

RURAL AND SMALL TOWN SCHOOLS IN MISSOURI

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

1. INTRODUCTION
2. METHODOLOGY AND THE DIFFICULTY OF BLACK HISTORY
3. SURVEY OBJECTIVES
4. FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

PHASE I: THE MISSOURI RIVER VALLEY

PHASE II: NORTH EASTERN AND NORTH CENTRAL MISSOURI

PHASE III: NORTHWESTERN AND SOUTHERN MISSOURI

PHASE IV: THE BOOTHEEL REGION

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INTRODUCTION

Historical Background

In 1935, the great African American writer W.E.B. DuBois wrote a book about the African-American response to emancipation. Entitled *Black Reconstruction in America*, the book captured the dreams and aspirations of the former slaves. “[T]hese black folk,” wrote DuBois, “wanted two things—first, land which they could own and work for their own crops Then, in addition to that, they wanted to know They were consumed with curiosity at the meaning of the world They were consumed with desire for schools.”¹

This overarching desire for access to education was certainly true of African Americans in Missouri. And no wonder. In 1847 the Missouri legislature passed a law prohibiting the education of African Americans, slave or free. Anyone operating a school for “Negroes or mulattoes,” or teaching reading or writing to any black person in Missouri, could be punished with a minimum fine of five hundred dollars and sentenced for up to six months in jail. Slaveholders feared that literacy would lead to rebellion or, at the very least, increased dissatisfaction and restlessness among slaves.²

Missouri freedmen who sought educational opportunities in the immediate post Civil War era found help on several fronts. First and foremost, support came from State Superintendent of Schools Thomas A. Parker, a so-called “Radical Republican.” The Radical Republican party advocated the abolition of slavery and the exercise of full political and civil rights for former slaves. Other groups that tried to provide blacks with access to education included the

¹ W.E.B. DuBois, *Black Reconstruction in America*, rev.ed., Intro. By David Levering Lewis (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1922), p. 234.

Washington, D.C., based federal agency known as the Freedmen's Bureau ("Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands"), the American Missionary Association and the Western Sanitary Commission.³

Immediately following the war, Missourians adopted a new constitution that embodied many Radical Republican ideas. Article Nine of the new constitution mandated the establishment of free public schools for the education of all Missourians between the ages of five and twenty-one, without regard to race.⁴

In 1866, the Missouri legislature, still dominated by Radical Republicans, passed a law requiring townships to establish schools for African Americans in areas where there were twenty or more black children of school age. The schools, however, were to be segregated, an obvious concession to the postwar conviction among most Missouri whites that blacks and whites should not attend school together.⁵

It was one thing to pass a law calling for the establishment of black schools; it was quite another to try to enforce it. Superintendent Parker reported to the legislature in 1867 that there was no effective way of forcing whites to provide schools for blacks. Some counties refused to enumerate their African-American school-age children, reporting to the state superintendent that there were no such children in their counties.⁶ Other communities resisted taxing themselves for the purpose of establishing schools for black children. Ultimately the Radicals strengthened the law, giving the state superintendent the authority to establish and supervise schools for blacks in

² Gary R. Kremer and Antonio Holland, *Missouri's Black Heritage*. Rev. ed., (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1993), p. 38.

³ Gary R. Kremer, *James Milton Turner and the Promise of America: The Public Life of a Post-Civil War Black Leader* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1991), pp. 25-39.

⁴ Robert Brigham, "The Education of the Negro in Missouri," Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Missouri-Columbia, 1946, p. 83.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*

communities where local school boards refused to do so. Superintendent Parker in turn hired African-American leader James Milton Turner to travel throughout the state and determine where the law was being violated; Turner was then to try to persuade local school boards to comply with the law.

Finding competent, qualified teachers for black schools was a major problem, especially since African-American parents preferred that their children be taught by blacks. In 1869 Turner summarized the situation: "I find many localities in which Schools would be opened but for want of teachers."⁷ In an effort to solve this problem Turner moved to gain state funds for Lincoln Institute, a black subscription school established in Jefferson City in 1866. Through his efforts Lincoln received a \$5,000 appropriation in 1870 for the training of black teachers.⁸

Despite white racism manifested in opposition to black schools and a shortage of black teachers, schools for African Americans were established throughout Missouri during the generation following emancipation. Often, especially in rural communities, small, hastily built, inadequate frame structures were built to accommodate black students. State Superintendent of Schools Sam Baker took note of this problem in a 1922 report to the Missouri General Assembly: "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."⁹ Dozens of these small, inadequate structures still dot the state landscape, though the majority of them have given way to the ravages of time.

The era of World War I witnessed the construction of a number of new, more substantial and larger schools for black students, a practice that continued through the repressive

⁷ Quoted in Kremer, *James Milton Turner*, pp. 30-31.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

⁹ Quoted in Brigham, p. 125.

twenties and, often with WPA assistance, the 1930s. Even these newer, larger facilities were insufficient, however. By the close of World War II, awareness of the divide between educational facilities and opportunities for black and white students was becoming obvious to more and more Americans. Finally the United States Supreme Court handed down one of its most famous and far-reaching decisions in the 1954 case of *Brown v. Board of Education*, ruling that segregated education in the United States was “inherently unequal,” and a violation of “the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment.”¹⁰

Integration did not occur immediately throughout the state, and in some communities it was accompanied by escalation of racial tensions. In the Bootheel most school systems did not desegregate until the mid to late 1960s. Following desegregation, the inferior structures that had housed black education were often adapted for reuse; many later suffered significant neglect or were ultimately razed. Those that remain are an invaluable historical resource, for the unfortunate fact is that just as blacks under slavery and afterward, in the Jim Crow era, were politically, socially and culturally disenfranchised, the ongoing neglect and disinterest of many communities with regard to preserving black sites—especially schools--leaves the state of Missouri in danger of losing a vital portion of its African American history and material culture.

The Survey

When one thinks of African American schools in Missouri, what usually come to mind are larger urban schools, local landmarks that linger materially and culturally as part of the collective identity and shared experience of a relatively vast community. Schools like St. Louis’s

¹⁰ Quoted in Lorenzo J. Greene, “Report to the United States Commission on Civil Rights on

Sumner School or Kansas City's Wendell Phillips—or even important regional schools like Hubbard-Sedalia, Lincoln-Jefferson City and Douglass-Columbia are examples of black schools whose history and presence has endured. All functioned as area high schools and were such an integral part of the architectural and social landscape that after desegregation the buildings were immediately put to use as offices, apartments or community centers. These schools continued to operate until the mid 1950s, and had many loyal alumni, some of whom recorded their memories and school experiences in writing and many of whom keep their historical memory alive via reunions. But little attention has been paid to recording the histories, much less documenting the architecture, of the many smaller one- and two-room schools that sprang up in smaller towns and rural areas wherever the school-age black population reached a sufficient number. These schools sometimes had names, frequently Lincoln, Douglass, Washington, or Carver, but more often were simply named after the town, the local white school or the county district, with “Colored” or “#2” tacked on to the name to distinguish them from their white counterparts. In maps dating to the era of Reconstruction they are sometimes simply labeled “African” schools. These rural and small town Jim Crow schools generally went up to the eighth grade and in some cases were only in session five months a year. They were established both in isolated rural black settlements and in black neighborhoods that developed on the fringes of dominant white communities. Some were used for just a few years, while others educated three and even four generations, depending on the longevity of the black community. For many African Americans, especially those who grew up before World War II, these marginalized institutions provided the only education they would ever receive.

In January, 1998, we began to document the social and material histories of all remaining rural and small-town African American schools in fifteen Missouri River counties.¹¹ Over the next four years, this project would extend to eventually cover the entire state. Our goal was not only to document the architecture--the wide range of styles and types of buildings used as African American schools--but to record what is known of the individual histories of the schools and, in the process, to chronicle the reality of Jim Crow. Our information was obtained through a close study of the buildings themselves, through public records and most importantly, through dozens of oral interviews with former students, teachers, administrators and members of the communities in which the schools functioned.

Interviews played a paramount role in our research into the histories: histories that are rapidly fading from memory and that highlight not only already-known truths about segregated education in Missouri but also the surprisingly creative and persistent ways in which African Americans responded to the unjust confinement of such a system. The information obtained through our interviews is a powerful reminder that, removed from human experience, the buildings are no more than solitary remnants of segregation. As one scholar has noted:

... a place has no feelings apart from human experience there. But a place is a location of experience. It evokes and organizes memories, images, feelings, sentiments, meanings, and the work of imagination. The feelings of a place are indeed the mental projections of

¹¹ This research is funded in part by William Woods University and by a federal grant from the Missouri Department of Natural Resources' Historic Preservation Program and the National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior. Portions of this work have been presented at the 1998 Missouri Conference on History, the 1998 Missouri Folklore Society Annual Meeting, and the 1998 Conference for the Preservation of the Midwest's Ethnic Heritage, in addition to regular meetings of numerous local organizations.

individuals, but they come from collective experience and they do not happen anywhere else. They belong to the place.¹²

The education of former slaves and their descendants in Missouri was provided for in the Missouri Constitution of 1865. Article Nine, as previously mentioned, mandated the establishment of free public schools for all residents of the state between the ages of five and twenty-one. In 1866 the state legislature sought to enforce this provision by requiring each township or city board of education in the state to establish and maintain schools for African Americans in jurisdictions where black school-age children numbered twenty or more.¹³ By 1870, as one historian pointed out, "Missouri was lauded as the former slave state with the largest proportion of schools for negro children."¹⁴ Although the growth and enhancement of black schools would be slow after the conservative Democrats returned to power in the 1870s and re-wrote the state's constitution, progress would, nonetheless, remain steady. Of course, public education in Missouri would continue to be segregated by race throughout the first half of the twentieth century, gaining legal footing with *Plessy v. Ferguson* in 1896, and finally terminating in the years immediately following the famous *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* decision in 1954.

