for Negroes. But the year 1921, memorable because of the entrance of a Negro member into the State Legislative halls, finds action taken as far as the Negro and his education in Missouri is concerned. Kansas City's Lincoln trade school is mentioned for its work in carpentry and masonry. And, most important of all, the listing of personnel in the State Department of Education included, for the first time, an Inspector of Negro Schools, who could take his place along with the six white school inspectors. Mr. C. G. Williams was the first appointee to fulfill the requirements of House Bill No. 487, stipulating that an inspector should be appointed by the State Superintendent, under whose direction he was

15. Ibid., pp. 74-161.
17. Vide: Chapter VIII.
18. Seventy-Second Report, 1921, p. 27.
to inspect all Negro schools.

Additional favorable legislation, as far as schools for Negroes were concerned, was enacted by the same legislature under the heading of Senate Bill No. 63. This act authorized the establishment of high schools for colored children in all counties in the state having a population between one and two hundred thousand. Such counties were to provide for the out-of-county tuition of Negro students of high school age pending the building of the high school.

Such concern for the education of a minority was refreshing, but the suspicious will look for a cause. The reason for renewed interest in minority rights might well have had such a basis as Superintendent Baker expressed in one of his circular letters to county superintendents:

"May I also in this letter call your attention to the status of the colored people in this state. There are not as many colored schools as there should be and there are some school boards who feel that these people should not be given a school if it can possibly be avoided. But in self-defense, if for no other reason, my dear superintendents, should we not make every effort possible to educate the colored people who are among us? If they are not given the opportunities of education, we are confronted with the situation of having in our midst a great many illiterate individuals. Illiter-

21. Ibid., pp. 611-615.
acy, whether among the white or black races or any other races, breeds contempt for law and order and lays the foundations for anarchy and bolshevism. Let us plead with our boards to do justice to the colored man at least to comply with both the spirit and the word of the law. It is an experiment well worth trying. \(^{22}\)

Aside from the acknowledged contempt for law evidenced by the whites, this statement is interesting as a manifestation of a device still used effectively to secure ends.

Superintendent Baker was, perhaps, justified in the use of such techniques when we consider the work which he had before him to accomplish. Discrimination was an accepted practice in Missouri. Sedalia, with one of the three first class high schools for Negroes, paid its Negro teachers $783.00 per year in 1919-20, when it paid its white teachers in comparable schools $1,108.00. In 1920-21, when a Negro high school teacher got $986.00, a white teacher was getting $1,254.00. \(^{23}\) Negro grade school teachers in Hannibal made $457.00 per year in 1919-20 when a white teacher there was making $626.00. In 1920-21, when a Negro teacher was averaging $765.00 annually, the white teacher was getting $1,106.00. Hannibal high school teachers, Negro, earned $570.00 per year, average, in 1919-20, while white teachers averaged $917.00. In 1920-21 the Negro

\(^{22}\) Seventy-Second Report, 1921, p. 161.

\(^{23}\) Ibid., p. 156.
average salary was $922.00 for high school teachers; the average for white teachers was $1,350.00.

Part of this salary differentiation, in the rural areas much more than in the cities, could be blamed on the lack of training on the part of Negro teachers. In 1922, of 939 Negro teachers, 603 taught in city schools. And of the remainder, teaching in rural schools, 75% had had no professional training. Nor was the condition of the teacher the only problem with the rural Negro. He was largely responsible for the 18% illiteracy rate of the Missouri Negro, as opposed to the 2.2% rate for the white. Superintendent Baker, saying, "Proper education for the Negro is as essential to the race as right development is to the white race", goes on to point out another difficulty in the rural environment:

"The greatest defects in Negro education are found in the rural schools. The buildings are often unsatisfactory, unsightly, and inaccessible. They, by no means, provide for the physical comfort and general welfare of the children. Many times the toilets are in bad condition and good teaching is exceedingly difficult on account of inadequate equipment."

But the greatest problem concomitant with the dual system of education was brought on by the sparsity of the Negro population. In Missouri, 44,074 Negroes were still rural.

There were 19 counties with less than 5 Negroes; 10 with fewer than 15; 9 with fewer than 50; and 8 with less than 100; making 36 counties in total with less than 100 Negroes.

With less than 15 Negro students enumerated in a school district, there could be no school for Negroes. With seven high schools for Negroes listed in 1922 there could have been little chance for a Negro to gain a secondary education. The Report of the Superintendent tells us that, given twenty-eight new Negro high schools, 60% of the Negro students would have a chance to get a high school education.

The picture had, as do most, its rosier side. The number of Negro teachers was increasing. There was an increase of 6,443 students in Negro schools in 1921-22. Lincoln High School in Kansas City and Sumner in St. Louis were accredited by the North Central Association. The number of first class Negro high schools had increased 60% in a year.

With these conditions the administration of Mr. Charles A. Lee was ushered in. His Inspector of Negro Schools, N. C. Bruce, reported in 1923:

"As yet no Negro vocational schools in county sections have been started for Negroes, but vocational as well as mental education is gaining in

25. Seventy-Third Report, 1922, pp. 32-34, is the source of the material in this paragraph and in the three which precede it.
extension and efficiency all over the state in white rural Missouri.  

He pointed to a new school house in Chariton County, a new $20,000.00 school at Fayette, improved schools for Negroes at St. Joseph, Vandalia, Bowling Green. He outlined his conception of his duties as being to assist, improve, and 'help raise the scale and standard of Negro public education and standardize the same'. As a part of his duty he presented a list of enumeration and enrollment statistics, by counties, a compilation which may be of interest here because of the light it sheds upon the problem of rural education for a scattered minority. An unselected portion follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>Negro Enumeration</th>
<th>Negro Enrollment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adair</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andrew</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atchison</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Audrain</td>
<td>514</td>
<td>321</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barry</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barton</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bates</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benton</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bollinger</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boone</td>
<td>834</td>
<td>829</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buchanan</td>
<td>889</td>
<td>696</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Butler</td>
<td>570</td>
<td>307</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caldwell</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Callaway</td>
<td>739</td>
<td>537</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Camden</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cape Girardeau</td>
<td>440</td>
<td>378</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carroll</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carter</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

26. Seventy-Fourth Report, 1923, p. 108-9. This is also the source of the material in the following paragraph.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>Negro Enumeration</th>
<th>Negro Enrollment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cass</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cedar</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chariton</td>
<td>587</td>
<td>707</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clark</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clay</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clinton</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>265</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooper</td>
<td>648</td>
<td>487</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crawford</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dekalb</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dallas</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Davie</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DeKalb</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dent</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Douglas</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dunklin</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Franklin</td>
<td>311</td>
<td>221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gasconade</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gentry</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greene</td>
<td>514</td>
<td>429</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grundy</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harrison</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hickory</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holt</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Howard</td>
<td>560</td>
<td>560</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Howell</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iron</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jackson</td>
<td>12,353</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jasper</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jefferson</td>
<td>273</td>
<td>293</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Johnson</td>
<td>244</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knox</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LaSalle</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lafayette</td>
<td>771</td>
<td>430</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lawrence</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lewis</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lincoln</td>
<td>278</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linn</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Livingston</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of the 46 Negro schools which Bruce visited in 81 counties, he classified 3 as excellent, 15 as good, 4 as fair,
6 as poor, 7 as bad, and one he called 'condemned'. He found one school meeting in a log cabin, another holding its classes in a church building. Of the schools visited 26 claimed libraries, averaging, from their reports, 195 volumes. Only seven of the schools answered 'Yes' to the query as to whether they had domestic and manual training.

Bruce, too, found the greatest problem in the education of Missouri's Negroes to be bound up with the sparsity of settlement of her Negro population; but he struck another note, one that runs through the whole history of Missouri's schools when he said:

"Six Missouri counties have no Negro persons at all, sixteen other counties have less than ten, forty counties have only seven-hundred Negro population, with 243 children in groups from 1 to 6, 12 and 14, not enough for the legal 15 for starting a colored school. Neither, in many counties, do the boards of education feel financially able to run two public schools. Missouri's poor school districts cannot maintain separate race schools except at great disparity and inequality."

Missouri was just not wealthy enough to maintain the two separate systems successfully, especially where the percentage of Negroes was very small.

"Still in many places where schools for colored children are opened, the location, sanitation, equipment, and bare chances for playgrounds, the small pay and inefficiency of such teachers as can be obtained are such that the conditions must be improved, if these people are to be encouraged to remain where they can do Missouri and themselves the most good -- out in the country where they are." 29

More specifically, concerning the salaries and training of rural teachers, Bruce remarked that some of them were being paid as little as $20.00 per month. Eighty-five per cent of them had had no professional training, but this could be blamed mostly on the fact that no teacher-training was available for them. Though the period from 1916 to 1923 saw, annually, from 2,000 to 3,000 teachers granted certificates, varying from 30 hour to life, by the certifying agencies, the following represented the certificates issued to Negro trainees in that same period:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agency</th>
<th>Type of Certificate</th>
<th>1916</th>
<th>1917</th>
<th>1918</th>
<th>1919</th>
<th>1920</th>
<th>1921</th>
<th>1922</th>
<th>1923</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lincoln University</td>
<td>A.B., B.S.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>90 hour</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>60 hour</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>28</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sumner</td>
<td>60 hour</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>45</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Small wonder that in 1924 there were 18,525 illiterate Negroes in Missouri and that 1,343 were between the ages of 10 and 20.

29. Loc. cit.
Small wonder, too, that Superintendent Lee, in an effort to secure more teachers with even a meagre training, would approve Western College for three-year certificating privileges.

It must be remembered, here, that many signs were favorable as far as Negro education was concerned. For the first time in many years the questions were being brought up in the Reports of the Superintendent. An Inspector for the Negro schools had been appointed. Two of the Negro high schools had been approved by the North Central Association. In 1924 there were 37 high schools for Negroes in the state; out of 829 high schools of all descriptions. Eight of these were first class, 4 second, 4 third, and 21 unclassified. It should be noted that Lincoln University High School was accredited by the state for the first time in this year.

The legislature soon undertook to relieve some of the distress caused by untrained teachers who had no opportunity to study. $15,000 was appropriated for Negro summer schools for a two-year period and five such schools were established at St. Joseph, Hannibal, Cape Girardeau, New Madrid, Springfield. We may assume that each school was run on its share

33. Correspondence, Charles A. Lee to Clement Richardson, January 1, 1926, available in the office of the President, Western College.
34. Ibid., pp. 195-6.
of the $7500.00 annual appropriation, giving each school $1,500.00 for its expenses. With the number of Negro teachers in the state happily increasing to approximately 1,500 there was a crying need for teacher training agencies more adequately financed than this.

In special work, such as Farm Demonstration, more attention to the Negro's needs was desirable. The first report from a Negro Farm Demonstration agent showed that 97 communities were carrying on extension work, but listed only 140 boys and girls reached in such club work and but 131 homes visited in conducting extension work. Here again, however, the fact that one Negro worker, whether in Demonstration or as School Inspector, had to cover the same territory covered by ten or a dozen white workers made for extreme difficulties. The fact that more than 40 counties listed less than 100 Negroes in their school enumeration is indicative of the spread of the Negro worker's task. No wonder Mr. Bruce called for assistance! But neither his call nor the call of his successors, down through the King administration and the end of our study, was to be heard. Doxie Wilkerson, as late as 1939, reports

36. Loc. cit.
37. Ibid., p. 127.
38. Ibid., pp. 121-3.
that the whites in Missouri had 202 farm demonstration agents, home demonstration agents, and the like, while the Negroes had none. The Negroes got nothing, while the whites had $746,659.00 spent on them for such education.

The period directly preceding the depression was so ripe with promise, based on an accurate analysis of the situation, that it is tempting to speculate what might have happened had not the depression stopped many plans. During this period Mr. N. B. Young, competent former president of Lincoln, replaced Mr. Bruce as Inspector of the Negro Schools. Significantly, too, it was in this period that 'Negro' was spelled with the capital for the first time in the history of Missouri Reports. The Seventy-Eighth Report presented the hitherto unheard of, three full pages of pictures of activities in Negro schools.

But larger trends than this were noticeable. There were 46 Negro high schools to be listed beside the 900 white. Negro Junior High Schools were started at Jefferson City, Webster

41. Ibid., p. 119.
43. Ibid., pp. 146-7.
44. Ibid., unnumbered, between pp. 146-7.
Groves, Charleston, and Joplin. The high school at Lincoln University was accredited by the North Central Association. In the whole state there were 600 Negro schools, 10 of which were listed as first class high schools, 63 others of which were attempting some sort of high school work.

Thus it was that the inspector could say:

"And so, after all, Missouri remains imperial and in the lead where she belongs and her Negro citizens only need to wake up and work and stand up for Missouri justice and fair play in matters educational as well as for civic and economic justice."

Though, as he had said previously:

"Some we visited had 76, 88, 95, 108, 137 in one room with one teacher. Teachers are paid $40.00 to $60.00 a month and do the janitor work."

In this period, too, the Negro schools were able to take advantage of the Smith-Hughes Act, giving Federal aid to schools for vocational education in agriculture and home economics. Money was granted for the hiring of four qualified teachers, two in each field. The next year four high

47. Seventy-Eighth Report, 1926-7, p. 147.
49. Loc. cit.
50. Seventy-Seventh Report, 1925-6, p. 131.
A few paragraphs from Mr. Young's report for 1927-8 will serve here to summarize the situation:

Missouri makes adequate provision for the elementary and secondary training for about fifty per cent of her Negro children. For the remaining fifty per cent she makes provisions ranging from fair to none at all. By adequate is meant equal to those offered the white children of the same district as required by law.

There are only four North Central High Schools for Negroes in Missouri and three of them are in the major metropolitan districts where about fifty per cent of the children of school age live. There are only five four-year high schools accredited by the State Department of Education for Negroes, and they are located in minor metropolitan districts in which about one-fourth of the Negro children live. For all others, there are only four schools doing a modicum of accredited high school work. About one-fourth of all Negro children in the state live in areas where no high school opportunity is offered. There should be legislation to meet this situation.

A special appeal for educational relief comes from the cotton belt section of the state, ranging from Cape Girardeau south to Arkansas. In that area, where ten thousand Negro children live, there is not a high school for them and practically no elementary school properly housed, taught, and well kept. The situation in that section is simply deplorable.

To help this unfortunate situation, there should be established in that section a vocational secondary school for Negroes. Lincoln University is too far away to be of any substantial assistance to them. The cry from that section is really Macedonian in its urgency. The reply to it ought to be prompt and unstinted.


The cause of much of this inadequacy in Negro education, as Superintendents and Negro Inspectors had said again and again, lay in the nature and size of the Negro population itself. The Negro was becoming increasingly urban. The Negroes who remained in the rural areas suffered from their isolation. Statistics on Negro population by counties for five year periods from 1900 to 1930 indicate the nature of the problem:

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### Negroes Enumerated

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With these figures compare the following from the same source:
Here we may observe that the Negro was moving to the
more urban areas; there was also a strong influx into the
boot-heel area in Southeast Missouri as an aftermath of the
World War and the increased tendency toward raising cotton in
those counties.

A cursory glance at the figures above would indicate
several of the persisting difficulties standing in the way of
the development of education in Missouri, whether for Negro or
for white. As of 1930, twenty-six of the counties enumerating
Negro children had less than 50 potential Negro students; six­
ten of these had less than 25. Another seven counties had
between 50 and 100 Negroes enumerated. Eight counties had be­
tween 100 and 200 Negroes enumerated. In all, forty-five coun­
ties having Negroes enumerated had less than 500 Negroes listed.

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</table>

Here we may observe that the Negro was moving to the
Moreover, the tendency in such counties as Caldwell, DeKalb, Bates, Daviess, Grundy, Dade, St. Francois, and Osage for the Negro enumeration to drop over a period of thirty years from the hundreds to the tens must have been disconcerting as far as school boards were concerned. Such decreases might well have raised the hopes of many that their counties were following in the paths of Oregon, Dent, Polk, Clark, Mercer, Scotland, Wayne, Christian, Vernon, and others, where the gradual decline in the Negro enumeration had ultimately relieved the board of the responsibility of Negro schools. At any rate, the relative decline in counties where the Negro school population showed a decrease of fifty per cent or thereabouts over a thirty-year period could not help but give boards of education pause for thought before they went about planning substantial permanent measures for the education of Negroes under their jurisdiction. A county like, say, Buchanan, with 2,199 Negroes in 1900 and with a steady decrease to 738 Negroes in 1930 would tend to look at abandoned facilities, wonder what the next thirty years would bring in the way of further decline in Negro school population, and then wait.

Basically it is this same problem which hinders the financial development of Missouri's schools today. Whereas it might well be feasible to have a separate college for Negroes, separate graduate and professional schools are, in view of the
number of Negroes within the state, economically unsound. Likewise, though Mississippi, New Madrid, and Pemiscott counties might, because of the number of Negroes enumerated, be able to run a dual school system efficiently and economically, the great majority of counties in Missouri can not do so. That many of them find it a difficult task, the new state constitution of 1944 recognized in part when, instead of adhering to the old statement that Negroes and whites shall not be educated together, it says that they shall be educated separately, unless otherwise provided for by law, leaving the possibility open for counties with small numbers of Negroes to ask for legislation in their own interests so that these be educated with the white students.

To return to the administration of Mr. Lee and his efforts to bring relief to the Negroes in their striving for education, it must be noted that the depression struck harder at the Negro schools than at the white. In spite of the fact that Inspector of the Negro Schools in Missouri, Rebecca E. Davis, could report that "Missouri began her first intensive educational program for Negroes in 1929", Negro education receives less attention from 1929 on than it had during the first seven years of Lee's administration. But before the depression had struck Mr. Lee had made provisions for a few.

significant far-sighted measures on the basis of which, had not the economic upset occurred, the state of Missouri might have gone on toward better schools for both Negroes and whites.

