

SHIFTING HISTORY, SHIFTING MISSION, SHIFTING
IDENTITY: THE SEARCH FOR SURVIVAL AT
LINCOLN UNIVERSITY (JEFFERSON
CITY, MISSOURI) 1866-1997

By

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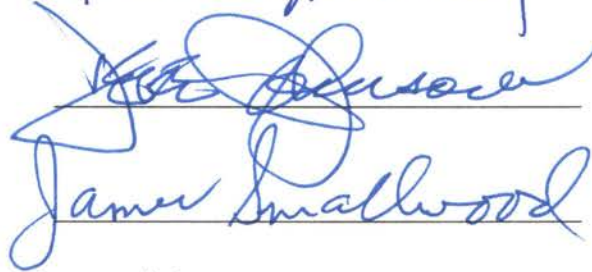
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Lincoln Institute began as a decision to change the course of events for countless freed blacks following the Civil War. The decision was to establish a school that would specifically address the literacy needs of those former slaves and children of slaves residing in Missouri, a state admitted to the Union in 1821 as a slave state. Missouri law prohibited the education of slaves or freed blacks; it was a crime punishable by death as established by the slave codes enacted by the colonizing French and Spanish. That was the overriding concern of Lincoln Institute's founding black veterans of the 62nd and 65th Colored Infantries who were stationed in Texas when troops disbanded. These black men had to petition the U.S. government to be allowed to fight in the war. They dug trenches and performed manual labor in the hot sun of their tour of duty. Several of them died from heat stroke, exhaustion, malnutrition, disease, and stray bullets. Nevertheless, these veterans did not want to return to lives of poverty and despair in Missouri, having seen bondspeople in horrible conditions on Louisiana plantations and on Texas farms. They wanted to establish a school in Missouri so their children could have better lives. Fortunately, their commanding officers complied with their desires.

Lincoln Institute began when one commanding officer from the 62nd was persuaded to lead the effort to establish a school. He became the first teacher of two students who awaited his arrival in a condemned log cabin located outside the limits of Jefferson City, Missouri, the state capitol. These students wanted skills and knowledge; however, those desires were not the product of the Civil War alone. They were legacies from the earliest generations of African captives transported from the West Indies into the large territory west of the Mississippi River. Forty five years after statehood at the close of the Civil War, Missouri's newly freed African Americans realized that their survival depended on their paid skilled labor and the value of an education for future generations. Literacy was essential. To that end, several forces came to bear on the evolution of Lincoln Institute. Constrained by codes and laws, poverty and brutality, racism and fear, the population of African descendants who remained in Missouri after the War knew that survival was tenuous without hope. The veterans of the 62nd and 65th Colored Infantries made that hope a reality.

The black veterans who contributed to the founding of a school in Missouri were fulfilling a legacy. Their initial resolution committed them to a unique undertaking. As freedmen following their service to the Union army, their goal to change the lives of future generations through education proved to be a noble destiny. Their forbears had endured and passed on the hope for freedom and citizenship in America. Their role in realizing this hope began with their knowledge of the history of their ancestors passed down from one generation to another. Without that knowledge, their efforts would have been merely humanitarian. With that knowledge, they and others who believed in their resolution, changed the course of history for African Americans in Missouri.

Growth of the Black Population in the Louisiana Territory

Concurrent with European colonization of the Upper and Lower Louisiana territories under French and then Spanish rule, a black population began to grow. First, Philippe Francois Renault from the Company of the Indies imported 500 African captives from the West Indies in 1720 to work the ore mines. Second, Spanish authorities imported more African captives to cultivate crops. Third, after the Northwest Ordinance passed in 1787, American slave owners moved to Upper Louisiana to escape the prohibition against owning slaves. Bondsmen worked the fields, labored in lead mines, worked as domestic servants, and performed countless other chores for their white masters.¹

European colonization brought significant and far reaching control over the African descendants. French and Spanish colonial authorities enacted Black Codes to regulate the slaves. Bondspeople could not leave their owners' properties without passes; they could not carry arms; they could not riot; they could not assemble "unlawfully," nor could they strike their masters, plot conspiracy, resist arrest, engage in trade, or own property.²

Upper Louisiana always had "a small number of free Negroes" during the colonial period.³ Some were freed by their masters; others purchased their own freedom. Some were mulatto offspring freed by their white parent. Some received land grants that they could sell, but free blacks were also restricted, especially in contacts with slaves, for fear of instilling defiance.

As settlements under Spanish rule grew, five districts--St. Louis, St. Charles, Ste. Genevieve, Cape Girardeau, and New Madrid--were drawn. Several small villages grew within and around these districts. Older French settlements combined with newer sprawling American towns. French owners of large tracts of land grew prosperous with the aid of slave labor. Upper Louisiana had a sparsely settled population of only 10,350, and 15 per cent were slaves, even though the population had increased 10 percent during the Spanish years.⁴ President Thomas Jefferson sent Merriwether Lewis and William Clark to explore the area between the Mississippi and the Pacific in December, 1803; York, Clark's black slave, accompanied the crew of forty-five.⁵

After 1804, under United States rule, the Louisiana territory enacted laws providing for the punishment of crimes, the appointment and regulation of local officials, the establishment of a system of territorial courts, the organization of the militia, the levying of local taxes, the regulation of boatmen, and "the control of slavery."⁶ Most of these statutes were based on laws in the Northwest and Indiana territories.

By 1815, the Missouri General Assembly revised its territorial revenue system. It taxed all land, even land previously exempted by Spanish land grants, imposed fines and fees, licensed charges on certain occupations and activities, levied a poll tax on able-bodied single men with limited property, taxed slaves, pleasure carriages, houses, and other income-generating properties.⁷ This was the work of the second-stage government which sought to improve the living conditions and civil actions of the first. As its population steadily increased, Missouri sought inclusion into the union. Congress granted third-class territory status in 1816. From 1804 to 1820, Missouri territory grew under three stages of government from frontier to pre-statehood region.⁸

The Black Population at Statehood

By 1820, unofficial population figures showed that the Missouri Territory had 56,016 white residents and 10,222 slaves.⁹ The previous year, Missouri had applied for admission into the Union. President James Monroe proclaimed the territory the twenty-fourth state on August 10, 1821, after bitter tension raged in Congress and in the territory over its slave state status. Congress allowed Maine to enter as a free state and thereby kept the balance of slave and free states.¹⁰

Slavery was vital to the economy of the Union; it remained a profitable institution until the outbreak of the Civil War. More skilled than most slaves in the Southern states, Missouri's bondpeople were farmers of hemp, tobacco, wheat, oats, hay, corn, and other feed grains. They raised cattle, sheep, horses, and pigs for their masters. They served as valets, butlers, handymen, carpenters, common laborers, maids, nurses, and cooks. Bondpeople worked on Missouri's railroads laying rails at twenty dollars a month, and worked in brickyards for about the same sum. On riverboats, they worked as deck hands, cabin boys, and stevedores for about fifteen dollars a month. All their earnings were considerably less than those paid to whites for doing the same work.¹¹

Whites from Kentucky, Tennessee, North Carolina, and Virginia poured into Missouri after statehood. Tempted by the virgin soil, they brought their slaves to work on their settlements. Between 1810 and 1860, Missouri's white population grew 61 percent, while the slave population increased more than 37 percent. In 1830 slaves accounted for 17.8 percent of the population. By 1860 the percentage dropped to 9.8 percent due to the opposition to slavery by Germans who immigrated in large numbers in the 1840s and

1850s. Concentrated around the Missouri and Mississippi river bottom farmlands, most whites owned fewer than four slaves. In 1860, approximately one-third of the slaves lived in Boone, Callaway, Cooper, Howard, Marion, Lafayette, Pike, Randolph, St. Charles, and Saline counties. Owners treated their slaves as property and justified slavery based on spiritual, social, and economic grounds. Regarded as inferior to all other humans, bondspeople were presented as stereotypically happy to be enslaved. This position was the defense of slaveholders against abolitionists' attacks.¹²

Force and fear were the two means of perpetuating slavery; low-status whites assumed a superior position to blacks through their enforcement of the antebellum slave codes. By 1847, slave insurrections, such as Nat Turner's rebellion in 1831 and the mutiny of the Spanish ship Amistad in 1839, rekindled new fears for slaveholders who retaliated with more local laws including curfews and patrols.¹³ Slave trading occurred in several areas of the state with the largest market in St. Louis, ready to supply the South with Missouri bondspeople.¹⁴

The Push for Freedom and the Legacy of Education

Bondspeople were denied education to prevent contacts with each other which whites feared would communicate plans to revolt. In 1834, 1837, 1838, 1841, 1844, 1848, 1849, 1853, 1855, and 1857, separate instances configured to allow vigilantes to capture, torture, and kill numerous blacks as a means of further instilling fear. As for runaways, the Underground Railroad helped such notables as William Wells Brown, ardent abolitionist and poet who once labored on Mississippi riverboats. St. Louis was

also a depot for the famous escape route.¹⁵

Freedmen before the Civil War in the U.S. comprised 488,000 versus four million slaves in 1860. Missouri had slightly more than 100,000 bondspeople and 3,572 freedmen.¹⁶ Both groups were as suppressed in Missouri as if they had lived in the slave states of South Carolina and Virginia. Held responsible for sporadic revolts and escapes, freedmen lived under "laws and social customs designed to institutionalize black, rather than merely slave inferiority and subjugation."¹⁷ As in South Carolina and Virginia, they could not testify against whites, learn to read and write, or carry firearms. They had to have a "deed of manumission, written and certified by the state or county authorities,"¹⁸ and slavery was determined by the status of the mother (free or slave). As early as 1817, Missouri freedmen could not assemble or travel. By 1847, the General Assembly passed a law that forbid freedmen or bondspeople from being taught the "rudiments of reading and writing."¹⁹ Beginning in 1835, all freedmen and mulattos between 7 and 21 had to appear before county courts to be rendered into apprenticeships or servitude (re-enslavement), and neither one could be apprenticed to a white without parental approval. Also in 1835, the Missouri legislature enacted a law requiring freedmen to purchase a license from the county court at a bond posted for \$100 to \$1,000 or get a white person to act as security for him in order to remain in the state.²⁰ The permit allowed freedmen to remain in the county as long as the "free black[s] behaved."²¹ In 1846, the Circuit Court of St. Louis upheld the free-license law as constitutional and denied bondspeople U.S. citizenship. This argument presaged the 1857 Dred Scott petition which also denied protection for freedmen or bondspeople under the U.S. Constitution. As a backup measure to restrictive laws, sporadically formed mobs brutalized and killed blacks without

reproach especially when one was accused of a crime.²²

Early efforts of freedmen to educate bondspeople led to support of Lincoln Institute. In 1857, John Lane of Jefferson City purchased his freedom for \$1,200. He later owned property in Cole County during the antebellum period. His status allowed him to influence others to support Lincoln Institute. He and another freedman, Howard Barnes, operated a popular restaurant in Jefferson City.²³ Both men helped finance Lincoln Institute's first campus building.

Another example of active involvement in educating Missouri's black population can be seen in the efforts of John Berry Meachum, an ex-Virginia slave. He purchased slaves to allow them an opportunity to earn money for self-purchase in his barrel factory in St. Louis. Meachum paid for his own and his wife and children's freedom in Virginia. He taught his twenty bondspeople a trade in his factory and helped them save money to purchase their freedom. He was also a minister, founder of the First African Baptist Church of St. Louis, the "first black Protestant congregation west of the Mississippi."²⁴

Prior to the 1847 law banning education of African Americans, Meachum preached the value of education until opposition forced him to operate underground to educate free and slave blacks. Initially teaching literacy skills under the guise of Sunday School lessons, Meachum had to change tactics when whites found out. He built a steamboat with a library and anchored it in the Mississippi River thereby subjecting it to protection under federal and not state laws. He transported students on a skiff to the steamboat and taught them until his death in the 1850s. His "floating" school, famous throughout the nation, yielded one prominent St. Louis lawyer, U.S. Minister resident and consul general to Liberia, James Milton Turner.²⁵ Turner would later play a significant role in the early

years of Lincoln Institute.

Other efforts to educate freedmen and bondspeople existed in a few places in Missouri. From 1816 to 1826, Timothy Flint, a northern white missionary, taught bondspeople in his St. Charles school. In the 1830s, Marion College students in northeast Missouri taught bondspeople and so did some Catholic schools in St. Louis. In Hannibal, Missouri, Reverend Tom Henderson, a freedman and Methodist minister, operated a school turned over to Blanche K. Bruce during the Civil War. He later became the second African American in the U. S. Senate. In 1856, Hiram K. Revels, the other African American U. S. Senator, opened a school in St. Louis. Approximately 150 free and slave blacks paid \$1 per month tuition at his school.²⁶ Although these and other less well known efforts successfully aided many African Americans to gain literacy, they remained few and isolated.

Religion, employment, and education were all sporadically successful endeavors for most free and slave blacks in Missouri during the antebellum period. Some blacks escaped by joining the westward expansion to Oregon; others, urban mulattos in particular, continued to operate within a closed society that excluded newly emancipated blacks. Still, racist emancipationists in Missouri intended to remove all freedmen to Liberia via the American Colonization Society established by slaveholders in 1816 who founded Liberia on the west coast of Africa for that purpose. Most African Americans resisted recolonization efforts and only 83 Missouri blacks emigrated to Liberia by 1860.²⁷

Free Blacks and Slaves in Missouri Before the War

Freedmen and bondpeople in Missouri anticipated great changes from the nation's conflict over abolition of slaves. Most African Americans were helpless to effect any significant pressure to push for emancipation of slaves, but they knew the destruction that war could cause would disrupt life as they knew it. By 1861, Missouri, Kentucky, and Maryland, the border states, were pawns in the Civil War. President Abraham Lincoln considered Missouri the gate to the West with 1.2 million population of dominantly Southerners from Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia, and North Carolina and more than 100,000 slaves. Divisions in Missouri between abolitionists and slaveholders resulted in guerrilla warfare--killing, burning, and plundering. On the Union side, 109,000 Missourians enlisted and on the Confederacy side 30,000 enlisted.²⁸

Hoping to free slaves in border states and ease the war tensions in 1861, Lincoln proposed that these states' congressmen convince slave owners to sell their chattels and remove them to Haiti or Liberia. His efforts were unconvincing. The Emancipation Proclamation (January 1, 1863), was Lincoln's answer to an attempt by John C. Fremont to free Missouri's slaves. Fremont proclaimed martial law throughout Missouri on August 30, 1861, and issued a proclamation freeing the slaves of pro-southern Missourians. Although Fremont was commander of the Western Department, Lincoln rescinded the proclamation, but a year of pressure from the Radical wing of Lincoln's Republican party and awareness that blacks were needed to win the war forced his hand. The Emancipation Proclamation freed all slaves in states rebelling against the Union except in border states. Slaves were also made eligible for military service.²⁹

Loyal to the Union, Missouri's slave state status continued to be challenged. Abolitionists, especially the famous black leader, Frederick Douglass, wanted blacks to enlist. Finally, on July 31, 1863, Lincoln ordered able-bodied blacks between 21 and 45 be allowed to enlist into the military. All enlistees were to be free. More than 180,000 African Americans served on the Union side, making up almost 10 percent of the Union forces. They participated in 500 military actions and 40 battles. More than 20 percent, or 37,000, died. In the Union navy, 29,000, or 25 percent served. The nation's highest military decoration, the Congressional Medal of Honor, was awarded to 17 black soldiers and 4 black sailors. In spite of the 186,017 African American troops as an official figure of the number of African Americans who served in Union forces, white officers substituted dead black soldiers for white recruits to draw their pay. Incorrect and improperly kept records of black enlistees and volunteers allowed such fraud to occur.³⁰

In 1861 Governor Claiborne Jackson asked the General Assembly to hold a state convention to determine whether Missouri should secede. The pro-Union votes amounted to 110,000 and the pro-secession votes amounted to 30,000. Unionists controlled the convention. When Lincoln fixed the quota for Missouri black volunteers in the Union army at 4,000, Governor Jackson refused to comply. He tried to collect a Confederate rebel militia of 50,000 men. Forced to abandon his plan, Jackson fled from Jefferson City when Union forces under General Nathaniel Lyon entered the capital in mid-1861. Union allies held another state convention in July 1861 and declared all state offices vacant. They elected pro-Union conservative Hamilton R. Gamble as provisional governor.³¹ Freedmen and bondspeople in Missouri were hopeful that these changes would lead to their immediate protection and emancipation by pro-Union forces.