At the time of emancipation a substantial number of Missouri's estimated 115,000 former slaves were concentrated in the agriculturally rich counties of the Missouri River Valley, encompassing the heart of the little Dixie region. In several of these counties former slaves constituted between thirty-five and forty-five percent of the total population. Twenty-five years

¹² E. V. Walter, *Placeways: A Theory of the Human Environment* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 21.

¹³ Duane Meyer, *The Heritage of Missouri--A History* (St. Louis, MO: State Publishing Co., 1973), 492.

after slavery had ended, there were still large numbers of African Americans in the traditional seven counties of Little Dixie (approximately 45,000), a population that would increase steadily through the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and would be only marginally affected by larger demographic changes involving African Americans, such as the Great Migration of the World War I¹⁵ We thus focused initially on counties with a high concentration of African American schools. For example, Callaway County at one time had twenty-eight African American schools, Boone, eighteen; Howard, sixteen; Cooper, twenty six; Chariton, fourteen; Lafayette, twenty; Saline, eighteen. Although the number of schools decreased as rural black communities dissolved with the onslaught of the Depression and the economic opportunity of the New Deal, in 1933 these same counties still had the highest number of black schools outside of St. Louis and the Bootheel.¹⁶

As black communities began to form, schools and churches were erected throughout the state; both stood as material symbols of African American unity as communities and reflected blacks' desire to establish an identity separate not only from the dominant white communities, but from other black communities as well. Churches and schools were an integral part of their developing sense of place. For the earliest of these schools we have no written documentation and little or no oral record as well; they have largely faded from memory.¹⁷ Many of these schools, especially the early ones, have been razed or have fallen victim to the elements, but a surprising number have survived, largely due to adaptive re-use. As with black homes, these schools were not well constructed, and consequently were subject to rapid deterioration.¹⁸

¹⁴ Robert Brigham, *The Education of the Negro in Missouri*, Ph.D. Diss., University of Missouri, 1946, 125.

¹⁵ Milton Rafferty, *Historical Atlas of Missouri*. (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1982), 43.

¹⁶ Lloyd W. King, *Four Years of Progress with Missouri Public Schools for the Negro* (Jefferson City: MO: N.p., 1939), 35.

¹⁷ These numbers are based on remaining written and oral sources. It is likely that even more African American schools were established.

¹⁸ Constance M. Greiff, ed., *Lost America: From the Mississippi to the Pacific* (Princeton: The Pyne Press, 1972), 9.

However, former black schools have been converted into houses, apartments, storage sheds, garages, hay barns, grain bins, churches, ice houses, and bars. Since the majority of the schools consisted of no more than a single room, they were easily relocated. Adaptive and creative reuse has in fact spared most of the buildings that we have researched. Perhaps owing to the simple, utilitarian design of these buildings, people found logical reasons to save them.

Initially, the establishment of black schools met with some local resistance, especially in central Missouri. In the late 1860s, as described earlier, James Milton Turner, a black agent of the both the federal Freedmen's Bureau and the state department of education, noted countless incidents in central Missouri where local school boards failed to comply with provisions for black schools. State funds for the establishment of black schools were misappropriated or stolen, incompetent teachers were hired, and in some cases the number of black school-age children was purposely underestimated. As Turner encountered these individual situations head-on, he repeatedly had to turn to the state superintendent to threaten local boards into compliance. In Arrow Rock Turner found that state funds for the establishment of a black school had somehow vanished. In places like Roanoke, Turner discovered a hostile white community openly resisting the establishment of a school for African Americans.¹⁹ As late as 1911 in Lafayette County near the small town of Corder, the home of a black family was bombed by a mob of fifty local whites expressing their outrage at plans to establish an African American school.²⁰ In general, as far as the local white communities were concerned, the establishment and maintenance of black schools were of low priority.

A significant number of the buildings where African Americans attended school, especially in the late nineteenth century, were not originally designed as schools at all. Many of

¹⁹ Gary Kremer, *James Milton Turner and The Promise of America* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1991), 28ff.

the first schools established for blacks during Reconstruction were private residences.²¹ The Goode home outside of Moselle in southeastern Franklin County is believed to have been established as a school immediately following Emancipation; the Goode family lived in the house at the time and class was held in their dining room.²² The first school for African Americans in Tipton was held in the home of Cal Shackelford, the A.M.E. preacher; in Nelson, Thornton Taylor's home was the school for a number of years following Emancipation; Boonville students met in a house that was called Elias Buckner School until their first school was erected in 1868.²³

Many other buildings originally designed as homes were purchased and used as schools throughout the Jim Crow era. Extant examples reflect a wide range of styles. For example, Robinson School, a double-pen house built in the 1890s north of Prairie Home (Cooper County), was purchased by the local school board and used as a school from about 1910 through 1925. Similarly, Englewood School in Boone County's Three Creeks community, south of Columbia was originally the two-room Smith home, but was converted into the local school and used through the 1920s and 1930s.²⁴ When Truitt School south of Stephens Store (Callaway County) burned in 1922, the local school board purchased and converted a small, one room ceramic block structure originally designed as a coal workers cottage. Some of the earliest schools were single pen homes of log construction, although few examples exist.²⁵

²⁰ *Kansas City Post*, October 18, 1911, p. 2.

²¹ The oral record and local written histories have all underscored the fact that most of the earliest schools were, in fact established in private homes.

²² Clyde Gennerly, interview by author, tape recording, Union, MO., February 14, 1999; telephone interview February 6, 1999.

²³ Shipley, James. Interview by author. Tipton, MO., May 11, 1998. Also see: *History of Saline County, Missouri*. (Marshall, MO.: Saline County Historical Society), 1983. 127, and Robert L. Dyer, *Boonville: An Illustrated History*. (Boonville, MO.: Pekitanoui Press., 1987), 133. The house in Boonville was called Elias Buckner School.

²⁴ Byron Smith, interview by author, tape recording, Columbia, MO., January 22, 1995.

²⁵ Sparse written evidence has supported information obtained from informants who told us of earlier schools that were of log construction. In Callaway County at least two log schools were still in use as late as 1911. Callaway County, Clerk's Office. Rural School Records, Callaway County Courthouse, Fulton, MO. The first Hawkins School near New Bloomfield in Callaway County was a single pen log cabin located in a patch of woods.

Churches also functioned as African American schools. Nine of almost sixty schools that we have examined thus far are churches. Crow's Fork A.M.E. in Callaway County was Pugh "Colored" from 1885 to 1925. In Liberty, the basement of St. Lukes A.M.E. Church was one of the first black schools in Clay County. The "African School" in St. Charles, built in 1865, was actually purchased by the district, converted and became Lincoln School in 1871²⁶. Brown's Chapel (Freewill Baptist) was the first African American School in Arrow Rock (Saline County), and used from 1870 to 1892, when the first school building in the community was finally erected.²⁷

It was not uncommon for churches to serve as schools in the late Jim Crow era. Constructed in 1880, Oakley A.M.E. in Tebbetts (Callaway County) was Hord School for several years during the Depression. Lexington's black students attended school in Zion A.M.E. Church for three years (1939-1942) after a fire consumed Douglass School in the winter of 1937.²⁸ For almost two decades African Americans in Washington attended the second of three Crispus Attucks schools in that city, which was a converted Presbyterian church dating from the late 1860s. Individuals who attended school in churches recalled the difficulty of sitting and working in a pew. Richland Church, south of Glasgow (Howard County), functioned as both church and school for a significant black farming community through the 1940s, and was reputed to have been outfitted with both pews and desks, openly reflecting its dual function.²⁹

Occasionally schools were built on church property. In Nelson (Saline County), the school board determined that a black school should be built in the shadow of St. John's Church,

²⁶ See: "One Hundred Years of Negro Education in St. Charles, Missouri" in Franklin High School Reunion Association (program) (N.p: n.p., 1997). Also Melvin Washington, interview by author, tape recording, St.Charles, MO., March 23, 1999.

²⁷ Gary Kremer, "African American Education in Arrow Rock, Missouri," unpublished manuscript.