The first of these measures was the survey of the public schools and higher institutions of the state undertaken by the Division of Field Studies, Institute of Educational Research, Teachers College, Columbia, under the direction of George D. Strayer and N. L. Englehardt. In analyzing the educational problems of the state and giving recommendations as to procedures for improving the whole educational system, the investigators touched on the Negro school system. The following is a general introductory statement of their position in the matter:

"The education of Negroes outside of the cities and towns of Missouri has been neglected. Acknowledgment of the responsibility for providing schools for the Negro population is contained in the enactment of the last Legislature which provides that a school for colored children shall be established wherever there are eight such children of school age in the district. This provision should be enforced by the state office of education. The problems of providing education for colored children and youth in Missouri must be solved by the cooperation of representatives of both races. The work already done in the urban centers is an indication of the willingness of the dominant race to provide for the education of the colored population."

Looking at the condition of the existing education for Negroes the investigators noted that the same proportion of

57. Eightieth Report, 1928-29, p. 21
enumerated whites and Negroes were enrolled in 1928 and 1929. In the high school classification, however, 1 out of every 4.3 whites from elementary schools were found to go on, whereas only 1 of every 5.7 Negroes continued his education in the secondary schools, a condition due at least in part to the fact that 17.8 percent of Missouri's Negroes of high school age lived in counties where the four-year high school course was not available. Of the elementary school Negro enrollees 46% were in Kansas City and St. Louis schools. Of the high school Negro enrollees 84% were found in those two cities. Half of the high school age Negro population lived outside of the cities, where 84% of the Negro high school educational opportunities were available.

At this juncture we must turn to the Strayer-Englehardt report itself:

In St. Louis and Kansas City educational opportunities for Negro children are relatively adequate. At least they compare favorably with the educational opportunities provided for white children in those cities. In those cities salary schedules, professional requirements for teachers, educational facilities provided, and courses of instruction offered are the same for white and Negro schools. Such differentiations as exist are due entirely to an effort to adapt the character of the educational offering to the needs of the pupils. Equality of educational opportunity as between the two races is maintained both in theory and in practice in these large centers.

59. Eightieth Report, 1928-29, p. 34.
Approximately one-fourth of the total Negro population of the state lives in the smaller cities and villages. Educational opportunities in these centers although not nearly so adequate as in St. Louis and Kansas City, are nevertheless, tolerable in comparison with the very meager educational offerings for white children in the same communities. State and local school officials, in discussing the situation, frankly admit that the Negro schools are not satisfactory, but they invariably point to the conditions of the white schools. They argue that a very large proportion of the school revenue is derived from taxes paid by white property owners; that this revenue is not sufficient to provide adequate educational facilities for their own children. How then, they ask, can they be expected to provide better educational facilities for Negro children?

This argument seems well nigh unanswerable to those who are accustomed to thinking of education as a purely local enterprise, supported entirely or almost entirely, by local property taxes. The same arguments, with a few changes, might be used with equal propriety against the support of the State School for the Deaf at Fulton and other state institutions. The answer to these arguments is to be found in the concept of the state's responsibility for the support of education.....

With approximately one-half of the Negro school enrollment provided for reasonably well in the two large cities, and one-fourth tolerably well in the smaller cities and villages, there remain one-fourth of the enrollment to be considered. Almost 10,000 Negro children are attending rural one-room schools in the state.

In these schools, if they may be so called, educational opportunities are practically non-existent. The typical school is in operation for about six months a year. The teacher, usually a young and immature girl, has had little if any training above high school and frequently not so much. The building is usually a miserable shack totally unfit for human habitation. Textbooks and reference books are scarce and usually dilapidated. They are unsanitary, totally unattractive, and generally unsuitable.
Supplementary materials of instruction are almost if not entirely lacking. Supervision in the sense of helpful and constructive leadership is entirely lacking. In none of the rural schools visited by members of the survey was there any evidence of an effective educational program. Under such circumstances, the pronounced drift of the Negro population away from the farm to the city is quite understandable.

Although the percentage of Negro children in the state is rather small (about five and one-half percent) the problem of providing an effective educational program for them is difficult for a variety of reasons. In the first place, the state Constitution provides that separate schools shall be established and maintained for the two races. In states in which the proportion of Negro children is large, the maintenance of separate schools for the two races presents no great practical problem. But in a border-line state such as Missouri this provision, however desirable it may be for other reasons, complicates the problem of providing adequate school facilities at a reasonable cost.

Strictly speaking, Missouri has no program for the education of Negro children.60

As steps toward the solution of the difficulties here presented the Strayer-Englehardt Survey recommended a thorough study of the data on existing Negro schools, increased facilities for the training of Negro teachers, an emphasis on vocational education in the secondary schools, a larger staff of Negro supervisors, and a more equitable distribution of school funds by local school authorities.

61. Ibid., pp. 123-4.
A second step taken by the Lee administration before it left office and before the advent of the depression had made the full development of plans improbable was a county by county survey of education as it existed, complete with recommendation for the fullest, most satisfactory development of the individual counties. Under provisions laid down by the legislature county superintendents called meetings of the presidents and clerks of the school boards of each school district to consider redistricting the fifty-seven-year-old divisions. The county superintendent and the Survey Staff of the State Department of Education had prepared careful studies of each county, together with plans for redistricting. Consolidation, reorganization, and a greater overall efficiency was the end in view.

Although most of these analyses and plans for reorganization failed to include consideration of the problem of Negro education, some of those counties, usually where the education of the Negro loomed large, did give this problem some thought. From our point of view the discussion accorded this phase of Missouri's educational problem was interesting and valuable.

In the discussion of Pemiscott County, where an increase of 1100 per cent of the Negro school population had been experienced in the previous thirty years, a supplement concerning the Negro schools was added to the discussion of white
schools. Forty-six teachers were employed in her thirty-seven schools, holding from two to nine months per year. Redistricting so that fewer and larger schools could be provided was advised by the investigators, who remarked, "It must be borne in mind that the problem of educating more than 2000 Negro children is both a large one and a recent one, and cannot be solved in a day."

In Scott County the investigators found the condition of Negro schools less happy than those in Pemiscott. "There is little or no equipment in the Negro schools....Textbooks are in poor condition; heating, lighting, and ventilation are of unapproved types; and in many cases the buildings are in extremely poor repair." Education up to the fourth grade, an extreme minimum, was the rule in the county. No high school facilities were available for the 190 Negro children of high school age enumerated in the county. Said the investigators, ".....it behooves the people of the county to provide satisfactory educational conditions for these children", and they recommended the establishment of redistricted elementary schools and two high schools, one at Benton and one at Sikesston.

63. Supplement to Eighty-Third Report, Number 15, pp. 22-3.
New Madrid County, with an increase of 140.6 per cent in her Negro population in the preceding thirty years, was shown to house 74.6 per cent of her Negro students in 26 one-room schools, with an average of 45 students. "It is evident," said the investigators, "that New Madrid County is making some effort to care for the Negro children, but many schools are in poor condition. In general, school buildings are in poor repair, equipment is lacking, and the general surroundings of the schools are unwholesome and insanitary."

Of the twenty-four schools for Negroes in Mississippi County twenty-two were one-room, ranging in attendance from 4 to 100. The investigators thought that, when the new high school building in Charleston was finished, construction supported by the Charleston Board of Education, the State Department, the General Education Board, and the Julius Rosenwald Fund, the secondary school problem in the county would have been solved.

It might be remarked pertinently here that, as has been mentioned previously, the philanthropic agencies, private or religious, have not helped greatly in the Missouri situation, perhaps because of the small percentage of Negroes in Missouri as compared with more southern states. Three Jeans teachers

have aided with the influx of Negroes to schools in Mississippi, New Madrid, and Pemiscott Counties. But the fact that Leavell mentions Missouri neither in his texts nor his tables is vindicated by examination of the records of philanthropic agencies. Of 5,357 buildings erected in the United States with Rosenwald aid Missouri got 4. Of $28,408,520.00 spent by that agency, Missouri got $257,959.00. The Slater Fund came to Missouri with aid first in 1931, helping the Negro school in Charleston. In 1933 Missouri received $1,000.00 from this source for schools in Poplar Bluff and Charleston. In 1934 Missouri got $800.00 for Dalton, Poplar Bluff, and Charleston. For the years from 1882 to 1935 Missouri received but $3,600.00 total gifts from this great fund. Truly, we can say that Missouri solved her problem, as it is solved, both in the southeast problem spot and in the state as a whole.

66. *Four Years of Progress with Missouri Schools for Negroes*, 1939, p. 23.


In connection with such counties as Boone, Lewis, Chariton, Randolph, Marion, Pike, further suggestions for consolidation and redistricting were made by the investigators. But it is pertinent to notice that this state group, without the objectivity of an outside agency, did not hit the crux of the situation as did the Strayer-Englehardt Report. The county Supplements mention the Negro when he represents a considerable part of the population but fails to take him into consideration when he is a mere five percent or less of the school population. It must be remembered that most Missouri counties have very few Negroes. It is their very paucity that makes their education so difficult and expensive when attempted separately.

Consolidation such as recommended in the county analyses was dependent upon transportation. Yet the Eighty-Fourth Report indicates that only 800 Negroes were being transported to and from school, and this transportation was almost entirely for elementary school pupils. The Superintendent recommended this procedure, transportation, as 'less expensive... than to maintain a school for them'. The Superintendent was out to get the job done, and if he couldn't do it one way he was ready to try another.

The Report for 1934, the Eighty-Fifth, brought to a close the long administration of Mr. Charles A. Lee. Even the most cursory examination of this Report and a comparison of it with its predecessors twelve to fifteen or twenty years earlier would reveal what a difference this one long administration had made in the history of education in Missouri. In the matter of Negro education the same progress held true.

Still unabashed at revealing the truth as a first step to remedying a situation, the Superintendent began his final discussion of Negro education with the statement that those who can offer the least resistance suffer the greatest in time of crisis or depression. He realized, and asserted once more, that much of the trouble and difficulty in Missouri stemmed from trying to offer equal facilities to 6.3% of the population. A compilation of statistics to indicate the trend in Missouri revealed the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Negro Pop. in Mo.</th>
<th>Enrollment in Negro Schools</th>
<th>Negro Teachers in Missouri</th>
<th>Number of Negro High Schools</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>161,000</td>
<td>15,000</td>
<td>385</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td></td>
<td>32,000</td>
<td>710</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>157,000</td>
<td>29,000</td>
<td>782</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td></td>
<td>28,000</td>
<td>773</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>178,000</td>
<td>26,000</td>
<td>850</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td></td>
<td>41,000</td>
<td>1,148</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>224,000</td>
<td>32,000</td>
<td>1,112</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

74. Ibid., pp. 270-1.
Outside observers of progress in Missouri's education for Negroes rated Mr. Lee's achievements high. C. S. Johnson commented on the declining low illiteracy rate in the state. Horace Mann Bond congratulated the state on its attempt to cope with the education of the influx of Negroes to the cotton counties. And Carter Woodson, in his castigation of Negro education in America, paused to give this laurel to St. Louis in particular: "St. Louis is one of the few places where the effort is made to study the Negro in the public schools."

Mr. Lee's successor was Mr. Lloyd W. King. His appointee for Negro School Supervisor was Mr. E. O. Boone. Between them they presented in their preliminary Report the identical report printed in the Eighty-Fifth Report the year before. In the Eighty-Seventh Report the same material was again reprinted, this time with the inclusion of three paragraphs explaining the following additions to the tables first


78. Ibid., pp. 52-55.
These gains are certainly to be lauded.

In 1937 Superintendent King rearranged the Department of Education into Divisions: High School Supervision, Rural School Supervision, School Building Service, Finance, Statistics and Information, Curriculum and Research, Vocational Agriculture, Home Economics, Trades and Industries, Rehabilitation, Special Services, Negro Education, Mailing, and Janitor, in the order named. The Division of High-School Supervision was composed of a Director, five Supervisors, and a Clerk. The Division of Rehabilitation had a Supervisor, an Assistant, four Case Workers, four Secretaries. The Division of Negro Education had Mr. R. L. Wiggins, the new Supervisor of Negro Schools.

Of course this very limited staff in the 'Negro Division' could well be justified. There could be no separate 'division'

for Negroes. Nearly all the other divisions had to concern themselves with the education of Negroes as well as of whites. There could be no more 'Negro Division' under the new set-up than there could be a 'white division'.

Continued progress was being maintained by the schools for Negroes. Enrollment was up to 46,012; the number of Negro teachers was up to 1,401; Negro high schools, 62. Of the latter seven were accredited by the North Central Association. Vocational home economics courses were offered in 8 high schools, vocational agriculture in 3. Four high schools offered trade and industries courses; nine offered commercial courses. Considering the size of the Negro school population, and considering that these specialized courses were given in a few schools, often urban, the activities here outlined are encouraging, but they are hardly sufficient. The State Department, however, promised more and better things:

(1) an outline for the study of Negro History which will be available to the public schools of Missouri; (2) the collection of essential facts with reference to the problems of Negro education in Missouri; and (3) cooperation with Negro educators and laymen in an effort to set up a comprehensive program for Negro education in the state.


Two other references to Negroes are of interest. First the Division of Vocational Education reports 'The training of Negro domestic workers has been stressed'. Second, The National Youth Administration was devoting some of its attention to the question of education for the Negro. The Negro, six per cent of Missouri's population, got seven per cent of the N.Y.A. funds allotted the state. On the basis of population figures this was a just distribution; on the basis of comparative need it might not have been.

Apparent; the State Department made its three-point plan in the best of faith. The Eighty-Ninth Report, in its splendid new format, quarto instead of the old octavo, double columned with inset heads, and professionally illustrated, outlined imposing plans for the future of Negro education in Missouri. To begin with, the Negro Supervisor now had a secretary. Further, organization of a survey staff, composed of the Negro Supervisor had twelve full time people lent to the Department of Education for one year by the Works Progress Administration, was fully outlined, with Lincoln Univer-

83. Ibid., p. 86.
84. Ibid., p. 89.
85. Doxey Wilkerson, op. cit., p. 142.
87. Ibid., p. 7.
sity, Missouri State Association of Negro Teachers, and the State Department Cooperating at the top. Responsible to these three were the Negro Director and his Survey Staff. Also responsible were the 20 members of a Fact Finding Committee, whose Executive Committee supervised both the Regional Directors, under whom were the schools themselves, and an Advisory Board, under whom were the District and County Associations. Truly this was an imposing organization.

Illustrating graphically the trends in Negro education in the state, the Superintendent submitted five pages of maps, charts, and graphs. The map indicating the distribution of elementary and high school buildings for Negroes showed 36 counties with no such schools, 29 additional counties with grammar school but no high school. The rural schools were heaviest in the boot-heel counties: Pemiscott, New Madrid, Mississippi, and Stoddard, with a second lesser congestion along the Missouri River, in St. Louis, St. Charles, Callaway, Boone, Cooper, Saline, and Chariton in particular.

An enrollment of 46,565, a total of 1,429 teachers, and a list of 65 high schools, 17 of which were first class, showed

88. Ibid., p. 51.
89. Ibid., p. 52.
90. Ibid., p. 53.
continuing progress in Negro education. The average annual salary of Negro teachers outside St. Louis and Kansas City had also risen. Men were averaging $966.00 annually in 1938, women $703.00. Where the salaries of Negro high school teachers ranged from $4,000.00 to $675.00 annually, those of white teachers ranged from $4,000.00 to $1,400.00. The top range was equalized only through the inclusion of St. Louis in the statistics. Where the white teacher of high schools in the state received a minimum salary of from $1600.00 to $712.00, the Negro received from $1600.00 to $617.00, again with the top levels equalized by St. Louis. No white high school principal earned less than $2,000 per year. But eleven out of fifteen cities paid Negro high school principals less than $2,000, with $1,080 the lowest figure paid. Likewise, disparity was evidenced in all but the two largest cities when the salaries of elementary teachers were analyzed. In some instances the average salary of white elementary school teachers was three times the average salary of Negro teachers in a locality.

91. Ibid., p. 54.
93. Ibid., No. 2, 1931, Tables II and III.
Only 1% of the Negro students, one in each hundred, did not have available school facilities. Certainly, this much is obvious: Mr. King was inclined to stress the positive, in striking graphic form, rather than the negative. There is a need for stressing the 5,000 Negroes still without school facilities rather than the 99% with such facilities.

But many things, it must be granted, were being done under the new administration. With the help of the University of Missouri, the State Department had started extension work in 1937, with an agent assigned to Mississippi, New Madrid, and Pemiscott Counties, organizing home economics clubs for women and 4-H Clubs for boys and girls.

In 1939 most of the information presented in the Report for 1938 was gathered in a booklet entitled Four Years of Progress With Missouri Public Schools for the Negro. This booklet showed further how the State Department was attempting to cope with the problem of the education of the large numbers of Negroes in Southeast Missouri. With Lincoln University, the Department sponsored a six-weeks summer school at Caruthersville, attempting to train the teachers on the spot. The following are some of the statistics on enrollment and faculty:

95. Ibid., p. 54.
96. P. 22.
Year | Number enrolled | Faculty | Furnished
|-----|----------------|---------|---------|
|     | High School | College | Total  | Lincoln | State Dept.
| 1933 | 60          | 4       | 64     | 4       | 1
| 1934 | 23          | 68      | 91     | 3       | 2
| 1935 | 35          | 33      | 88     | 5       | 2
| 1936 | 17          | 58      | 75     | 2       | 3
| 1937 | 13          | 58      | 71     | 3       | 4
| 1938 | 21          | 60      | 81     | 4       | 3

Of interest in this same booklet were quotations from President Franklin D. Roosevelt and Secretary Of the Interior Harold L. Ickes urging the education of Negroes. These were accompanied by a statement of objectives in the education of Negroes, reprinted from a statement by the National Conference on Fundamental Problems in the Education of Negroes. This list called for adequate and available education of the Negro in terms of equipment, length of year, number and competency of teachers, and curriculum offerings. It stressed larger participation by competent Negroes in matters of administration; it asked for fairer distribution of school monies. And it ended with the statement, "Discouragement of and opposition to the extension of segregated schools". This was an attitude not expressed or reprinted in a Report since the first five years after the Civil War.