Black Soldiers in Missouri During the War

African Americans viewed the Union army as a means to participate and perhaps hasten their emancipation; however, they were prohibited from volunteering until the federal government changed its position about arming this large potential source of manpower. In May 1863, Adjutant General Lorenzo Thomas recruited black soldiers in the Mississippi Valley. Later, his jurisdiction included Maryland, Tennessee, and Missouri. President Abraham Lincoln realized that black soldiers were an advantage for the Union. General Order No. 163, June 4, 1863, set the pay of black soldiers at \$10 per month and one ration. They were issued \$3 for clothing. This was the wage scale for army laborers set by the Militia Act of July 17, 1862 paid to both black combatants and noncombatants. White volunteers were paid \$13 per month and issued \$3 for clothing. The pay scale was equalized in June 1864 retroactive to January of 1864. Arrears to black soldiers for the six months of that year were not paid until after the war was over.³²

The federal government paid bounty payments at \$100 per person who volunteered for two years or for the duration of the war. State bounties ranged from \$300 in Connecticut to \$5 in Wisconsin. Adding to the incentive to volunteer, county, local, and private organizations advertised monetary rewards for fighting.³³ Blacks saw "none of this money."³⁴ The master received the bounty. If the black volunteer was drafted, the master received \$100; if he volunteered, \$300. This was a sort of "compensated emancipation."³⁵ Lincoln and many others felt that African Americans should be glad to join the military under any circumstances. In the summer of 1864, some blacks were entitled to bounty payments of \$100, but Missouri's 1863 and 1865 muster rolls of

various black companies showed various amounts of \$100, \$300, and blank spaces by many soldiers' names.³⁶

Saddled with inferior weapons, supplies, and medical attention, Missouri soldiers, like those in other states, suffered the same level of discrimination in the service as out of it. More often than not, Confederate soldiers killed black Union captives, until President Lincoln and General Ulysses S. Grant threatened the same treatment for Confederate captives.³⁷

The Fifty-fourth Massachusetts Regiment included blacks from Boston to St. Louis. The First Kansas Colored Volunteer Infantry Regiment included Missouri blacks and defeated a guerrilla force at Mound Island in Bates County, Missouri, on October 29, 1862. That event spurred more African Americans to volunteer.³⁸

In June 1863 at Schofield barracks in St. Louis, the army recruited the first African American Missouri regiment. Volunteers enlisted in the First Regiment of Missouri Colored Infantry and that unit became the Sixty-Second U. S. Regiment of Colored Infantry (62nd U.S.C.I.). The First and Second Missouri Infantries of African Descent convened in January 1864 in St. Louis at Benton Barracks. This was the largest recruitment of African Americans, precipitated by Grant's Wilderness Campaign and Sherman's March through Georgia.³⁹

In Missouri, slave masters fought against manumission of their chattel by volunteering or being drafted. Even though 164 men were drafted from Boone County to fill its draft quota, it was 82 men short, and 22 African Americans were drafted. Conservative officials feared that drafted African Americans might rebel. Marion County circuit courts invoked Article 1 of the Revised Missouri Statues which cited the death

penalty for anyone convicted of "inciting rebellion or insurrection among slaves, Mulattos, or free Negroes."⁴⁰

Guerrillas terrorized blacks to discourage them from enrolling. William Quantrill threatened to kill volunteers. He and other bands of criminals ambushed and drove them away from recruiting stations. Without fear of the law or reprisals from other whites, these raiders murdered, hanged, and shot blacks who sought freedom by joining the Union army.⁴¹

Many Missouri African Americans served in out-of-state regiments especially in the First Iowa Regiment of African Descent and the First and Second Regiments of Kansas Colored Volunteers. Others enlisted in Illinois, Ohio and Massachusetts units. Missouri ranked fifth in the number of African American troops. Louisiana ranked first (24,052); with Kentucky (23,703); Tennessee (20,133) and Mississippi (17,869) following, in descending order. Missouri contributed 4.4 percent of the total number of 186,017 African Americans in the Union army.⁴²

In spite of commendable service in battles and as laborers, spies, and nurses, blacks suffered brutally at the hands of guerrillas during the war. Many Missouri slave owners transported their slaves to Marshall, Texas,⁴³ and Arkansas to keep them captives; others sold their bondspeople to buyers from the Deep South. Thousands of slaves abandoned their masters under the indirect protection of Union troops nearby in Columbia, Jefferson City, or St. Louis. Others fled to free states such Kansas, Illinois, Iowa, or Michigan. In 1862, only 85,000 out of 100,000 blacks in Missouri remained bondspeople. In 1864, approximately 22,000 remained chattel. Bondspeople sold for \$1300 in 1860 and \$100 in 1864. In Jefferson City, 565 blacks were counted, versus the

333 in 1860.⁴⁴

Events leading to the Civil War brought a strong hope of freedom to Missouri's bondspeople. The actual disruption of the fighting allowed many opportunities for them to escape bondage. Whether as volunteers for the Union army, or as runaways to free states, many able-bodied African Americans chose any means they could to survive as humans and not as chattel of white owners. Those men who volunteered believed their salvation lay with the protection of the Union army. They hoped for freedom through their own efforts to join the fight for abolition of slavery. With that freedom, they hoped for respect as humans. However, these hopes were contingent upon their ability to survive not only the expected conditions of War, but also the dehumanizing set of constraints reserved for African Americans during the War and after. It was understood that the Union army did not want to arm blacks, nor did the federal government want to free slaves, but the overwhelming need for more soldiers forced a change in that position. As a result, white slave owners were paid for the absence of their chattel, and once enlisted, blacks were often substituted for white draftees, and their pay confiscated by white officers who deleted their names from company muster rolls. Black Union soldiers were paid less, issued castoff equipment and supplies, ordered to perform menial labor, and drilled relentlessly. Even those who withstood these conditions in locales far removed from Missouri still had to survive the vagaries of scorching heat and freezing temperatures with less protection than white soldiers. They were targets of Confederate troops, and the most vulnerable group to succumb to diseases borne of unsanitary conditions and the absence of medical care. In many respects, their military servitude was even more harrowing than their civilian servitude.

When the war ended, many African American soldiers were aware that their survival was fortuitous. They had managed to escape two sets of bondage. Whether their former white masters were pro-Union sympathizers or not, their service to the Union army under white officers was often identical to the conditions and attitudes throughout the southern states. Some pro-abolition white Union officers from eastern states felt a need to teach black soldiers under their charge how to read the Bible and how to write and count. These officers recognized that skilled labor and literacy were keys to African Americans' hopes for survival. Many black soldiers agreed and took advantage of these efforts. Thirty years before the Civil War, Missouri's African Americans watched state and local officials produce an education system for white residents. Until the first year of operation of Lincoln Institute, blacks in mid-Missouri would continue to have severely limited opportunities to attend school. The evolution of Jefferson City's public school system for whites is typical of the opposition to educating blacks that prevailed across the state.

Early Education in Jefferson City, Missouri

Given the political, economic, and social forces that governed the growth and development of Missouri from pre-territorial to post-Civil War years, the African American population was still under the control of a separate set of mores evolving from slavery. One of the most prominent constraints was denial of education. Although a few individuals were willing to educate blacks in defiance of state law and racism, after the Civil War such efforts were no longer prompted by humanitarian and religious motives.

Before the federal government's use of the freedmen's fund to aid schools under the Freedmen's Bureau, African Americans in Missouri were well aware of how whites moved from illiteracy to economic independence, first through private and later through public schools. Without political or economic clout, blacks knew that education made a difference in their survival. Support for Lincoln Institute came from this realization, but first, Missouri's white population had to realize the importance of education.

The earliest forms of education in Missouri following statehood were as before--subscription schools. These private ventures, along with academies and tutors, were the three most common forms of education. In a subscription school, "a teacher was hired for a term, or a quarter, usually limited to two or three months in the winter with possibly another term of two or three months in the spring."⁴⁵ The teacher lived at homes of the parents who formed groups of families into associations to provide education for their children. In towns, the teacher paid his own way. The first account of a school in Jefferson City was in 1828, held in a small room adjoining Gordon's Hotel, a building located on the east side of Madison Avenue, mid-block, directly across from the governor's Executive Mansion.⁴⁶

In a Jefferson City newspaper before the turn of the century, Governor Thomas C. Fletcher commented that the "master" of these early subscription schools "was employed more for his physical qualifications to discipline the boys than for his learning."⁴⁷ Another newspaper account of early pioneer schools reports:

A teacher makes his appearance into a
settlement and offers his services. A haggle

over terms would follow. Under pressure, he would start a school of 20 scholars at \$2 each and out of the sum pay 75 cents a week for board. By the expiration of his quarter, he becomes disgusted with his mode of life and is determined to be off.⁴⁸

The first teacher in Cole County (the county including Jefferson City) was Lashley L. Wood, who taught children and adults in the courthouse at Marion in the spring of 1827.

Early teachers were essentially contract laborers; they were migratory and in many cases multi-professional. Most itinerant teachers advertised their services and fees in the local paper, then awaited the arrival of students. If enough students enrolled so that he could make some money, the teacher might remain in the community for several years before moving on. There was no means to verify the training of these teachers, nor any means to prevent or encourage their residency within a community. One early advertisement published in the August 3, 1833, issue of a Jefferson City newspaper states:

SUBSCRIBER SCHOOL

The system of instruction is thought to be well calculated to facilitate the acquaintance of pupils with different subjects of study, settle them in habits of industry and steady application and impress on their minds the principles of

morality and virtue.

Primary.....\$3

Philosophy, Mathematics, History,

Belles-Lettres, Etc.....\$4

The Latin Language.....\$5

H.M. Stevens⁴⁹

This advertisement attests to the value of a formal education: knowledge, skills, and good character.

Many early teachers worked part-time. One notice in a Jefferson City paper advertised services as a teacher and services as a surgeon and dentist. Since physicians and ministers were normally the only community members with any formal education, they were considered best suited as teachers for boys. In 1835, Mrs. H.S. Haynes advertised the opening of a school for young ladies. Its quarterly fees ranged from \$3-\$6 for instruction in reading, writing, arithmetic, French, and needlework. Only females from affluent homes could take advantage of this private venture.

Early schools were rarely coeducational, but a letter to the editor in 1838 recalled the details of one coeducational school, the Jefferson Female and Classical School, operated by Mr. and Mrs. J.L. Pierce. The school was located in a two-room log house on Water Street (now State Street) in Jefferson City. Fees ranged from \$4 per term for reading, writing, and arithmetic to \$8 per term for the classical department. Mr. Pierce supervised boys on the lower level of the two-story structure while Mrs. Domine Pierce supervised girls on the upper level. The author of the letter, who signed only the name Balentine, recalled how she and six older girls around 15 years of age recited in the room

below with the five boys who were 18 and older. The only mandatory requirement for students was to write a composition each Friday evening to be read each Monday morning.⁵⁰

These early accounts of how schools were established around the Jefferson City area are relevant to the development of Lincoln Institute. These accounts set a precedent for white children's education during an era when literacy among slaves was denounced by slaveholders and others hostile to blacks. Freedmen were often illiterate as well, and there were few opportunities outside large centers of black population such as St. Louis for such literacy opportunities to be gained.

The Fight for Common Schools in Missouri

Because Congress had mandated that certain 16th sections of land be rented or leased to support a system of free education for the poor did not mean an end to early private education. On the contrary, much of the public and many supporters of private education opposed common or public schools, which they viewed as charity. The first allocation of state school funds in 1842 was distributed among 13 of 74 counties. Students had to pay to attend. Most areas did not have public school taxes until after the Civil War.⁵¹ Fees, fines, and forfeitures involved with leasing were paid to the county treasury and credited to the township where the land was located. In 1831, the Missouri General Assembly authorized sale of these sections. On September 23, 1833, the 16th section of the Jefferson school district was sold to a majority of the householders who signed a petition and filed it in the county court. Eight family heads signed and

purchased the section (640 acres) at \$3 to \$10.50 per acre for a total of \$4,126.21. The county treasurer, Jason Harrison, received only \$609.39. The state legislature had provided that the land purchaser could give bond, payable in one or two years at 10 percent interest. The county also allowed the proceeds from the sale to be lent at no less than 6 percent and no more than 10 percent interest. Five years after the sale, the Jefferson school district fund had \$893.84. Other counties had school land sales and used the money to build court houses.⁵²

Editorials published in the April 26, 1834 and November 22, 1834 issues of the Jefferson Republican called for support of the Jefferson City Public School system. The first argued for literacy as a hedge against aristocracy; the second argued for paying a modest sum to educate the state's citizens or "a greater amount in money and suffering and blood for poverty and crime."⁵³ Governor Daniel Dunklin called for state laws and money to guide and support public schools. In 1834 he suggested a 50-50 basis of local taxes and tuition to supplement land sale funds. The county court would name the poor who were eligible for free education. The legislators could not agree, so the governor appointed three state commissioners to investigate and report on plans for a public school system. In November 1834, the commissioners proposed combining money from congressional land grant sales and a poll tax of \$1 assessed "every white male citizen above 21."⁵⁴ The commissioners argued that the state's 50,000 children between five and sixteen would spend \$400,000 to attend private schools, a system they deemed expensive and inefficient.⁵⁵

School laws approved March 10, 1835, did not incorporate the commissioners' proposal. Instead these laws mandated that school trustees (early school directors) donate

\$1 as benefactors prior to qualifying for office, a sum to be recorded by the county clerk in "a well bound book" called a "Register of Benefactors to Common Schools" to record all who would contribute any sum they wanted.⁵⁶ This money was to be distributed among townships to increase endowment funds.

Other provisions of the school laws passed in 1835 stated (1) funds from land sales of 16th sections could only be used for tuition (not buildings); (2) corporate powers belonged to a three-member board of trustees appointed by the county court and elected annually on the first Monday in September for one year terms. Trustees were "white male citizens of at least 24 years;" (3) trustees were empowered to build schools, hire teachers, and fix salaries; (4) school terms were at least six months (later reduced to three) a year and all children between six and eighteen "shall enter free;" (5) if annual income from district funds was insufficient, the trustees were to "divide the deficit among those who send, in proportion to the number sent;" (6) courses were set as "reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, English grammar and such other branches of education (theology excepted) as funds may justify." The law also ordered a vote in August, 1835 to decide whether a tax of 3-1/3 cents on each \$100 valuation was to be levied on all county property. Cole County voted down this levy. In 1835 court records show School Township 44, range 11, Jefferson School District with trustees Daniel Colgan, Sam L. Hart and John Walker, the first Board of Trustees for the Jefferson City public school system.⁵⁷

The Cole County Recorder's office of Henry LePage contained a Record of Deeds Book D showing the following transaction of note in 1835:

By an Act of the General Assembly approved
the 14th day of March, 1835, the commissioner
of the Permanent Seat of Government was authorized
to sell 15 inlots and 15 outlots in the city
of Jefferson. So, in pursuance of the act, I,
Lewis Bolton, commissioner of the Permanent
Seat of Government, did on June 8, 1835, sell
to the Jefferson School Commissioners inlot
627 for \$5.⁵⁸

The land was purchased by the Jefferson School Commission. This lot (fronting on Miller Street) is one of eight in the block between Miller and McCarty (formerly VanBuren) and Marshall and Jackson. It was the site of Hobo Hill, the first lot of land to be purchased for public schools in Jefferson City. This lot remained a school property for the next 130 years and became the first site of Lincoln Institute, the first site of a separate public high school building, and later the site of Simonsen Junior High School.⁵⁹

In 1836, the first public school building stood on the lot. The frame and log construction contained two 22 square feet rooms with split log seats. Trustees later announced February 10, 1838 in the Jefferson City Republican that a teacher had been hired, school would begin February 19, and the subjects to be taught, the salary to be paid, and any deficits of funds would be handled in accordance with the law. An appended note declared that all differences between the teacher and pupils would be settled by the trustees: E. Fisher, G. Mason, and J.C. Gordon.⁶⁰ The school opened with 15-20 students enrolled. On August 29, 1840, the local paper published a thank you from

the school's first teacher, W.S. Dawson, who was quitting because he had not been paid. Following his two years of service, he requested that all who sent their children to the Jefferson district school "call and settle their accounts either by cash or note."⁶¹ The second teacher, William C. Furgerson, fared better. He was paid \$80 salary from school district funds.⁶²

Between 1840 and 1842, G.B. Winston published in his memoirs how he walked 10 miles to the "old wooden building" on "the old school lot" (Hobo Hill). He recalled how he was introduced to the Historia Sacra in the school that he paid tuition to attend. Thirty-five years later, Dr. Winston became a member of the Board of Education for the Jefferson City school district.⁶³

The state school fund began in 1837 with grants of land and money from the federal government. The first apportionment arrived January 1, 1842 and totaled \$1,999.60. Thirteen counties received funds based on 60 cents for each child between the ages of six and eighteen. Cole County received \$90.60 for five schools in the county. None of the five were listed in the Jefferson district, thus none went to the school on Hobo Hill which at the time did not have a teacher. The second apportionment came in 1843. Thirty children attended the Jefferson City public school out of a total of 243 school-age children. The state grant was \$145.80. By 1844, enrollment in the district increased to 106 but the total number of school age children decreased to 198. The state apportionment, based on the number of children eligible to attend, dropped to \$106.92. Inaccurate counting and failure of the newly created state bank to pay dividends on the funds resulted in a cut in the state apportionment. By 1850, the 60 cents per child allotment dropped to 16 cents per child. The superintendent's report to the legislature

showed that the dividends would have been four to five times higher if the funds had been drawing 8 to 10 percent interest like other investments.⁶⁴

Teachers were scarce and that added to the faltering early public school system in Jefferson City. According to State Superintendent James L. Minor's report to the legislature, the teacher shortage existed because:

1. A teacher's labors are chilled by the apprehension that they will not be rewarded or that payment will be postponed perhaps for years. . .and he frequently turns in disgust from his employment.
2. A community soon learns to look upon teachers as a necessary but unworthy class of hirelings.⁶⁵

He added, "The solution lies in time, growing prosperity of our land and the increasing numbers and intelligence of our people."⁶⁶ His assessment later proved correct.