²⁸ Jack Holmes, interview by author, tape recording, Lexington, MO.,September 12, 1998. after the original Douglass school burned in 1937;the white school board there was reluctant to immediately construct a new school; "new" Douglass was constructed in 1943-1944 only after a controversial bond issue was voted on and passed in 1942.

despite the fact that this particular lot was prone to flooding. Similarly, Douglass School north of Foristell (St. Charles County) was erected in the 1920s on the edge of a one acre property occupied since 1871 by Smith A.M.E. Church and cemetery.³⁰

Even if a separate school building was built, there invariably existed a tight bond between church and school, since churches were an integral part of African American communities. Whether Baptist or A.M.E., the church was more than just a place of worship; it served as the heart and soul of the black population. School functions were commonly held at the local church; Christmas programs, graduation ceremonies as well as basket dinners and picnics and a host of other celebrations often involved both church and school.³¹

Some businesses even functioned as temporary schools. In Armstrong (Howard County), a bar called The Big Apple was the black school from at least as early as 1895 through 1902, when the first Douglass School was built. Students used tables and bar stools as desks by day, and in the evening The Big Apple was the center of nightlife on the black side of the tracks in Armstrong.³²

When schools were built they were very simple, utilitarian structures, rectilinear in form, one- or sometimes two-room, commonly gable end. Although often similar to their white counterparts in economy of design, the rural schools especially, were always inferior in terms of construction and materials. These schools had little or no insulation, and were usually outfitted with a simple wood stove. What former students remember most is how intolerably cold the buildings were in the winter. Marvin Hughes, who attended Phyllis Wheatley, on the outskirts of Dalton, in the 1930s, remembered that on cold days class was conducted around the stove.

²⁹ Maxine Bynum, interview by author, tape recording, Glasgow, MO. April 13, 1999.

³⁰ Missouri. St. Charles County. Recorder's Office. Deed Books. St. Charles County Courthouse, St. Charles, Missouri.

³¹ Countless interviews attest to the close ties between school and church.

Eugene Sims who attended Otterville “Colored” told how the wood stove was where students huddled together on cold winter days. Sometimes it was more practical to close school. Margaret Ewing, the third generation of her family to attend Gregory-Yucatan, noted that “during years with very cold winters--we probably went to school about five or six months total.”³³

The larger the town and the black population, the larger, more substantial, and more elaborate the building. The majority of small-town schools in our study are practically identical to the rural schools, although often constructed on a slightly larger scale. They usually were comprised of a single classroom, or at times contained a second smaller entrance room and exhibited sparse stylistic ornament that was often nonexistent in their rural counterparts. On occasion they were built on a “T” plan, as is exhibited in Phyllis Wheatley in Dalton (Chariton County), Lincoln School in Blackburn (Saline County), or Gibson School located in the northern outskirts of Wright City (Warren County). Some “T” plan schools were comprised of a single room with a temporary divider while others were designed with two permanent classrooms, in addition to a distinctive projecting entrance hall. The largest, and least common design of black schools is four-over-four, but it is exemplified in buildings such as Dalton Vocational School’s historic Bartlett Building. Generally speaking, the larger schools are more high-style in design, and reflect all major trends from the Victorian of Tipton’s Harrison School, to the Craftsman of Douglass-Higginsville, and Dunbar Centralia, to Deco of Lexington’s Douglass and Boonville’ Sumner, to Neo-Colonial of Washington’s Crispus Attucks, to the more “modern” 1950s brick, concrete and glass austerity of Dunbar-Bunceton.

³² Dorothy Parker, interview by author, tape recording, Armstrong, MO., January 24, 1997; March 7, 1997.

³³ Margaret Glover, interview by author, Yucatan, MO., March 6, 1999.

Most of the small-town schools and virtually all rural schools, even the later ones, were without indoor plumbing (as was also true of white rural schools of the day). Gibson School in Wright City, operated from around 1915 until 1962, without plumbing. Most had wells located nearby, but many of these dried up in the late spring, and in such cases part of the daily routine included designated students walking up to a mile or more to procure a bucket of water from a local cistern, spring or creek. In Moselle, Franklin County, the school's daily water supply came from the creek at the bottom of the hill, the same creek that flowed first through white Moselle.³⁴ At Liberty School, Gooche's Mill (Cooper County) the older boys were assigned the morning ritual of procuring their daily supply of drinking water from a spring located one-half mile away³⁵ In the 1930s at rural Foristell's Douglass school (St. Charles County), the well water became contaminated by the adjoining cemetery and for years thereafter they obtained their drinking water from a cistern located on a nearby farm.³⁶

School buildings were sometimes white cast-offs. In several instances when whites obtained a new school the blacks moved into the former white building, which was invariably better than the building that they were currently using. In 1940, near Gooch's Mill, Liberty Colored School was in such a state of disrepair that African American students held class in the recently vacated Liberty (white) School, one mile up the road.³⁷ Similarly, in Mayview (Lafayette County), Lincoln school was in such poor condition that when the white community built a new mission style building on the west side of town in 1928, Lincoln on the east side was razed and the former white, one-room school house was moved from across town on skids, by mule team,

³⁴ Gennerly interview.

³⁵ Lelia May, interview by author, tape recording, Boonville, MO., June 2, 1998.

³⁶ Donald Luckett, interview by author, tape recording, Wentzville, MO., June 18????, 1998

³⁷ May interview.

and placed on the former site.³⁸ It was in continuous use until 1957. Schools were also built with used materials. In 1892, when the whites built a new school in Arrow Rock, the lumber from the old white school was carefully removed and hauled across town to build the “new” black school, which was used until it burned in 1932.³⁹

There was at least one recorded incident where a white school burned and the blacks were removed from their relatively new school and forced to move to an inferior building in the country, several miles outside of town while their school was converted into a white elementary, replete with brand new books and materials. This took place in Blackburn in western Saline County in 1948. There is still bitterness over the injustice in the dwindling black community today. Nellie Guthrie a former teacher at Lincoln-Blackburn angrily recalled that “when the whites wanted the building they just kicked us out---it was a sad day for the Negroes in Blackburn--and one we've never forgotten.”⁴⁰

Although there were a few exceptions, local white school boards were largely unsympathetic to the material needs of black students. In all Jim Crow schools, books and other educational materials were hand-me-downs from the white schools. Typically the books came directly from the local school white, whether it was across town or down the road; black students were well-aware of this fact.⁴¹ The books that African American students received frequently had pages, pictures, or whole chapters missing. Eighty year old Herbert Elett in Excelsior Springs noted: “Its like this--one page may have ‘little boy blue come blow your horn,’ you’d turn the page and the rest of the story wouldn’t be there--we *never* got the whole story.”⁴² Students simply

³⁸ India Marie Turner, interview by author, Mayview, MO., September 12, 1998. Also Lutie Johnson, telephone interview by author, Mayview, MO., October 11, 1998.

³⁹ Kremer, “African American Education in Arrow Rock, Missouri.”

⁴⁰ Nellie Guthrie, interview by author, tape recording, Blackburn, MO., October 3, 1998.

⁴¹ Countless interviews attest to the fact that books were always white discards and practically unusable.

⁴² Herbert Ellett, interview by author, tape recording, Excelsior Springs, MO., February 18, 1999.

made due by looking at the book of the student beside them. Clyde Generley who attended Lincoln School in Union explained: "if we had a page missing then we'd look over on someone else and they'd do the same--we got the lesson, but we had to work at it."⁴³ Eighty-seven-year-old Delmar Clayborne of southern Montgomery County summed up bluntly what we have documented in interview after interview: "They didn't fuckin' give us nothing that wasn't worn out by white kids."⁴⁴

In some schools teachers were not even provided with blackboards; black-painted plaster sufficed for students who attended Nelson Colored and Lincoln-Gilliam (Saline County), Bush School (Montgomery County), and a number of other schools built before 1920.⁴⁵ Large nails served as coat hooks, and there was no play equipment except for what the students brought from home. Jack Holmes who attended old Douglass School in Lexington in the early 1930s recalled that the library only had a few old books and was little more than a storage room, and that the school was never adequately supplied: "nothing ever materialized--it was always the same old song--no money in the budget. What it was a snow job---a sly way of telling us that it wasn't going to get done---that we wasn't going to get it--we were suppose to be taught useful skills that would help us get a job--the only typewriter in the building was the one used by the principal."⁴⁶ The superintendent's records from Callaway County in 1909, give us an excellent example of the conditions under which blacks attended rural schools. At Viers "colored" he notes: "No apparatus of any kind. Floor dirty. The house is log not plastered just chinked and no ceiling. Desks good. Stove good. Outhouse fair. Plenty of trees. No well. Blackboard good. Order good.

⁴³ Gennery interview.

⁴⁴ Delmar Clayborne, interview by author, tape recording, McKittrick, MO., July 23, 1998.

⁴⁵ Many early rural schools and small-town schools built in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries used black-painted plaster as chalkboards. Schools like Nelson were eventually outfitted with chalkboards.

⁴⁶ Holmes interview.