On the Missouri scene another of the Department's objectives took the shape of reality when a tentative outline of a

course in Negro History was completed. This is presented in a typically flamboyant fashion in *Four Years of Progress*. On a half-page table, headed 'Status of Negro History in Other States' the forty-eight states are listed and after each is a 'No', indicating that they have no such course included in a separate course of study. After Missouri appeared the words 'Preparing one'. Nine footnotes told us that, in reality, nine other states had such courses handled in a somewhat different fashion.

Whether the four-point program of the King Administration bore fruit in actuality is a matter for the contemporary sociologist and educational analyst of today, not a matter for an historian. Certainly the last years of our study, 1939 and 1940, gave evidence that, as far as gathering evidence and publicizing it were concerned, Mr. King was building upon the long preparatory work done by his predecessor, Mr. Lee. Mr. King himself had said,

"It is hoped that in a year or two recommendation of steps for the improvement of Negro education can be offered to all districts in the state in which Negro schools are or should be maintained."

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99. *Four Years of Progress With Missouri Public Schools for Negroes*, p. 11.

100. Nineteenth Report, 1939, p. 15.
Partly to accomplish this he had appointed a forty-two man Advisory Committee on Negro Education. But the booklet, *Four Years of Progress* showed this juxtaposition of materials. Under the title 'Vocational Agriculture', for the year 1938, the school at Dalton, with one teacher and 41 boys and 30 adults as students, is the only one listed, though a footnote tells us that Vocational Agriculture was also offered at Charleston and New Madrid. It might be added, parenthetically, that, as late as 1945 an authority states,

"The data presented in this study suggests the need for an extensive program of vocational education for rural Negroes of Missouri. At present this vocational program is very limited in scope and operation. For example, there are only two departments of Vocational Agriculture to serve the needs of the entire rural population of Missouri."  

Under 'Opportunities for Vocational Trades and Industrial Education' are listed 8 schools, 4 in the Kansas City and St. Louis areas; 2 of the remaining are only part-time. Two offer complete curricula; 3 others offer only maid training; and a fourth offers building trades and maid training.

102. Four Years of Progress with Missouri Public Schools for Negros, p. 34.
104. Ibid., p. 37.
Against this should be placed the following words from the State Superintendent:

"As long as there is one Negro child without opportunity or facilities for an education, Missouri has an obligation to fulfill.

The state, while making commendable progress in affording training centers for teachers in service, more available school funds, and lower tax rates, should be satisfied that school funds are expended justly and efficiently, and local school districts do not shirk their financial obligations to finance their schools."105

The important question is this: given a minority of little better than six per cent, with two-thirds of this centralized in two larger and several smaller metropolitan districts, can any State Superintendent of Schools offer to the remaining third, scattered through some thirty counties, an education comparable to that offered the white majority in the same territory? Regardless of graphs, columns of figures, or dramatic pictorial presentation, the problem of Missouri's educational system remains unsolved while a small sector of the Negro minority remains thinly scattered over a wide area or, from another point of view, while segregated schools remain in these regions.

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105. Ibid., p. 12.
CHAPTER VII

THE CHURCH RELATED COLLEGES

For reasons not beyond imagining, the philanthropic agencies at the root and origin of the Negro colleges which sprang up in the South after the Civil War did not subsidize the beginnings of church related colleges for Negroes in Missouri. More than likely such church agencies, as well as the Slater Fund, the Rosenwald Fund, and other private agencies, considered the Negro minority in Missouri of less importance in their scheme of philanthropic subsidization. A population only six per cent Negro presented nowhere near the field for their efforts that a population fifty per cent Negro did. The philanthropy went where the need was the greatest, where the money could do the most good for the most people.

It is not strange, then, that one of the two attempts at colleges for Negroes in Missouri, as well as the State University at Jefferson City, was started through the efforts of the Negro citizenry itself. The Western College, at Independence, Macon, and then Kansas City, owes its existence to Negro diligence, if not its continued existence to Negro philanthropy. Only the George R. Smith College, formerly at Sedalia, was indebted to white philanthropy, and this came primarily and initially from within the state of Missouri.

As has been remarked previously, to include these schools
in a consideration of 'higher education' in Missouri is possible only through a stretching of the terms. But the two schools are here considered because they do represent a good portion of those few possibilities of higher education which have been, and continue to be, the Negro's.

The quest of the materials which go to make up this chapter illustrates the scarcity of records in connection with these schools. The George R. Smith College in Sedalia, founded in 1894, burned to the ground in 1924, with a resultant destruction of whatever records might have been kept. Private individuals, alumni, former teachers, citizens of Sedalia who were friends of the school had to be relied upon for information concerning the school. A Prospectus of the college and a Catalogue number of the Bulletin, for the school year 1894-5, both in the possession of the Missouri Historical Society, were the only printed materials available to cast light upon the brief history of this school.

Though Western College and Industrial Institute was founded in 1890 and has survived to this date, as Western Baptist Seminary, there are few records surviving with it which can be pieced together to enable reconstruction of the whole of its more than fifty years of history. A twenty-page

2. Undated, without printer's mark.
pamphlet, undated and without a printer's mark, entitled *History of Western College*, tells of the first ten years of the college's existence. President Clement Richardson, in office since 1937, has supplied recent information. But no file of *Bulletins* exists. The American Baptist Home Mission Society, in answer to a request for information concerning the college said, "All of the information that we have found relative to the college at Macon, Missouri, is contained in the two attached pages. I wish that we could give you more information than we have." The Missouri Baptist Union, in reply to a request for information, referred the inquiry to President Richardson, "who will be able to tell you more about the Negro educational situation in Missouri than anybody I know," C. Lopez McAllister, one-time member of the Board of Trustees at Lincoln, one-time president of Western College, and now prominent in religious and interracial affairs in Des Moines, Iowa, also referred inquiries concerning Western to the present administration head, Clement Richardson. But Western, the school, was now open and available for inspection. Interviews with teachers and students, as well as with the President.

3. John T. Caston listed as the author.
4. Correspondence, R. Dean Goodwin to the investigator.
5. T. W. Medearis, General Superintendent, to the investigator.
6. Vide: Chapter X.
7. Correspondence to the investigator.
led to much of the material here presented regarding the present status of that school.

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The George R. Smith College in Sedalia was founded under the auspices of the Freedmen's Aid and the Southern Educational Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, with general offices in Cincinnati. The stimulus to the inception of such a school had been the gift to Corresponding Secretary J. C. Hartzell, of the Southern Educational Society, of a tract of land, nearly 28 acres, a bequest of S. E. Smith and M. E. Cotton, daughters of Union General George R. Smith, who had presented the gift with the following stipulation: "The condition of the bond filed in the court called for a college building to be erected, to cost not less than twenty-five thousand dollars, including the furnishings, and to be completed by January, 1892."

The time set for the completion of the building was advanced to January, 1894, when the financial crisis of 1893 left citizens without money to meet their pledges, but by December of 1893 a sizeable college building, built, but not finished, stood on the donated acres. The building was 128 feet by 107 feet, four stories above the basement, and it

contained sixty rooms. Without furnishings the building cost \$36,000.00, fulfilling the terms of the gift.

The building committee, apparently responsible for the erection of this building, consisted of three Sedalia business men: George C. McLaughlin, furniture dealer and funeral director; F. A. Samson, president of Miner Institute, whose care for drug addicts and alcoholics was advertised on page 26 of the Prospectus; and W. L. Porter, president of the Peoples' Bank of Sedalia.

The Prospectus acknowledged recent gifts from various people: Rev. T. H. Haggerty, St. Louis, library; Mrs. R. D. Bowman, St. Louis, piano; Mr. A. Busch, St. Louis, large bell and four-dial clock for the tower; Mrs. Kate M. Rhodes, St. Louis, library; F. H. Haley, Jackson, Tennessee, an office desk. But pleas were included for donations of or toward the other necessaries: a steam heating plant, a plant to furnish light, more furniture for rooms, apparatus for class rooms: maps, charts, musical instruments, a general work and carpenter shop with outfit for industrial training of all kinds.

10. Ibid., p. 10.
13. Ibid., p. 23.
The school planned to open on January 18, 1894, with a faculty of seven. P. A. Cool, D.D., Professor of Mental and Moral Sciences, was to be President. James W. Cool, B.S., was to teach Science and Literature; and Mrs. Lucy A. Cool, Matron, was to manage Industrial Training for Girls. Miss Anna J. Parker, A.M., Preceptress, was listed as teacher of Ancient Languages and director of the Normal division; Henry L. Billups, B.S., Commercial subjects and English. Carpentry and Care of the Campus was the province of Charles W. Brundage. Professor L. Webber, A.M., was announced as a probable eighth teacher, and the first Bulletin finds him installed as teacher of Modern Languages and Music.

With this faculty the George R. Smith College proposed to give an education to Negroes from the ages of five through the college years. The first six grades, called the English Course, included the customary reading, writing, and arithmetic. A three-year College Preparatory course was topped by the College Course. A special Normal course was offered for prospective teachers.

17. Ibid., pp. 13-14.
19. Ibid., p. 17.
The College course betrayed the classical ideals with which the faculty intended to indoctrinate the students. Subjects listed included the following: French, German, Latin, Greek, English, Algebra, Geometry, Calculus, Chemistry, Geology, Biology, Physics, Botany, Psychology, International Law, Philosophy, Art, Ethics, Political Economy. Such pretensions should have frightened any Missouri Negro in 1894!

Further contradictions appear when one examines the full set of rules to be obeyed by the students. Chapel was to be held daily at nine. Rooms were to be open for inspection at all times. The use of snuff, liquor, tobacco, or cards was forbidden and use would result in immediate suspension if one were apprehended. Students were not allowed to leave the campus, to visit the music room or the kitchen without the president's permission! Sunday School and Church were compulsory on the Sabbath, nor could one visit rooms or receive visits on that day. Parents and friends were also admonished to address all letters to students in care of the president!

As for expenses, board was estimated at $7.00 per four weeks and room at $2.00. Incidental fees and tuition were listed as $1.50 per month. Students were advised to bring their own blanket, quilt, soap, towels, and Bible.

20. Ibid., pp. 22-23.
21. Ibid., p. 23.
With such offerings the enrollment in the first year was 58.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Enrollment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>College Preparatory</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>6th 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5th 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stenographic</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Music</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As yet, no Missouri Negroes were prepared to attempt the college curriculum which George R. Smith College advocated. As a matter of fact, Thomas Jesse Jones, in his survey of the Negro schools, noted in 1916 that no students were enrolled in the so-called 'college' classes. He said, "The so-called college classes continue the secondary work. The small teaching force and the preparation of the pupils do not warrant the effort to maintain college classes." And this was at a time less than seven years before the school was to cease operating.

Repeated interviews with the Reverend C. C. Anderson of the Negro Methodist Church in Columbia, Missouri, for four years a student at the college, general custodian, and friend of the president's, have given me a glimpse of what life at

22. Ibid., p. 11.

George R. Smith was really like.

Rev. Anderson came to Missouri with Reverend Sherrill in 1911, when that man, the pastor of Anderson's home town church in Bluford, Virginia, came west to take over the presidency of the college. For the four years during which he went to college in Sedalia Anderson was janitor, keeper of the grounds, superintendent in charge of the heating, and general hired hand. He raised vegetables for the school and kept the school's hogs fat. During the summer a couple of boys stayed with him to help him with the farm.

The school, as he remembered it was strict and religious. Daily chapel was still held, though the hour had been changed to three in the afternoon. There was strict chaperoning of any students who went in to town. Anderson himself, however, used to break the no-smoking rule in his own room. When the president caught him in the act, the student explained that he was merely trying to chase away mosquitoes. He was asked to come to the president's office every evening after dinner to smoke his pipe where the president, too, might be the recipient of its benefits.

Even in 1911-14 the school had all classes, fifth grade through college. The one big building served all purposes, housing faculty as well as students, serving as a recreation
center, library, classroom, and laundry. All out-of-town students had to live in the building, on the second, third, and fourth floors, girls on one side, boys on the other. In the basement were the laundry, dining room, and kitchen. The first floor housed the president's apartments and office, the study hall, with the small library behind it, and two classrooms. On each of the upper floors, with the living quarters, were classrooms. The chapel, seating approximately 300, was on the second floor.

The faculty during this period numbered 12; 7 women, 5 men. Though the pay was low there were few faculty changes. Anderson remembers only four during his stay.

The curriculum was still classical in large part. Though nearly 100 students attended the school, with all grades represented, only a handful took 'college' work, these all taking the same courses since they were so few in numbers. This college work was strongly inclined toward preparation for the ministry. Methodist students were able to get substantial loans from the Educational Boards, and such loans were canceled if the students who made them went into church or missionary work.

Expenses were as low as the Prospectus had indicated they would be. Tuition, board, and room totaled $12.00 per
month if one didn't work at all. By working at the school, a student could bring this down to $6.00. If, in addition, he worked at a job in Sedalia, he could support himself easily.

Though he enjoyed his stay at George R. Smith and believed that the school was doing a good job, Reverend Anderson is of the opinion that the school would more than likely have been discontinued, even if the building had not burned down in 1924. Philander Smith College in Arkansas interfered with its development, got many of the students and much of the support that might otherwise have been given to George R. Smith. While the white people in Sedalia were ready to support the Negro school, the Negroes never supported it fully. Rev. Anderson thought that, when there was a white president the Negroes wanted a Negro in the office; when there was a Negro president, they thought he was 'uppity'. More than likely the highly classical bias of the school was a strong factor in prejudicing the Negroes of Sedalia against it even to the point where they would hang the president, I. L. Lyle, in effigy. C.C. Hubbard, who was asked to be president of the college as of September, 1924, has stated that George R. Smith College had the reputation of being "snooty" as far as the townspeople of Sedalia were concerned. He also reinforced Rev. Anderson's statement about the Methodist disinclination to continue the school when he revealed that the school was insured for
With $46,000.00 with which a new beginning might have been made had there been any sentiment for such action.

Of the work accomplished by the short-lived attempt to Negro higher education in Missouri, a Methodist historian tells us this. By the time its work was cut short by fire some 2,000 students had benefited by its existence. (This, of course, included all grades from the fifth on.) These students were largely from Missouri, with Arkansas and Oklahoma sending the next greatest numbers. Many of the graduates were employed in Sedalia as office workers, salad chefs, yard boys, waitresses, and porters.

Certainly, though this was an interesting experiment in cooperative living, it could hardly be termed a vital contribution to higher education for the Negro in Missouri, even though it does represent one of very few attempts that have been made.

In 1890, four years before George R. Smith College was first opened to students and while I. E. Page was principal of Lincoln, another attempt at higher education for Negroes was undertaken. Sixteen Negro Baptist ministers met at Independence, Missouri, and established the Missouri Baptist Theological University, later to become Western Baptist College.

Western College, then Western Baptist Seminary. Rev. Wilton R. Boone, B.D., of Springfield, Ohio, was elected its first president and on January 13, 1890, the opening exercises were held. "Appropriate program was rendered. The morning was devoted to prayer and praise and the afternoon to addresses."

"The Institution thus organized, commenced its work with a faculty consisting of president and an assistant student teacher, term (4) four months, enrollment (14) fourteen, seven of whom were young men engaged in the ministry."

With such a school Rev. Boone was not happy and, after the first two terms, he resigned. At a meeting held in Chillicothe in July, 1891, Macon City, Missouri, was accepted as the most favorable offer of a site for a new and larger school. Here seventeen acres, valued at $100.00 per acre, and $300.00 in cash were offered to the school as an inducement to move. In January, 1892, the school opened for another short term with two new faculty members comprising the staff: W.F. Smith, A.M., and Mrs. C.R. McDowell.

26. Ibid., p. 5.
27. Ibid., p. 8.
29. Ibid., p. 9.
During the Summer of 1892 the services of Rev. E.L. Scruggs, A.M., B.D., a Lincoln graduate, were secured as president. Under his direction, and with the aid of Rev. J.T. Caston, author of the college's brief 'history', the college received in 1893 a new two-story frame building, costing $3,000 to construct. The next year an addition was made to this building. The first floor housed the chapel, the recitation rooms, and, in the addition, the dining room. The second floor was devoted to dormitories.

Financially as well as in terms of student population the new school was unstable. It had been founded on a shoestring. Its first money was $42.00 collected in Boonville in 1889. By the time the school moved to Macon it was in need of $1,400.00 to be paid for the new location before January 1, 1891. This was collected, in the main, from Negroes in the state. The Baptist Home Mission Society of New York, however, came to the aid of the school to help it erect the new building, paying $1,200.00 of the $3,000.00 cost.

Though Caston's estimate cannot be trusted too fully, since he is writing his pamphlet in an attempt to raise money

20. Ibid., pp. 10-11.
21. Ibid., p. 12.
22. Ibid., p. 13.
for the school, he claims the value of Western College property in 1926 to be $300,000.00, with liabilities listed at $95,000.00. He further states,

"When a child its annual expense was about $5,000.00, but that amount was soon increased, each year from the beginning until today, there is scarcely any comparison, the expense of upkeep today is more than $20,000.00 per year."