As a boy, R.E. Young attended the school on Hobo Hill between 1848 and 1851 for three or four months each year as funds allowed. He described his teacher, Mr. Hazel Burlingame, as tall, slim, well-built, and strong. None of the directors knew how much education he had nor his qualifications to teach, but R.E. remembered him as an "earnest, honest man [who] did the best he could in those days."⁶⁷ He was deft at punishment with a switch when girls and boys disobeyed his rules. Young's classmates included Edward, Thomas, and Austin King, three sons of then Governor Austin A. King. Young later became a Jefferson City physician.⁶⁸

According to a list of school rules dated 1847 on file at Kent Library at Southeast Missouri State University signed by T. Taylor, Tutor:

- 1st They scholars to come to school at half
past 7 o'clock in the morning or so soon
after as circumstances will permit
- 2nd They will come with clean hands and face
hair combed
- 3rd When assembled at the school house there
will be no Discoursing [or] laughing, but
every scholar to attend to their lessons
and study
- 4th When at play they will play without hurting
one another. Climbing trees throwing stones
or going into water will be prohibited
- 5th It is hoped that every scholar will be
Guided by these Rules⁶⁹

This handwritten document serves as a typical agenda for the school day.

In 1853, Governor Sterling Price approved a law appropriating 25 percent of the general state revenue for support of public schools--the first such earmarking of state revenue for education. Yet, there was no local tax system. The Geyer Act of 1839 allowed schools to be built by "rate bills."⁷⁷ Parents who sent pupils to school divided the costs. This method was unsatisfactory according to State Superintendent J.W. Henry who reported to the legislature that nine-tenths of the school houses were "low, dismal, dreary

things. . .even the view cause enough for the fever or ague of the whole neighborhood. With an inexplicable infatuation, affectionate parents send their children there to sit and sweat a whole weary summer day."⁷⁰ This assessment characterized most schools in the state.

The length of the school term varied from school to school, but one contract signed by a teacher for Cole County designated the school day to begin "an hour after sun up to an hour before sun down."⁷¹ According to the 1861 State Superintendent's report to the legislature, so many districts were operating only on state funds that they hired a cheap teacher for as long as they could hold him, then when funds ran out, closed the school or turned it into a sheep pen for the rest of the year.⁷²

In addition, the report in 1861 commented on the dismal conditions of the state schools:

The only provision in a majority of our schools is a wide plank placed horizontally against the inside walls, used as a desk and a large slab with legs, no more than two of which can touch the floor, for a seat. Children are thus crowded in large rows. No efforts are made at classification. . . A.B.C. scholars, grammarians and arithmeticians crowded side by side. The only wonder is that children under such circumstances learn

anything but mischief and insubordination.⁷³

Making children a priority seemed to be the root cause of such poor quality schools. These institutions had to prove their worth before the public would support initiatives to raise standards.

In 1858, the Jefferson City public school had 174 boys and girls, one female teacher paid \$560 and a state appropriation of \$371. In 1859, the Jefferson District school enrolled 157 of 1162 eligible children, paid the teacher \$85 per month or \$765 for the year. State funds were \$248 plus \$517 from the township. The school term lasted for nine months and held 150 to 175 students in two small rooms.⁷⁴

During the growth of the Jefferson City public school, almost 50 private schools operated. Most opened for one term with one teacher; however, an August 28, 1858 newspaper article noted four prominent schools opening for the fall term. Misses Stevens and Lisle taught one hundred students at the Jefferson City Common School (the 1858 State Superintendent's report listed almost 200 students and only one teacher). Rev. Mr. Lougheed taught one hundred students in the Jefferson City Female College. Professor J.E. Shumate of Emory and Henry College taught students at the Jefferson City Male High School. Rev. R. H. Weller supervised The Young Ladies School held in the basement of the Episcopal Church.⁷⁵ The reporter congratulated Jefferson City as the "educational center of the State."⁷⁶

The Jefferson City High School differed from the public high school. The former school operated in a three-story building on the southwest corner of High and Washington. The land, sold to Thomas L. Price in 1863, became the site of the Price mansion. It is now the site of the Supreme Court building. The Hereford House, located

on Madison Street east of the governor's mansion, also housed private school ventures. All private schools had an appointed board and charged tuition as high as \$15 per term. Although several schools claimed the title of high schools and colleges, "their courses were advanced only slightly over the primary levels."⁷⁷ Such was the case with Lincoln's curriculum three years later.

Several churches operated schools. The first Catholic school began in 1846, operated by St. Peter's parish. The Southern Methodist Church built a brick school building in the southern part of the city and operated for a few years before the Civil War. The Baptist Church contained a school operated by Simon Kerl, later a textbook author and an 1851 graduate of the University of Missouri-Columbia. The Episcopal Church, originally located on the east side of Madison Street across from the present Governor Hotel, used its basement for several school ventures.⁷⁸

The German and English Association, a group who valued teaching their children both German and English, bought a lot on McCarty Street between Washington and Broadway in 1854. They built a two-story brick building in 1855 and held this school until 1860-61.⁷⁹

Following thirty years of meager growth, the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861 caused the suspension of state appropriations of school funds which continued through 1863. The office of the State Superintendent of common schools was abolished and those duties shifted to the Secretary of State who reported to the 22nd General Assembly in 1862-63 that the common schools were broken up; the teachers and students had gone to war. Confederate troops used the Southern Methodist Church school as a hospital.⁸⁰ The war devastated public and private schools. As the battles moved south of Missouri's

borders, schools slowly began to recover so that by 1864, all common schools were in full operation. In Jefferson City, The Missouri State Times announced the July 4th "Pic-Nic" and the county record listed \$32.33 a month as the teacher's salary in 1865.⁸⁹

At the close of the war, the little house on Hobo Hill was still standing but its dilapidated condition forced the public school to move to a rented brick building opposite the armory on what is now the capitol grounds. Miss Ella Peabody, the teacher, opened school in that building on September 2, 1867.⁸¹ In addition, nine other private schools held classes at the time and included the first business college which opened in 1866. Classes at the Seminary building resumed in 1867 and Professor E.P. Lamkin built a three-story brick residence at 308 Adams and opened a Select Male School.⁸²

Pioneer settlers from southern states favored early private schools but the majority of Missouri's white citizens could not afford to send their children. On March 15, 1866, under pressure to revitalize the state's public school system, the legislature passed another set of school laws. Any incorporated city or town could organize into a single school district governed by a six-member board of directors elected to serve three-year terms (two elected each year after the initial elections). To build a school, the board had to give ten days notice to legal voters and a majority had to agree on the site, amount, and need for the building. The board could issue bonds for twenty years at 10 percent interest. To operate the school, the board could assess an annual tax limited to one percent of assessed valuation with an additional one percent for buildings and equipment. All residents could attend school for 30 to 44 weeks free of charge.⁸³ The laws required the board to provide separate schools for black children who resided in the city. Each community had to approve the new laws and the local tax. In Jefferson City, that approval did not come

without major opposition prior to the August 4, 1866 election.

The Missouri State Times supported the law and argued in an August 3 editorial that the city's public schools were behind, neglected, and not adequately supported. In addition, private school ventures were short-lived and failures--a discredit to the state capitol and a hindrance to prosperity. Only one school house exists--"a dilapidated old frame, located almost outside the city, and now inhabited by Negroes, but it is wholly unfit for school purposes."⁸⁴ The writer argued against continued overcrowding of the rented brick building housing over one hundred students and claimed that of the city's one thousand white children half would attend public school if the school could accommodate them. Over half of them belonged in higher grades but would most likely be sent elsewhere at great expense while others would be unsuitably taught at home. Taxpayers could educate their children, orphans, and poor children at less expense and render a moral good by lessening class divisions. Only a thoroughly supported public school system would unite people in educational matters.⁸⁵

The opposition newspaper, the People's Tribune published an August 1 item:

Taxpayers of the City of Jefferson, Look Out!

Are you ready to vote a tax on yourselves (as high

as 2 percent a year)? Are you ready to pay \$2 on

every \$100 to educate Negro children? If not, go

to the brick schoolhouse opposite the Catholic

Church on Saturday, August 4, and vote 'no.'

LOOK TO YOUR RIGHTS. WHITE MAN!"⁸⁶

Voters defeated the measure for the first public school tax in Jefferson City: 226 to 16. In a second election, the measure passed. A year later, voters elected to fund public schools through a local tax.⁸⁷

Pro-Confederate Missourians in Jefferson City vehemently objected to paying taxes to support public schools for poor and orphan white children whom they deemed charity cases. But they hated more to pay to educate black children whom they regarded with disdain. That was the main feature of the opposition's stand. The pro-education forces included the strong anti-slavery Germans who dominated the newly elected board. They seized the opportunity to use the building that once housed the German and English School as the new graded public school. In 1867, the German English School Association sold their two-story brick school located at 216-222 West McCarty to the Jefferson City Board of Education for \$4,500.⁸⁸

At the first board meeting, December 12, members assessed the first school tax at one-half of one percent or 25 cents per \$100 of property valuation. They levied another 25 cents for a building tax. The first teacher, Mrs. E.L. Rowe, began the year with the "unprecedented" salary of \$100 per month.⁸⁹ School began January 6, 1868 with one hundred students in the primary department. The more advanced classes began in the morning; the beginners started class in the afternoon. The primary department held class for half a day. The higher classes would begin as soon as the second room was "fitted up."⁹⁰ Board members also planned to hire faculty for the graded system.

After five months of school, the first term ended June 25, 1868. The board offered \$7,000 in bonds for sale at 10 percent interest to cover expenses the first year until taxes could be collected. They furnished free books to poor students and required

all students to buy slates, pencils, and pens. Civil War veterans over twenty years of age could attend school free of charge for the same amount of time spent in service in the Union army.⁹¹

The \$9,000 salaries, the \$7,000 bonds, and the \$7,000 addition of two wings to the McCarty Street school placed the new board and its schools under financial strain. Once again the voice of opposition to paying the school tax appeared in the People's Tribune on September 16, 1868:

We advise all taxpayers who are afflicted with Radicalism to go to the Radical candidate for Sheriff (Dulle) and learn the amount of school tax they must pay that obese and rotund functionary. It is a shame how this tax is piled on the people. If high taxes make a people wise and learned, then the people of Cole County ought to be the best educated in the world. . . Schoolmasters and marms that used to be content and comfortable on 30 and 40 dollars a month, now get their one hundred dollars.⁹²

Some residents deducted the amount of the school tax from their tax bill. As a result, uncollected taxes forced the board to delay payment to teachers.⁹³ Without evidence to the contrary, the delayed payments meant Lincoln Institute's principal, who taught the district's African American pupils, would not receive any compensation for almost two

years.

The development of education in Missouri had a long, precarious, and fractious record. Efforts by descendants of early Europeans and Americans to provide education often conflicted due to the priorities of living in a vast sparsely settled wilderness. To be educated took time, and there was often little time in the daily lives of people who farmed. Early poor settlers could not spare their children's labor and resisted common schools, but it was inevitable that the migration of others whose cultures valued education would soon challenge the dominance of expensive private schools and the employment of private tutors. The duration and destruction of the Civil War hastened that change. As a result, the efforts to establish a common school system in Missouri also inspired new efforts by African Americans to educate their children. Lincoln Institute emerged from their support and the funds of the black veterans. There were several parallels between the common school supporters' efforts to establish the Jefferson City Public Schools and those early efforts by the 62nd and 65th veterans and their supporters to establish Lincoln Institute. Both institutions began amid vehement opposition to educate a particular portion of the state's children. Settlers in Missouri from pro-Confederate southern states objected to educating poor whites and African Americans (Mulatto, free, or slave). They objected to being taxed to fund common schools. Pro-Union and pro-education supporters pushed for a common school system to educate white and black pupils separately. Two years after the War, the common school for white pupils had completed its first term; Lincoln Institute was still struggling as a privately supported venture to educate the district's black pupils.

CHAPTER II

THE IDEA OF LINCOLN INSTITUTE

The First and Second Missouri Volunteers of African Descent (1st, 2nd MO Vols. of A. D.) became the founders of Lincoln Institute. Special Order No. 7 from the War Department in Vicksburg changed the designation to the 62nd and 65th U. S. Colored Infantry (62nd and 65th U.S.C.I.) respectively. The 62nd, the first black Missouri regiment, organized at Benton Barracks in St. Louis in December 1863 and in January 1864. The year 1864 saw the largest recruitment of blacks after Grant's Wilderness Campaign and Sherman's March through Georgia. Forty-six assistant provost marshals enrolled 3,700 blacks: Jefferson City enrolled 356.⁹⁴ Many of these troops were mustered into service in the U.S. Army on March 11, 1864.⁹⁵ There were 4,486 officers and enlisted men comprising those units.⁹⁶

Both Missouri regiments served in Louisiana and Texas.⁹⁷ Colonel William A. Pile organized the 62nd under the command of Lieutenant Colonel David Branson. This regiment performed guard duty, fatigue duty, repaired fortifications, and drilled. From Benton Barracks, the enlisted men and white officers of ten companies boarded a steamship and then a train to reach Port Hudson, Louisiana. From there they traveled to Baton Rouge, to Morganza, Louisiana, to Brazos Santiago, Texas, then to Brownsville, Texas, and finally to Ft. McIntosh in Laredo, Texas between January 1864 and December 1866. Many of these companies traversed back and forth between destinations

transported by steamship, train, or on foot.⁹⁸ All companies left St. Louis by crossing the icy Mississippi River before catching a steamer or train. The steamer Planet carrying Co. E who embarked at Cairo, Louisiana plowed into the river bank. It sank, but there were no casualties and the supplies survived. The company then boarded the steamer John Warner and arrived safely at Port Hudson in New Orleans. While there, they served as guards for a commissary train.⁹⁹

Company I, under the command of Colonel Branson and First Lieutenant Richard B. Foster, detached from the regiment at Port Hudson and acted as heavy artillery from July to October 1864 before rejoining the regiment. In Morganzia, they detached again and served as provost guard. Enlisted men from the 67th U.S.C.I. at Baton Rouge joined this company which remained at Baton Rouge until the end of the war.¹⁰⁰ Thirty-seven men from Company D and others engaged in a final skirmish of the war at White Ranch and at Palmetto Ranch in Texas during May 1865.¹⁰¹

Doing much the same labor as the 62nd, the second black Missouri regiment, the 65th, was stationed mainly at Baton Rouge, Louisiana.¹⁰² Company A of the 65th served as arsenal guard at Baton Rouge during May and June 1864. In March and April 1865, the Mississippi River rose so much that a levee broke and flooded the camp of Co. A in Morganzia. The soldiers built another camp and in the ensuing damage assessment, lost books and records of the regiment.¹⁰³ Men from the 67th joined this company in July and August 1865. These enlisted men had only been paid \$7.00 per month since April 30, 1864. A Congressional act approved June 13, 1864 ordered the payment of these funds. They remained in Baton Rouge until April 1866 at the end of the war.¹⁰⁴

Company I of the 65th was in the process of volunteering service January 13 to February 29, 1864. H. W. Reed's Record of Events at Benton Barracks reads as follows:

The long list of mortality in this company is attributable to the fact that most of the men were enlisted and transported to this place-- a distance of 200 miles--at a time when the weather was extremely cold. They were thinly clad, and poorly provided for, and suffered severely from exposure.¹⁰⁵

From Port Hudson in the spring of 1864, this company marched 25 miles to Morganzia detached from the regiment, and acted as heavy artillery from July 23 to October 24.¹⁰⁶

The Glory of the 62nd

There was for the 62nd U. S. Colored Infantry a closing note of glory at the end of the war. Under the command of Lieutenant Colonel David Branson, 250 men of the 62nd and 50 men of the Second Texas Calvary unmounted under First Lieutenant Hancock and Second Lieutenant James reported to Colonel Theodore H. Barrett at headquarters in Brazos Santiago, Texas at four o'clock in the morning May 11, 1865. They were prepared to cross Point Isabel (from Padre Island to the mainland), however an approaching storm and a steamer with broken machinery which they had planned to use as a ferry forced their return to camp. They had to cross at Boca Chica instead. The detachment had 100 rounds of ammunition and five days rations. The treacherous

crossing at Boca Chica in the storm took until nine-thirty that night to complete. The men took two six-mule teams to haul surplus rations, ammunition, and equipment. At two o'clock in the morning May 12, after a long circuitous march, the detachment surrounded White's Ranch, expecting to capture a rebel outpost of 65 men, horses, and cattle but the ranch was vacant and had been for almost two days. They planned to reach Palmetto Ranch (further up the Rio Grande) before daybreak and raid it under cover of darkness for supplies, cattle, and horses, but the men needed rest. Lt. Col. Branson hid his men in a thicket and among weeds along the riverbank one and a half miles above White's Ranch. They were discovered at eight-thirty the next morning by persons on the Mexican shore who observed them and alerted the rebels. Soldiers from the Imperial Mexican Army also marched up that riverbank. Lt. Col. Branson ordered his men immediately toward Palmetto Ranch, skirmishing with the enemy's calvary most of the route. By noon, 190 men and horses had been driven from their camp. They seized three rebel prisoners, two horses, four beef cattle, and ten days of rations. Lt. Col. Branson ordered his men to rest and eat on a hill at Palmetto Ranch.

At three o'clock that afternoon, the enemy charged with a great deal of force. The hill was indefensible. Lt. Col. Branson's men fell back skirmishing some of the way to White's Ranch to wait for night. One man of the Second Texas Calvary was wounded. Lt. Col. Branson sent word to Col. Barrett, commanding post Brazos Santiago, who arrived at dawn May 13th with 200 men of the 34th Indiana Veteran Volunteer Infantry under Lieutenant-Colonel Morrison. Col. Barrett assumed full command and ordered Lt. Col. Branson's troops to charge forward to regain Palmetto Ranch which the enemy now reoccupied. Driving the enemy ahead of their advance, the troops reached the ranch by

seven or eight o'clock that morning and forced the enemy to abandon it. Troops destroyed remaining supplies to keep the enemy from reoccupying the ranch. A detachment with the wounded was sent back to Brazos Santiago along with the prisoners and property seized the day before. The remainder of the force advanced. Fierce fighting occurred all morning of the 13th. The enemy was driven back in spite of their attempts to take advantageous positions. Skirmishing with the enemy's calvary began and continued all morning. That afternoon, two miles up the riverbank, a brisk fight in the chaparral occurred and another man was severely wounded. At this time, Branson's men charged the enemy, compelling them to take cover and while the troops advanced, the enemy retreated across an open prairie beyond some high ground and out of sight.