Need some desks and a broom. Value of house \$50.00.”⁴⁷ Morning View School, west of Guthrie was even worse: ”No maps, globe, charts, or frame. No library. No teacher’s chair. No coat hooks. No well. No outhouses. No wood house. It is in the woods in a field of brush and trees”⁴⁸ (it was in fact over a mile from any road). In several of the rural schools, it was noted that they were never even provided with an adequate supply of wood. When their wood supply ran out one cold winter during the Depression, Yucatan’s Gregory School (Callaway County) temporarily closed.⁴⁹

The locations of rural African American schools were another problem; schools were not always convenient to the community that they served. They were often located where the majority of black families were concentrated. For blacks who lived outside of the central community, or in cases where they were geographically diffuse, this meant a long walk or drive. Delmar Clayborne recalled: "they made it hard for blacks to get an education...if they didn't have enough kids in an area they didn't get no school.”⁵⁰ Clayborne and several other students from Warren County were transported seven miles to a one-room school in Little Africa, a black community outside of McKittrick, in the back of a pickup truck. Dorothy Parker of Armstrong recalls riding a mule to her small school on the western edge of Roanoke, from her home located some three miles west of town.⁵¹ Others remember having to either walk long distances or live with friends or relatives. Sylvester Hill was raised on an isolated farm in northern Moniteau County and had no choice but to attend Liberty School in Gooche’s Mill, some eight miles west, which necessitated living with his grandmother, and later his uncle. Indicative of the still-

⁴⁷ Callaway County Missouri, Recorder's Office. Callaway County Superintendent of Schools Notes, 1909-1911, Callaway County Courthouse, Fulton, Missouri.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ewing interview.

⁵⁰ Clayborne interview.

⁵¹ Dorothy Parker, interview by author, Armstrong, MO., January 24, 1997.

lingering African American view of education as opportunity, Hill recalled: “You’d stay with just about anybody you could to go to school.”⁵² Blacks’ persistent desire for education led to creative schemes for procuring transportation or living arrangements; in return for Hill’s room and board his family lent his relatives a good mule and a horse and wagon.⁵³

When a drop in enrollment forced the closing of schools, the remaining students were required to attend the closest black school, which could be located many miles away. When their school was closed in 1923 and students from Cave’s Community in Callaway County began to attend Hawkins school outside of New Bloomfield, four rugged miles away; they were transported in a large covered wagon across fields owned by not so accommodating whites.⁵⁴ Similarly, in Franklin County, when Moselle School closed, students were transported in a converted Model-T Ford to Lincoln in Union, twelve miles away. The state was required to pay transportation costs, but the reimbursement generally amounted to very little.⁵⁵ Bus transportation was not available until the 1940s. Given the situation, county boundaries were often meaningless. For example, students in southern Audrain, eastern Boone Counties are known to have attended Callaway schools when they were closer. Truitt, on the eastern edge of Callaway County always had a high enrollment of Boone County students. Similarly, Bush School east of Reads ville, in southern Montgomery County had so many Callaway students attending that the teacher’s salary was paid by Callaway County.⁵⁶

High school was available to African American students, but for many it was simply not feasible; it frequently meant traveling long distances, or moving, or working out arrangements

⁵² Hill, Sylvester. Interview by author. Boonville, MO. October 1, 1999.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Bernice Whittler, interview by author, tape recording, New Bloomfield, MO., September 17, 1998. If the fields of neighboring whites were muddy, residents of Cave’s Community had to take a much longer route on county roads.

⁵⁵ Gennerly interview.

⁵⁶ Callaway County, Missouri, Clerk’s Office, Rural school records, Callaway County Courthouse, Fulton, Missouri.

with relatives in Kansas City, St. Louis, Sedalia, or Jefferson City.⁵⁷ Beginning in the late 1930s, some small-town schools, like Harrison-Tipton and Lincoln-Montgomery City began to offer certain years of high school on an “as needed” basis so that more students would continue their education.⁵⁸ The 1940s witnessed the beginning of state-funded bus transportation for rural and small-town students to regional high schools that were up to seventy-five miles away from home. For example, students from Chariton, northern Saline, northern Howard, Carroll and Randolph counties were bused to Dalton Vocational School, seven miles southwest of Keytesville. From eastern and northern Saline County, western Moniteau, and Morgan Counties students were transported to Lincoln (and later Hubbard) in Sedalia. From as far away as northern Callaway they attended Lincoln-Jefferson City; and from Richmond in Ray County to Garrison-Liberty in neighboring Clay County. It is clear that many students had to quit school after the eighth grade. Perhaps most quit simply because they had to work to contribute support for their families.

With few exceptions, rural black schools had a female teacher who taught all eight grades. If the black population was large enough to merit a two-room school, two teachers were employed; one taught grades one through four, while a second taught five through eight. Some stayed at a particular school for many years, where they became a local institution in and of themselves; others changed positions relatively frequently. Lilly Blackstone taught at Oak Hill near Pleasant Green (Cooper County) for at the better part of three decades. Similarly, Gladys Brown taught students at Lincoln School in Blackwater from the early years of the Depression through the 1940s. Nannie Walker taught at her one-room school in Lexington for so long that

⁵⁷ Countless interviews attest to the fact that families sometimes made arrangements with relatives living in larger cities so that a student could attend high school.

⁵⁸ Shipley interview.

generations of blacks referred to the building only as “Miss Walker’s School”⁵⁹ By contrast, Lelia May and her sister, Eula Nelson, in their distinguished careers as educators both taught at numerous schools throughout Cooper and Howard Counties. May taught at Tuscumbia (Belaire), Dunbar-Bunceton, Liberty-Wooldridge, Liberty-Speed, Fayette, and, after integration, Bunceton Public Schools, where she retired. Her sister Eula taught at Salem-Prairie Home, Liberty-Wooldridge, Highland #2 (Browntown) and Dunbar-Bunceton, where she also served as principal.

Most teachers active from 1920 through desegregation were trained at Lincoln University. Earlier teachers had at least some high school coursework. Many were even high school graduates.⁶⁰ Up until the mid-1940s, qualification was less a matter of formal education, than of passing a state exam. Black women teachers were paid less than either whites, regardless of gender, or black males. For example, in 1936, in Speed, the white teacher at Palestine School had a high school education from Bunceton, six terms teaching experience, and was paid \$62.50 per month. The black teacher at Liberty Jewell, the black school located several hundred feet east, had 101 credits from Lincoln University, and fifteen terms classroom experience; her salary was set at \$45.00 per month.⁶¹ Continuing education workshops in the 1940s and 1950s in Cooper County reflected similar racial injustice. Teachers were obligated to attend periodic county workshops held in the Laura Speed Eliot Auditorium. Black teachers were required to sit upstairs and were openly discouraged from participating in discussion. May recalled: “if they passed out any material, it never seemed to make it around to us.”⁶²

⁵⁹ Jack Holmes, interview by author, tape recording, Lexington, MO., September 12, 1998. Also: Bernice Taylor, interview by author, tape recording, Lexington, MO., July 3, 1999.

⁶⁰ Missouri, Cooper County, Rural School Records. Public school records from other counties also attest to this assertion.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² May interview.

With desegregation, most black teachers simply lost their jobs.⁶³ The majority were not hired by local white schools; black teachers were, by and large, the big losers in desegregation. Often local school districts regarded black teachers as less qualified and felt that their hiring would only provoke white backlash.⁶⁴ There were exceptions: Betty Brown, who taught in Gibson, north of Wright City from 1950-1962 was the first African American hired at Wentzville High School, from where she retired in 1990. Melvin Washington, long-time principal of Franklin School in St. Charles, was also hired by the local white district, not as an administrator, but as an Algebra teacher.⁶⁵ An overwhelming number of the rural teachers were forced into other occupations.

To be sure, African American students learned to cope with a plethora of handicaps. But despite being deprived and marginalized, they did make the best of their education. They aptly reflect the African American emphasis on education as the ticket to upward mobility that never waned in rural Missouri. Almost all informants who attended rural schools from the 1910s through the 1950s could read and write, though the vast majority of those currently over sixty did not make it past the eighth grade.⁶⁶ Moreover, these schools gave students a moral base, a sense of dignity and self respect, and an optimistic outlook on life, on community and on race; in the face of a society that had long viewed segregation and its apparent inequality as part of a natural order. Seventy-eight-year-old Faye Holt, who attended several rural Callaway County schools

⁶³ Betty Brown, interview by author, tape recording, Wright City, MO., September 19, 1998; March 21 1999.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Washington interview. Washington would eventually move back into administration, but desegregation dealt his career a severe setback.

⁶⁶ This assumption is based on interviews with fifty-three African Americans over the age of sixty. Most of those interviewed felt that these schools had given them the tools to an enjoyable and relatively successful life.

summed up what countless others have told us: "that was the way it was--we didn't know any different--we didn't get too far, but we made good with what little we got."⁶⁷

Individually, each history is a snapshot of black rural and small-town Missouri; an inside look at African American communities that have vanished and others that stand to disappear as later generations drift away from their rural and small-town roots. Collectively the histories and material remnants of African American schools in Missouri say much about segregation; they provide insight into the harsh reality of Jim Crow education in general and provide a better understanding and appreciation of the African American experience outside of major cities. Although our study is still far from complete, we hope that our work will provide an important and much needed chapter in Missouri's rich, yet insufficiently studied African American legacy.

⁶⁷ Faye Holt, interview by author, tape recording, Guthrie, MO., June 30, 1996.

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METHODOLOGY

Preliminary Research

As a starting point for each phase of this four-phase survey we identified pertinent work by other scholars. Initial research involved examining surveys that had already been done under the direction of the Historic Preservation Office. A thorough analysis of these surveys revealed a significant number of structures that we were unaware of. In addition, we reviewed, in the HPP archives, a cursory statewide survey of African American historic sites completed by Gary Kremer in the 1980s. This particular project identified numerous buildings that were once used as black schools and concentrations of African Americans throughout the state.