Considering the increase in cost of living from 1890 to 1928, this increase in expenses does not denote great expansion of the school. Yet Caston gives the following statistics for attendance at Western:

- 1890----------14
- 1890-1-------- 36
- 1892---------- 32
- 1892-3-------- 63
- 1893-4-------- 82
- 1894-5-------- 92
- 1895-6-------- 102
- 1896-7-------- 115
- 1897-8-------- 134
- 1898-9-------- 141

Since the move to the new location in Kansas City, continues Caston, attendance has been over 150.

Whether or not we can take this statement of Rev. Caston's at its full value is dubious. According to the only available catalog containing enrollment figures, the Seminary enrolled 107 students in the school year 1944-5. Of these, 13 entered

34. Thomas Jesse Jones, op. cit., declared the value at $20,000.00; quotes the attendance as 66. p. 383.
35. Ibid., p. 15.
36. Ibid., p. 16.
after a good part of the school year had passed. And of this enrollment only 30 might be called 'college' students. The enrollment distribution was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>College:</th>
<th>sophomores</th>
<th>9</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>freshmen</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>special</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School</td>
<td>senior</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>junior</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sophomores</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>freshmen</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Night School</td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extension</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elementary</td>
<td></td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With such a spread of enrollment it is questionable just what quality of courses could be offered.

As a matter of fact, to continue the history of Western College from 1900 to 1945 is a difficult problem. Rev. Caston, writing in 1928, jumps from 1899 to the time of his writing. All catalogs which are available include the customary history of the institution, but all such sketches, though elaborate concerning the origins, do not mention the history of the school after the turn of the century. The single exception to this might be the last catalog, with announcements for 1945-6, which states, "During the depression, because of financial strain,"

and a grave misunderstanding among the Baptists, the school was closed in all departments save that of theology. In August, 1937, as Western Seminary, it reopened."

Former President C. Lopez McAllister would say nothing about the history of the school, referring all queries to the present chief administrator, President Richardson. The latter, in turn, would talk of the institution as it exists now, and of the failure of the Baptists to support it properly. But he would have little to say as to the history of the institution from 1900 on.

Inasmuch as the enrollment was such a complete mixture of every level from the first grade through the second year of college and since neither the staff nor the finances of the institution were ever strong, one can be sure that little of what is termed 'higher' education went on within the walls of the institution. To make more positive these surmizes and to better acquaint ourselves with the college we can best look at representative pictures, as seen in catalogues in the twenties, the thirties, and in the last decade.

The twenties saw four presidents at Western:

A ten-page Western College Announcement; 1927-1928 illustrates some of the problems the small school was facing. Page two shows a picture of the present site, titled 'Prospective Future Home of Western College'. Page three, in this desk copy from the office of the president, was formerly taken up by a full page picture of Clement Richardson, President. It is now occupied by a typewritten copy on Western College stationary on which the heading, 'Clement Richardson, President,' is crossed out and 'C. Lopez McAllister' typed above. The page is captioned 'Announcement Extraordinary' and goes on to say:

"Western College opens September 12, 1927, at nine o'clock in the morning under very favorable conditions. A full Faculty in all departments will greet old and new pupils. Students entering professional courses as well as those in other groups should be present at the opening. Speak a good word for Western in your neighborhood. Bring as many new students as possible."

As for admission requirements, the announcement continues:

"Applicants must present character certificates from responsible parties. They must also furnish the Faculty satisfactory evidence of their ability to enter departments of their choice. Students by certificates, written or oral examinations may be

41. In the possession of the investigator."
admitted to advance classes."

The final word on the page is this:

"Articles: Each student should bring; Three sheets, two pillow cases, blankets and towels, tooth brush, comb and brush and small mirror."

To complete a picture of Western in 1926-7 page six is convincing. Here, under the caption, 'The following courses are offered' we find the following:

"1. Grades Fourth to Ninth.
2. Full Four Year High School
3. Regular Junior College Course
4. Course in Teacher Training

GRADUATES FROM THE SIXTY HOUR COURSE RECEIVE A THREE YEAR STATE CERTIFICATE.

GRADUATES FROM THE NINETY HOUR COURSE RECEIVE A FIVE YEAR STATE CERTIFICATE.

FOR A BACHELOR OF SCIENCE DEGREE - LIFE CERTIFICATE TO TEACH IN GRADES IN HIGH SCHOOL.

Pursuit of any one of these courses requires at least fifteen High School Units."

The page is signed by Clement Richardson, again crossed out in favor of C. Lopez McAllister.

There is no mention made of staff or of specific courses to be offered.

42. In the possession of the investigator.
ments for the academic year 1931-2, multigraphed at the school, furnishes us, however, with a clue to the nature of the faculty at that time. Twelve faculty members are listed. Eleven of these possess the Bachelor’s degree; one, the president, a Master’s; and one, the teacher of Domestic Sciences and Arts, no degree. Most of the faculty members are also listed as Administrators, with the Deans of men, women, the College, and Theology, Director of Music, Athletic Director included.

The emphasis in offerings is definitely on the preparation of teachers. A two-year course for the preparation of Elementary Teacher’s Certificate is offered. Compliance with the requirements of the State Board of Education is stressed throughout the presentation of the specific course offerings on the high school and the college level. There is strong reason to believe, especially in light of correspondence in the private possession of President Richardson, that the State Department of Education was using Western as a make-shift arrangement for the preparation of some sort of teachers for the Negro teachers in the schools of the western part of the state. There was no thought, then, of a teachers college in Kansas City comparable to the Stowe Teachers College in St. Louis. And, as yet, Kansas City had not projected its Junior College for Negroes.

Mention is first made in this catalogue of the latest in
the many moves made by the school. In 1920 the school had moved to Kansas City from Macon, settling at 2101 Woodland Avenue. During 1928 the Woodland Avenue property was sold and a new site, the present one, was purchased. Western College can now be found at 22nd and Tracy in Kansas City.

On the present site are two buildings; Gillis Home and Armour Home. The former, a four-story brick building, contains boys' dormitories, general offices, chapel, classrooms, gymnasium, library, and laboratories. The latter contains the girls' dormitories, housing for instructors, dining hall, laundry, and Home Economics laboratory.

The situation in 1946 was hardly an improvement over that of 1931-32. Lincoln University had grown much stronger and could furnish high-grade teachers for all parts of the state. 1936 had seen the inception of Lincoln Junior College, another tax-financed competitor for Western, another school which could prepare prospective teachers, especially in the two-year course which Western had emphasized. If Western had ever had reason to be called a 'college', she seemed to have lost it now.

The enrollment of the school in 1946 has already been examined and analyzed. It was seen to extend over fourteen years of schooling, from first to twelfth grade plus two years
of college, and to have in addition, night school and extension offerings, though the total enrollment was merely 100. Such a scattering of student population is bound to create troubles in teaching and administration. Add to this the fact that the faculty numbers 14, including a teacher of knitting, a chorus director, and the president's wife, and your problems are multiplied. Of the fourteen members on the Western faculty only two have Master's degrees, the president and a white woman, teaching Religious Education, Psychology, and Greek! Six members possess Bachelor's degrees; six have no degrees at all.

Western does have the dubious reputation of being the only school in the state which can openly boast of a co-racial faculty. Graduates of William Jewell, like Miss Armentrout already mentioned and Lawrence Scott, teacher of New Testament Interpretation and Biology, use the school as a field for missionary work and as a fine, available location for getting initial experience in the field. No other school for Negroes now has white teachers unless it be when the professors from the School of Journalism at Missouri go down to Jefferson City to teach at Lincoln University's School of Journalism when the Legislature of the state fails to appropriate enough money for the maintenance of the Negro staff there.
One other aspect of the Western faculty deserves mention. Of the fourteen people listed on the faculty eight had been appointed initially within the preceding year. Three others had been appointed in 1941, 1942, and 1943 respectively. Only the President and his wife and one woman, without degree, who had served on the faculty since 1899, had been with the college as long as five years. With such a shifting faculty a certain lack of stability in programs and offerings was certainly inevitable.

The offerings as listed in the catalogue are in line with the expected curriculum in a standard junior college.

**Freshman Year**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First Semester</th>
<th>Second Semester</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>English 101</strong> Comp.</td>
<td><strong>English 102</strong> Comp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>English 102</strong> Am. Lit.</td>
<td><strong>English 104</strong> Am. Lit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Science 100a</strong></td>
<td><strong>Science 100b</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Bible 101</strong></td>
<td><strong>Bible 102</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>French 101</strong></td>
<td><strong>French 102</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Psych. 101</strong></td>
<td><strong>Educational Psych. 102</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Sophomore Year**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First Semester</th>
<th>Second Semester</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>English 201</strong> Grammar Review</td>
<td><strong>English 204</strong> Public Speaking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>English 203</strong> Chil. Lit.</td>
<td><strong>Ed. 202</strong> Practice Tchng.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Education 201</strong> Teaching Tch.</td>
<td><strong>Ed. 204</strong> El. School Art.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Phil. 201</strong> Logic</td>
<td><strong>Phil. 202</strong> Ethics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Soc. 201</strong> Intr. Sociology</td>
<td><strong>Soc. 202</strong> Rural Soc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hist. 201</strong> American History</td>
<td><strong>Hist. 202</strong> American Hist.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

43. Catalogue, 1944-45, pp. 5-6.

44. Ibid., p. 18.
For the Theological Department some changes were made in the offerings for the first two years. 'The Sermon' took the place of Educational Psychology in the second semester of the first year. Teaching Techniques was omitted in the first semester of the second year; and the second half of 'The Sermon' was used to replace 'Practice Teaching' in the second semester of the second year.

Considering the fact that the junior and senior year were offered in Theology and that a full four-year high school course was offered, all with the faculty already described, we may assume that, even if all students did take the same courses when they were on the same level, the fourteen available teachers, even were they better qualified than they obviously are, could never teach the classes adequately. With the 100 students spread over eight levels, to say nothing of the Elementary Department, the Night School, and the Extension Department, 14 teachers would have to handle approximately 170 classes. And although this is possible, the probability of its being done successfully is certainly slight.

In the final analysis we can truthfully say that there has been no effective higher educational program for the Negro.

45. Ibid., p. 19.
46. Loc. cit.
47. Ibid., p. 17.
in Missouri carried on by the religious agencies that have
done so effective a work further south. Western Baptist Semi­
nary as it exists today, has no vitality, no raison d'Être.
It lives on, a hand to mouth existence, because of the labors
of a few workers, like Rev. John Goins, the fund collector,
and its president, Clement Richardson. It lives on, too,
because of the charity, however meagre, of the Baptists in
Missouri. They have never been given, as were the Methodists,
a wonderful opportunity to rid themselves of the institution
which neither is nor is not; which they care not particularly
to have, yet which they can not, without undue disturbance,
erase. Most Missouri Baptists, white, think only of their
college for Negroes when John Goins makes his annual appeal
for funds. Most Missouri Methodists are the less sad in
having forgotten that once they sponsored a college for Negroes
in Missouri.

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CHAPTER VIII

THE BEGINNINGS OF PUBLIC HIGHER EDUCATION:

LINCOLN INSTITUTE

Any study of higher education for Negroes in Missouri should be briefer than is this section of the dissertation. The plain truth of the matter is that there was no collegiate higher education for the Negro in the state until some fifteen years ago, unless we widen the category to include the two-year normal course. Such a course was initiated by Lincoln Institute when the state needed teachers who could and would handle the Negro grade schools which the state law insisted were the right of the Negro. Such a course, too, was initiated at Stowe Teachers College when St. Louis felt herself hard pressed for Negro teachers for her segregated schools.

In dealing with Lincoln Institute, Western College and Industrial Institute, or George R. Smith College, then, we are usually dealing with secondary schools, in actuality. To call them colleges during most of their existence would have been a loose usage of the term. To call Lincoln a University now would be even more so. Yet, Lincoln, together with the later Stowe Teachers College and the recent Lincoln Junior College in Kansas City, and with the feeble Western College
and Industrial Institute, formerly at Macon, now at Kansas City, and with the short lived and limited attempt in the George R. Smith College in Sedalia, represents the only higher education available to the Negro in Missouri; and as such it deserves the treatment accorded it here in these chapters.

In dealing with the material concerning Lincoln the History of Lincoln University by W. Sherman Savage has been used as a basis for the short historical sketch, though Savage's volume is heavy, redundant, clumsy, and overly cautious; but it is a presentation of the materials concerning Lincoln in somewhat of a chronological order. As such it must be credited with being the basis for that part of the historical sketch which deals with Lincoln.

Lincoln University Library was completely ineffective as a source of materials on that school. Records in the Registrar's office and the office of the President furnished what material was available. Interviews with students, with faculty members, members of governing bodies, correspondence, personal files of correspondence, newspapers, scattered copies of bulletins and student papers were used as background for the brief historical sketches. This same material, together with school records, reports of the state Superintendent of Schools, reports of the United States Commissioner of Educational.
tion, catalog files, and school surveys, national, state, and local, go to make up the materials used in the remainder of these chapters on higher education.

The plan for Lincoln Institute, the first attempt at higher education for Negroes in Missouri, was conceived by the Negro soldiers of the Civil War, members of the 62nd and 65th Infantry units, who donated some $5,000.00 to start their dream on its way to coming true. Under the leadership of R.B. Foster, a native of Massachusetts, the Institute began in a rented and ramshackle building in Jefferson City, after all the local church buildings had been denied it. From its beginnings in 1866 the Institute leaned heavily on charity. When two students from Adrian College in Michigan, Charles A. Beal and W. H. Payne, entered in on the enterprise with crusading zeal, the latter became a teacher while the former went out and raised money and good will for the school.

Payne became head of the school in 1870. At that time the State Superintendent of Schools was having a difficult time getting Negro teachers for the public schools and he

2. R. B. Foster, Historical Sketch of Lincoln Institute, no publisher (1871) p. 10.
3. Ibid., p. 11.
asked the Legislature to back Lincoln. Negroes in Jefferson City insisted on a fair distribution of the 330,000 acres of land which was distributed by the Legislature of 1870. The state, in recognition of these pleas, said that it would lend Lincoln aid to the extent of $5,000.00 semi-annually, if it could show assets of $12,000.00. With the Western Sanitary Commission giving $2,000.00; Refugee Freedmen’s and Abandoned Land Fund, $6,000.00; and Freedmen’s Bureau, $2,000.00, the school was able to meet the state’s conditions.

When the school budget showed a balance of $1,200.00, Payne, who had worked under the provision that he find someone who was willing to put up the money for his salary, was succeeded by Foster, who had been teaching in the schools of Jefferson City, but who was willing to return to Lincoln as principal, at $1,200.00 per year. In 1871 the first building went up, with money from the Civil War soldiers, from Beale’s collections, $8,000.00 from the Freedmen’s Bureau, and $2,000.00 from the Western Sanitary Commission.

The school was continually in debt, running as high as $10,000.00 in 1874, and there was a constant desire on the part of the governing board and of the Negroes in Missouri for the state to take over the school. The Superintendent of

4. Reports of the Superintendent of Schools, 1872, p. 44; 1873, p. 38
5. Savage, op. cit., p. 15.
Education for the state repeated the pleas of his predecessor for this action in his report for 1874. In that year House Bill 1011 almost accomplished the desired transfer of title, but it was defeated by a 30-37 vote. While the Board of Trustees sent representatives East to raise philanthropic donations and while Beale worked incessantly in smaller charitable fields, the State Superintendent and the Commissioner of Education for the United States joined in stating that the commonwealth of Missouri should take over Lincoln.

For the Superintendents of schools to plead for the state's taking over of Lincoln Institute was a bold stroke, even in 1872. The Superintendent in that year worded his plea carefully:

"The school needs help. The least the State of Missouri can do for it is to see that its debts are cancelled. Would it not be well for the General Assembly to call the attention of Congress to the school, and request that the National hand will not forget this most deserving subject in the distribution of its benefactions?

But neither pity nor great deserving would have been sufficient to convince the legislature of Missouri that it should assume the debts of the Negro school. A more pertinent and

7. Page 17. See also Annual Report, 1875, p. 13; Annual Report, 1878, p. 32.
9. Annual Report, 1872, p. 44.
rational necessity had to be shown to the legislature before it would consider such a movement for long. This the Superintendent presented in his report for 1873:

"The colored schools of the state demand more teachers than the Institute can at present supply. The colored prefer teachers of their own race, and where such are well prepared, they succeed well. In view of this demand, there are two or three things I would urge by way of recommendation. First of all, if the Trustees of the Institution are so disposed, and no legal barriers present themselves, the school should be taken entirely under the protection and placed upon the support of the state; its debts paid, and its necessaries met. Its local management need not be changed, but its responsibilities will be more easily borne....Precisely how the colored common schools of the State are to be properly developed and increased, it is difficult to see, unless the State shall in some way make larger provision for the fitting of teachers for these schools."

Such is the case. The Negro schools need teachers and Lincoln was the only means the state had of providing these teachers. Should they not be provided one could expect a new influx of such remedies for the deficiencies as New England school marms. It was such practical necessities as the need for teachers, repeated in 1876, 1877, and 1888 that finally brought about the taking over of Lincoln by the state. But it should be remembered, finally, that the legislature attempted, rather than take over Lincoln, to pay her bills and keep her private. It was only the intercession of the governor on a

10. Annual Report, 1873, p. 38.
legal point that made Lincoln, finally, a state responsibility.

The General Assembly of 1879 granted Lincoln an appropriation of $15,000.00 provided it would spend $5,000.00 to pay off part of the debt. The Governor of the state came to Lincoln's rescue by stating that such a grant of money to a private concern was an illegal act on the part of the Legislature. As president of the Board of Trustees of Lincoln, then, he signed the property of the Institute over to the state. This was the end of Beale's patient collecting of funds from friendly contributors, but it marked the second beginning for Lincoln.