Col. Barrett ordered the men to fall back one and a half miles to a bluff on the river, approximately twelve miles from Boca Chica and about a mile from Palmetto Ranch to rest and eat. The 34th Indiana had already taken its position there. By four o'clock, a large force of the rebels' calvary charged with artillery and small arms. At the same time, a heavy contingent of calvary and a section of a battery under cover of the thick chaparral to the right, moved to flank the rear of the men. With the Rio Grande to the left, a superior force of the enemy in front, and a flanking force on the right, the situation was "extremely critical." Without artillery to fight the enemy's six 12-pounder field pieces, the troop position became "untenable." Branson was ordered to position his men in an oblique line to the rear, facing the enemy. While in this position, expecting the calvary to charge, the rebels opened artillery fire from a hill up the river (about one and a half miles farther on). Col. Barrett ordered Branson's men to move off, in retreat under heavy fire from both sides, leaving 140 men for skirmishers under Captains Miller and

Coffin and Lieutenants Foster and Mead. Forty-eight men of the 34th Indiana under Captain Templer were put out as skirmishers to cover the regiment, but were cut off while resisting the enemy and captured by the enemy's cavalry. The 62nd U. S. Colored Infantry was ordered to cover Barrett's forces while falling back; over half were deployed as skirmishers; the remainder, their support. These officers and their men kept the enemy at a distance of nearly three-quarters of a mile at all times. They were so extended as to protect the front and right flank. They traded fire for three hours. A portion of the 34th Indiana broke through Branson's regiment running at "double-quick" while Branson's men were marching in "quick" time. This created confusion, but eventually order was restored.

It was the right flank that retreated because the nearest enemy force of 250 men with two pieces of artillery were trying to form at the rear of Branson's men in order to charge. Branson's men halted each attempt; they were ordered to turn around and face the enemy with the river to their backs. The skirmishing with Branson's men did not threaten the battalion; they were farther ahead and out of firing range of the artillery and cavalry who were "very inaccurate." Branson's skirmish line could not be relieved without exposing the men and the colors to capture while rallying. According to the officers' official reports, "The last volley of the war, it is believed, was fired by the 62nd U. S. Colored Infantry about sunset of the 13th of May, 1865, between White's Ranch and Boca Chica, Texas." The 62nd lost seven Enfield rifles and accouterments and also some camp and garrison equipment. Five men were wounded, two men, supposedly captured by the enemy, were missing. The entire loss of killed, wounded, and captured included 4 officers and 111 men.

Several times the 62nd men avoided rifle fire from the Mexican side of the Rio Grande. After occupying Brownsville (Texas) a few days later, a report stated that the engagement of a body of Imperial calvary crossed the Rio Grande from Matamoras to Brownsville to aid the rebels. This was the last actual conflict between hostile forces in the great rebellion. Lt. Col. Branson stated, "The men did their duty nobly." Lieutenant Kantrener, Branson's acting adjutant, gallantly assisted in every part of the field. Captain Dubois and Lieutenants Stewart and Franzman stuck to their positions and kept men in order under critical conditions. Branson also reported that "First Sergeants Shipley, Company E, and Brown, Company D, proved themselves, as far as field duty is necessary, fit to command companies." Branson's troops reached Boca Chica at eight o'clock that night and crossed at four o'clock the morning of May 14. By then, four men were missing, but two afterward escaped from the enemy. Branson declared, "The entire operation demonstrated the fact that the negro soldiers can march; also that this regiment can keep order in the ranks and be depended upon under trying circumstances. Great skill in skirmishing was exhibited by Captain Miller and Lieutenant Foster and the men under their command." The unmounted officers and men of the Texas calvary behaved splendidly under Branson's command.¹⁰⁷

This was the glory of the 62nd. They were not just black soldiers who endured countless drills in sweltering heat and frigid temperatures across vast territory. They did not just perform menial labor. They were well-trained soldiers who participated fully and admirably in the fighting with rebel troops. They returned to Missouri as seasoned veterans--heroes of the last engagement of the war. That made them destined for more acclaim.

Mustering Out

In January 1866, the War Department ordered the 62nd and 65th regiments to reform into four companies and to dismiss the noncommissioned and commissioned officers. Company C of the 62nd mustered out of service at Brownsville, Texas.¹⁰⁸ First Lieutenant Richard Baxter Foster was one of the officers serving with the 62nd to be mustered out of service at Ft. McIntosh, Texas with the remainder of the regiment.¹⁰⁹

According to Foster's account of these events he and Lieutenant Adamson reminisced about "the fact that many of the enlisted men had learned to read and write, imperfectly of course, while in the service."¹¹⁰ In the winter of 1863 while at Benton Barracks, many black soldiers had benefitted from the educational program conducted by General Pile and the Western Sanitary Commission.¹¹¹ James Milton Turner, the prominent black agent for the Commission, influenced the soldiers while still in camp. He declared that the greatest need which faced the returning black veterans was education.¹¹² Foster recalled saying that "it was a pity these men should find no schools when they returned to Missouri, and the education so happily commenced should cease."¹¹³ Foster called it a "casual remark with no thought of practical consequences."¹¹⁴ Adamson asked him, "If our regiment will give money enough to start a school in Missouri, will you take charge of it?"¹¹⁵ Foster's responded, "I can't say at this moment, perhaps I would."¹¹⁶ Adamson asked him to consider the proposition and went to consult others.

Other officers and soldiers readily agreed to contribute to a school in Missouri. The well-known and highly respected Dr. C. Allen gladly announced that he was

donating \$100. Colonel Barrett and Lieutenant Colonel Branson, though not present, gave similar amounts. Lieutenants of the 65th Infantry gave \$50 each; other officers gave \$100 each. First Sergeant Henry Brown, Company D, gave \$75; Sergeants Curd, Bergamire, Alexander, and Moore gave \$50 each, while other noncommissioned officers gave between \$25 and \$5 each. The officers of the 62nd Infantry contributed a total of \$1,034.50; the soldiers contributed \$3,966.50. Samuel Sexton, a soldier in the 65th, gave \$100 of his \$13 per month earnings. His sacrifice especially impressed Foster who praised him to others in the regiment.¹¹⁷ The 65th Infantry regiment contributed \$1,379.50.¹¹⁸ Foster stated that these donations were made under two conditions. First, the school had to be established in Missouri; and second, it should be open to colored people. Foster imposed a third unwritten condition. If the school experiment failed, the soldiers would get their money back.¹¹⁹

Several endorsements helped the school plan. The first came from Major-General Giles A. Smith stationed at the headquarters of the First Division of the 25th Army Corps in Brownsville, Texas who expressed confidence in the committee and agreed to recommend the plan to philanthropists. Second, Camp Commander W.T. Clark approved and thought the "movement" one that every philanthropist could support. Third, Major-General Clinton G. Fisk called the plan "worthy" and thought a school for blacks the most effective way to educate the race.¹²⁰ Fisk believed in education for the Negro and this single-minded focus led to the establishment of Fisk University which opened January 9, 1866 and named after him.¹²¹

To that end, Foster called a meeting of officers at Fort McIntosh, Texas, January 14, 1866. The committee met at Captain Parson's office and included Dr. Coroden Allen,

Captain Henry R. Parsons, Captain Harrison DuBois, and First Lieutenant Aaron M. Adamson. The officers elected Surgeon Allen chairman and treasurer and Foster their secretary. They voted that each committee member could receive contributions and forward those funds to the treasurer. They also voted to request the secretary communicate with Colonel Theodore H. Barrett, Captain Frank E. Lombar, Captain Frederick E. Miller, Captain Emerson J. Woodward, and Captain Frederick F. B. Coffin to solicit their cooperation and to authorize them to act as agents. Foster became the traveling agent. The treasurer authorized advance money to him "for his being subject to the approval of the committee."¹²² And finally, they agreed that the chairman would have authority to call a committee meeting at his discretion or at the request of two members.¹²³ Foster (cited as Captain Foster¹²⁴) visited the 65th U.S.C.I. and collected from the rank and file men \$1,324.50. The Freedmen's Bureau promised Foster aid and later donated \$2,000.¹²⁵

In the meantime, before discharge at Fort McIntosh concluded, a series of resolutions passed at a meeting of the rank and file soldiers. These resolutions stated:

Whereas, the freedom of the black race
has been achieved by war, and its education
is the next necessity thereof, resolved, that
we, the officers and the enlisted men of the
62nd United States Colored Infantry (organized
as the First Missouri Volunteers of A.D.) agree
to give the sums annexed to our names, to aid

in founding an educational institution, on the following conditions:

First, the Institute shall be designed for the special benefit of the freed blacks.

Second, it shall be located in the state of Missouri.

Third, its fundamental idea shall be to combine study with labor, so that the old habits of those who have always labored, but never studied, shall not be thereby changed and that the emancipated slaves, who have neither capital to spend nor time to lose, may obtain an education.¹²⁶

Foster, Allen, and Parsons went to St. Louis. On Monday, February 18, 1866 (according to Foster's pocket diary entry) the three met in Dr. Post's study with respected black leaders: General Fish, Mr. Fishback, Dr. Post, and Dr. Eliot. Mr. Yeatman, President of the Western Sanitary Commission, also attended.¹²⁷ Though in agreement with the need to educate "the colored race," these men thought the enterprise would fail. Foster disagreed.

Later he began to think they were right. He presumed that the same enthusiasm to start a school to educate freed blacks by newly enfranchised black veterans would occur in other places. It didn't. Foster's spirit was dampened when these men told him that no more money could be raised from the public at that time. While in Texas, the initial Fort

McIntosh group of officers wanted two men from St. Louis to add to their committee. Allen resigned as treasurer; Yeatman consented to serve as treasurer (and did so for four years). Foster resigned as secretary; McIntyre consented to serve in that office. Governor Fletcher later joined the committee. The committee did not meet from February 20, 1866 to June 8, 1866 when the Board of Trustees was organized.¹²⁸

While in St. Louis, the committee met with the leaders of the Methodist Episcopal Church who wanted to establish a school in St. Louis named Central University as a memorial to the centennial of the Methodist Church. The church's board of trustees wanted the committee members to donate to their school in return for immediately starting a school open to blacks. Two board members, General Pile and Dr. Crary, were heartily in favor of this as were most of Foster's committee members; however, two other church board members were opposed--one mildly, the other vehemently. Foster's committee sought to establish a school in accordance with the veterans' resolutions while the objecting Methodist Church board members did not want a school that would include freedmen.¹²⁹ The matter was dropped, and so too eventually was the plan to found Central University. Foster called it an act of Providence. Next, he traveled throughout the east during the summer of 1866 to solicit funds from philanthropists. He was not successful in garnering contributions.¹³⁰

When Foster arrived in Jefferson City, Missouri, there were approximately 565 black residents; three free and the rest contraband--slaves no longer pursued by their masters.¹³¹ Some black children were being taught by white women from the American Missionary Association in the basement of the black Baptist Church.¹³² City officials were waging a campaign to fund common schools under the legislature's March 15, 1866

revision of school laws.¹³³ Though small, the African American population in Jefferson City would soon become integral to the survival of Lincoln Institute.

On February 20, 1866, Foster's committee reorganized into a Board of Trustees which included: James E. Yeatman, J.W. McIntyre, Henry Brown, Harrison DuBois, Henry R. Parsons,¹³⁴ Corodon Allen, Aaron M. Adamson, and Richard B. Foster. The first Board of Trustees was a virtual Who's Who of Radical Republicans. In effect, the school was actually organized in St. Louis through Foster's contacts there even though it was located in Jefferson City by default.¹³⁵

The Board of Trustees was especially committed to establishing Lincoln Institute. The members' political and moral philosophies supported education for blacks among other outcomes from emancipation such as voting. James E. Yeatman, a former slave owner, was president of the Western Sanitary Commission, a white philanthropic organization serving the freedmen. Established in 1861, the Commission operated four elementary schools and a high school in St. Louis. These schools, educating 400 students, were guided by an unofficial black board of education. By 1865, the system had eight teachers and 600 pupils. Teachers at the high school, located in the basement of a local church, taught approximately 50 pupils.¹³⁶ Foster was aware of the commission's heavy involvement in teaching black soldiers in St. Louis at Benton Barracks and during the war in black regiments where white college-educated officers like him taught reading and writing by campfire.

J. W. McIntyre and Harrison DuBois were prominent men from St. Louis as was Henry R. Parsons, a former Captain. Corodon Allen, known as "Horse" Allen, was an unsuccessful candidate on the Independent Democratic ticket of 1844 against John C.

Edwards as a delegate for the General Assembly during the Benton era.¹³⁷ Foster and Adamson were initial organizers of the school back at Fort McIntosh in Texas. First Sergeant Henry Brown, one of the school's first two students, was a black veteran from the 62nd, Company D, who gave \$75 to the initial fund.¹³⁸ He was one of the enlisted men closely involved in the incorporation, establishment, and ongoing survival of the school.¹³⁹

Two other blacks were also instrumental in guiding Lincoln Institute in its early days. Reverend Moses Dickson, a prominent St. Louis minister of the African Methodist Church and one of the organizers of the Missouri Equal Rights League in 1865, was vitally interested and active in founding Lincoln Institute. A former Union soldier, Dickson was a political activist and one of the leaders of the state's Republican party serving as delegate to conventions from 1864 to 1878, and as a delegate-at-large in 1872. He ardently pushed for black teachers in black schools, bucking the absence of enough trained black teachers to serve all the children, and the entrenched white teachers who felt a duty to teach black children. He was a vice-president of the Board of Trustees and a member until 1874.¹⁴⁰ In 1870 he also served as field agent in Missouri to raise funds for Lincoln Institute.¹⁴¹

Like Rev. Dickson, Howard Barnes' involvement in the founding and early guidance of Lincoln Institute was active and outstanding. Unlike Rev. Dickson, who was born free in Cincinnati, Ohio, Barnes was born into a slave family in Old Franklin, Missouri. This wealthy family would yield the sixth governor of Missouri, Lillian Boggs. The Boggs family favored Barnes and not only allowed him to use his father's slaveowner's last name (instead of his mother's slave surname of Boggs), but taught him

to read and write in spite of the 1847 amendment to the state's constitution prohibiting slave literacy. Having led an adventurous and profitable early life, by 1870 Barnes and his black business partner, John Lane, operated a white's only restaurant, rooming house, and catering business in Jefferson City on the corner of High and Jefferson streets.¹⁴² Barnes pledged his personal property as collateral for the construction work, bricks, and lumber for Lincoln's first building dedicated in 1871. In spite of fund-raisers, the school was slow in paying off this debt and Barnes stood to lose his lifetime holdings. In an effort to get the state to aid Lincoln Institute, Barnes persuaded J. Ed. Belch, a prominent Jefferson City lawyer and former city auditor in 1861,¹⁴³ to run for the state Legislature from Cole County. Barnes wanted Belch to introduce a bill to make Lincoln a state normal school and thereby receive money from the state's school funds to educate black children. Belch agreed to this action if Barnes would make sure he received all the black votes. Barnes kept his end of the bargain, and Belch reluctantly did too after students from the Institute and prominent citizens from the state's largest cities appeared before the Legislature to witness his commitment.¹⁴⁴ The bill passed, Barnes was spared financial ruin, and Lincoln Institute was rescued.¹⁴⁵ Belch was elected in 1878.¹⁴⁶

According to Foster, the first acting board consisted of Governor Thomas C. Fletcher,¹⁴⁷ the first Republican governor of Missouri; Superintendent Thomas A. Parker, State Superintendent of Public Instruction; James E. Yeatman, President of the Western Sanitary Commission; Judge Arnold Krekel, United States District Court, who earlier presided over the 1865 state convention to draft a new constitution;¹⁴⁸ Attorney General Robert Franklin Wingate, who served under Governor Fletcher; State Printer Emory S. Foster, a veteran and former editor of a pro-Union newspaper in Warrensburg,

Missouri;¹⁴⁹ State Treasurer William Bishop; Rev. J. A. Whitaker, a veteran and pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in Jefferson City;¹⁵⁰ Sergeant Henry Brown and himself.¹⁵¹

Yeatman, McIntyre, Brown, and Foster handled the board's business. They incorporated the school as a Normal School under provisions of Missouri's 1865 Statutes. On June 25, 1866, they presented the Articles of Incorporation to the Cole County Circuit Court. They read as follows:

State of Missouri, County of Cole, in
vacation, Circuit County Court, Cole
County.

Whereas, William Bishop, R.A. Parker,
J. Addison Whitaker, Emory S. Foster,
R.B. Foster, Thomas C. Fletcher, R.F.
Wingate, Henry Brown, Arnold Krekel
and James E. Yeatman have filed in the
office of the Clerk of the Circuit
Court, the Articles of Association in
compliance with the provisions of an
act concerning corporations under the
name and style aforesaid, with all the
powers, privileges and immunities
granted in act above named.

By order of the judges in vacation.