Historical atlases have also proven useful in locating and dating structures; maps of several counties dating from the 1870s and 1890s designate schools as "colored." Sandborn and USGS maps have also proven extremely useful.

Personal contacts, including many "cold" calls, were essential to the effort to locate schools. USDA fieldworkers were sometimes able to provide us with information. We made literally hundreds of calls and wrote numerous letters to local historical societies and individuals whose names we had obtained from those societies and other local sources. In 1997, as we began to lay the groundwork for our field research, we began an extensive effort to contact historical societies in the belief that they would be able to: 1) guide us to former black schools in their counties; 2) suggest other individuals who might provide information pertaining to such schools; 3) provide names of potential informants who attended or taught at such schools; 4) identify research repositories that we could consult in an effort to locate and compile information pertaining to such schools. However, local organizations have proven to be a mixed blessing:

they have been extremely useful in placing us in contact with knowledgeable individuals in both the white and black communities, but have frequently provided us with dubious or incomplete information, requiring further research and intensive labor to verify information.

Often we relied on more labor-intensive and aggressive fieldwork, including canvassing of black communities for informants and, less frequently, grabbing the attention of the local media via press releases that highlighted our project and the local schools we were targeting. Canvassing proved to be an especially fruitful—if time-consuming—method, but it would not have worked without the generous help of many individuals who interrupted their daily routines to talk with us on the spur of the moment.

Fieldwork

A large portion of our fieldwork involved locating, identifying, and documenting substantially intact structures that were used as African American schools in each of the target areas. In addition to buildings specifically designed as schools, we addressed churches and private residences, and other buildings that were also used as schools. Approximately ___ of our 200 buildings inventoried were not specifically designed as schools, but their function both as educational institutions and as historic community sites unquestionably qualified them for documentation and potential preservation.

Since the structures included were built over a broad period of time (c.1860s-c.1950s), in communities that ranged in population from the hundreds to tens of thousands, with corresponding disparity in school-district resources, they reflect a wide range of architectural styles--from simple one-room vernacular schoolhouses to larger, more modern buildings that encompass various high-style elements.

We encountered everything from shotgun vernacular frame structures in remote rural areas to more refined Mission and Deco brick buildings tucked away in corners of small towns. Some of these structures have been severely altered and their architectural integrity compromised, but while architecture is a point of interest—even importance—in many cases, it is not the only or even the primary focus of this project. Altered though they may be, all of the schools we have surveyed merit documentation and, in numerous instances, preservation, on the grounds of their historical significance to the local African American community and to the overall black experience in Missouri. Many of the structures have survived and have been preserved as a result of creative and innovative adaptive re-use. Former black schools, especially those constructed in the Depression and post-war years, have proved excellent candidates for conversion into residences, garages, storage sheds, churches, community centers, religious retreats, and grain bins. We have included a scale site plan as part of the survey form for each property, including exterior dimensions of the main structure, and noting outbuildings, walkways and parking lots and all additions and exterior alterations (see example in Appendix 1). Where possible we have also documented the condition and alterations of the interior.

We did not address those few sites that were already on the National Register, except, on occasion, those sites that were included in multiple-property or district listings and whose function as schools was not sufficiently addressed.

In addition to an architectural description, we took black and white photographs of each of the properties, including at least one medium format 5" X 7" black and white custom print. The main facade or the most revealing façade was photographed, depending on which was most significant; other distinctive features of the structure were photographed as well. Where possible, historic photographs have been included to illustrate architectural changes over time and to

record teachers and other notable individuals associated with a particular school. From the beginning we were apprehensive that few photographs would exist of most of the schools, and this has indeed been the situation. In cases where the structure merits a National Register nomination, photographic documentation is more extensive. In such cases, basic building floor plans may also be included as an appendix to the survey inventory form.

The inventory forms include a brief history of each school and outline of the development and present state of the local black community, based on both oral and written sources. Again, we owe an enormous debt to the informants who have helped us; and we regret that we were not able to locate an oral “goldmine” of information for every school included. Oral interviews with individuals who attended or taught at the African American schools we located were an integral component of our research design. Not surprisingly, the oral dimension of the study proven to be the most challenging and rewarding. Our interviews uncovered information not only about specific structures, but about entire communities. An unexpected highlight of the study has been the chance to rescue and record some of the history of rural African American communities from a dying oral record. The interviews conducted were tape recorded whenever informants allowed it; when possible we also photographed informants, but not all of them were willing to be taped or photographed. We are confident that the unique and perishable oral accounts we have obtained will provide the basis for future scholarship.

Archival research, primarily public records located in the county courthouses (if extant), as well as privately held records that identified school administration and teachers, was also consulted. Public documents provided information concerning the establishment of various schools and also helped fix construction dates. With African American sites, such documents are often scarce; in some cases they no longer existed, or contributed little to the survey report.

Property abstracts and blueprints were also utilized when possible, and secondary sources, especially local and regional publications, were often invaluable, if occasionally inconsistent in the information they provided.

The Difficulty of Black History

African American history and field research into African American material culture presents specific problems to traditional methodology that inevitably influence the results. In the course of the four-phase survey we overcame a number of obstacles that we had not anticipated; others were impossible to conquer. There were frequent barriers to every stage of our research, from locating the schools to obtaining written and public records of them to documenting the buildings to obtaining oral histories of them.

As mentioned earlier, contacts made through local historical societies and personal referrals, along with canvassing, were generally productive ways of locating African American schools. However, each way had its difficulties: tracking down sources by phone or in person was often frustrating; and equally frustrating were the hours spent driving over half a county in search of a school that was supposed to be there but wasn't. We went on a number of wild goose chases, only to find that the school someone had remembered was destroyed years earlier. In addition, the basic one-room plan of many rural schools made them relatively easy to move to another property, and in several cases we had to search to find the spot where an extant school had been moved to. Some schools had been so altered that even with specific directions about where to find them we initially missed the former school building-turned garage/shed/house/church. A final difficulty stemmed from the fact that many of the African American communities that once dotted the rural regions of the state have long since vanished:

sometimes we had information that a former black school existed in a community but could not find anyone who knew where it was.

Written documentation was a more serious problem. In most cases there are no school district records for schools that closed fifty or more years ago. Historical societies sometimes yielded valuable written records, articles and histories of individual schools, but some of the histories were so poorly written or inconsistent as to be unusable. Courthouses were the most reliable source of documents, but these addressed only the properties, not the more important history of the schools, their students and their personnel.

Measuring, drawing and photographing the buildings often required permission from a private owner. When the owner was gone or did not live on the property it was not always possible to obtain consent. I would not care to estimate the number of times we climbed fences and trespassed in order to obtain measurements and view a building's interior. White owners of former schools were not always eager to contribute any information to the black historical record, and some were clearly apprehensive that their property might be placed under some sort of government restrictions.

One of the greatest payoffs of this survey was the enormous amount of perishable oral history we obtained, but even with oral histories we ran into trouble—not surprisingly. We were, after all, asking our sometimes quite aged informants to recall highly specific details about experiences of their childhoods—experiences that happened between forty and eighty years ago. We might reasonably have expected to encounter more bitterness or reluctance to talk about a painfully unjust educational system. In fact, we encountered less negative sentiment than we anticipated. An exception was the final phase of this survey. Informants in the Bootheel presented resistance that we seldom encountered elsewhere. In a region of the state where racism

is still prevalent and many African Americans live in extreme poverty, the injustice of Jim Crow remains emotionally present. One man was unwilling to talk about black schools because it was “too painful to remember that time.” A more helpful but bitter informant spoke of the “sophisticated slavery” under which she had lived most of her life. As an unfamiliar white man with a camera and measuring equipment, I was greeted with chronic suspicion in black Bootheel communities and, while measuring a school at dusk, came close to being assaulted by a group of intoxicated men.

But while the results of the survey have undoubtedly been impacted by all these difficulties, each phase and each type of problem has taught us something about how to surmount them and increased our sleuthing abilities and our expertise as interviewers. The last obstacle in this survey has been time, and we have made every effort to overcome it. There may be other African American schools extant in Missouri, but in four years of research, travel and interviewing they have not surfaced.

OBJECTIVES

This survey was intended to be a multi-phased effort to identify, record and analyze all substantially intact buildings in Missouri that served as schools for African Americans during the Jim Crow era (c.1865-1954). The first phase addressed those counties along the Missouri River Valley between Kansas City and St. Louis. The second phase covered counties of northwestern Missouri along the Mississippi and counties in central Missouri adjacent to those in the first phase. Phase 3 included northern and southern Missouri outside of the Bootheel. The final phase addressed the Bootheel region entirely.

As we found from the start, for every visible African American school, there's another one that has almost completely faded from local memory, despite the fact that in many cases, material evidence, in one form or another, remains. Inventory forms were custom-designed to address the architectural features, history, condition and location of each school. Our primary aim was to identify schools that were important—and thus candidates for preservation—either architecturally or historically, ideally both. Our secondary goal was to gather as much historical documentation and information about the school and its role in educating black students as possible. However, in many ways these two goals turned out to be inseparable. For example, alterations to the school buildings were typically made in response to changes in the black community and its educational needs—thus the oral interviews often explained and highlighted architectural features of the particular school.