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One of the most unfortunate holdovers from the old regime was the policy of having the Trustees elect the president of Lincoln each year. Such instability of tenure led to petty fights on the faculty, the carrying of tales, and the undermining of administrations by ambitious aspirants. Payne had succeeded Foster only to be succeeded by him again. Foster stayed but a year before he was followed by Harry Smith. Smith lost to Mitchell in 1875; but he came back again in 1878. It was not until the advent of A. E. Page that there was even relative stability of tenure. For eighteen years he managed to be reelected to the post of principal.

Page, a Brown graduate, was brought to Lincoln at the age of twenty-four and, after two years of apprenticeship, placed in charge. It was he who inaugurated the policy of having only colored teachers at Lincoln; it was he who worked harmoniously with the Legislature to get a $5,000.00 appropriation for a dormitory and $1,000.00 for school apparatus in 1880-81. In 1885 Page inaugurated the policy of having teachers go out to canvas for students during the summer months, at $100.00 per summer.

State appropriations to Lincoln continued to grow larger under Page's administration. He secured $2,000.00 to complete the girl's dormitory and $7,000.00 for a men's dormitory. With Governor Morehouse's backing, he succeeded in getting the Legislature to allow Lincoln to establish an academic branch and give degrees, but the Legislature never did provide for the financing of such a curriculum until well into the last twenty years.

When the 51st Congress of the United States passed the Morrill Land Grant Amendment saying that no state showing race discrimination in the use of monies given to it through the Morrill Act could get such monies in the future, Missouri decided to give Lincoln an Industrial School. Such a school had been refused by the Legislature some four years previously, when House Bill 227 failed in the passage; but now, in 1891,
$1,000.00 was granted for a new building; $9,000.00 for tools, machinery; $3,000.00 for land; and $3,000.00 for maintenance. The money for land was cut to $500.00 before the appropriation was finally made. When the state received $24,000.00 under the Morrill Act, Lincoln was given $1,280.10. But industrial and agricultural education never amounted to a great deal at the school. There was only a pretense at such education.

The Page administration, however, had other troubles than that of industrial education. In 1892 the entire faculty had to be fired to accommodate Page, since he was not able to work well with the old staff. In 1894 lightning struck the main building and fire destroyed it. Page got $40,000.00 for a building and saw the present Memorial Hall constructed. He also saw graduate in 1894 the first student from the academic course established by the Legislature in 1887.

In 1898 the Board of Regents chose John J. Jackson of the State Normal School of Kentucky for the President of Lincoln, to replace Page, who was called to Oklahoma to head a new school at which he stayed some twenty years before returning to Lincoln. Jackson immediately made a thorough report to the Superintendent of Schools, asking for an appropriation

12. Savage, op. cit., p. 76.
of $30,590.00, and placing great emphasis on the need for a library, a dormitory, an industrial school worthy of the name, and a means of articulating the Institute with the Negro high schools of the state. The Legislature responded with the following appropriations:

Salaries ............... $13,000.00
Matrons ................ 1,200.00
Janitors ............... 1,900.00
Student Help ........... 420.00
Coal ................... 1,800.00
Industrial School ..... 7,000.00
Repairs ............... 1,000.00
Added Equipment ....... 1,000.00
Domestic Economy ..... 1,000.00
Improvement of Grounds 250.00
Library ............... 240.00

The next year the President tried again, stressing the industrial education and articulation of Negro schools; his success was only limited. The following year, 1901, he recommended that the President be appointed in advance of the other teachers or that he be given a longer appointment. He also asked for more money for student workers. Although he was successful in getting a decent appropriation, he was not re-elected as President.

J.W. Damel, acting as President, at $110.00 per month, stressed the need for better equipment and a decent library. His successor, Edward E. Clarke, from Wilberforce, was much more aggressive. He started the summer school in 1902, with twenty-nine students, though neither he nor any president...
after him was able to get extra pay for teachers who stayed to teach during the summer months. He complained about the lack of tenure and presented a list of twenty recommendations, including the following: tenure of at least two years for the president; a faculty elected upon his nomination; increased salaries for teachers; new stress on agriculture, with an agricultural sub-experiment station; the need for a professional teacher of Industries; the need for teachers of printing and cooking; the inauguration of business classes; the official recognition of summer school; more funds for student labor; a revision of the catalogue; repair of the buildings; postgraduate courses for teachers who returned to summer school. He asked for a $52,000.00 appropriation and made reference to provisions of the Morrill Act. He failed to be reappointed, his stay at Lincoln being cut to some five months.

B. F. Allen, who succeeded him, had been a teacher at the Institute for some time and knew the school well. He had learned his lesson so well that, once appointed, he lasted as principal for sixteen years.

On the heels of a sizeable appropriation, which the legislature had granted on the strength of Clarke's plea, Allen started to advertise the school in every way he could. And his efforts were successful, for he enrolled 240 students

for the 1903-4 term. His efforts with the Legislature were equally successful. He could usually get a $75,000.00 appropriation when he needed it, as he did in 1905, 1909, and 1913. Perhaps his success was due somewhat to the fact that he made such comments as the following, spoken at a public gathering which he addressed at the Lyric Theatre, Mexico, Missouri, "Come see me if you want a good all-round man or chauffeur." He was educating good, reliable, all-round handy men.

The first considerable difficulty which the Institute had with Jefferson City came about in 1910, over the question of land owned by that school. Residents of the state capital protested that Lincoln Institute farm was in a residential area and was depreciating the real estate value in that area. Dean W. W. Charters of the School of Education at the University of Missouri tried to act in the best interests of Lincoln, but pressure was exerted through the Legislature and Lincoln finally had to settle for more land of a less decent type in a less decent locality.

Previously, in 1904, industrial education had been strongly advocated by the Board of Lincoln, and it had been ruled that all students in attendance at Lincoln should take at least one and one-half hours of industrial education daily.

15. Ibid., p. 145.
16. Ibid., p. 131.
Because of this President Allen tried consistently to get new courses in the industries introduced to the Institute's curriculum. In this regard he touched on a delicate subject in his report to the Superintendent of Schools in 1915. Stressing the need for further vocational education work, he pointed out the fact that Missouri was getting $50,000.00 annually from the Federal Government under the Morrill Act and that the Negroes got only $2,000.00 of this each year. One of the largest appropriations in the history of the school resulted, with the agricultural appropriation jumping from $2,000.00 in 1913 to $10,000.00 in 1915. For salaries alone $50,000.00 was appropriated, and the total appropriation was some $116,000.00 for the bi-ennium.

Another of President Allen's desires expressed in his reports was that the summer session be recognized as a regular and separate session, and that the teachers who taught during that session be paid the same additional salary that was paid to teachers who served in the same capacity at the white State University and the teachers' colleges. With this President Allen was not as successful as he had been with appropriations, and it continued to be one of the means in which teachers at the Negro State University were paid on a lower scale than comparable teachers at the University of Missouri in Columbia.
In 1917 Clement Richardson, present head of Western College in Kansas City, was elected to succeed President Allen, after the principal of Kansas City's Lincoln High had refused the job. Richardson, coming from Tuskegee during the war period, ushered in military training. As a land grant school the Institute should have had such training anyway, but the war spirit of the times was needed to bring the program into actuality.

In securing Richardson the Board of Lincoln was faced with the same crisis they were to experience even more acutely when next they looked for a president, an extreme shortage of funds. The principal of a Kansas City high school of good reputation would not leave his post to accept the job of President of Lincoln, even though it might have higher prestige, to be paid only $183.33 per month, Agriculture teacher $100.00; Business and History, $90.00; Arts and Crafts, $80.00; Director of the model school, $80.00; and so on. Competent help was not to be had at those prices, even in that day.

Because of the long reign of President Allen, Richardson found the accent at Lincoln strong on the trades. Four teachers taught college subjects while twelve taught blacksmithing, carpentry, and such subjects. Richardson tried immediately to strengthen the farm aspect of the curriculum as opposed to the trades aspect. He lamented a situation which found the Lincoln
University Farm operated by a white farmer directly responsible to the Board. He asked that the farm be turned over to Lincoln for educational purposes; and he got it. He was not so successful with the raises in wages which he asked for his teachers. Parenthetically it might be remarked that his success with the farm was but temporary. Twenty years later the farm was being used as a means of paying off political debts. In one year an operator cleared $1,000.00 illegitimately through the manipulation of the farm.

Richardson used publicity to good advantage, too, though he did not try exactly the same type utilized by Allen. The former campaigned the state himself, speaking before club groups of all kinds. He sent his teachers out to perform before similar clubs and groups; and he sent his student glee clubs and athletic teams out to carry the name of the school. Football and basketball came into the school's orbit at this time. And the Lincoln Institute players were lucky enough to use the facilities of the Jefferson City high school until they were caught. They used the gymnasium in the high school at six o'clock in the morning until some white students saw them. Then the senior class at the white high school went on a strike to protest the use of their school by Negroes. That ended a convenient arrangement.

17. Correspondence: J. D. Elliff to former President Florence, August 19, 1938.
Further difficulties with Jefferson City, which made it even more apparent to many Negroes that the Institute should have been located at either of the two metropolitan centers of the State, where Negro population is centralized to a great extent, transpired during the war years. When food and coal were both hard to get, they went to the more 'respectable customers' and Lincoln was hard put to feed its students and to keep them warm. A flu epidemic highlighted the lack of medical facilities at the Institute, and a fire in the Memorial Building added to the confusion.

But President Richardson worked persistently in spite of difficulties. He restarted the summer school in 1919, with 105 students. He called for teachers' salaries at least comparable to those paid Negro high school teachers in St. Louis. His demands for heads of departments he pitched at $2,000.00. He asked for new buildings, especially an infirmary and a dining hall. "The meals for 300 had to be prepared in a kitchen 11 by 50 feet in size, with a dish room 10 by 30 and a dining room 33 by 60 feet," Savage tells us.

The beginning of a new day for Lincoln was now almost at hand. In 1921 the Legislature of Missouri had its first Negro member, Representative Walthall M. Moore, from the

20. Ibid., p. 164.
Sixth District of the city of St. Louis. He was instrumental in introducing much legislation favorable to the Negro. He insisted that the organization of Lincoln should be in all parts consistent with Article XVII, Chapter 102, Revised Statutes of Missouri, 1919. Lincoln Institute became, then, Lincoln University in name. A Board of Curators of eight members, four of whom were Negroes, all of whom were citizens of Missouri, was to be the ruling body. The Board was authorized to reorganize Lincoln to give education on a standard with that offered at the white State University. Then, too, out-of-state tuition aid was offered for any Negro who wished to take a course not offered at Lincoln but available to white students at the University in Columbia.

In the midst of these advances Richardson was replaced as president. In 1922 I. E. Page, then 70, was called once more to be head of Lincoln. He was, however, unable to cope with student discontent over conditions at the school and he resigned after his first year to make way for Nathan B. Young, a classical scholar from Florida A. and M., under whose direction Lincoln was finally to achieve initial recognition as a reputable college.
CHAPTER IX

LINCOLN BECOMES A COLLEGE

The two previous steps in the growth of Lincoln to what it is today were the annexation of the school by the state and her recognition as a teachers college, both eventualities brought to pass because of the pressure from within the state for Negro teachers for the Negro public schools. The third step, the step which was to free her, giving her the chance to forge ahead on the path to fulfilling her name as a University was the freeing of her control from politics. Shortly after the state took over the Institute a Superintendent of schools had said that the Board of Trustees was the only obstacle between Lincoln and its successful growth. And he hit the nail squarely on the head. The period from 1922 to 1937 is a sad one for Lincoln in spite of her outward appearance of new prosperity. She was hindered in her development because the appointment of her Board of Trustees was still subject to political expediencies. To change this situation required a disturbance of the outward serenity at Lincoln.

The new president, N. B. Young, was filled with enthusiasm and a desire to make Lincoln an 'A' class school. With a brand new staff, largely drawn in from Florida and President

Young's former associations, he set to work 'reorganizing' Lincoln. He wished to take full advantage of the fact that Representative Walthall had finally succeeded in getting state sanction for the making of Lincoln into a 'University' comparable to the University of Missouri. The monthly Record was established to keep alumni and friends in contact with the school. Special numbers of the Bulletin also appeared, to carry messages from President Young to those interested in Lincoln. Foster Hall, the boys' dormitory, had been constructed in 1922; the new heating plant was going up in 1923. President Young saw to it that the little things that count so much, the projectorscope, the typewriters, the flag pole, were included too. Lincoln even took to the radio.

More serious things occupied President Young's mind, too. He was serious in his desire to get the school recognized by the accrediting associations. Superintendent of schools Lee shared this desire. Dr. J.D. Elliff, prominent in North Central Association, was invited down from the University at Columbia to give suggestions as to how the Negro school could

3. Ibid., p. 15.
4. Ibid., p. 16.
5. This material and the following, unless otherwise indicated, is taken from the Minutes of the Board of Curators at Lincoln, unpaged, available in the President's office at Jefferson City. Reference to specific Minutes will be made by the date, in parenthesis, of the meeting at which the Minutes were taken.
best meet requirements. He spoke of a salary raise to $3,000.00, of teachers paid for twelve months but working only nine, as at the white university, and of a minimum preparation at the Master's degree level for all teachers in the college division.

Even though President Young was trying to accomplish these ends, or perhaps because he was so trying, he was very nearly defeated for re-election. Only the sickness of one of the opponents of his re-election saved him from cutting his stay much shorter than it actually was. Perhaps he was not called upon to say such things as "Education should flow without stint to all, carrying its benefits alike to the cabin of the ex-slave and to the mansion of the former master, to the home of the 'man lowest down' as well as to the dwelling of the man highest up". Perhaps he should have made no references to the sanctity of the 'Yankee School Marms'. Certainly his statement, "The leveling-up influence of education should be felt in every nook and cranny of human society", did not escape the attentive ears of the Board of Curators in the audience as President Young gave his inaugural address. At any rate the evidence is to the effect that two months after he gave this speech the Board was deadlocked on whether or not to rehire him for the next year.

Unfortunately this Board had no concept of its function. Not only did it decide each year whether the president should or should not be elected, it hired the teachers (June 19, 1925), paid all the bills, the Executive Committee signing all bills (March 11, 1926), ordered the office help about ("All office help when not employed shall report to the Business Manager to be assigned to work", April 2, 1926), and approved the type of hog troughs to be ordered (November 23, 1926).

With such a committee, and with such a Board, President Young had to work. Though he must have been torn between two desires, keeping his position and improving the school, he worked for the latter. He insisted that the salaries of teachers rise to the figure set by the accrediting agencies. The Board hired a new English teacher at his price (June 19, 1925) and cut the amount from the salaries of two other people. Young journeyed to Hampton Institute to head the Fourth Southern Conference of Education in Negro Land Grant Colleges and was elected chairman of the committee to draw up the curricula for the Liberal Arts Colleges of the Land Grant Colleges. He remained outspoken. At St. Louis, before the Missouri Conference for Social Welfare, he said,

> At present there are several hundred Negro youths attending institutions of higher learning out of the state who would be attending Lincoln University if it were a full-fledged institution of higher learning.

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Her educators and her lawmakers together with her forward looking citizens of both races, are becoming more and more insistent that the demands of her Negro youth for equal educational opportunities be met in the spirit of true democracy and American fair play. 8

And in every issue of the Record a section headed with bold face caps saying WHAT LINCOLN UNIVERSITY NEEDS TO BECOME AN ACCREDITED INSTITUTION OF HIGHER LEARNING listed Lincoln's deficiencies above President Young's signature. A typical list included "an Infirmary, a Gymnasium, a Refectory, a Laundry, an Home Economics Building, a Dairy, larger men's dormitory and Mechanic Arts Building, 50% increase in teachers salaries, 75% increase in fund for facilities and upkeep, and 150% increase in repair fund." To the legislature he addressed an unblushing request for an appropriation of $517,000.00. And he publicized the fact in his Record, stating,

Imagine the embarrassment, the inconvenience, the cost, and the injustice of a condition that forces individuals who do any number of semester hours at Lincoln to accept a reduction of 25% of their credits when they attempt to enter other institutions doing a similar line of work! There is but one way to overcome this deplorable situation and that is by having Lincoln become accredited. This program is now under way. Shall it be continued? To do so requires money. 9

President Young did not get his half million dollars, but he did get $339,700.00, the largest amount ever appropriated.

for Lincoln up to that time. With this support the president could work toward his goal, accreditation. Already he was seeing to it that his faculty spent the summers to good advantages, going to universities to work on advanced degrees. By December of 1925 President Young could list the following as steps completed toward full accreditation standards:

In an Administrative way:
Dean of college appointed.
Departments of men and women organized under Deans.
University Council and Business Committee appointed to handle disciplinary and business matters.
R.O.T.C. Unit.
Physical and religious education activities definitely organized.

In an Academic way:
Elimination of Grammar grades.
High School organized as a separate unit.
Organization of the College of Liberal Arts.
The average salary for college teachers is $2800.
All teachers are required to present college credits for work leading to the master's degree in some recognized graduate school.
Library reorganized and placed in charge of trained librarian.
Laboratories enlarged and modernized.
Washington School used as a Training School for students in Education.
Extension classes and correspondence through the University of Missouri.
Extension classes conducted by representatives of the faculty.

In a General Way:
To sell the university to the public -- publicity campaigns, literary and oral, "Record" and "Bulletin".

11. Ibid., Vol. II, No. 4, p. 3.
Buildings names in honor of certain of those who have rendered distinguished service to the institution.
Founders' Day established to perpetuate the 72nd and 65th Regiments, the founders of the school.