In testimony Whereof, I, William H. Lusk,
Clerk of said Court, have hereunto set
my hand and seal of said Court, done
at office in the City of Jefferson this
25th day of June A.D., 1866. Signed
William H. Lusk.¹⁵²

Immediately after the charter was filed, there was continued strong opposition to blacks and Lincoln Institute's being founded. This was evident in the city's anti-black pro-Southern daily paper, The People's Tribune,¹⁵³ on June 27, 1866 in an article, "Our Colored Friends to Have a College." The article announced the filing of Lincoln Institute's charter and advocated that no tests for race or color should be allowed at the school. The article ended with a wedding announcement culled from the New York Post. The wedding in Mobile (Alabama) was held in "the African Church"¹⁵⁴ between an ex-slave of a Confederate general and a white school teacher. The wedding was filled with blacks who joined the couple at a banquet at the bridegroom's house. The couple left on an early train to visit the bride's friends "at the North."¹⁵⁵ Obviously, such malicious opposition was not only to establishing a school, but also to racial intermarriage. Anti-black, anti-public school proponents would surely pay heed to such incendiary remarks prior to the city-wide vote to assess a property tax that August.¹⁵⁶ Voter approval meant tax supported schools for both black and white children.

The next week the same newspaper published another article, "The Negro College," guaranteed to inflame whites' hatred of newly enfranchised blacks:

We published last week the particulars in respect to the establishment of a Negro College at this point to be called the 'Lincoln Institute.' It seems the design is to make Missouri the negro State of the Union! Instead of sending what negroes we have down South or to Africa, they are to be virtually invited to remain with us! And not only this, but all the negroes in the Union are to be invited to settle in Missouri! The Northern people desire to get rid of their negroes, and therefore will furnish money to establish this Negro College. And the negro soldiers are to contribute--several regiments of negroes, according to the Times, having already subscribed large sums of money to found a Negro College.

This is the plan to make Missouri a Negro State. The Governor and State officers invite negroes to take possession of the State! If the plan goes forward Jefferson City, The Capitol of Missouri, will at an early day

become the mecca of the negro. Here they will first concentrate, and here practical, social and political equality will first be attempted.¹⁵⁷

Missouri was not destined to become a "Negro State" at the close of the war, but pro-slavery activism and renegade violence against blacks made the alarm sound immediate and real to those who intended to defeat the public school tax vote.

Lincoln Institute's board changed. After filing the Articles of Incorporation, the board adopted a constitution. The governing principles of the board read as follows:

The name of the association was to be called the Board of Trustees of Lincoln Institute. The purpose of this board was to establish in or near Jefferson City an educational institution which should be open to colored people. It was not to be closed to others, but its special interest was the education of the Negro race.

The board was to consist of ten members whose terms of office and manner of election were to be fixed in the by-laws which were to be adopted from time to time. The officers of the board were such as were common to organizations of its kind. The officers were to keep office until such time as their terms were ended by the board

and were to carry out such duties as were imposed upon them by the main body. Five members constituted a quorum to transact the business of the Board of Trustees. Extraordinary business, such as authorizing the transfer of real estate or the changing of the constitution, required the complete board. The test of religion could not be invoked in the election of teachers or the admission of students in the school.¹⁵⁸

At Fort McIntosh, the founding officers and enlisted men may have thought that their school would be integrated--expecting that newly emancipated blacks would participate equally as citizens since the anti-slavery forces had won the war. They could hardly temper their enthusiasm in donating their hard earned soldier's pay sacrificed in a moment of euphoria about freedom and fulfillment of their dreams. They could hardly have been more in error. In Missouri, Jefferson City supporters of a separate public school system were concurrently campaigning for tax revenue to fund the newly revised public school laws which now would provide for educating white and black children. "Open to blacks" is the key phrase that manifests the real intent of the veterans' idea for a school. These freed men had families to support back in Missouri, but after hearing James Milton Turner address the needs for black enfranchisement in the new order of a society without slavery, their focus shifted from mere subsistence necessities to an investment in their future and that of their children. They could see the value of study for the sake of labor. They and their children could realize the full potential of the human existence that up to

then had been oppressively and violently reserved for whites.

A school founded in a border state whose strong Southern-heritage roots still smoldered with resentment against loss to the Union was indeed a hefty wish to fulfill. Also, a school intended to combat racism by enrolling both black and white students only had to be a futuristic vision--seen in retrospect--for a truly united nation. This was a vision of sharing, in its most humanitarian sense, borne of forced endurance of and accommodation to slavery and hatred of the race. Ironically, at the time the veterans and officers were undertaking the commitment to such a vision, the Missouri legislature was rewriting and enlarging the scope of its earlier 1835 school laws. Their vision was much more limited and much less humanitarian. They kept the races as divided in the policies and practices of education as in everything else.

A school "open to blacks" would have benefit of literacy heretofore reserved for whites. To combine study and labor, this new school in Missouri would encompass all that eluded blacks from society beginning with mass literacy for the race and training to earn a living. It was W.E.B. DuBois and Booker T. Washington combined.

The board set the school's opening date for September 17, 1866. According to Foster, there were two churches for blacks in town (Jefferson City). The Baptist Church had a school operated by the American Missionary Association (the same organization that established Fisk University and several others). This school was taught by two women from that association who were largely unappreciated for their wish to educate black children. They were stoned in the street by white boys, but they were protected by Governor Fletcher.¹⁵⁹

The Methodist Church was petitioned next. Foster offered to make repairs to the facility and pay rent. The trustees of the church agreed, but the minister refused because the teacher (Foster) would be white. Foster then made the same offer to the white Methodist Church (called the North Methodist) for use of their basement. Again, the trustees were willing, but the minister refused because the students (then called scholars) would be black.¹⁶⁰

According to Foster, in 1866 Jefferson City did not have a public school, board of education, or public school house.¹⁶¹ Actually, thought, it did. The city school board furnished free of charge the necessary accessories for teaching when Foster applied for and was granted use of the vacant school house at Hobo Hill according to the 1867 Semi-Annual report from the Freedmen's Bureau. The first lot for a public school was sold to the Jefferson School Commissioners for \$5 on June 8, 1835.¹⁶² School laws passed by the legislature on March 10, 1835, provided for a three-member board of trustees in every district. The first school house was a two-room log and frame construction located on Miller Street known as Hobo Hill.¹⁶³ Perhaps the reason Foster presumed no such system was in place was due to the abandonment of the old common school building (Hobo Hill) prior to the Civil War. Although the building was still standing, it was dilapidated.¹⁶⁴ The school for whites had removed to and was paying rent for use of a "little brick schoolhouse" on the capitol grounds beginning sometime during 1865-1866.¹⁶⁵

As a last resort, Foster used the dilapidated twenty-two feet square two-room log building (known as Hobo Hill) located on the outskirts of town.¹⁶⁶ School began with two students, Henry Brown and Cornelious Chappelle.¹⁶⁷ According to the July 1, 1867 Fourth Semi-Annual Report on Schools for Freedmen from the Bureau of Refugees,

Freedmen and Abandoned Lands, Lincoln Institute began in September with two students and ended the year June 28, 1866 with one hundred fifty students of two hundred fifty during the year.¹⁶⁸ This jointly compiled report prepared by J. W. Alvord, General Superintendent of Schools, and Major General O. O. Howard, Commissioner of the Bureau, stated that:

Of the one hundred and fifty members
at the close, twenty-five have progressed
from easy lessons to advanced readers;
seventy-five from entire ignorance to the
reading of easy lessons, quite as well as
the twenty-five did last year; while fifty
who have not attended long are still in the
rudiments."¹⁶⁹

In another section the report continued: "It (Lincoln Institute) is now located in the suburbs of Jefferson City, in a building ill adapted to its requirements, but furnished gratuitously at present by the city school board. It is tolerably well provided with charts, &c., for object teaching, and the pupils are making praiseworthy advancement."¹⁷⁰

Due to the large enrollment, Mr. Festus Reed, Foster's father-in-law, became an assistant teacher; however, he was not paid for the first five months of service.¹⁷¹ At the close of the year (June), the trustees voted him \$200.¹⁷²

The Freedmen's Bureau report of 1867 gave a comprehensive look at Lincoln Institute since its beginning. Noting how the school was established and with what funds, the report acknowledged the school's rapid progress in assuming the role of a normal

school, stating that the Institute's aim was "to help educate the colored people of Missouri, and especially by training of teachers."¹⁷³ The report added "the trustees bought three hundred and sixty-five acres (later more accurately calculated as 362 acres) of good land three miles from Jefferson City, on which they intend to erect a good school house immediately. The land and house exhaust their present resources."¹⁷⁴ With the present fund (\$8,000 from the \$6,325 contributed by the soldiers and \$2,000 from the Bureau) the trustees want to purchase an improved farm near Jefferson City to establish a manual labor school to add to the normal school. The school wants to be self-supporting with this farm but needs help now toward this goal. The report stated that "old prejudices are rapidly disappearing; opposition on the part of a large portion of the community has been tempered to acquiescence; on the part of the press, to lukewarmness, its violence, except in a few quarters [has] ceased."¹⁷⁵

In another section of the report that examined education for freedmen in Missouri and Kansas, the preparers noted that although these states were not under the direct supervision of the Bureau, because each had large black populations, their schools for freedmen had been placed under the direction of Brevet Lieutenant Colonel F. E. Seely, assistant quartermaster for the Bureau at St. Louis.¹⁷⁶ He was appointed by the Bureau to act as Superintendent of Education for these two states.¹⁷⁷ His first survey report revealed that in the past four months (March-June, 1867) there had been fifty schools for colored children open in Missouri. These included a wide variety of day, night, public, and private ventures--some supported by the freedmen, some by public school boards, and some by benevolent societies. Seely estimated that over 2,000 pupils had attended one of these schools. He concluded that the school laws of Missouri regarding colored children

were not all that could be desired, but at least the legislature was more progressive toward educating blacks than the people and the school boards.¹⁷⁸

Outside of St. Louis, Seely was not aware of a single permanent public school for colored children in the state. In some locales, the teachers from benevolent societies received their salaries from the fund earmarked for public school education of black children.¹⁷⁹ Successful schools were established along railroad routes by Friends of Iowa, the American Missionary Association and other agencies; however, other counties were hostile to schools for blacks, and teachers in these counties are vigorously opposed. One teacher in Linn county was so vilely slandered that she took the matter to court. In Troy, Lincoln county, a school house and church were burned down. Seely could not comprehend the reason for such hostility, yet saw some hope for a state that was so recently a slave state through the actions of its good citizens who at least provided for some education for freedmen, in contrast to the behavior of former slave states in the south.¹⁸⁰

CHAPTER III

LINCOLN INSTITUTE AND STATE GOVERNMENT

By 1868 Lincoln Institute continued to experience even greater financial difficulties. In 1867, the trustees had pledged \$5,000 against \$20,000 needed by July 1 of that year.¹⁸¹ Because Foster was now principal of the school, he could not go out and solicit funds. Fortunately, he received two letters from Governor Thomas Fletcher's secretary, C.C. Draper. Each correspondent offered to serve the newly established school.¹⁸² Charles A. Beal and classmate W.H. Payne, graduates from Adrian College in Adrian, Michigan,¹⁸³ had decided to dedicate their lives to the education of freedmen.¹⁸⁴

Foster welcomed their services provided some charity paid their salaries. The American Missionary Association paid W. H. Payne's \$400 per year salary.¹⁸⁵ Beal, a pulpit orator, was highly recommended by Governor Chaflin¹⁸⁶ of Massachusetts and so the two arrived at Lincoln Institute. Payne came to teach and was later made principal; Beal became a field agent working on commission.¹⁸⁷

Beal received several outstanding endorsements from many well-known persons whom he contacted. Among these kudos was the sanction of Beal as a commendable envoy on behalf of the school from none other than Frederick Douglass, then considered the leader of the race. Another came from Henry Ward Beecher who also commended the Institute and its agent to friends and parishioners. Reverend Beal began speaking on

behalf of the school in 1868. He collected \$6,000 to pay the school's debts and to equip the first main building. After expenses, \$1,200 was added to the school's treasury.¹⁸⁸

Most of the contributors could not sign their names due to profound enforcement of the 1847 amendment to Missouri's constitution forbidding slaves to be taught how to read or write. Most signed with an X. Jesse James, the infamous Missouri outlaw, reportedly contributed \$5 at one time and \$10 at another.¹⁸⁹

During Reconstruction there were several national forces in motion to shape the direction of educating freedmen. Lincoln Institute was straining to hold to its initial resolution for existence. What it needed most was a steady source of funding to allow the mission to develop. The Board of Trustees, ever alert to the changes in the nation's political temper, thought there was a glimmer of hope in Congress.

On June 2, 1866 Congress granted each state 30,000 acres of public land for each Senator and Representative (Missouri had 2 and 9, respectively) to establish agricultural colleges.¹⁹⁰ Missouri qualified for 330,000 acres of public land. Missouri's state constitution of 1865, article nine, section two provided: Separate schools may be established for children of African descent. All funds provided for the support of schools shall be appropriated in the proportion to the number of children without regard to color.¹⁹¹ Black citizens believed that the black schools would share in the congressional land grant. Consequently, the Board of Trustees of Lincoln Institute invested the veterans' subscription money in 362 acres of land within three miles of Jefferson City. The land was to be used to establish an agricultural college, thereby rendering the Institute self-sufficient and honor the veterans' stipulation of a school that combined study and labor.¹⁹² The legislature however gave the entire grant to the state university at

Columbia to establish an agricultural department.¹⁹³

In an effort to raise more capitol, Principal Foster took advantage of a change in St. Louis. In 1870 Nicholas Bell was elected Fifth Ward representative to the General Assembly in St. Louis. Charlton Tandy, an educated politically active black man from St. Louis, visited Bell to present a case for advancing education for black people in Missouri. Tandy's position argued for educating the nation's three million emancipated blacks. He wanted Bell to sponsor a bill to allow blacks to attend public schools and benefit from school funds. Bell wrote and introduced the bill. Tandy, appointed messenger to the legislature, accompanied Bell to Jefferson City. When Tandy visited Lincoln Institute, the treasury was empty; the school was about to close. He reported his observations to Bell who then visited the school, examined the records, and talked with Principal Foster. Foster asked for aid in the amount of \$5,000. Bell presented the bill to the legislature which gave relief to Lincoln's financial pressures¹⁹⁴¹⁴⁷.

On March 10, 1870, a public fundraising meeting began in the House of Representatives in Jefferson City. Governor J. W. McClurg presided and many attending representatives subscribed to the school. Black citizens assembled and petitioned the legislature to set apart a portion of the college lands for school purposes and to make Lincoln Institute a state normal school. In response, the legislature passed two laws. One was an act establishing a state normal school for colored teachers. To qualify, Lincoln Institute had to have \$15,000 in property and assets as collateral and agree to supervision by the State Board of Education in order to train African American teachers for the public schools.¹⁹⁵ In the second act, the legislature did not pierce the corporate veil of the school's incorporation nor its constitution, but instead required Lincoln Institute to hold a

normal department within its school.¹⁹⁶ Once Lincoln Institute could verify compliance with the various sections of the acts, the school would receive \$2,500 semi-annually from the state treasury. Before Lincoln could receive funds, the state auditor had to have a \$10,000 bond from the school on file. These acts were approved March 16, 1870.¹⁹⁷

In an earnest effort to comply with the discouraging requirements of the acts, the Institute sent agents Charles A. Beal and another agent, John Lane, business partner with Howard Barnes, to canvas the eastern states for funds. The Sanitary Commission contributed \$2,000. The Refugee, Freedmen's and Abandoned Land Fund gave \$6,000 plus \$2,000 on hand from the Freedmen's Bureau for a school building. By the time the six month installment of \$2,500 could be drawn, the Institute had met its endowment quota of \$15,000. Operating expenses continued to accrue however. Although students either brought their own books or used donated texts, the board still had to pay coal fuel bills and salaries. The board went into debt. They presumed that philanthropic aid would continue once the school had collected \$15,000. They were wrong and contributions dropped. The school was in debt \$9,500.¹⁹⁸

In his annual report for 1869, Superintendent Thomas A. Parker addressed the need for more black teachers in Jefferson City. He suggested the state support the newly established Lincoln Institute for the purpose of training black teachers.¹⁹⁹ Supported by Governor Joseph W. McClung, in February the legislature passed a law granting \$5,000 annually to Lincoln Institute provided the trustees agree to change the mission of the school from educating freedmen to that of training black teachers for public schools. On March 10, 1870, Radicals opened the Hall of Representatives to Lincoln Principal Richard B. Foster and his students for a public recitation designed to attract contributions.

Governor McClurg opened the donations with \$100.²⁰⁰ Thus, Lincoln Institute became a state-supported school. Its history would continue to reflect the vagaries of political parties and social discrimination in state and local arenas.