The information gathered during this survey--both architectural and social--can be used to evaluate individual sites in terms of eligibility for listing in the National Register of Historic Places and provide a starting point for scholars in African American history, and specifically the

history of black education, for years to come. In its finished form, this study is the most comprehensive work on rural and small town African American schools in Missouri to date. An outcome that is perhaps less visible is the vast archive of African American history that we have amassed in the course of this project: contacts, photographs, interviews, information about sites and communities not directly related to black schools. Ideally this trove of information will provide a foundation and an impetus for future research into the story of Missouri's African American population.

PHASE I—THE MISSOURI RIVER VALLEY

Beginning in the early decades of the nineteenth century, the Missouri River Valley attracted immigrants in search of fertile farmland. Many of these immigrants came from the upper South--Kentucky, Virginia, Tennessee, and the Carolinas--and brought with them to Missouri both their own slaves and a commitment to the continuation and expansion of slavery. At the time of Emancipation a substantial number of Missouri's estimated 115,000 former slaves were concentrated in the agriculturally rich counties along the Missouri River and northeast to the banks of the Mississippi; in several of these counties former slaves constituted between thirty-five and fifty percent of the total population. Twenty-five years after slavery had ended, there were still large numbers of African Americans in this area (approximately 25,000 in the fifteen counties to be researched in this phase), a population that would increase steadily through the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and would be only marginally affected by larger demographic changes involving African Americans, such as the Great Migration of the World War One era.

The oldest black settlements and earliest black schools are located in the Missouri River Valley, giving research into the black material culture of this part of the state a particular antiquarian allure. Fortunately, from our perspective, an enormous number of African American sites remain in this part of the state, making it the easiest region of the four in this study to mine for school sites and information. Because our contacts were better established in this part of the state, we encountered fewer challenges in locating schools and gathered an abundance of oral information.

state, we encountered fewer challenges in locating schools and gathered an abundance of oral information.

Many of the sites we documented in this area were eligible for inclusion on the National Register, either owing to their exemplary architecture or, more often, to their place as sites of cultural and ethnic value.

Recommendations

We recommend that the following schools from this phase be strongly considered for nomination for the National Register of Historic Places, based on the criteria outlined by the U.S. Department of the Interior:

1. Dunbar School, Centralia. Two-room, brick vernacular schoolhouse. Dunbar School should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.
2. Dunbar School, Callaway County, vcn. Auvasse. One-room, hipped-roof frame schoolhouse Dunbar School near Auvasse should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.
3. Grant School, Callaway County, vcn. Williamsburg. Gable-end, one-room frame schoolhouse with addition. Grant School should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.

4. Gregory School, Callaway County, vcn. Readsville. Gable-end, one-room frame schoolhouse. Gregory School should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.
5. Truitt School, Callaway County, vcn. Stephens Store. Side-gable, one-room ceramic-block schoolhouse. Truitt School should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.
6. Hawkins School, Callaway County, vcn. New Bloomfield. Gable-end, frame one-room schoolhouse with additions. Hawkins School should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.
7. Herbert King School, Callaway County, vcn. Portland. One-room, frame schoolhouse. Herbert King School should be nominated based on criteria A and C. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era. In addition, it is an excellent example of a single-room rural schoolhouse that remains completely original in all its features. Its architectural significance makes it a superior candidate.
8. Oakley AME Church (Hord School), Callaway County, vcn. Tebbetts. Gable-end church. Oakley AME Church (Hord School) should be nominated based on criteria A and C. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era. In

addition it is a fine example of a rural 19th-century gable-end church with completely original interior and many original exterior features.

9. Crow's Fork Baptist Church (Pugh School), Callaway County, vcn. Fulton. Gable-end church with addition. Crow's Fork Church (Pugh School) should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.
10. Mt. Vernon Baptist Church, Callaway County, vcn. Holts Summit. Gable-end church with addition. Mt. Vernon Baptist Church should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.
11. Oak Ridge Baptist Church, Callaway County, vcn. Guthrie. Gable-end church with addition. Oak Ridge Church should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.
12. Phyllis Wheatley School, Chariton County, Dalton. T-plan frame schoolhouse. Wheatley School should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.
13. Bartlett Building—Dalton Vocational School, Chariton County, vcn. Dalton. A brick modified Four-over-four School. The Bartlett Building and, indeed the entire site of the former Dalton Vocational School, should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in

general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era. Note: this particular site is an extremely important and demands immediate attention.

14. Lincoln School, Chariton County, Salisbury. A brick, T-plan school. Lincoln School should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.
15. Lincoln School, Chariton County, Keytesville. A frame, T-plan school with addition. Lincoln School should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era
16. Garrison School, Clay County, Liberty. Brick four-over-four school. Garrison School should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.
17. Lincoln School, Clay County, Excelsior Springs. A brick, two-room cube shape structure. Lincoln School should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.
18. Lincoln School, Cooper County, Blackwater. A brick, gable-end W.P.A. school. Lincoln School should be nominated based on criteria A and possibly C. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era. Note: Although severely

altered it is architecturally significant in that it is one of only a handful of remaining W.P.A. schools in the state.

19. Robinson School, Cooper County, vcn. Prairie Home. Frame side-gable saddlebag type building. Robinson School should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.
20. Salem School, Cooper County, vcn. Prairie Home. Frame side-gable saddlebag type building. Salem School should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.
21. Dunbar School, Cooper County, Bunceton. Concrete block vernacular building. Dunbar School should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era
22. Otterville "Colored" School, Cooper County, Otterville. Gable-end frame schoolhouse. Otterville School should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era
23. Attucks School, Franklin County, Washington. Brick gable end Greek revival church. "Old" Attucks School should be nominated based on criteria A and C. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era. It has also retained much of its architectural integrity and is a fine example of this type of church.

24. Attucks School, Franklin County, Washington. Brick T-plan School with addition.
Attucks School should be nominated based on criteria A and C. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era. It has also retained much of its architectural integrity despite an addition .
25. Dunbar School, Franklin County, Saint Clair. Frame gable-end school with addition.
Dunbar School should be nominated based on criteria A and C. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.
26. Lincoln School, Franklin County, Union. Frame gable-end school with brick facade.
Lincoln School should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.
27. Washington School, Franklin County, New Haven. Frame gable-end school.
Washington School should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.
28. Douglass School, Howard County, Armstrong. Frame T-plan bungaloid school.
Douglass School should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.
29. Douglass School, Lafayette County, Higginsville. Brick four-over-four school.
Douglass School should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American

historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.

30. Douglass School, Lafayette County, New Lexington. Modern, ceramic block/brick veneer school. Washington School should be nominated based on criteria A and C. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era. It is also only one of a handful of remaining African American W.P.A. schools in the state.
31. Douglass School, Lafayette County, Mayview. Frame gable-end school. Douglass School should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.
32. Harrison School, Moniteau County, Tipton. Brick, T-plan adaptation. Harrison School should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.
33. Lincoln School, Montgomery County, Montgomert City. Two-storey brick vernacular building. Lincoln School should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.
34. New Florence “Colored” School, Montgomery County, New Florence. Frame gable-end school. New Florence School should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.

35. Bush School, Montgomery County, vcn. Reads ville. Frame gable-end school. Bush School should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.
36. Lincoln School, Montgomery County, Wellsville. Ceramic block, gable-end school. Lincoln School should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.
37. Lincoln School, Ray County, Ray County. A brick four-over-four adaptation. Lincoln School should be nominated based on criteria A and C. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era. The building has also retained its architectural integrity; it has experienced few modifications and is in excellent condition.
38. Arrow Rock School, Saline County, Arrow Rock. Brick gable-end school. Arrow Rock School should be nominated based on criteria A and possibly C. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era. It is also a fine example of this type of building and has experienced little exterior modification.
39. Lincoln School, Saline County, Gilliam. Frame gable-end school. Lincoln School should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.

40. Lincoln School, Saline County, Miami. Frame gable-end school. Lincoln School should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.
41. Lincoln School, Saline County, Mt. Leonard. Frame gable-end school. Lincoln School should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.
42. Lincoln School, Saline County, Blackburn. Frame T-plan school. Lincoln School should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.
43. Lincoln School, St. Charles County, Wentzville. Ceramic block/brick veneer gable-end school with additions. Lincoln School should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.
44. Douglass School, St. Charles County, Foristell. A frame gable-end school. Douglass School should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.
45. Gibson School, Warren County, vcn. Wright City. A frame T-plan school. Gibson School should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic

site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.

PHASE II—NORTH EASTERN AND NORTH CENTRAL MISSOURI

Overview

This phase documented schools in counties not included in Phase I that were traditionally identified as also part of Little Dixie, along with the Mississippi River counties, which contained large numbers of slaves and, after the Civil War, freedmen. These counties also were home to a large number of free black settlements after emancipation, and yielded rich dividends for us in terms of both sites and accompanying historical information.

As with Phase I, many of the African American schools (especially those in Little Dixie and along the Mississippi) date as far back as the 1870s, making them both historically compelling and often worthy of additional study and preservation. Blacks and whites in this region—and indeed those in the territory covered in Phase I—have generally recognized the importance of their communities' histories and been eager to provide information; often they have taken preliminary steps to preserve the schools we were researching.

The sites in this phase reflect a wide variety of architectural styles, from simple gable-end, one room frame buildings to high-style Victorian structures. We are recommending the majority of these structures for National Register nominations, based more often on their value as black cultural resources than on their purely architectural merits.