The amazing thing is that, despite the tendency toward capital letters, President Young had done all these things. Many other items remained on his list to be accomplished, but these things he had already done. No wonder that one of the main buildings on the campus today bears his name, for the 'distinguished service' which he rendered the institution, making a college and a spirit where there had been neither.

Early in 1926 the school was ready for examination and the North Central Association and the Southern Association of Colleges for Negro Youth both sent examiners to survey the school for possible accreditation. And in that year the more important North Central Association put its stamp of approval on Lincoln as a teachers college.

This was not enough to satisfy President Young. He had plans for making Lincoln University into an accredited liberal arts college. Unfortunately his plans were cut short. The Board of Curators had been trying to get rid of him since his first year at the school; at any rate there had been repeated action in that direction. When Superintendent Charles Lee

nominated Young for re-election in 1927 he was defeated and President Richardson of Western Baptist Seminary was once more called to serve as President of Lincoln (April 11, 1927).

Richardson visited the campus on May 23 and sat in on a meeting of the Board. On June 2, 1927, he wired his refusal of the position to that group. To the author he said that he refused the position at the school, though it was six times as large as the one he was then presiding over, because he could not again work under the dictatorial jurisdiction of the Board as then organized.

The Board decided against another excursion into unknown territory in search of an administrator. From the personnel of the school they chose the Dean, Mr. W. B. Jason, Professor of Mathematics, as Acting President. On him they could rely. He was neither good, bad, nor ambitions. Over the position of Business Manager of the college they were not so easily agreed (May 14, 1928).

President Jason did just what the Board anticipated: nothing. Progress toward accreditation as a full four-year liberal arts college ceased. Publicity in Bulletins and
Records was stopped. And matters might have ended with this had not the second man appeared to send Lincoln on toward accreditation. Dr. J. D. Elliff of the University of Missouri was appointed a member of the Board, and the Teachers Committee of the Board was made up of Elliff, Superintendent of Schools Charles Lee, and Mrs. W. P. Curtis, Secretary to the Board. With Lee, always a friend to Negro schools, and Elliff so located it is not surprising to find that N. B. Young was invited to return as President in the fall of 1929. And with Elliff on the Executive Committee of the Board it is not surprising to find that this group decided to give the President of the institution the privilege of approving all bills before they came under the jurisdiction of the Executive Committee. (October 22, 1929).

During his first administration President Young had done much for the school, but a series of reports and surveys published by outside authorities at this time show that there was still much left to do. The Strayer-Englehardt Survey pointed out that salaries were still too low at the Negro college, that higher pay must be had to attract the higher degrees necessary if the school were to offer standard college work. It also recommended further building and laid out the plans for development which Lincoln still follows.

Arthur J. Klein, working in behalf of the United States Bureau of Education said, in 1938,

Considering the size of Lincoln University and the number of students enrolled, its physical plant is extremely limited and apparently inadequate for the institution's needs. Of the six buildings three are used as dormitories almost exclusively, a fourth is the president's home, leaving only two buildings available for academic uses. One of the latter is small, containing only four rooms.17

He commented further on the fact that none of these buildings was insured. Then he hit at another sensitive spot:

A further study of the academic program of Lincoln University disclosed the fact that, notwithstanding its designation as the Negro Land Grant College of Missouri, facilities have not been provided for instruction in agriculture or mechanical arts in the college, this type of work being limited to the high school. ... The State of Missouri has failed to develop a Negro land-grant college comparable with similar institutions established in other states.18

A further Office of Education Bulletin in 1930 listed Lincoln as the recipient of the smallest percentage of the Federal monies granted to any Negro land grant college by the individual states receiving the monies. It went further

to make these specific recommendations for Lincoln:

1. That the President should be an ex-officio member of the Board of Trustees.

2. That cooperative relationship should be established between the white and colored land-grant schools.

3. That the President should be relieved of minor jobs so he can stimulate interest in the school and keep in touch with education.

4. Heads of departments should visit and confer with heads of departments at white land-grant colleges and report.

5. Salaries should be raised.

6. Pre-medical work should be offered after the work is brought up to college standard.

7. Surveys of the agricultural, industrial, business, home economics should be made in the state so that new avenues of employment should be opened up. Curriculum revision should follow results obtained.

Not Dr. Elliff, President Young, and Superintendent Lee together could bring about most of these recommendations. Many of them remain objectives to be striven for even to this day; but some of the objectives were even then achieved. A new education building went up in 1929. Provisions of the Land-Grant College were met with through another expeditious move. Dalton School, a secondary school founded in a town of the same name under the impetus of Dr. Elliff while he was

still superintendent of schools in St. Joseph had run successfully from 1907-1911. At this time difficulty arose concerning the relationship that existed between the students and certain members of the faculty. When the school was reorganized it was given to the state which, through legislative action, turned it over to the University of Missouri. This institution worked it as an experimental station until 1929. At this time it was turned over to Lincoln so that that institution would have part of the facilities assumed when the government donated land-grant funds to it. Now, Dr. Elliff tells the investigator the school is, in reality, a public high school for students within a radius of twenty miles.

Elliff also attempted to facilitate in-service training of the teachers at Lincoln, making it possible for them to attend educational and scientific meetings. President Young continued to get large appropriations from the legislature, especially under the Governorship of Henry S. Caulfield and, with Superintendent Charles Lee doing the 'front' work, the Education Building was constructed through benefit of a $50,000.00 grant from the General Education Board in New York (April 29, 1930). President Young also started, in conjunction with the State Department of Education, in-service aid to rural

21. The material in the paragraph was given to the author in an interview by Dr. Elliff.

teachers through University Extension, assisting especially the teachers in southeast Missouri.

Insecurity of tenure still hung over the heads of faculty members and administrators as well and proved to be an excellent check-rein on progressive activities. In 1929, through Representative Walthall M. Moore of St. Louis, and again through Senator Phil Donnelly, President Young tried to get the term of the curators lengthened and so arranged that each state administration's succession to power would not completely upset Lincoln University's faculty and administration. In neither instance did Young's pleas prove fruitful in the legislature. A thorough examination of the school by Dean Stouffer, on behalf of the North Central Association, in 1930, revealed that it was not yet ready for accreditation as a four-year liberal arts college. This must have been a big disappointment to the President; but he went to work right away to remedy the defects that had been pointed out: inadequately trained faculty, lack of establishment of curricula, proper standards, and general atmosphere of a collegiate institution. President Young wrote to members of the Board, members of the State Legislature, appealing for an appropriation which would enable him to get the school in a position to be accredited. In April, 1931, he failed to be elected for another term as President.

23. Ibid., p. 223.
Ambrose Caliver, senior specialist in the Bureau of Education in Washington was elected instead (June 1931), but he refused the position.

C. W. Florence, then a student at Harvard University, completing his Doctorate, was chosen as Young's successor. On his insistence, and with the continued support of Lee and Elliff, work progressed on the plan of getting Lincoln accredited. Heads of departments were given a year's leave of absence with half pay if they would work toward their doctorates. To further work toward the end of accreditation President Florence asked for an appropriation of $413,200.00 for the biennium 1933-34. The Tax Commission recommended $194,000.00, and President Florence called an urgent meeting of the Curators. The final appropriation, though not as low as the Tax Commission had first recommended, was not as high as President Florence had thought necessary. The consolation prize of the year, however, was membership in the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, as a full four-year liberal arts college, (April 20, 1934), a prize secured, more probably than not, through the assistance of Dr. Elliff, so long an important force in that accrediting organization.

In keeping with this new status President Florence made an attempt to establish faculty tenure on a more permanent

25. Ibid., p. 234.

26. Ibid., pp. 244-5.
basis (May 26, 1934). At the same time, a member of the Board, Mr. McLemore, thought that all teachers at Lincoln should partake of group life insurance with the Liberty Life Insurance Company (December 22, 1934). A teacher on insecure tenure, undoubtedly, is more inclined to buy insurance on the recommendation of a member of the Board of Trustees.
CHAPTER X

PROVISIONS FOR GRADUATE WORK

The story of the education of the Negro in Missouri on the graduate level is a story that must be told in terms of the last five years. Before 1940 no such education was offered, even at the State University for Negroes. Only the impact of a decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, delivered in 1939, could bring about even the degree of graduate education that is now available within the state.

In 1936 Lloyd Gaines, a graduate of Lincoln otherwise fulfilling the qualifications, was refused admission to the School of Law at the University of Missouri because it was "contrary to the constitution, laws, and public policy of the State to admit a Negro as a student in the University of Missouri." With the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People coming to his aid, furnishing lawyers in the persons of Sidney Redmond and Henry D. Espy of St. Louis and Charles H. Houston of the national office, Gaines fought the case through to the Supreme Court of the United States, where, in a six to two decision, that body decided in favor of Gaines against the University of Missouri. Said the decision, read by Chief Justice Hughes,

2. Ibid., p. 12.
The admissibility of laws separating the races in the enjoyment of privileges afforded by the state rests wholly upon the equality of privileges which the laws give to the separated groups within the state.

Equality of privileges certainly was not present in Missouri. The United States Office of Education, in its Survey of the Higher Education of Negroes, listed the opportunities for Negro students desiring to do graduate work, in terms of fields of specialization available for white and Negro students. At the time of the report Missouri showed the following opportunities in undergraduate fields of specialization:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Field</th>
<th>For white</th>
<th>For Negro</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arts and Science</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commercial</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home Economics</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineering</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trades</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Based on research done in 1939-40, the report indicated that, on the graduate level, whereas the white university at Columbia offered 55 fields of specialization, for Negroes there was none.

Lest the reader come to a conclusion too unfavorable toward the State of Missouri, let him be reminded that such a lack of education on the graduate level was common for Negroes in the United States, wherever segregation in education was practiced. The remainder of the lengthy and exhaustive study compiled by the Office of Education and already cited above, furnishes ample testimony to the fact that most other states with racially segregated educational systems were no further advanced in their offerings of graduate training to Negroes.

Only five of the (25) colleges and universities offer graduate work, which is limited to study leading to the master's degree. This work appears to be creditable in two of the institutions. The States that maintain separate schools for their Negro residents are now, as a result of the Gaines decision by the United States Supreme Court, confronted with the necessity of making, within their several areas, provisions for educational facilities equal to that which they make for their white residents. Some States are undertaking to provide graduate education in State institutions. The problem of the Southern States in providing graduate education for their Negro population, without waste of funds, is a difficult one, and an entirely satisfactory solution has not yet been found.

McCuistion's study, already used as the basis for the consideration of graduate education for Negroes throughout the United States generally, adds to the belief that Missouri was not behind the other Southern states in her graduate offerings.

to Negroes. In fact, McCuistion goes out of his way to praise Missouri because, though she failed to provide the graduate opportunities within the state, she was a leader in the movement to provide for extra-state facilities:

The first of the states to provide graduate and professional training for Negroes at state expense was Missouri, which in 1921, passed an act stating that, 'pending the full development of the Lincoln University, the Board of Curators shall have the authority to arrange for the attendance of Negro residents of the State of Missouri at the University of any adjacent state, to take any course or to study any subject provided for at the state University of Missouri, and which are not taught at the Lincoln University, and to pay the reasonable tuition in fees for such attendance, provided that whenever the Board of Curators deem it advisable, they shall have the power to open any necessary school or department.

Such is the truth, much to Missouri's credit, if she is to be compared with her sisters to the south. The law so rightly lauded by McCuistion was the fruits of the labor of the first Negro member of the Legislature of Missouri, Representative Walthall M. Moore, from the Sixth District of St. Louis. With slight legal changes this law has stood on the record of Missouri since 1921. Appropriations for the payment of out-of-state tuition for Negroes began with the Legislature of 1929. The funds were administered by the State Department


7. Vide: Chapter IX.
of Education until 1931, when, with the revamping of the Board of Curators at Lincoln, that body assumed this work.

Though the sum allotted by the legislature for the payment of out-of-state tuition has varied from $5,000.00 to $50,000.00, at no time, McCuistion tells us, has the appropriation been sufficient to care for the number of applications received from eligible students.

An advertising broadside, under the imprint of Lincoln University, is available for the instruction of prospective recipients of such aid. Quoting the authority under which aid can be offered, this sheet states:

Pending the full development of the Lincoln University, the Board of Curators shall arrange, whenever any qualified student so requests, for his attendance at an institution of higher learning in some other state which offers educational facilities equal to those of the State University of Missouri----

The difference in wording between this version, dated 1943, and the 1921 version quoted from McCuistion is too obvious to need noting.

The broadside goes on to explain the terms of eligibility for out-of-state aid in the following words:

9. Executive Budgets, 1929-44.
a. The applicant shall file an application on blanks approved by the Board of Curators of the Lincoln University.

b. No applications shall be approved until an official statement certifying the admission of the applicant to the institution selected has been filed by the Registrar, or other authorized official, of the out-of-state institution with the proper officer at Lincoln University.

c. Students approved for grants shall be required to carry a normal student schedule of work during the period for which they are paid. They may accept scholarships to which their merit may entitle them without reduction of the grant, provided the duties incident to such scholarship or employment do not prevent their carrying successfully a normal load.

d. Grants for tuition shall be denied in the event the student does not make normal progress toward the completion of his course requirements. The grants shall not be approved for the quarter or semester following a period in which it appears that the student did not succeed in his studies, except for causes for which the student is not responsible.

Concerning the amount of the grant the broadside explains that it shall be actual tuition charged by the approved institution, with this restriction, "the total amount shall not exceed $100.00 per quarter, or $150.00 per semester or summer session, except that in an approved medical school these charges may be $150.00 per quarter or $200.00 per semester."

Lastly, as to payment of grants, the broadside informs the student:
A state warrant payable to the student in the full amount of the tuition and the fees chargeable for the quarter or semester shall be forwarded to the chief financial officer of the approved institution, to be delivered to the student upon completion of his registration for each quarter or semester.

Such is the fashion in which graduate instruction for Negroes of Missouri has been carried on for the brief two decades that it has been available at all.

In the period from 1920-1938, 104 of the graduates from Lincoln registered in graduate schools. Of these 28 received Master's degrees. In terms of percentage, 23% of the Lincoln graduates went to Graduate Schools; of these 6% got their advanced degrees.

In terms of numbers and percentages the spread of major fields in graduate school is also interesting:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Number majoring in the area</th>
<th>Percentage of Graduate group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>History and Gov't.</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>11.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathematics</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chemistry</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>43.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biology</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home Economics</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economics</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Science</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical Education</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In terms of schools attended there is also wide spread:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Iowa University</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michigan</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chicago</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ohio State</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Columbia</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illinois</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nebraska</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kansas</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U. of So. Calif.</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cincinnati</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Howard</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kansas State</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minnesota</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Reserve</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atlanta</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colorado State</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denver University</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iowa State College</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boston University</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University of Colo.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fisk University</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illinois State Normal</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indiana University</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kansas State Univ.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northwestern Univ.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Springfield College</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stout Institute</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University of Toledo</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Univ. of Washington</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wayne University</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wisconsin</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wichita University</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On the average these students did as well as other students in the graduate schools.

Such aid as this, however, is hardly equivalent to educational opportunities within one's own state, as was indicated by the decision of the Supreme Court in the Gaines case. Students who leave the state are incurring expenses for travel, for food, clothes and laundry in excess of that which would have been necessary closer to home. Then too, on the out-of-state grant as described in the broadside, a student would be prohibited from working part time and carrying a reduced load, a practice common even among students at the white state University. The Negro student on the graduate level would have to have money enough in reserve so that his schooling could be on a full-time basis. Statistics on the number of white students who work on advanced degrees on a part-time basis would
undoubtedly show that such far outnumber full-time candidates.

It is pertinent to note in passing that every cent spent on such out-of-state education as has been described above, despite the saving grace of the 'pending the full development of the Lincoln University' clause, is an invitation for some eligible Negro to sue the State of Missouri, with possible results similar to those that lead to the establishment of the Schools of Law and Journalism on the undergraduate level.

In keeping with the mandates of the Court in the Gaines Case, the University at Jefferson City initiated a program of graduate study within its own confines in the summer of 1940. "The present program aims toward the further preparation of principals and teachers for secondary and elementary schools, and of professional workers in other fields." As of the Catalog containing the announcements for the school year 1945-6, the only majors in which Negro graduate students could work were Education and History. Minors were available in these two fields and in English and Sociology.

The work of such students as register in this Graduate School is directed by a Graduate Council consisting of eight men, all with their Doctorates. The graduate courses

13. Ibid., pp. 8-9.
available are grouped as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Graduate and Undergraduate</th>
<th>Graduate</th>
<th>Field</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Economics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>History</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Sociology</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The teaching staff, all with the Doctorate, include two men in Education, one in English, two in History, and one in Sociology. Of the Ph.D.'s, four were earned in 1939 or later; the other two in 1934 and 1936 respectively. Three are from the Ohio State University, one each from the University of Illinois, Colorado State College of Education, and Columbia.

For the one degree offered by the School, the Master's in Arts, the requirements are sufficiently rigid:

1. Satisfactory score on an English usage test.
2. Filing of application for candidacy with the Chairman of the Graduate Council.
3. Residence of two semesters or four summer sessions in the Graduate Division.
4. Successful completion of 30 semester hours or the equivalent of approved work of acceptable quality.
5. Completion of, and an acceptable oral examination on an approved thesis.


6. Completion of requirements for the degree within six years from the time of full graduate status.

7. Satisfactory scores on a written comprehensive examination in the student's major field of study and also the minor field of study when a minor is required.