After Lincoln Institute began receiving state funds to train teachers in 1870, it was one year older at its present site. President John H. Lathrop at the state university in Columbia, Missouri successfully lobbied the legislature and received the 1862 Morrill Acts funds in 1870.²⁰¹ In spite of equally heavy petitioning by leaders and members of the black community and the Board of Trustees for Lincoln to be given part of the federal land and be made a state normal school, Lincoln's requests were denied. In order to receive funds as a state normal school in view of the law that prohibited the state from allocating money to secular or private schools, Lincoln was forced to yield its property to the state in 1879.²⁰² As a state normal school for training black teachers for black schools, the graduates were certified to teach for life without having to sit for an exam.²⁰³ In 1870, Lincoln had no buildings, funds for only one teacher, and an endowment of \$7,000. The state superintendent of public schools commended Lincoln in his annual report²⁰⁴ to the legislature. Again, he advocated Lincoln be given normal school status to train black teachers. This was the third such petition dating back to the 1868 superintendent's report. In 1869, Representative L. A. Thompson of Montgomery County, submitted a bill to the legislature to enlarge the University of Missouri-Columbia by establishing and maintaining the Department of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts. The bill also called for establishing Lincoln Institute in Cole County; however, upon the second reading that day, the Committee on Education had deleted the addendum about Lincoln Institute.²⁰⁵

By 1870, in lieu of granting Lincoln's supporters and trustees their petition, the House discussed a bill to give aid and designate normal school status. Representative J. B. Harper of Putnam County amended Mr. Hayward's House Bill 175, an act to aid in the establishment of normal schools, by calling for Lincoln's board to change its mission to train black teachers for public schools. In addition, the board had to certify under oath that the school had sufficient buildings and grounds valued at \$12,000 before the state would give aid. Voting on this bill and amendment was postponed while the Senate Committee on Education reported on House Bill 688, an act establishing a State Normal School for colored teachers. The Committee recommended passing it. Mr. Baker offered the amendment to delete the word "colored" wherever it occurred in the bill. Mr. Harper offered the following amendment: "In the Lincoln Institute at Jefferson City there is hereby created a normal department for the purpose of training teachers for public schools." Mr. Hayward demanded the previous question that was seconded, and the main question ordered. The amendment did not pass by a vote of 54 to 49. By a motion the bill was granted a third reading, and passed 99 to 3. The Senate sent word to the House that HB 688, "An act establishing a State normal school for colored teachers," had passed. The bill became law when Governor J. W. McClurg signed it February 14, 1870.²⁰⁶ The newly created Board of Regents replaced the earlier founding Board of Trustees. They were authorized to control and manage the school as a State Normal School for \$5,000 paid semi-annually. On March 16, a supplementary and explanatory act called for Lincoln's board to file a \$10,000 bond with the state auditor as surety for the \$5,000. The acts became effective when the board had \$15,000 in the treasury.²⁰⁷

Foster was not alone in the search for philanthropy to aid Lincoln Institute. The preceding year, efforts from James W. Turner, the noted black political activist from St. Louis, resulted in his appointment in 1869 by the Freedmen's Bureau to travel the state to establish schools for blacks. Superintendent Thomas A. Parker appointed Turner to carry out the same mission. Turner collected almost \$8,000 in public funds to educate blacks. He helped establish 32 schools and supported the construction of seven new school buildings. Former slaveowning whites around black communities fiercely opposed Turner's efforts. Because many Missourians disapproved of white female teachers for black children, there were few qualified black teachers to teach in these schools. White female and black male and female teachers also earned considerably less.²⁰⁸

With the consistent commitment from leaders of the state's Radical Republican government, Lincoln Institute managed to shift its mission from that of a private academy for the education of freedmen, to that of a private school with a normal department whose purpose was to train black teachers for the separate black public schools.

Even though at the outset, the black and white veterans of the founding regiments envisioned a school for both races, the circumstances within the state's own white school system and a change in state education laws following the close of the war prohibited that dream from becoming reality. From St. Louis to Jefferson City, Foster was perceived as an agent on a mission to establish a black school, yet the black veteran's initial resolution was not so limited. Given the struggle in Missouri to establish a public school system for white children as early as 1835, it is not hard to recapture the pull and tug politics that precipitated such a system. It is unlikely that Jefferson City would have been any more hospitable to public education given the pervasive prejudice from Southern settlers who

perceived public education as charity. They were adamant against paying to educate others' children, let alone black children. It is certain that anti-black Southern prejudice that had upheld the 1847 law prohibiting blacks from being educated would have continued had there not been a Civil War to break the hold of racism.

Had Foster remained in St. Louis, there is a strong possibility that some factions committed to educating blacks would have served as significant support for Lincoln Institute. In view of competing elementary and secondary schools established by the Freedmen's Bureau and operated by blacks in St. Louis, Lincoln could have served initially as a normal school for training black teachers who would in turn take over schools founded by charitable and government-sponsored organizations. The possibility is strong that Foster would have served only as founding agent, and not as principal-teacher due to the larger population of free educated blacks in St. Louis capable and willing to take over that role. Also, the preference for black teachers for black children was not just held by whites. Many African Americans detested the severe punishment traditionally meted out to students in many white schools. In a period of strong religious dogma held by both black and white churches, it is hardly likely that African Americans would have tolerated the corporal style of educating so dominant throughout Missouri's schools. It would have been mere continuation of the severe violence behind the marauding criminal vigilante groups who took license to slaughter blacks throughout the state, as well as an epilogue to the harshest and most inhumane conditions suffered by slaves before the war, particularly during the 1830s and 1840s. By 1870, Lincoln Institute had a chance to survive by conforming to the designs of those who saw only state intervention as a steady source of financial support. Lincoln Institute probably

would have closed without such state aid.

CHAPTER IV

THE FOUNDING OF AN INSTITUTION

Given the historical precedents that surrounded the founding of Lincoln Institute, it is not coincidental that Lincoln Institute began with a precarious hope for the future amid a flurry of financial, political, and social blockades during Reconstruction. The efforts of those original figures involved in that founding can only be described as tenacious.

In 1866, Lincoln Institute was an incorporated school in Jefferson City established with funds donated by black soldiers and white officers in two regiments of U. S. Colored Infantry from Missouri. There was nothing spectacular about these men or their contributions to the war. However, it wasn't three years of duty that made these regiments especially prone to contribute to school founding. Mustering out of service in the middle of winter presented more certain immediate goals such as making a living outside the army in a country physically wasted and socially desperate.

The school's founding committee shifted into its first Board of Trustees--all committed supporters of education for the freedmen. At the close of the Civil War, most of these men were at the height of their influence in local and state politics under a radical Republican government. Unlike many schools for freedmen founded in the South during Reconstruction or the few established before the war that admitted blacks, Lincoln Institute was not the result of abolitionist sentiment, philanthropic largess, school-founding competition by religious denominations, or even the impetus of free blacks like

those who planned a national industrial school in Rochester, New York. And yet, it embodied aspects of each of these impulses.

Unlike Fisk University established in the middle of a large black population in thriving Nashville nine months before Lincoln Institute, or similarly Howard University in Washington, D. C. established nine months after Lincoln, the soldier's school existed because an unprecedented will to survive. Lincoln did not have the advantage of a large black population, wealthy benefactors, or an idyllic setting like Fisk, Howard, or Hampton respectively. But like these schools whose original shape was also guided by educated high ranking officers,²⁰⁹ Lincoln Institute came into being because education was the single most coveted desire of the veteran freedmen. Legally forbidden, literacy was no longer a substantive control mechanism to prevent slave uprisings and escapes. More than any other quality of life, literacy was the gateway to survival, to acquisition, to position, to legacy. Every educated African American had long proved its value. Now, over four million slaves had to grapple with the means to travel through that same gate.

Given the pivotal role the slave state Missouri held in the war, its governor, lieutenant governor, and all but nineteen of its ninety-nine legislators were slaveholders and allied to the Confederacy. Pitted against a populace that was conservative Democrat and pro-Union, the free blacks and runaways who struggled to reach Benton Barracks in 1863 came because of a desperate need to change their future. Three grueling years later, the survivors brought back to Missouri more than personal status as veterans. They came back with a little learning to read, a small amount of currency, and a school.

Lincoln Institute's mission varied little from that of other schools. The study-labor philosophy existed throughout the nation with only a matter of degree as to which was

emphasized at which school. At Lincoln, the paradigm began as rote instruction in how to read, write, and count. Later, it would transform to learning for life work through industrial education.

Two students and a teacher--that was Lincoln's opening--for a moment. The second year, two teachers taught over one hundred students. The third, fourth, and fifth years, three teachers and a principal taught over two hundred students. During the first two years, veterans comprised the bulk of the enrollment with two from the 62nd regiment.²¹⁰ Later, young black children from Jefferson City enrolled.²¹¹

Capt. Richard B. Foster, Principal, 1868-70.

So why did they come to an empty, windowless, condemned log cabin with a gaping hole in what remained of the roof and huge holes in the walls? This decrepit structure on Miller Street had already been abandoned after thirty years of use as Jefferson City's common school. Shortly before the end of the war, hobos had used it as a shelter and following a fire that gutted the interior, it was left to fall. That is how it got its name Hobo Hill. That day in September when school opened, a thunderstorm had produced a deluge. Rain poured in so hard and fast that Richard B. Foster could hardly know inside from out. Getting to the school took a half hour to climb fences and trudge through knee deep mud because the bridge over the creek²¹² near the school was out.

He could hardly have been awed by the conditions in Jefferson City either. After the war, food prices were high. Flour cost \$5.00 per barrel; cornmeal cost \$1.25. Hams sold for 28 to 35 cents, pork shoulders for 20 to 25 cents and lard for 30 to 35 cents.²¹³

Framed buildings, log cabins, stone cabins, and concrete brick homes mixed with important government buildings like the Capitol and the state penitentiary made of smooth local "cotton" stone (white limestone).²¹⁴ Vacant lots were abundant because the pioneer village grew at right angles to the Missouri River. At the time Foster arrived, the city limits were bounded on the north by the River, on the south by Dunklin Street, on the east by Ashley Street and on the west by the Catholic cemetery.²¹⁵

The Jefferson City Tribune had just begun publication under owner C.J. Corwin as a propaganda tool for Confederate sympathizers now disenfranchised. Articles on political attitudes abounded. Local Democrats wanted the state university moved to Jefferson City because Boone County had been packed with rich slaveholders who had supported the Confederacy.²¹⁶

New waves of European immigrants began settling in Missouri by invitation from railroads and land companies. Predominantly Germans settled in mid-Missouri in general and Jefferson City in particular.²¹⁷ As the railroads expanded westward, population moved accordingly and with that expansion businesses grew and agriculture began to profit from railroad distribution that was faster and more dependable than steamships which often sank.

Foster had indeed traveled as far as some of the German immigrants who were seizing land to cultivate. At the beginning of the war, he was a Corporal, Company K, 1st Nebraska Calvary. He requested and received transfer to the 1st Missouri Infantry of African Descent. When he mustered in on December 29, 1863, he had been promoted to 1st Lieutenant; he was 36,²¹⁸ but his legacy as a patriot of liberty came from roots as early as the Great Migration to the new world that occurred in seventeenth century England.

His European ancestor, Thomas Foster, Sr. (ca. 1570) was rector of parishes at St. Matthew and St. Mary in Ipswich, England, a port city in southeast Suffolk County in eastern England. He and wife Abigail Wimes had three boys and three girls. Their second son, Thomas Foster, Jr., (ca. 1600) the first American ancestor, came to the new land and settled in various Massachusetts towns (Weymouth, Billerica, and Braintree) in 1634.²¹⁹ In 1647, Thomas Foster was made sergeant in a colonial militia of freemen hastily formed to defend the Massachusetts charter. Their eldest, also named Thomas Foster (b. Aug. 18, 1640) married Sarah Parker in 1662. He became a physician and they produced six children. Their youngest son Jonathan (b. Sept. 21, 1671) married Abigail in 1755 and had five children. Their eldest, also named Jonathan (b. ca. 1698), married Mary and had eight children. Their youngest son Hezekiah (b. Aug. 28, 1728) married Hannah and had eleven children. Their eighth child, Richard Foster (b. July 16, 1762), took the Assistance Test swearing allegiance to liberty for the colonists; he enlisted in the Continental Army. He married Sarah Greeley in 1784 and had four children (two sons and two daughters). Their eldest son, also named Richard (b. Mar. 6, 1788), married Irene Davis Burroughs in 1812. They had eleven children. Their tenth child was Richard Baxter Foster (b. Oct. 25, 1826)²²⁰ He and three brothers fought in the Civil War.²²¹ Two died on the battlefield.²²²

Born on a farm in Hanover, New Hampshire, on October 25, 1826, Richard Baxter Foster, the tenth child, one of ten sons and one daughter, was one of eleven children born to Irene Davis Burroughs, a scholarly woman from Killingly, Connecticut, and Richard Foster, Jr.²²³ Tutored by his mother at home and his brother Daniel at Hopkinton, Massachusetts, Richard Baxter Foster entered Dartmouth College in 1851. In October 1851, he married Jemima Clelland Ewing.²²⁴ He left in 1860, but received his bachelor's

degree in 1867. From 1850-53, he taught school in Jacksonville, Illinois for three years and in Indiana. In 1856, he went to Kansas, became a free soldier and during the summer campaigned against the border ruffians where the first canon shot was fired by Free Soilers. He participated in John Brown's raid on Fort Titus in 1856. Then he joined the First Nebraska Volunteers of Union soldiers in 1862²²⁵ before transferring to the 62nd.

When school started September 19, 1866, Foster prepared to meet the challenge. Back at Ft. McIntosh he thought about the "special work" Providence would call him to do at this time in history.²²⁶ Now, he was doing it. Between then and now, Foster brought his wife Lucy and five their boys Festus, Richard, Frank, Lurad, and Charles to Jefferson City. On July 18, 1867, his seventh son Guy was born²²⁷ in Jefferson City.

Colonel Branson forwarded \$70 contributed from fundraising in Philadelphia, but the school needed extensive repairs and supplies to accommodate over one hundred students. Plans were underway to take the \$2,000 received from the Freedman's Bureau in December, 1866 and build a school house the next year. The Board of Trustees had just purchased 365 acres, mostly timbered, three miles south of Jefferson City.²²⁸

In two years, Foster traded the building on Hobo Hill for another used as a church. Three years later, Lincoln Institute had its own building, some state aid, and a course of study to train black teachers. By 1871, the first campus building was completed on a hill top site. The sixty-by-seventy foot three-story structure had a basement with furnace and flues. It was financed via funds raised by agents Beal and Lane plus the soldier's and Freedmen's funds. Collateral for the building materials was put up by Howard Barnes, a local black business owner. Whereas Lincoln did not get a new building until 1871, the city public school had purchased a two-story building, expanded it, and by the opening of

school September 4, 1871 had a new building on the corner of Miller and Monroe for a high school.²²⁹ The board paid \$4,000 for the lot and \$22,500 for the building. The 1871-72 ten-month term began with 515 students and 11 teachers.²³⁰

"Special Work to Do"

Foster had been employed by the Jefferson City Board of Education to teach both resident and non-resident black children (charged \$1 per month) beginning in 1868.²³¹ In 1869, the wrecked school building was repaired and he continued teaching with almost the same students (called pupils) as before. The Jefferson City School Board paid him \$100 per month to teach the black elementary-age children in this same school on Hobo Hill.²³² There was no other separate city facility for these children. Foster's eighth son was born March 3, 1869. He wanted to move his boys to a farm in the spring. He was not getting rich but he wasn't any poorer than three years ago and he enjoyed life since leaving the army.²³³

In 1870, Foster was still employed by the Jefferson City School Board. He was not able to move to a farm as he had planned, but his wife and sons were all well.²³⁴ In March of that year, Foster went to Washington D. C. to meet with his comrade General O. O. Howard. The state legislature had agreed to give state aid to Lincoln Institute provided the school had an endowment of \$15,000. The head of the Freedman's Bureau promised Lincoln Institute \$5,000 more toward costs for their first building. He had also raised some other funds but still lacked \$1,500 of the \$15,000 and needed \$5,000 more for the building they were about to begin. He appealed to the veteran officers to send

whatever they could.²³⁵

Walter H. Payne, Principal, 1870-71

Walter H. Payne, the school's first black teacher since 1868, became its first black principal in 1870. His sister, Fannie Payne, came to teach. Unofficially, Foster assisted Payne in the duties of a new principal. The school had been relocated to the Second Baptist Church (formerly the Colored Baptist Church²³⁶) building. It was initially a frame livery stable. The school remained at this location until the first building was completed in 1871.²³⁷

Payne did not charge tuition for veterans or young students but with agent Beal's help was able to meet expenses and their salaries. He was able to add \$1,200 to the school's treasury; however, Foster persuaded the Board of Trustees to hire him at an annual salary of \$1,200--exactly what was accumulated through the frugality of Payne and Beal. That year Payne and Foster switched positions effective the 1871-1872 term. Payne became principal of the school for the city's black youth; Foster served as principal of Lincoln Institute.²³⁸ Payne, on the other hand, was to be paid \$75 by the Jefferson City Board of Education when he and Foster switched roles in 1871, but Lincoln Institute board only agreed to pay Payne \$5 versus the \$15 Foster was paid as a supplemental salary²³⁹. Having been paid \$400 by the American Missionary Association for two years, the meager salary from the city board was insufficient to meet living expenses for he and his sister.