Recommendations

We recommend that the following schools from this phase be strongly considered for nomination for the National Register of Historic Places, based on the criteria outlined by the U.S. Department of the Interior:

1. Garfield School, Audrain County, Mexico. Garfield is a two-storey brick building. Although Garfield has been extensively altered, it should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.
2. St. John A.M.E. Church, Boone County, Centrailia. A simple, frame gable-end church. St. John A.M.E. should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.
3. Bartlett School Gymnasium, Buchanan County, St. Joseph. A modern gymnasium with neo-classical elements. Bartlett Gymnasium should be nominated based on criteria A and C. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era. In addition, it is architecturally significant in its innovative design by well-known architect William Lettner, and has retained its architectural integrity; it remains in excellent condition.

4. Lincoln School, Buchanan County, St. Joseph. A one-storey brick building of modern design. Lincoln School should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era
5. Douglass School, Buchanan County, St. Joseph. A two-room concrete block/brick veneer building. Douglass School should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era
6. Allen A.M.E. Church (New Jerusalem Baptist Church), Callaway County, Fulton. A simple side-steeple frame church. Allen A.M.E. should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era
7. Sumner School, Cooper County, Boonville. A large concrete block/brick veneer building with gymnasium. Sumner School should be nominated based on criterion A and possibly C. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era. Sumner is also a fine example of W.P.A. deco architecture with minimal alterations.
8. Crispus Attucks School, Franklin County, Washington. A frame, gable-end schoolhouse with covered entrance. Attucks should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.
9. Howard School, Johnson County, Warrensburg. A T-plan frame building of vernacular design with addition. Howard should be nominated based on criterion A.

As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era. Note: the original portion of this school is reputed to be one of the only remaining schools in the state constructed by the Freedmen's Bureau.

10. Lincoln School, Johnson County, Holden. A gable-end frame schoolhouse. Lincoln School should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.
11. Lincoln School, Lewis County, Monticello. A simple gable-end frame schoolhouse. Lincoln School should be nominated based on criteria A and C. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era. It has also retained its architectural integrity and is in original condition.
12. Lincoln School (#2), Lewis County, Monticello. A simple gable-end frame schoolhouse with addition. Lincoln School should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.
13. First Presbyterian Church, Lewis County, LaGrange. A brick, Greek revival center-steeple church. First Presbyterian Church should be nominated based on criteria A and C. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era. It is also a fine example of this particular type of structure and has retained its architectural integrity despite interior alterations.

14. South Side School, Macon County, Macon. Two-storey brick schoolhouse of vernacular design. South Side School should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.
15. Dumas School, Macon County, Macon. A one-storey brick structure of vernacular design. Dumas School should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.
16. Missouri Industrial Home for Negro Girls, Moniteau County, ven. Tipton. A three building facility of late Victorian design with additions. Missouri Industrial Home for Negro Girls should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.
17. Washington School, Morgan County, Versailles. A gable-end brick schoolhouse. Washington School should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.
18. Second Baptist Church, Morgan County, Versailles. A Victorian side-steeple church. Versailles' Second Baptist Church should be nominated based on criteria A and possibly C. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era. Although it has experienced some exterior modifications, it has retained its architectural integrity and is in excellent condition.

19. Lincoln School, Pike County, Bowling Green. A one-storey rectangular brick structure of vernacular design. Lincoln School should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.
20. Cullen School, Pike County, Paynesville. Originally a gable-end frame schoolhouse (now modified-side gable). Cullen School should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.
21. Grant School, Pike County, Clarksville. A three-room L-plan schoolhouse. Grant School should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.
22. Dunbar School, Platte County, Platte City. A simple gable-end concrete block schoolhouse with addition. Dunbar School should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.
23. Banneker School, Platte County, Parkville. A two-room, side-gable brick structure. Banneker School should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.
24. Bethune School, Platte County, Weston. A gable-end brick schoolhouse. Bethune School should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic

site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.

25. Lincoln School, Randolph County, Huntsville. A cube-shape brick structure of vernacular design. Lincoln School should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.
26. Franklin School, St. Charles County. A one-storey brick structure of vernacular design. Franklin School should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.
27. East Lynn School, Johnson County, vcn. Warrensburg. A one-room gable-end frame schoolhouse. East Lynn School should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.

PHASE III—NORTHWESTERN AND SOUTHERN MISSOURI

Overview

This phase was originally proposed as a survey of northern Missouri, a region where slavery had never been prevalent. Slave censuses for these counties generally show only a handful of slaves living in the county, especially in those counties nearest to the Iowa border. We soon discovered that not only was the African American settlement in northern Missouri sparse in the first place; in addition, the northern Missouri counties often harbored intense racism that might sooner or later drive out their small black populations. Schools were fewer in this part of the state and more difficult to find.

We adjusted for the problem of not being able to find enough schools by adding twenty-six southern Missouri counties. Interestingly, many of these counties had few or no black settlements, though several were home to vital black communities, such as Newton County, Christian County, Henry County and Howell County.

Schools in this phase were primarily later schools, though some do date to the nineteenth century. In southern Missouri, African American populations were concentrated in areas where jobs were available and whites were tolerant of the black population; other areas instituted sundown laws that effectively prevented black settlement.

In this phase also we recommended many of the sites we documented for inclusion on the National Register. This phase featured some of the most interesting and unusual schools we researched. Neosho's Carver School is an example: a rock school dating to around 1940. The building had never attracted much local attention, yet it was a perfect candidate for the Register, exhibiting both architectural uniqueness and cultural significance.

Recommendations

We recommend that the following schools from this phase be strongly considered for nomination for the National Register of Historic Places, based on the criteria outlined by the U.S. Department of the Interior:

1. King School, Ray County, vcn. Richmond. One-room frame schoolhouse with additions. Although King School has been extensively altered, it should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era. Note: Local oral history maintains that King School was one of the earliest black schools in the area, established by the King family for their former slaves immediately following the Civil War.
2. Hunnewell Colored School, Shelby County, Hunnewell. Small, one-room frame schoolhouse. Hunnewell School should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.
3. Lincoln School, Shelby County, Shelbina. One-room, frame schoolhouse. Lincoln School should be nominated based on criteria A and C. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era. Lincoln is a fine example of a one-room rural or small-town schoolhouse, with entirely original exterior and interior.

4. LaBelle Colored School, Lewis County, LaBelle. One-room, frame schoolhouse with addition. LaBelle Colored School should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.
5. Western Academy (girls' dorm), Macon County, Macon. Frame I-house with ell. Western Academy girls' dorm should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.
6. Marceline Colored School, Linn County, Marceline. One-room, ceramic-block schoolhouse with side gable. Marceline Colored School should be nominated based on criteria A and C. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era. Additionally, it is a classic example of small-town 1930s schoolhouse architecture, with entirely original exterior and interior.
7. Park School, Linn County, Brookfield. Modern brick school building. Park School should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.
8. Lincoln School, Adair County, Kirksville. Originally a two-room brick schoolhouse. Lincoln School should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.

9. Garrison School, Livingston County, Chillicothe. Contemporary concrete-block/brick veneer school building. Garrison School should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.
10. Garfield School, Grundy County, Trenton. Two-room, hipped-roof bricks schoolhouse. Garfield School should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.
11. Douglass School, Caldwell County, Kingston. Late 19th-century one-room, frame schoolhouse with addition. Douglass School should be nominated based on criteria A and C. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era. Also, despite its poor condition, it is significant as an excellent example of a rural 19th-century schoolhouse with entirely original interior and exterior features.
12. Washington School, Clinton County, Plattsburg. Four-room, brick Italianate school building. Washington School should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.
13. Bryant AME Chapel, Clinton County, Cameron. Gable-end church. Bryant AME should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.

14. Douglass School, Clinton County, Lathrop. One-room, frame schoolhouse. Douglass School should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.
15. Franklin School, Andrew County, Savannah. Originally a three-room, frame schoolhouse. Franklin School should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.
16. Whipple School, Cass County, Harrisonville. Originally one-room brick schoolhouse with addition. Whipple School should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.
17. Tebo Colored School, Henry County, vcn. Leeton. One-room, frame rural schoolhouse. Tebo Colored School should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.
18. Lincoln School, Henry County, Clinton. Two-story brick Italianate school, originally with four classrooms. Lincoln School should be nominated based on criterion A and possibly criterion C. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era. Except for the removal of the bell tower, the exterior remains original.
19. Lincoln School, Bates County, Butler. Two-room, gable-end frame school building. Lincoln School should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American

historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.

20. Lincoln School, Vernon County, Nevada. Gable-end, one-room frame schoolhouse.

Lincoln School should be nominated based on criteria A and C. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era. Although it is in poor condition, Lincoln is completely original in both exterior and interior features.

Immediate attention is required to stabilize and preserve the building.

21. Lewis School, St. Clair County, vcn. Osceola. One-room, frame school building.

Lewis School should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.

22. Washington School, Dade County, Greenfield. Modern concrete-block/brick-veneer school building. Washington School should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.

23. Lincoln School, Jasper County, Carthage. Two-room, brick Italianate school building with central gable. Lincoln School should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.