8. Satisfaction of the student-teaching standards for education majors.

9. Satisfactory personality and evidence of professional standards.

10. Recommendation of the candidate by the Graduate Council to the President of the University for the degree.

In no way do these requirements compare unfavorably with those for the same degree at the University of Missouri. Numbers 1, 7, and perhaps 9 are lacking in the stated requirements for the same degree at the latter institution.

The lack of success of the Lincoln University Graduate School may be surmized from the following enrollment figures:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Enrollment in Regular Session</th>
<th>Enrollment in Summer Session</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1940-1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941-2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1942-3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1943-4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Such a small number of students prohibits the development of a school that in any way fulfills the need of the Negroes of the state for graduate instruction. Though the war might be blamed in some degree for the smallness of figures for the

enrollment in the graduate school, teachers at Lincoln University are quick to say that they discourage students from attempting graduate work at the school because they, the teachers, realize that Lincoln has only now reached maturity as a four-year college. They feel it is hardly ready to launch out as a graduate school. Students, from all indications, are of the same opinion. In six years there has been one graduate from the Graduate School of Lincoln University.
CHAPTER XI

PROFESSIONAL TRAINING

One of the saddest deficiencies in the United States today is the almost complete lack of opportunity for the professional training of Negroes, even Negroes who might serve their own people as doctors, lawyers, dentists, or social workers. Though it may not be felt as strongly in Missouri as it is in Alabama or Louisiana, where the proportion of Negroes to whites in the population is six to eight times greater, this lack is a thorn in the side of the development of any well-rounded system of equal educational opportunity for Negroes.

When a state is committed to the offering of equal educational facilities for all people within her borders, especially when she is so committed by action of the Supreme Court of the United States, she finds that educating 6 or 600, separately, as she does 94 or 9400 is indeed an expensive undertaking. This has been Missouri's discovery as she has valiantly attempted to keep her word. And the story of her provision of professional education for Negroes is one of amazing generosity and indulgence in alarmingly high per capita costs of education.

Chapter XII has dealt with Graduate Education in the Liberal Arts, a phase of Negro education brought on in Missouri. Vide: Chapter II.
as a consequence of the Gaines Case decision of the United States Supreme Court. But it will be remembered that the desire for more rarely found professional education of Negroes was at the basis of the litigation which resulted in the Gaines decision. Lloyd Gaines was ambitious for a legal education and, though he never did stay in the state long enough to satisfy that ambition, he did initiate the action which brought professional education into being for the Negro in Missouri.

The first fruit of the Gaines Case decision was the School of Law, associated with Lincoln University, but located in St. Louis, at 4300 St. Ferdinand at Pendleton Avenue. In February of 1939 this school opened its doors, in a rented building, with a staff of six:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Member</th>
<th>Salary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dean</td>
<td>$5,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secretary</td>
<td>1,800.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Librarian</td>
<td>2,100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Associate Prof.</td>
<td>3,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Associate Prof.</td>
<td>3,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instructor</td>
<td>2,250.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

At this date the president of Lincoln was receiving $6,000.00 and his professors $3,100.00 to $3,600.00.

2. Bulletin, School of Law (December 1939), containing announcements for the school year 1939-40.

The library was begun with an appropriation of $13,000.00. Today it numbers more than 21,000 volumes.

All this is a testimony to the generosity and fairness of the citizens of Missouri. But it must be remembered that the size of the Negro population in Missouri precludes the possibility of any large enrollment in such a specialized school as a School of Law. It is not surprising, then, that the enrollment has never exceeded 35 and that, in the school year 1943-4 it dropped to 0.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Student Enrollment</th>
<th>1940</th>
<th>1941</th>
<th>1942</th>
<th>1943</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First year</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second year</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third year</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It must be borne in mind, too, that, with the distribution of students such as arranged above, different courses had to be offered to the students on the various levels of advancement. The average size of classes was 9.3 students. More than that, according to a member of the Board of Curators, the Dean and the personnel had to be maintained and the library added.

5. Bulletins, Lincoln University.
6. J.D. Elliff, in interview, gave the material for the ensuing paragraph.
to materially' even when there were no students in attendance, as happened in 1943. The Law School had been opened as a fully qualified and recognized, accredited school of law, that, in compliance with the law, it might be 'equal to' the school for white students at Columbia. It had to be kept on the 'inactive' list of the accrediting associations so that, when it started up again, if it did, it could again be accredited and still be equal to the white school.

There need be no discussion, then, of the competence of the faculty or the nature of the courses presented. The school was a bona fide, grade A law school, the pride of Missouri's Negroes and the bane of Missouri's taxpayers. Ten students were graduated from the school during its four years. Of these nine had passed the bar as of May 4, 1945. The cost of each of these diplomas to the state, could it be computed, would indeed be large.

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From the School of Journalism, founded in 1941 at Jefferson City, only one student had graduated as of May 4, 1945. This fact alone is indicative of the higher cost per capita of the education in Journalism which the state of Missouri offered its Negroes. There exist fewer opportunities for

8. Loc. cit.
Negro journalists than for Negro lawyers. Naturally, there were fewer Negroes who wished to follow a Journalism course.

But the University of Missouri had a world-famous School of Journalism, one whose fame had been made great by such names as Walter Williams. Ten days after the Missouri Supreme Court had received the decision of the Supreme Court in the Gaines Case, on January 30, 1939, Miss Lucille Bluford, managing editor of the *Kansas City Call* and alumna of the University of Kansas, fully qualified for graduate work in Journalism, sought to register at the University of Missouri's School of Journalism. She was denied admission, and, when she appealed on the basis of the Gaines Case decision, was told that the case was still in litigation.

On February 7, 1939, the Missouri Supreme Court, en banc, ordered the Gaines Case placed on the May docket, thus giving the apprehensive legislature a chance to act. The chairman of the appropriations committee introduced House Bill 195, one section of which read, "The curators of Lincoln University are given the right to make Lincoln University equal to the University of Missouri." Another section stated that, as in the past, the state would pay out-of-state tuition for those Negroes seeking education unobtainable in Missouri until such time as the curators could make that education available in

the state. Thus was the responsibility of carrying out the terms of the Gaines Case decision put into the hands of the curators, taking the responsibility off of the shoulders of the Missouri Supreme Court and the Missouri legislature. Thus, it was thought, might things be legally left to languish as they were.

But again the name of Dr. J. D. Elliff was to be met with. As a member of the Board he saw to it that action was taken to make the desired education available. The Board asked for an initial extra appropriation of $65,000.00 that a School of Journalism for Negroes might be established, and the legislature was in no position to refuse the request. With the appropriation a new building was erected on the Lincoln University campus to house the new school. A library was begun and a staff was hired:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Salary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dean</td>
<td>$4,300.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secretary</td>
<td>1,500.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Librarian</td>
<td>1,920.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assistant Prof.</td>
<td>2,250.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assistant Prof.</td>
<td>2,250.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instructor</td>
<td>1,800.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The student body was never any larger than one would have been led to expect on the basis of the state's Negro population:

Here again the class size must, necessarily, have been small. From the statistics here presented the average size of the class would have been 2.8 students. This is individualized instruction with a vengeance. In 1944-45 there was no money for salaries for the personnel of the School of Journalism, and faculty members from the white school of Journalism had to journey to Jefferson City to teach the classes of Negroes. Thus Dean Frank Luther Mott’s name appears, quadruple asterisked to designate him as white, in the Lincoln University Bulletin.

No wonder that with these developments on the Lincoln campus, with this increasing individualization of instruction, the biennial appropriations to Lincoln University increased at a rate far in excess of that to the University of Missouri.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Academic Year</th>
<th>To Lincon</th>
<th>To U. of Missouri</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1937-8</td>
<td>$555,000.00</td>
<td>$3,963,155.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1939-40</td>
<td>856,000.00</td>
<td>3,908,211.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941-2</td>
<td>900,000.00</td>
<td>3,976,240.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1943-4</td>
<td>779,000.00</td>
<td>3,783,230.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

13. Executive Budgets.
Figuring roughly on the basis of enrollment figures which appear in the catalogues of the respective schools, and which include summer school, extension, and all classifications, in 1939-40, typically, the University of Missouri had 17,010 students; Lincoln, 1,228. Still estimating roughly on the basis of figures here available, the annual per capita expense of educating a white student in that period was $229; of a Negro student, $697.

There is no conjecturing as to what the policy of Missouri will be in the education of Negroes for the professions in the future. The Strayer-Englehardt Survey had long since recommended the establishment of at least pre-medical work for Negroes in Missouri. The Negro citizens of the state are well aware of the fact that they do not now have facilities for the training of Negro dentists, doctors, engineers, nurses, or social workers. If they should move to get such training, as provided for them by the Gaines case decision, the result would be embarrassing, expensive, or both, as far as the state of Missouri is concerned.

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CHAPTER XII

TEACHERS COLLEGES AND JUNIOR COLLEGES

In addition to the School of Education at the state university for whites, Missouri boasts six teachers colleges, five of them recently newly named state colleges, for whites. The state also maintains twelve junior colleges for the convenience of her white citizens. The Negroes of Missouri have one junior college at Kansas City and one teachers college, in addition to the Department of Education of Lincoln University at Jefferson City.

It might be argued that the limited possibilities for employment of additional Negro teachers discourages the organization of further teachers colleges for Negroes; but certainly the very factor of Lincoln University's location far from the centers of Negro population in the state would seem to be a strong argument for the organization of two or three additional junior colleges. However, as a matter of actual report, the existence of both the single teachers college and of the single junior college is due to the centralization of the Negro population in the two largest cities, the facilities there offered to white citizens, and necessity. St. Louis needed Negro teachers for her expanding Negro school system, as had the state earlier; she had to create an agency to train them.

Kansas City, unlike St. Louis with its Washington University and St. Louis University, had no strong institution of higher education for whites. She was in need of a municipal junior college for whites, and she started one in 1915. At least in token, she established an outwardly comparable institution for her Negroes in 1937 when the pressure for it became sufficiently compelling.

For information regarding these two schools the investigator is indebted to Principals Ellison and Harris, of Lincoln Junior College and Stowe Teachers College respectively. The most pertinent information concerning Lincoln Junior College was made available through the kindness of Registrar S. W. Canada of the University of Missouri, who gave the investigator access to files of correspondence concerning the accreditation of Lincoln Junior College by the University of Missouri. Catalogue numbers of the Bulletins of both schools, issues of the Public School Messenger, a manuscript history of Stowe Teachers College, and the Reports of the Superintendents of Schools in both of the cities were also of assistance.

Stowe Teachers College, formally Harriet Beecher Stowe Teachers College, after the famous anti-slavery author, is the older of the two institutions. Like Lincoln University, Stowe traces her history back to more humble days. The school began in 1890 as the Sumner Training School, a normal depart-
ment of the Sumner High School, especially devoted to preparing elementary school teachers for the St. Louis public schools. In these early days, according to our manuscript history, there was no specific instruction in pedagogy, merely observation of the teaching in the high school and general criticism of techniques. In these days too, until 1908, the number of graduates from Sumner High who could enter the Normal Division was limited to six, so that these could more easily find positions available. After this date, because of protests, the restrictions on the size of the entering class were abandoned, though the Board of Education reserved the right to select but six of the graduates for positions. The course was a prescribed one, without electives, and was taught by the high school faculty, with the addition of two faculty members exclusively for the Normal Division. In 1908, too, Theory of Teaching was added to psychology, art, literature, physiology, biology, and general review of the common branches.

In 1924, two years before Lincoln University was recognized as an accredited institution for the training of teachers, the St. Louis Board of Education voted to increase the curriculum offerings of Stowe to cover a four-year period, granting it the privilege of offering a degree instead of the certifi-

2. General Catalogue, Harris and Stowe Teachers Colleges, published by the Department of Instruction, St. Louis Public Schools, St. Louis Missouri, (March, 1945), p. 30.
cate it had heretofore offered. This was the beginning of
Sumner Teachers College.

In January of 1929 the name was again changed, this
time to the present Harriet Beecher Stowe Teachers College,
and the school moved into a wing of the Simmons Elementary
School. To this school were added three additional faculty
members, including two women, Miss Martha Lewis and Miss Ruth
Harris, the present principal.

The following year, 1930, saw the establishment of a
Junior College, with the school admitting non-teacher trainees
for the first time. Unfortunately a shortage of funds put a
stop to this arrangement in 1933 and the Junior College was
discontinued. In answer to Stowe's pleas, however, the
United States government furnished money, through the Works
Progress Administration, and with Dr. Florence of Lincoln
assisting, a fine Junior College was operated in Stowe's
building from 1933-1938.

3. Yvonne Fairbanks, "A History of Stowe Teachers College"
   (in mns.) Stowe Teachers College, through the courtesy of
   Dr. Harris.
5. Loc. cit.
8. This information, as well as much that follows in the first
   half of this chapter was given to the investigator by Dr.
   Harris in interviews.
In May of 1940 the school moved once again, this time to a new building of its own at 2615 Pendelton Avenue. Although Dr. Harris did not receive any invitation to sit in on the planning of the school, to counsel with the planners on the basis of her twenty years of experience with the school, the new building was well adapted to the needs of Stowe, and it could easily be transformed to a high school, if need be.

The three-story building contained seven classrooms, three laboratories, an art room, a library, a ladies' lounge, gymnasium, auditorium, and music room. It was erected at a cost of $375,239.89.

One last item in the chronology of Stowe's development deserves mention here. In January of 1941, for the first time, Stowe admitted young men who wished to train as teachers. Dr. Harris explains previous disinclination in this regard on the grounds of tradition; since the white tradition as well as the early Negro had been based on women in the grades, so Stowe had trained only women. It was only the advent of Superintendent Anderson, an outsider, that brought about the entrance of men into Stowe. And, in the beginning, they were to be trained solely as teachers of physical education.

11. Dr. Harris, in interview.
Eight men enrolled the first year.

Dr. Ruth Harris, a graduate of Columbia University and an educator prominent in national circles, has been the head of Stowe since 1935. Prior to her accession to power the school was managed by men, and for one period by the same man who was then in charge of Harris Teachers College, St. Louis' training school for white teachers, Dr. J. Leslie Purdom.

While the two schools no longer have the same administrator, they now share the same catalogue. Published as a 12 General Catalogue, this booklet contains the separate sections devoted to the faculties and information peculiar to each, then the Description of Courses common to both. Only parenthetical statements, (Stowe) or (Harris), after the names of certain courses, usually more suitable to the needs of one of the schools, or perhaps merely bearing a different name than a comparable course in the other school, serves to differentiate the two schools.

Recently the faculty of the white school has been about twice as large as the faculty for the Negro school:

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12. Published first as a number of the Public School Messenger, for example Vol. XXIX, No. 1 (September 1, 1931), or Vol. XXXIII, No. 7, this Catalogue is now published separately by the St. Louis Department of Instruction. For full information see note 2 above.
From the same sources it is also evident that the faculty at Harris is possessed of superior academic preparation:

### Degrees Possessed by Members of the Faculty

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Stowe</th>
<th>Harris</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ph.D.</td>
<td>M.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936-37</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940-41</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to Principal Harris, teachers at Stowe are generally recruited from the ranks of fine Negro high schools, often those in St. Louis itself. The teachers are granted tenure upon appointment; and they receive salaries ranging from $1,800.00 for an instructor to $2,900.00 for an assistant professor, $4,000.00 for an associate professor, and $5,000.00 for a full professor. Such salaries, she hastened to add, have been in effect only since 1932, and few teachers qualify for the highest salaries as yet.

The St. Louis public school system has extended its blessings over the faculty of Stowe, an integral part of that

system. Though the teachers are not granted sabbatical leaves, either in theory or in practice, they do qualify for pensions of up to $100.00 per month upon retirement. Faculty members are, however, more restricted in their actions than they would be at such an institution as Lincoln University. Their actions must be more circumspect. They are treated more like high school teachers; they cannot leave the school building during the school day, even if they should have no classes. They are called upon to do a certain amount of field work out in the public elementary and secondary schools. But similar conditions, all along the line, exist in the municipal teachers college for whites. Both are adjuncts of a city school system and, in a way, are glorified high schools.

The student body is a direct carry-over from St. Louis Negro high schools, which contribute ninety-nine per cent of Stowe's enrollment. The cost of living in St. Louis is too high to tempt any students from the rest of the state to come to Stowe for their teacher training course. Almost all of the students who go into teaching are absorbed by the St. Louis public school system, eventually. Of an entering class of 125, but 25 students on the average go on through to graduate. Those who fail at Stowe, or who find the atmosphere uncongenial.

15. Dr. Harris in interview.
16. Loc. cit.
go to Washington Technical High School, where they may do post-high school work in a trade or a craft, or they go to work. Some of them go to Lincoln University for a more general course. The school work offered at Stowe, other than that offered in the teacher training field, is not, Dr. Harris maintained, exactly what the Negroes of St. Louis need. It is much too "academic".

Of the Negro institutions of higher education in Missouri Stowe Teachers College seems to be the best. It does not offer the scope of work found at Lincoln University, but on the basis of competent administration, modern facilities for what it attempts to do, esprit de corps among students and faculty, and the level of excellence of its courses, Stowe stands first. This may well be the result of the function it fulfills. It is serving a definite purpose, fulfilling a definite need. Because of this St. Louis maintains it on a high level. Both Harris and Stowe are accredited by the American Association of Teachers Colleges, though Harris is also accredited by the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools. Neither school has a large library because of the availability of the municipal libraries.

Size of Teachers College Libraries

<table>
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<th>Stowe</th>
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<th>Harris</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>volumes</td>
<td>periodicals</td>
<td>volumes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936-37</td>
<td>11,000</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>15,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1939-40</td>
<td>13,000</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>18,500</td>
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</table>

This factor, size of library, restricted by the presence of other library facilities under municipal control, indicates the major fault with Stowe, as well as with Harris. Both are too close to a city school administration, elementary and secondary; both suffer because some people are still not convinced that teacher education on the level of higher education, is necessary for grade school teachers. The strengthening of the School of Education at Washington University may help change the situation in St. Louis, especially since Negroes are already admitted to St. Louis University and the agitation has already begun to allow them to enter Washington University.