In 1871 however, Payne accused Foster of squandering the Institute's money. From the original soldier's fund and other donations, Foster spent \$2,000 on his home and loaned \$2,000 to the local white Presbyterian Church, whose minister was none other than Rev. J. A. Whitaker, one of Lincoln's Board of Trustees. The First Presbyterian purchased a lot at the corner of Madison and McCarty Streets in 1867, incorporated in August, and erected a building in January 1868.²⁴⁰ As if that was not enough to make Payne suspicious of Foster's relationship with the board, Payne claimed that Foster spent another \$2,000 purchase forty acres of undeveloped land formerly owned by a black resident and located about a mile from the city. Payne assessed a value on the peach trees, the old small log house, and the rock covered ground at barely \$500.²⁴¹ Whatever Payne's suspicions may have been, they were not the reason Foster resigned in 1871.²⁴²

Payne was going to be listed in Lincoln Institute's 1871 catalogue as Professor of Latin and Mathematics, not principal. Beal was to continue working as a commissioned agent. Payne refused this offer and resigned. He went to Lebanon, Missouri and studied law under Judge Wallace. Later, he became supervisor of the schools for black children in Lawrence, Kansas where he continued his law studies at the University of Kansas.²⁴³

Foster blamed J. Addison Whitaker, one of the signatories on the Articles of Incorporation, and a board member then, for his forced ouster. Whitaker was reportedly angry at Foster for voting against Governor Joseph W. McClurg who had donated \$100 to the school. Foster confronted Whitaker with this allegation at a board meeting and also accused Whitaker of deception in causing his removal as principal. Whitaker retaliated and spit in Foster's face. He was dismissed from the board for this ungentlemanly act. Foster publicly claimed he left the school for health reasons.²⁴⁴

The contention between Foster and Whitaker appears to have been more than just political disloyalty, if indeed that was the real issue. If Payne's allegation about Whitaker using \$2,000 of Lincoln's treasury funds to aid his church was true, the riff between these two veterans could have bordered on collusion, if not outright theft. What right did Whitaker have to use Lincoln's funds, if indeed the "loan" was even approved by the remaining board members? Payne arrived at Lincoln in September 1868, and as one of two teachers, excluding Foster, he would have had knowledge of the school's operating expenses since the principal had to present some accounting report to the board. Payne was in a good position to know about transactions of funds to purchase property and make loans since every penny had to be accounted for.

In Foster's defense however, there was already a big discrepancy between salaries for the principals of the city's white school and its black school. The principal of the Jefferson City public school was to be paid \$1,500 per month for the 1868-69 school year; \$1,200 was all that was available from Lincoln Institute's treasury. Foster earned \$100 per month teaching for the city school; however, the amount he earned teaching mainly veterans at Lincoln Institute from 1866-68 was not disclosed. Foster was paid to teach the 106 black students in the city's district.²⁴⁵ The city's elementary grade teachers earned \$50 per month; the two higher grade teachers earned \$60 and \$75 respectively, while the German teacher earned \$1,200 per month and the superintendent earned \$1,500. Total operating expenses for the year were \$18,955 which included \$8,867 for salaries. It is doubtful that Lincoln Institute, now without veterans, could pay its principal the same amount as the city's superintendent. Lincoln Institute's total enrollment was 216.²⁴⁶

Perhaps Payne's suspicions about Foster's close ties with the board were based on the small village atmosphere that prevailed in Jefferson City at the time. Everyone knew everyone else and thus those board members who lived in the city were especially prone to interact with all constituents at Lincoln and in the community. For example, on June 25, 1869, the public school for white students had its customary public examinations, a tradition borrowed from the private academies. One of the 21 students that year was Alma Krekel, daughter of Judge Arnold Krekel of the U.S. District Court. Judge Krekel was also one of Lincoln Institute's founding and current board members and simultaneously president of the city's public school board.²⁴⁷ Perhaps Payne's suspicions were not far from the truth given the close ties between Lincoln's board and the public school board.

A New Principal, A New Building--Rev. M. Henry Smith, 1871-73

With Payne gone and Foster out, the Board of Trustees hired--by unanimous vote--Rev. M. Henry Smith, A. M. He was a Congregational minister who for years had been teaching black children in the public school at Warrensburg, Missouri.²⁴⁸ Born in New York in 1822, he taught there for one year. He graduated from Oberlin College in 1850 and from a theological seminary in 1853.²⁴⁹ He also taught in Farmers College near Cleveland, Ohio for two years.²⁵⁰

W.H. Miller, A.B. who taught for only one year, and Miss Matilda Blackman, who taught part of the term without pay from the school, and part of the term with pay from the American Missionary Association, were the two instructors.

Principal Smith was awarded a salary of \$1500 per year, while the teachers, under complete jurisdiction of the principal, were paid not more than \$500 for nine months. Teachers in the normal department were not to be paid more than \$800 per year. The board issued these defined contracts.²⁵¹ Under Smith's principalship 1871-72, most of the students were local because the city had no separate school for black children. From 216, the enrollment dropped to 183 (87 girls and 96 boys) for 1872-73. That was the year the city allowed elementary-aged black children to attend the public school. Cole County counted 106 black students eligible to attend school.²⁵² Others from forty counties in Missouri and four states were also attending.²⁵³

One of the new students that year was William H. Jones. He later described his school days as a memorable period in his life. When he arrived, the new building stood upon a hill fenced east to west at the bottom. There on both sides, Warden Bradbury from the state penitentiary had two gangs of black convicts working a stone quarry and a brickyard. The lot was covered east, west and south with trees and thick brush.²⁵⁴

The new building was a three-story structure with an oblong room 30x60 on each floor running north to south through the center. A partition divided the room on the first floor into two well-lighted airy school rooms. Two classrooms opened into each of these. The basement was also divided. On the second floor was the assembly room. The third floor was the calisthenics room. All classrooms except two and the basement were used as the principal's residence and a girls' dormitory.²⁵⁵

Another building on campus was a two-story farm house with a basement that held the kitchen. The main floor was the dining hall while the three rooms above became coveted dormitory space for a limited number of boys.²⁵⁶

Southwest and behind the farm house aligning north and south were the barracks made of board and batten with a shed roof. It was divided into a dozen or more rooms. Each just barely held a double bed, stove, table, and two chairs for \$2 per month. Many nonresident students roomed there, while others boarded in the homes of families in the city. These accommodations were much less comfortable than the new building, but students who came from more advantaged homes did not mind the test of endurance.²⁵⁷

Unlike the well-funded and endowed colleges founded in the east, especially women's colleges, Lincoln Institute's first building was material proof of its existence. There was no architectural preference for the prevailing high style--either imitating Oxford or Cambridge. It was a sample of Richardson Romanesque architectural style, later popular in residential homes in the late nineteenth century.²⁵⁸ Lincoln's board bought five acres between 1870-71 from Lucy Reed Foster and husband Richard B. Foster upon which the building now perched. Also in 1871, Sarah Foster sold the board another three acres; the state purchased another nine and one half, and by 1875, the board had purchased another five acres. In total, the "campus" now had land of approximately twenty-two and one half acres.²⁵⁹

Lincoln Institute was conceived as a school open to blacks, but in reality it was a school designated for blacks open to whites. Festus and Richard Foster, two of eight sons of Capt. R. B. Foster, and later Clara and Alice Smith, two of four daughters of Rev. Smith, the new principal, attended school there. It is no surprise that the Foster and Smith families wanted to keep their offspring safe from ridicule and abuse by pro-slavery Southerners whose treatment of white teachers and their families ranged from scornful isolation to violent attacks. The remaining 212 students were sons and daughters of

emancipated slaves. As such, they were indoctrinated with a spirit to achieve now that their parents could hold a promise of a better life for them. The teachers were just as zealous to heed a divine call to help them all achieve a better life.²⁶⁰ In the five years William Jones attended Lincoln Institute, he had only praise for his teachers:

There might have been found at that time in
this country a group of teachers more learned.
Doubtless Lincoln Institute had before and since
been blessed with faculties far superior to
them in wisdom and scholastic training but none
more deeply sensible of a divine call to give
themselves soul and body to their profession,
none that poured more energy into their service.
Nor were they greatly wanting in ability. . . .
Principal M. Henry Smith who was a Congregational
minister was a graduate of Oberlin; Misses Sarah
A. Barnes, Ella V. Billings and Matilda A. Blackmar
were sent out by the Freedman's Bureau.
Prof. J. C. Corbin who had been Superintendent of
the Public Schools of Arkansas was a graduate of
Ohio University; Miss Alice M. Gordon was a
graduate of schools of Philadelphia and an
accomplished musician; Prof. Sam'l T. Mitchell was

a graduate of Wilberforce College. Miss Elizabeth

Lindsley was a graduate of the University of Illinois.²⁶¹

Not all of these teachers were employed by the board at one time. Only five taught each year and not more than two, Corbin and Mitchell, were black.²⁶²

Jones was one of the students who gathered each morning in the Assembly Hall responding to a hand bell rung from the building window. Teachers stood around the rostrum as students arrived and sat down in an orderly manner. Miss Alice M. Gordon played the piano and students sang one of Moody's touching hymns. Principal Smith read a lesson from the Bible followed by a riveting prayer. After another song, the principal delivered a brief lecture on the origin, purpose, and history of the school. After announcing his plan of organization and rules of conduct, he urged students to obey. On the blackboard, he wrote, "Do right because it is right"--that was his overview of school rules. It remained so for four years and sufficed to ward off all but a few instances of discipline.²⁶³

The Seminary Model

Conduct was as important as knowledge and the faculty exerted parental control. Absolute quiet prevailed during study times. Supervision off campus was as close as on campus. Whereas principals Foster and Payne primarily taught whoever showed up to learn, now that the school had a building in which to teach and board students, Principal Smith established the boarding school philosophy, or at least a Midwestern interpretation of the New England seminary model. Smith's Oberlin background laid the groundwork for

using this model at Lincoln which in general relied on strict supervision of students at all times under the aegis of a very strong attachment to moral guidance based on the Bible. Those soldiers who could read a little had ventured to learn by instruction in reading the Bible, as was the case with many self-taught students who were adults.

The principal and his assistants took charge of every minute of the day and night throughout the entire time the student remained at Lincoln Institute. The faculty ate and slept in the same quarters with the students. At first, like the early example from Mary Lyons' Mt. Holyoke model seminary for girls, students were induced to obey because the opportunities to get an education, however elementary, were so very limited.²⁶⁴ In the case of eastern seminaries where proscribed religious instruction permeated the daily routine with literacy skills squeezed in the middle, Lincoln Institute clung tenaciously to this model for different reasons. There was still open hostility to schools for blacks in spite of the protective influences of Governors Fletcher and McClurg during the Radical Republican era in Missouri. That era ended around 1872 with the election of a Democratic governor. The seminary model suited the required protective environment for the school's students based on the openly aggressive and assaulting episodes that permeated the earlier efforts by northern white women persecuted by pro-slavery rabble in the city. The school was already established outside the city limits as a further inducement to free it from malicious acts by criminals--acts that never were punished.

Second, the seminary model suited the founding of a campus facility because of the irresolutely negative prevailing attitude about black intellectual capacity to learn. Pro-slavery whites stereotyped newly emancipated blacks as not only incapable of learning from books, but incapable of doing anything without someone else making them do it. In

addition, many whites, even those who felt themselves enlightened by close contact with black soldiers during the Civil War, were unwilling to return to their towns and villages with any broader sense of what blacks could achieve. Instead, the most promulgated stereotype about the freedmen was their immorality, their laziness, and their shiftlessness. To counteract this perceived threat to full emancipation as citizens, even white teachers felt it incumbent upon themselves to instill order and discipline to such a high level that there would emerge a new character, ready to take his or her place in the social order--although they little knew what that place was. Black students young and old disproved these caricatures in short order due to their unprecedented will to get an education at any cost. Precipitated by such drive, students were obedient to their own will to get knowledge--to know how to read, write, and count. There was little to argue about regarding the structure of the school, or where it was located, or how students would be taught. Those considerations would come much later.

And finally, the seminary model held fast because it was the heritage of early pioneer schools established in the 1830s and 1840s in Jefferson City. The Female Seminary, also called the Jefferson City Female College, or Lindell Hall, located near the state prison, had over one hundred students in 1858. It existed for forty years before it burned in 1883. Jefferson City had a business college in 1866.²⁶⁵ Lincoln Institute had little choice but to evolve from a subscription school into a seminary model. In the nineteenth century, schools of every caliber adorned their existence with designations such as academy, high school, institute, and college. But the seminary model fit the educating purposes of Principal Smith and his assistants who now were charged with educating black children in Jefferson City and those from surrounding counties, where enrollment was so

slight that no school could be established under state law. These children now had to live at the school as though it were home. For many orphaned pupils, Lincoln Institute was home.

Students came from schools with various levels of proficiency, so the first year was devoted to raising the quality of skills before preparing them to teach in the state's public schools. No shortcuts to learning could suffice for the careful review undertaken by the school's teachers. The Normal school program, a four year course, was divided into four classes, A, B, C, and D that were graduated in reverse order. The texts were less than captivating to the imagination, but they were sufficient to teach the content required to be mastered.²⁶⁶

The School Agenda

The school calendar had three terms beginning in September for sixteen weeks until Christmas. The second term began the first Monday in January (or the day after New Year's Day) and continued for twelve weeks. Vacations were two or three weeks between fall and winter terms, and one week between winter and spring terms.²⁶⁷

Under Foster's guidance, Lincoln Institute opened with a preparatory department. During the first year of classes, subjects included orthography, reading, phonetics, mental arithmetic, written arithmetic, geography, constructive Language, United States history, physical geography, map drawing, penmanship, vocal culture, elocution, composition, vocal music, synthetic drawing, and calisthenics.²⁶⁸ In the fourth year of operation political economy replaced history. Judge Arnold Krekel regularly lectured on political

economy and civil government.²⁶⁹

The donated library had approximately 800 volumes, mostly textbooks and likely cast off from the city's public school, but students could only check out books between 1:30-2:00 p.m. on Saturday. Access to books and several wall maps was at the teacher's discretion even as late as 1921.²⁷⁰

Financial support may account for the six-year tenure of H. Clay Vaughn who also enrolled in 1871. One of the school's early students, Vaughn graduated and pursued the dual career paths of teacher and Baptist preacher in four small Missouri schools and town churches.²⁷¹

The Veterans Return

The suggestion for a reunion of the 62nd came from Capt. Sylvester N. Stewart located in Minneapolis, Minnesota early January. Capt. Foster seconded the reunion idea and suggested July 4 at Jefferson City.²⁷² On July 4, 1871 a worthy homecoming was held for the founding veterans from the 62nd and 65th who reunited on campus to dedicate the new building. The veterans passed a second set of resolutions approving the work of the Institute and recommended that African Americans across the state support the school.²⁷³ Captain Foster and Colonel Branson addressed the group. Foster told them that the new building embodied the labor of many hundred men: "choppers, sawyers, carpenters, miners and manufacturers of iron and tin, brick makers and brick layers, glass makers and glazers and painters, graders, furnace men, lime burners and plasterers, not to mention carriers and dealers."²⁷⁴ Others had given their good wishes and deeds, prayers,

benedictions, and labor to make the institution what it was.²⁷⁵

In 1872-73, teachers included Professor Smith as principal, Misses Alice Gordon, Matilda Blackman, Lottie Harrison, and Mrs. Sophie Smith, the principal's wife. In 1873-74, enrollment dropped to 126. The almost wholly new faculty included Professor J. C. Corbin, an 1853 graduate of Ohio University,²⁷⁶ Mrs. Sarah Barnes, a graduate of the Normal School at Oswego, New York,²⁷⁷ Mrs. Ella Billings of Oberlin, Ohio; and Miss Lizzie Lindsay, a high school graduate from Princeton, Illinois. Mrs. Lena Sassun taught music with five paid student assistants. Only Miss Alice M. Gordon and Principal Smith were not new.²⁷⁸ The principal began lectures on teaching methods.²⁷⁹

Lizzie A. Lindsay wrote a bitter invective against blatant racism across America and in Jefferson City. She argued for passage of a new civil rights bill, the Civil Rights Act of 1875. Between 1872 and 1875, Congress tried three times to pass civil rights laws for African Americans. In the District of Columbia, two laws passed--June 20, 1872 and June 26, 1873. These laws provided that hotel keepers and owners of other public facilities had to serve persons without regard to race. Lindsay lambasted racial prejudice--a hatred undeserved and propagated by long-standing crippling actions toward blacks.²⁸⁰

She pointed to racism in churches where the Golden Rule was exhorted with one hand, and blacks were directed to back row seats with the other. She pointed to Missouri where white parents taught their children that they were superior to black children, and the abysmal injustice against blacks who paid taxes that built "fine, large schoolhouses where white children are educated while their own children are either without a building, or else provided with a miserable shanty without conveniences or accommodations of any kind."²⁸¹

She cited examples like that in Philadelphia, a city who refused hotel accommodations to the invited Jubilee Singers but at the last minute were housed by a benevolent proprietor. In Jefferson City, Missouri she recounted the event where Lincoln Institute students purchased reserved seat tickets to hear readings by Mrs. Scott Siddons. Black students, teachers and patrons were directed to sit in the gallery--a place designated for blacks. The Lincoln group refused and were ordered to sit there or leave. Outraged and insulted, they left.²⁸²

Lindsay pointed out the hypocrisy in the nationwide cry to educate blacks when attempts to gain education at cultural events were met with deep prejudice by those who considered themselves superior to blacks. As long as Americans agreed with prejudice, it would continue. The moral and intellectual worth of blacks would never count as long as color barriers were in place.