24. Lincoln School, Newton County, Neosho. Italianate, brick T-plan school building with Lincoln School should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American

historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.

25. Lincoln School, Newton County, Neosho. Vernacular two-room, concrete block/stone veneer school building. Lincoln School should be nominated based on criteria A and C. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era. In addition, the unique style of this building, which utilizes local stone makes it noteworthy, as does the fact that the exterior and interior have experienced minimal alteration.
26. Ozark Colored School, Christian County, Ozark. Originally one-room, frame school building, now adjoining a house. Ozark Colored School should be nominated based on criterion A. As an older African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.
27. Lincoln School, Howell County, West Plains. One-room, frame schoolhouse. Lincoln School should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.
28. Lincoln School, Phelps County, Rolla. One-room, gable-end brick schoolhouse with vestibule and attached modern addition. Lincoln School should be nominated based on criterion A and possibly criterion C. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era. Lincoln is a good example of a late 19th-century brick schoolhouse, with original exterior.

29. Dunbar School, Washington County, Potosi. Large, one-room, frame gable-end school building. Dunbar School should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.
30. Douglass School, St. Francois County, Farmington. T-plan, brick school building. Douglass School should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.
31. Attucks School, St. Francois County, Bonne Terre. One-room, gable-end, brick schoolhouse with addition. Attucks School should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.
32. Vernon School, Jefferson County, Kimmswick. One-room, side-gable (originally gable-end), frame schoolhouse with addition. Vernon School should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.
33. Douglass School, Jefferson County, Herculaneum. Two-room, concrete-block school building of vernacular design. Douglass School should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.
34. Buren Chapel AME Church, Jefferson County, Herculaneum. Frame church with offset tower. Buren Chapel AME should be nominated based on criterion A. As an

African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.

35. Douglass School gymnasium, Jefferson County, Festus. Large, concrete-block/brick veneer gymnasium. Douglass School gymnasium should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.
36. Mount Pilgrim Baptist Church, Jefferson County, Festus. Gable-end, textured-concrete-block church building. Mount Pilgrim Baptist Church should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.
37. Langston School, Jefferson County, DeSoto. Brick schoolhouse of vernacular design. Langston School should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.
38. Lincoln School, St. Genevieve County, St. Mary. Gable-end, frame schoolhouse. Lincoln School should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.
39. Lincoln School, St. Genevieve County, St. Genevieve. 19th-century, gable-end brick schoolhouse. Lincoln School should be nominated based on criteria A and C. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general

and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era. Although the interior has been extensively altered, the exterior retains much of its original appearance.

remember a settlement that vanished forty years ago presents challenges to the historical field researcher in this part of the state.

Desegregation in the Bootheel counties was later than in any other part of the state. Alonzo Greene, reporting on the progress of desegregation in 1958, noted that the schools there were “not yet desegregated.” In several counties, schools were consolidated prior to desegregation; rural schools were closed and larger, centrally located schools were constructed. Because education continued to be segregated, black schools were built, along with white ones, well into the middle years of the decade. Often these facilities, though smaller than their white counterparts, were better constructed and more up-to-date than earlier African American schools. Local school boards clearly recognized that desegregation was inevitable, and built black schools that could become part of an integrated facility somewhere down the road, when integration occurred. The fact that these very late black schools were usually not named confirms the intent of local school boards to eventually utilize them for the education of both races. North Pemiscot, South Pemiscot and Steele Public Schools all built African American schools adjoining white ones after the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision, knowing that they would soon be used as part of a larger integrated school complex.

While it was easy to locate and document these late-built schools, it was hard to find many informants who remembered anything about them. Most of them served as black schools for only a few years, and the number of students who attended them was correspondingly small.

The rich African American history and culture of the Bootheel make it a region worth far more research and attention. The rapid growth and equally rapid decline of African American communities in the region have resulted in less tradition and oral history. Enduring racism in this

PHASE IV—THE BOOTHEEL

Overview

The ten counties of the Bootheel and southeastern Missouri included in this phase were problematic in a number of ways. Although there was some slavery, especially in Cape Girardeau and New Madrid Counties, there were few early African American settlements. The earliest established communities in the southern part of this area revolved around the logging industry, as swampland was cleared, and diversified agriculture; in the northern part the people made their livelihood in diversified agriculture. Only later, after the turn of the century, as cotton farming became established, did larger numbers of blacks form agricultural communities. These people were immigrants from Southern states, primarily Mississippi, but also Tennessee, Kentucky, Arkansas and other southern states as well. Many of these immigrants were sharecroppers. Early African American schools in this area were often held in churches. Jim Robinson, whose parents came to Mississippi County from Kentucky in the 1920s, recalls that almost all the schools in the county began in sanctuaries.

The African American population in these counties tended to be very spread out. Settlements of a sort existed, somewhat unified by one or more churches and a school at the center of them, but they were not tight-knit communities. In Mississippi County, for example, there were twenty-four black rural schools in 1938, serving numerous small clusters of black farm families. As sharecropping waned in the 1940s and afterwards, communities vanished. In many cases no one in the area remembers much, if anything, of their histories or the families who lived in them. Later, the mechanization of the cotton industry in the 1960s caused the decline of those communities that remained. Again, the problem of finding knowledgeable informants who

part of the state also makes it harder to locate willing informants. However, neither of these problems is insurmountable, given enough time to establish contacts.

Recommendations

We recommend that the following schools from this phase be strongly considered for nomination for the National Register of Historic Places, based on the criteria outlined by the U.S. Department of the Interior:

1. Old Appleton School, Cape Girardeau County, Old Appleton. One-room, frame, gable-end schoolhouse. Old Appleton School should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.
2. Liberty/Concord School, Cape Girardeau County, vcn. Oak Ridge. One-room, gable-end frame schoolhouse with addition. Liberty/Concord School should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era. Moreover, it is the last material remnant of an early freedmen's community and demands immediate attention.
3. Lincoln School, Cape Girardeau County, Jackson. Originally a one and one-half story, brick school building with two classrooms. Lincoln School should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.

4. Friend School, Scott County, vcn. Oran. Gable-end, one-room, frame school building. Friend School should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.
5. African-American school, Scott County, vsn. Haywood City. Originally one-room, gable-end brick schoolhouse with vestibule. The African-American school near Haywood City should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.
6. Lincoln School, Scott County, Sikeston. Large, modern concrete-block/brick-veneer school building. Lincoln School should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.
7. Lincoln School, Mississippi County, Charleston. Modern large, concrete-block/brick veneer school building. Lincoln School should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.
8. New Bethlehem Missionary Baptist Church (Blue School), Mississippi County, vcn. Charleston. Gable-end frame church building with concrete-block addition. New Bethelhem Baptist (Blue School) should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.

9. Washington School, Mississippi County, Wyatt. Modern, concrete-block/brick school building of vernacular design with detached concrete-block building behind.
Washington School should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.
10. Deventer School, Mississippi County, vcn. Charleston. Originally one-room, concrete-block gable-end school building with ell addition. Deventer School should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.
11. Pinhook School, Mississippi County, vcn. East Prairie. Two-classroom, concrete-block school building with brick veneer, of contemporary design. Pinhook School should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.
12. Pinhook School #2, Mississippi County, vcn. East Prairie. Concrete block, one-room gable-end school building. Pinhook School #2 should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.
13. Mount Zion Baptist Church, Mississippi County, vcn. East Prairie. Gable-end, frame church with gabled vestibule. Mount Zion Church should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.

This building is reputed to be extremely old and deserves immediate close study and attention to preservation.

14. O'Bannon School, New Madrid County, New Madrid. Concrete-block school building (auditorium and classrooms). O'Bannon School should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.
15. Howardville School, New Madrid County, Howardville. Concrete-block school building with brick veneer, of contemporary design. Howardville School should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era. Note: the building is not of great architectural significance and is less than fifty years old.
16. Carver School, New Madrid County, Portageville. Ceramic-block/brick school building of T-plan with additions. Carver School should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.
17. Scott School, New Madrid County, vcn. Portageville. T-plan frame school building with additions. Scott School should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.
18. Washington School, Pemiscott County, Caruthersville. Complex of brick and concrete-block/brick veneer buildings (four plus gymnasium). Washington School should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is

illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.

19. Hodgens School, Pemiscott County, Wardell. Contemporary concrete block/brick school building with auditorium and classrooms. Hodgens School should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era. Note: the site includes a historic African American cemetery and the former location of St. Paul Church.
20. Parma School, Pemiscott County, Parma. Large, side-gable, concrete-block school building with recent addition. Parma School should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.
21. Malden School, Dunklin County, Malden. Large, side-gable concrete block school building of modern vernacular design. Malden School should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.
22. Willoughby School, Dunklin County, Kennett. Concrete block/brick veneer building of contemporary design. Willoughby School should be nominated based on criterion A and possibly C. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era. In addition, it is a fine example of post-World War II school architecture by a noted local architect and is now fifty years old.

23. West Hermondale School, Dunklin County, vcn. Hornersville. Concrete block building of vernacular, utilitarian design. Hermondale School should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.
24. Washington School, Butler County, Neelyville. Textured concrete block building of vernacular design. Washington School should be nominated based on criterion A. As an African American historic site it is illustrative both of Missouri black history in general and specifically of segregated education in the Jim Crow era.