It must also be remembered, however, that the same factor which is at the basis of Stowe's weakness as a college is at the basis of her strength as a school. While she performs her task competently, she is adequately supported by the St. Louis Board of Education. The Negro schools, elementary and secondary, in St. Louis, are among the best in the state. Stowe is no exception.

20. Dr. Harris in interview.
Missouri's interest in Junior College education was first noticed in the *Sixty-Eighth Report* of the Superintendent of Schools. Negro interest in such schools, however much it may have manifested itself, has resulted in the establishment of but two Junior Colleges for Negroes, one in Kansas City, in conjunction with Lincoln High School and one in St. Louis, in conjunction with Stowe Teachers' College. In the former case, in reality, the Junior College training is nothing but a glorified high school training, and in the latter case the existence of the school, even as a subsidiary to Stowe, has been insufficiently continuous to warrant too serious a separate consideration.

The first information concerning Negro interest in such Junior Colleges comes in the form of letters now in the office of the Registrar at the University of Missouri. In a letter dated June 28, 1928, Superintendent Charles Lee asked Dr. J.D. Elliff for information concerning a proposed Junior College at the Lincoln High School in Kansas City. Superintendent Lee wished to ascertain whether such a school would come under the accrediting jurisdiction of the University of Missouri Junior College Committee.

In a reply to George Melcher, the Registrar of the State University agreed that the University of Missouri would act as
an accrediting agency until Lincoln Junior College got into a position to be recognized by the North Central Association.

Full plans for the school were sent by H. O. Cook, Principal of Lincoln High School to J. H. Coursault, Chairman, Committee on Accredited Schools and Colleges at the University of Missouri. Mr. Cook announced that he wished to open a Junior College which would meet the requirements of both the State University and the North Central Association. In this letter, dated July 10, 1928, Mr. Cook said further that English, Biology, History, Psychology, and Home Economics were on the card of offerings for the opening in September. No student was to take over fifteen credit hours per semester. Periods, he said, would be the regulation fifty-five minutes. Library and laboratory facilities were adequate and the following staff was on hand:

Miss Trussie Smothers, M.A. (Kansas), English
M.E. Carroll, M.S. (Kansas), Biology
Dr. H.S. Blackiston (U. of Pa.), Languages
W. E. Griffin, B.A. (15 hrs. on M.A.) (Kansas) Psychology
B.A. Mayberry, B.A. (18 hrs. on M.A.) (Kansas) History
G.A. Ellison, M.A. (Michigan) Mathematics

Three available teachers with M.A. degrees could offer courses in Chemistry, Botany, Physiology, Public Speaking, and Sociology as the school grew. And, to continue the promises, Mr. Cook ended with the statement that twenty-eight students
had already signed for the fall term. He expected a total of forty students by the opening of the first semester.

On the seventh of August, 1928, Superintendent of Schools for Kansas City, George Melcher wrote his version of the proceedings to Coursault. He explained that the white Junior College had been in existence for thirteen years and that the starting of a comparable Negro school had attended upon the building of a new senior high school building which could adequately house the necessary expansion. Now, with Lincoln High School newly housed, the city was prepared to offer the first year of Junior College work, with a minimum of elective courses to be offered. He listed the credit hour offerings as follows:

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Course</th>
<th>Hours</th>
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<tr>
<td>Modern European History</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sociology</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Psychology</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>American History</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Speaking</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College Home Economics</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From this group ten elective hours were to be selected the first year. The other twenty hours would be English (six hours of composition and four of literature) and Science (five hours of Biology and five additional hours to be arranged for the second semester). The texts and the general regulations of the Negro school, said Mr. Melcher, would follow those at the white municipal Junior College.
This early material is offered at such length because it is available nowhere else and because it is indicative of an early interest among the Negroes, at least in the urban areas, in the education of their kind on the Junior College level. Unfortunately financial conditions in 1928 and 1929 put a stop to plans in Kansas City just as they caused the discontinuation a year or so later of the Junior College experiment in St. Louis.

It was not until the fall of 1936 that the school at Kansas City really got under way. How well its beginnings jibed with the expectations of Mr. Cook and Mr. Melcher we may see from the Registrar's report to the Lincoln High School and the report of the examining committee on which that report was based. We find that, in its first year, Lincoln Junior College enrolled 67 freshmen. In its second year it listed 35 freshmen and 15 sophomores. Said the committee from the University of Missouri, "The library is technically a branch of the Kansas City Public Library and as it stands is an excellent library for junior college work. The weakest factor in the college is the general plan, or rather the lack of it." The committee recommended that the new school be granted only certificating privileges until it stabilized its program.

The report of this committee was translated into the following observations and suggestions by the Registrar:
When your curriculum is stabilized and other minor deficiencies have been remedied it is the hope and expectation of the Committee that Lincoln may be fully accredited.

In the judgment of the Committee, the greatest need of Lincoln Junior College is a more adequate plan of work. The present offerings of courses ought to be broadened substantially to include other offerings, especially in the fields of social studies, art, and music. This, the Committee believe, would give a better rounded program for the college students.

A few teachers in the college at present do not quite meet the technical requirements for junior college teaching. The Committee is approving the six hours of algebra with the understanding that Mr. Jeffress will continue his graduate work the next two summers and acquire his Master's degree. In the case of Mr. Bryant, the Committee is approving his work with the understanding that the completion of his thesis will enable him to receive his degree either next spring or, at the latest, next summer.

A matter that should receive more consideration concerns the teaching loads of the instructors in the junior college.

The Committee had pointed out that new courses had been added to high school teachers' loads as though they were only in high school and not teaching in a college. The recommendation was for a sixteen hour week, with eighteen put as a maximum.

The next annual report, submitted on July 24, 1939, by the Registrar at the University of Missouri to Mr. H. O. Cook, on the basis of examination of the institution by faculty members of the state university, highlights the same faults
observed in the first report. Teaching loads are still too heavy, and the Committee recommends the following maximums: 5 high school courses; 4 high school and 2 three-hour college classes; or 3 high school and 1 five-hour College course. Students continued to take more hours than they were supposed to.

Teachers were instructing in fields for which they were not prepared: Mr. Bluford was teaching Geography without any work in that field; Mr. Jeffress had not finished the advanced work that would equip him for his field. The report itself stated specifically that there had been no particular improvement over the previous year and no particular failure. "It seems clear that no one in the Kansas City school system is exerting himself to make this into a first class school", said the Committee, pertinently.

These same criticisms were repeated year after year to the present. In 1942, typically, the report on the condition of the school reads, "There was no change in courses or faculty as compared with last year - in fact, the school doesn't seem to change either for the worse or for the better. Primarily this is due to its connection with the high school." It is significant that, even in 1944-45 Mr. Jeffress is without his Master's degree and that, in light of the fact little had been done about recommendations, the University of
Missouri discontinued its examinations.

Before dismissing this school, some word should be said of its enrollment. The 1941 Committee Report states "Its enrollment continues to fluctuate violently with 21 special students out of an enrollment of 98. Of 19 graduates last year, 9 are reported as attending senior colleges". And it is surprising to note that at this time Lincoln University in Jefferson City reduced credits of students who transferred from Lincoln Junior College, though the Universities of Iowa, Kansas, Chicago did not.

In 1942, the Committee reported concerning enrollment:

The total enrollment is 82 this semester, contrasted with a total of 98 last year. Of last year's eight graduates seven are reported in senior colleges. The enrollment of 82 this year includes 20 special students who are nurses taking some science course in junior college.

In 1943 the examiner stated,

The first year students registration remains about the same as that of last year, but there is a significant drop in the second year students from 23 to 9.

This was in large part due to war activities and brings us up to, and beyond, the period of our study.

Concerning enrollment the Bulletin of the Junior College said, "The average enrollment, including nurses and commerce students, has been somewhat less than one hundred since the
founding of the college." This is 'catalog' language, as is the statement, true enough, yet misleading, "The work of Lincoln Junior College has been approved by the University of Missouri in conformity with the plan for approving junior colleges of the North Central Association." 

Concerning its own reason for being, the Bulletin had this to say,

A Junior College has the primary function of preparing a group of students, graduates of high schools, selected upon the basis of scholarship and character, for instruction in a college or university.

Its second function is to offer courses for general cultural value that will contribute to the level of education throughout the community.

A third function is the provision of short vocational courses on a college level to help adjust its graduates to the varied occupations of a cosmopolitan city. The Lincoln Junior College attempts to perform these three functions.

It seems most obviously true that, instead of creating a junior college to be the equal of the well-reputed Kansas City Junior College, Lincoln Junior College, despite its statement of its purposes, is merely a stop gap to keep the Negroes of Kansas City from insisting upon equality in educa-

23. Ibid., p. 5.
tional opportunity. The college is, as the examining commit-
tees repeatedly asserted, an appendage on a high school. The
words of the examiners from the University of Missouri fur-
nish a fitting conclusion: "It seems clear that no one in
the Kansas City school system is exerting himself to make
this into a first class school."
CHAPTER XIII

CONCLUSIONS

Even a cursory review of the preceding pages will bear out some general conclusions. The picture of Negro education in Missouri, like the picture of segregation in any segment of any democracy, is not a pretty one. It is a picture of waste, of neglect, of appeasement, of apathy. It is the picture of a situation the component parts of which you would like not to remember, but which you cannot drive from your mind.

Unfortunately for Missouri there is no recourse to the argument of the whole, the defense that affirms that the more culpable actions of others make the actions of Missouri less damning. Missouri's situation is unique because of her location and, more especially, because of the paucity of her Negro population. Her case is as individual as are a human's sins.

The unique character of Missouri's situation was illustrated even before the Civil War, when her Negroes were hired out, learned trades, had spare evenings in which to learn, and even had the high possibility of earning their freedom. Chapter III shows the special nature of the conditions in Missouri, first in general, then in the case of a particular slave.

The years after the Civil War brought about a development which might have been expected as far as education for
Negroes was concerned; but again the developments were marked by the nature of the Negro population in Missouri, scant and scattered as it was. From the missionary zeal that marked the enthusiastic beginning of much of the education of the Negro in the early years after the Civil War, the pendulum swung back in the direction that indicated outspoken antagonism toward gains made by the Negroes. Progress for the Negro in education levelled off then to a slow, steady gain, especially in the cities to which the Negro was moving in increasing numbers. This growth was, however, a reflection of the growth of the state school system for the white population. Fortunately for the Negro, the educational system for white children had not won its battle before the war. The Negro was able to begin at the beginning, to take advantage of the progress made by the larger system. Though it did not advance together with the white system, the Negro school did advance with it. For every hundred white high schools another Negro high school came into being.

After a long period of neglect that stretched from the days of post-Civil War reaction down to the renewed attention to Negro affairs which accompanied the onset of the first World War, the schools for the Negroes came back into notice for their share of attention. One long and favorable administration in the State Department of Education in Missouri prepared the way for advances toward equal educational facilities
for Negroes. One man who dared to face the facts concerning the Negro and his schools in Missouri helped to give the slow growth renewed impetus. Much which the Lee administration pointed out has been disregarded, much which it projected has been abandoned. But much, too, has been accomplished with elementary and secondary education for Negroes in the state. Superintendent King's graphs and charts illustrate this, even as they bring out, under careful scrutiny, the defects remaining in the Negro school system. The thinly scattered, meagre thousands of Negro children remain a problem defying solution by any Superintendent who works under laws of strict segregation.

Let there be no mistaking of meaning. It should not be said that Missouri does not 'do a good job for her Negroes' or that she is 'unfair.' In terms of per capita expenditures alone such an assertion could be proved to be utterly false. In terms of comparison with other states practicing segregation of Negroes and whites in their school systems Missouri would be found to be the most generous, the best provider. But it must be remembered that equal per capita expenditures do not by any means provide equal educational opportunities; and that is what must be provided, not only in accordance with political and religious idealogies, but in accordance with the expressed commands of the highest court of the land.
On still another point we should be careful in condemning Missouri for lack of educational facilities for her Negroes. She has done whatever has been done alone and unaided by outside philanthropy, philanthropy which has often undertaken the lion's share of the task of educating Negroes in states farther South. The two church-related colleges which sprang up in Missouri were not born of the Christian impulses of the white sects to which they claimed allegiance. One of the colleges was started by the Negroes themselves; the other was born of the generosity of a single white family. Both of the church-affiliated colleges suffered from lack of financial support. Both were boarding schools of a secondary nature. One of the schools died a graceful death when opportunity presented itself in the form of a fire that swept away its building. The other school continues its static, if not regressive, existence, serving no specific function, merely existing, and that weakly, because the religious constituency, white and Negro which should support it, cannot afford the stigma of having let it die.

Education of the Negro on a higher level was forced upon the State by the urgent necessity of securing teachers to supply the Negro elementary and secondary schools. Lincoln Institute, conceived and founded by Negroes, happened to be located in Jefferson City, the seat of the State Legislature. Although
weak, it was the strongest of the Negro schools claiming to engage in higher education. When forced by circumstances, then, the Legislature took over Lincoln and turned what had been a secondary school just slightly better than the religiously affiliated schools for Negroes into a teacher training school. This institution, though state subsidized, remained of inferior rank until twenty years ago, when it was finally accredited by a regional agency as a teacher's college. Subsequent development of the State University for Negroes only came when state politics were, in greatest part, disassociated from its management. Since this time, in 1938, there has been noticeable improvement in Lincoln University as a college.

The Gaines Case decision of 1939, however, thrust upon the University, just in the process of becoming a college, the necessity of becoming a University in deed as well as in name. As could be expected the school was ill equipped to undertake such a program. Graduate instruction remained limited and of low calibre. The majority of Negroes seeking graduate instruction went out of the state, with tuition paid through appropriated funds from the Legislature. Likewise in the professional fields, though the School of Law and the School of Journalism operated at great expense for the few students desiring such training, students seeking other professional training went out of the state with state aid.
Additional professional training was offered in the form of teacher training. St. Louis, with the strongest school system for the education of Negroes, felt the need for competent teachers and early established a school of her own to offer such training. This school, like most of St. Louis' schools for Negroes, is of high calibre, closely approximating its white counterpart, Harris, in requirements, facilities, courses, and general set-up.

In Kansas City, however, the attempt to parallel the development of municipal schools for whites with comparable schools for the Negroes was not as successful. Kansas City's Lincoln Junior College remains an appendage to a high school, giving post graduate high school work to Negroes not able to leave the city to attend schools on a higher level elsewhere.

In the last analysis, then, Missouri is in the uncomfortable position of a state with enough Negroes to make a difference, but not enough to warrant maintaining a separate educational system on an economical basis. The utter absurdity of providing a Negro University of Missouri, complete with Graduate School, School of Law, School of Journalism, and the rest for less than a tenth of the population is as absurd as parts of this dissertation have shown it to be. It can be done, yes; but only at great expense to the state.
In spite of the relative ignorance in which the Negro found himself upon being freed from slavery, in spite of the desire of certain groups of whites to hold him down, Negro schools have continued to develop. The Negro is intent upon bettering himself in whatever manner he may. He realizes the value of education, and he seeks to secure what he can of it. In Missouri, with the help of national organizations representing his interests, the Negro has made great gains recently; and he looks forward with expectation to greater gains in the future. It will be interesting to observe what new course will be resolved from the opposing forces, the desires of the Negro and the desires of those whites who resent his advances.
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Investigator and Beverly R. Foster, Principal, Dalton School, Dalton, Missouri, July 1, 1945.


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Professor J. D. Elliff, Curator, Lincoln University.

Principal G. A. Ellison, Lincoln Junior College.

Dr. Ruth Howe, Principal, Stowe Teachers College.

Professor C. C. Hubbard, Principal, Sedalia, C. C. Hubbard High School, Curator of Lincoln, student at Lincoln.

Mrs. M. W. Moorman, Acting Registrar, Lincoln University.

President Clement Richardson, Western College, President of Lincoln, 1918-22.

President S. D. Scruggs, Lincoln University.

Students and faculty members at Lincoln University, Western College, and Stowe Teachers College.
VI.

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VITA

Robert Irving Brigham was born on August 16, 1917, in Worcester, Massachusetts. In that city he attended Indian Hill Grammar School from 1923-1929; Dix Street Preparatory, 1929-1931; North High School, 1931-1935; and Clark University, 1935-1939. He graduated from the last institution with an A.B., with a major in English.

While he taught at Westminster College, Fulton, Missouri, in 1939-40, Mr. Brigham attended the University of Missouri, earning his M.A. in English in the summer of 1940. In 1940-1941 he held a Gregory Fellowship enabling him to continue his graduate work in English. That he might substitute for an instructor in English at the University, he relinquished the Fellowship during part of the year. In the fall of 1941, however, he was assigned the rank of regular Instructor in English, a position he held until 1945.

During his first year as Instructor Mr. Brigham worked further in the field of English. In the summer of 1942 he began his study of Education, continuing through regular and summer sessions until he received the degrees of B.S. and M. Ed. at the summer commencement in 1943. He continued his work in Education during the regular and summer sessions until he left the employ of the University of Missouri in 1945.

Mr. Brigham served during the school year 1945-1946 as
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The undersigned, appointed by the Dean of the Graduate Faculty, have examined a thesis entitled

THE EDUCATION OF THE NEGRO IN MISSOURI

presented by Robert Irving Brigham, A.B., M.A., B.S., M.Ed.

a candidate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

and hereby certify that in their opinion it is worthy of acceptance.