She knew that African Americans wanted equal and civil rights as citizens. Social equality would follow. She advocated integration of churches and schools until separate facilities were seen as foreign and absurd. Pass the Civil Rights Bill, she urged, to equalize rights and privileges held by members of the Anglo Saxon race. Then in fifty or a hundred years, judge blacks as equal or not to any other nation on earth. If blacks did not measure up to the standards of citizens in other nations, then designate them with inferior status.²⁸³

Congress passed the Civil Rights Bill of 1875, which prohibited discrimination in public places and transportation but few blacks were affluent enough or legally resourceful enough to take advantage of it.²⁸⁴ In 1883, the U. S. Supreme Court overturned the laws as unconstitutional denying that the Reconstruction Amendments extended to public accommodations.²⁸⁵

Changes in the nation in the 1870s reflected the up and down momentum of some blacks entering first time political and leadership positions during Reconstruction. None assumed these roles without opposition. Jonathan Jasper Wright lasted for seven years as associate justice of the South Carolina Supreme Court, the highest black judicial officer in the country. Hiram R. Revels of Mississippi became the only black U. S. Senator; Joseph H. Rainey of South Carolina lasted four years in the U. S. House of Representatives, the first black member and consultant to President Rutherford B. Hayes. P. B. S. Pinchback served 'm(2Uforty-three days as temporary governor of Louisiana, the first black as governor. Richard T. Greener, Harvard University's first black graduate, was appointed to the faculty of the University of South Carolina; and Father Patrick Francis Healy, a black priest, became president of the oldest Catholic college in the U. S., Georgetown University.²⁸⁶

As a testament to many future legal challenges to racial discrimination, Lindsay's argument for passage of the Civil Rights Bill assumed that individual moral and intellectual integrity were the standards by which all men (and women) should be judged. She overlooked the complex psychological basis for racial hatred which dominates. She understood that education for blacks during Reconstruction could provide the best opportunity for achievement both individual and as a group, but it was those achievements which threatened the power structure of America's institutions and class hierarchy. Her assumption that "proof" of intellectual and moral equality was all that was needed to convince the white majority that African Americans could excel continues into the twentieth century as a mantra for all the "firsts" who lay claim to such. When Greener integrated the University of South Carolina, white students and faculty left.²⁸⁷ Lindsay argued on behalf of the masses of blacks who were denied any options and ultimately

fulfilled the prejudicial determination that to survive in America they must stay in a relegated place. Lindsay was against blacks in galleries, just as a later voice—that of Rosa Parks--spoke against blacks in the back of the bus.

Foster as Agent

To alleviate the growing pressures on the school, the board hired Foster as an agent to raise \$20,000 for school improvements including hiring more teachers, building a boarding house, and improving operations. He traveled to solicit unconditional gifts and subscriptions. None of the donations would be spent until the entire amount could be pledged. Foster spoke on behalf of Lincoln Institute in Philadelphia and Boston.²⁸⁸

The Normal Course

In September 1872, the first year of the normal course, enrollment doubled. The young men and women were well-prepared. The D Normal class contained students from all parts of the state with a majority from St. Louis, Kansas City and central Missouri. The largest number of students came from Warrensburg, home of Principal Smith who was a well-respected teacher there for years. Several young men had to drop out this year because they had no way to pay their expenses.²⁸⁹

The C Normal class began in 1873 with less than half the number it opened with. Jones recalled, "each member of the class went at his work with renewed zeal and energy, because he knew the successful performance of that year's work meant not only a reward

for the two years' study but a commission giving to him the privilege to enter the field of endeavor to which he had dedicated his life." At the end of the year, students received course diplomas for the two years' course (from the preparatory department). Parents, friends and local citizens attended the graduation at which Principal Smith opened the ceremonies; students gave orations, and Governor Silas Woodson of St. Joseph gave a speech. The Governor presented the diplomas signed by the Board of Trustees, the Superintendent of Public Schools, the teachers, and the Governor. Graduates could now teach anywhere in the state without examination. Quite a few soon found employment.²⁹⁰

In 1873, the board discovered that one of its members also received a salary as a teacher at Lincoln. Asked to resign his teaching position by January 1874, Mr. Rector did not resign from teaching until May 1874, at the end of the term. He remained a trustee in spite of the two means to remove a board member: "definite reason or misconduct."²⁹¹ This duplicitous conduct was but one of a host of examples that showed various boards unable to take care of internal affairs.

According to Jones, only seven students in the B Normal class began the 1874 fall term. One of these, Miss Alice Banner of Jefferson City, a bright student, an exemplary young lady, and the only female in the class, died. Students were grieved for months when at the end of the year, they learned of another tragic event: Principal Smith had been dismissed by the Board of Trustees. In Jones' words:

Not because the school had not increased
in numbers and efficiency year by year under
his wise administration; not on account of any

complaint of the patrons or the students, but because the newly made Negro majority of the Board of Trustees justly thought that the interests of the race demanded that the head of such an institution should be a Negro. Notwithstanding the justness of the claim, there was much indignation shown by the students, both at the school and throughout the state because Mr. Smith besides being a ripe scholar and a strong teacher was a lovable character. Many openly declared they would never again return.²⁹²

The dismissal of Principal Smith was not the only additional bad news. In 1874 the school was in a financial crisis again. The board voted to borrow \$1,000 to meet the school's debts. Teachers lost their vacations. By March, a bill introduced into the House by Representative Robinson of Holt County, provided for the transfer of Lincoln Institute property to the state and for establishing a normal school (as opposed to just a department). The state wanted the 320 acres near Jefferson City and the five acres the school used as a campus. The state agreed to maintain a normal school and take full control of the Institute. House Bill 1011 went to the Committee on Education who recommended passage, but by the end of the month, the bill was defeated 30 to 37. Even the superintendent of public schools recommended that the state take over Lincoln Institute due to its annually increasing debt (\$10,000 by 1874) or else the school would be forced to close.²⁹³

While the board and the principal wrangled over means to keep the school open, students studied course work in the preparatory and normal department curriculum under crude conditions. Kerosene lamps, water pumped from a well, and sleeping two to a double bed (a common practice) summed up the amenities at Lincoln. At the end of the term, many Jefferson City residents came to the annual examinations held for four hours in the morning and three hours in the afternoon on Tuesday and Wednesday of the first week in June. Students gave excellent accounts of their training with the exception of mathematics as a mastered subject according to the local paper. Many professional teachers were on hand to commend the faculty and graduates for their hard work in spite of such glaring financial problems.²⁹⁴

The board changed during 1874. Dr. J. G. Riddler whose term had expired, and Rev. Morris Dickson of Hannibal, who resigned, were replaced by Rev. John Turner of St. Louis and Dr. Amos Peabody. After their induction, the board reorganized to include Governor Silas Woodson, president; Superintendent John Montieth, vice-president; James G. Babbett, secretary, and William A. Curry, treasurer. Returning teachers included Misses Gordon, Barnes, and Billings, but some board members objected to rehiring Principal Henry Smith. Heated discussion by the same persons who wanted Foster removed surrounded the push to eliminate Smith in favor of J. C. Corbin, an African American. Smith was re-elected for another year however.²⁹⁵ Because of such infighting, the principal's position and that of the faculty were never secure which made it hard for donors to be sure of the leadership and direction of the school.

Professor Corbin offered to continue teaching for \$75 per month. The board denied his offer but decided to employ him for the next year provided he passed an

examination.²⁹⁶ Archie Drake, the boarding-master, resigned. Lewis McAdams assumed that position. The board's minutes reveal a host of problems regarding governance of the school.²⁹⁷ Most significant is the lack of decision-making based on any adherence to a philosophy of education. The board showed little concern for the welfare of the students. In 1875, board members against Principal Smith succeeded in getting him dismissed.

Samuel T. Mitchell, Principal, 1875-78

The board offered the principalship to Samuel T. Mitchell, an African American, whose term would begin in 1875-76. Born in Toledo, Ohio, Mitchell attended school in Cincinnati in the 1850s, then attended Wilberforce University, Wilberforce, Ohio near Xenia in 1864. He graduated in 1873 with a B.A. degree and taught for two years in Toledo.²⁹⁸

The board may have known that Professor Samuel T. Mitchell, was a protégé of the esteemed A.M.E. bishop and president of Wilberforce University, Daniel A. Payne, who built that school from the ground up—twice.²⁹⁹ When Mitchell attended the school, it had been in operation for nine years under a twenty-four member board of trustees from the Methodist Episcopal Church who founded a school of higher education for black youth. The original site in Green county was a section of the Underground Railroad heavily traveled before the ravages of the Civil War prevented slaves from reaching the school. It closed until March 1863 when Bishop Payne, one of the founding trustees, purchased the school property for \$10,000. Along with Rev. James A. Shorter and Prof. J. G. Mitchell, Payne incorporated the school open to all for all without distinction of race,

color or creed. Payne relentlessly raised capitol for the school in the midst of the war, but vile marauders burned the building the night President Lincoln was assassinated. He began collecting investment for a second four-story building on the same site.³⁰⁰ Money poured in, the building was built, highly-ranked scholars were hired, and through it all, Samuel T. Mitchell witnessed the birth of one of the nation's best developed schools for African-Americans. Without a doubt, Lincoln Institute had captured a prized leader.

Professor J. C. Corbin passed his examination and became first assistant to Principal Mitchell. The second assistant position was a contest between Miss Sarah A. Barnes and Miss Alice M. Gordon; Miss Barnes, the Oberlin graduate, won. Miss Billings became third assistant, and the fourth contender, Miss Blackman, became fourth assistant. Lewis McAdams remained boarding-house master, and Miss M. J. Mitchell was appointed matron of the girls and a teacher for one hour daily at the discretion of the principal.³⁰¹ Finally, the African Americans held the two top positions at Lincoln Institute almost a decade after the school's founding.

In 1875 Miss Lucille Eassen began teaching instrumental music with the assistance of six students who taught one hour daily in the preparatory department. These students were trained in practical application of teaching methods under the supervision of experienced qualified teachers. In addition, their employment eased the teacher shortage problem. The depression and sharp rise in unemployment resulted in decreased enrollment from the previous year's 150 students down to 84. Many could not afford the one dollar fee per term. Whether boarding at the school or in a private home, many could not afford the \$2.50 per week expense for food, a room, fuel, and light. Most of the school's twenty graduates became teachers as a result of the state's development of elementary schools for

African American children. Lincoln had become the center for such training.³⁰²

James W. Baldwin, who came from the public schools of Sedalia, Missouri, entered Lincoln Institute in 1875 to become a teacher. Although he was unable to complete the normal department program, he earned a certificate from the Board of Regents. Baldwin taught in several state public schools and served as principal in a Kansas City elementary school. He helped organize the State Association of Negro Teachers of Missouri and later served as a trustee of Wilberforce University.³⁰³

One of Baldwin's schoolmates, William M. Jacobs, came from the public schools of Richmond and graduated from the two-year program in the normal department in 1875. He returned to Richmond and served as principal of a grade school and taught in several schools there.³⁰⁴ These two students duplicated the efforts of many others who trained at Lincoln Institute to become teachers during a particularly destitute era in the nation's economy. The sacrifices they made to succeed gave more hope to countless children to succeed and helped fulfill the need for more African American teachers.

If Lincoln Institute had agreed to board control by any one of a number of religious organizations, the school could have thrived. However, the trustees objected to such exchange and understandably so. They would have violated the Articles of Incorporation stating that no tests for religion should be imposed on students or staff. The board hoped that the state would rescue Lincoln instead.³⁰⁵

The school desperately needed a boarding house in 1875 and the board needed to pay the interest on \$10,000 of debt. Payment of the interest came from private donations. The board sent Judge Arnold Krekel to solicit contributions for capitol improvements and operations. He went to Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, and

Pennsylvania. He specifically addressed potential donors about the need of a dormitory, a boarding hall, and reduction on the interest rate of \$10,000 of debt. Overall, he wanted the eastern state contacts to learn more about Lincoln Institute.³⁰⁶ As a result, the Avery Fund, established by the estate in the will of Rev. Charles Avery, and other interested citizens, offered assistance. Reverend Avery was a philanthropist who had aided several black schools and churches and had paid the indebtedness of many such groups in Pennsylvania. He bequeathed part of his \$350,000 holdings to the American Missionary Association to teach the gospel to blacks in Africa and another part to be used for education and cultural advancement of blacks in America and Canada. The fund's trustees gave 50 scholarships to Oberlin in perpetuity and contributed \$10,000 each to Hampton Normal School in Virginia, Wilberforce University in Xenia, Ohio; Wilberforce Chatham in Canada, and Berea College in Kentucky. St. Augustine Normal School in Raleigh, North Carolina, and Western University in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania (University of Pennsylvania, 1908) received \$25,000 each. Lincoln University at Oxford, Pennsylvania received \$30,000. The fund also made contributions to several schools in Kentucky, Tennessee, South Carolina, Georgia, Louisiana and in other states. However, by the time Judge Krekel applied for aid, the fund was so reduced that the trustees were only able to award \$1,000 with an endorsement for other potential donors to contribute to the school's good work.³⁰⁷

Agent Beal's efforts to save the school resulted in collection of \$125 in June, \$45 in July, and other smaller sums. Miss Caroline Richmond of Providence, Rhode Island contributed \$500; yet the interest on the debt required \$1,000 per year to keep the school from defaulting on the loans. Although the school's land, purchased with the veterans'

money could have alleviated the debt if sold, the depression prohibited any hope of receiving market value for it.³⁰⁸

In the meantime, the board attempted to manage the school with more regulations. Rules governing the principal and teachers required all to be in their rooms fifteen minutes in the morning before school and ten minutes after school daily to preserve order. In March, the board prohibited teachers and students from discussing political or sectarian matters. Students had to attend church and Sunday school each Sunday afternoon. Study hour, opening exercises, and recitations all required punctual attendance. Students were responsible for conduct in their room and property damage. Men's rooms had to be inspection-ready at all times by the principal and teachers; women's rooms, likewise by the matron. To continue matriculation at the school, students had to earn a certificate of good deportment; otherwise, they were dismissed. These rules applied to those living on the school's premises and in private homes.³⁰⁹

Socializing between males and females was forbidden without permission; alcohol, tobacco, firearms, and deadly weapons were also banned. There was no visiting during study hours, no absence from school without permission, no littering or damaging property. Women students could only board in approved homes.³¹⁰ All boarders paid one month in advance due at the discretion of the boarding-house master. Dining bells were to be observed without exception and his dictates were undisputed. Students did their own laundry but only on Saturday.³¹¹

Protests concerning so many new rules were squelched except those from students who objected on the grounds of "conscientious scruples" to compulsory Sunday School attendance. The People's Tribune derided the idea that students could have any

earnest objections to church attendance. What would be the next issue of student dissent the editor asked.³¹²

In addition, the board made changes to the by-laws of its constitution. Members could hold office for five years or until their successors were elected and qualified. Absent Cole County members could be unseated at quarterly meetings and regular members unseated from annual meetings without satisfactory excuses. Officers of the board and executive committee members were elected for one year. The board met annually on commencement day when vacancies on the board and on the faculty were declared and filled. Quarterly meetings occurred the first Tuesday in January, April, July, and October. The order of business followed a set agenda.³¹³

Two literary societies existed for student extracurricular activities. One, the Excelsior Society, had advanced student-membership; the other, the Demosthenic League, had student members from lower grades. In addition to bi-monthly meetings, these groups participated in commencement ceremonies. In the 1870s, these organizations had shifted into many forms among free blacks who first chartered the Free African Society in 1787. The overall purpose was racial uplift for its members and others in the black community. By the latter decades of the nineteenth century, beneficial and benevolent societies, denominational churches, charitable groups, literary societies, fraternal lodges, and black newspapers had moved from their initial founding locales in the north and east into black communities and schools in the south and midwest.³¹⁴ Their presence at Lincoln Institute, even late, shows how rapidly the idea of racial uplift spread. The two groups at Lincoln provided an atmosphere to engage in guided socialization and offered an outlet for talent.

The board granted Samuel T. Mitchell and Judge Krekel permission to publish a school newspaper. This self-sufficient enterprise had a limited budget raised from community and faculty contributions. Excess funds had to go to the treasury. Another stipulation applied to content: no politics or religion--only educational matters. In the interest of varied sources of funding for the school, the prohibitions on content served to not offend state officials or donors rather than as a medium of truth in reporting events.³¹⁵

One unfavorable order of business that plagued stability of the school was the annual highly charged debate over the election of a principal. Though defeated at the previous year's election, Henry Smith, now a resident of Warrensburg, became a candidate again. Mitchell won again. Miss Sarah Barnes replaced J. C. Corbin for \$700--the highest salary paid a teacher at Lincoln. Charles Newton was contracted for \$600, and Matilda Blackman and Hattie Ferguson were hired for \$500 each.³¹⁶

By July 1876, General James L. Minor addressed the House of Representatives in Jefferson City concerning the substantial growth of Lincoln Institute and its contributions to the community. He reminded the legislators that a beautiful building and several hundred students should be considered a source of pride for the nation that applauded the efforts of blacks to seek education. This accomplishment should be considered an integral part of Jefferson City. While such laudatory comments were undoubtedly appreciated, sentiments regarding Lincoln Institute would change. Seventy years later, the daily newspaper did not include Lincoln Institute in its history of Jefferson City.³¹⁷

By February 1877, political attitudes did change when Principal Mitchell failed to offer gratuitous thanks on behalf of the board to the state legislature. Consequently, the legislators ignored Lincoln's appropriation request. Mitchell thanked the Democratic party

for leading the way to educate blacks in Missouri in addition to thanking other political parties for their support. Customarily, the Democratic party was not a friend of education for blacks, but Mitchell wanted to thank all who helped the institution no matter what their party affiliation.³¹⁸ His largess sealed his fate even though he and his faculty remained for the 1877-78 school year.

Commencement exercises for 1877 included three graduates from the full course: Harriet M. Cerre, St. Louis; Francis M. Oliver, Sedalia, and Clay Vaughn, Paris. The six graduates from the half-course included Ida Drake, Jefferson City; Florence Huston, Jefferson City; Louisa A. Keen, St. Charles; George Green, later a principal at Lexington, Missouri; Edward C. Keene, St. Charles; and, Nelson T. Mitchell, Alton, Illinois. The three-day public examinations began March 14. The first day displayed written work; the second and third days focused on recitations. Patrons observed the school's progress with enthusiasm.³¹⁹

The board decided to advertise the school to increase enrollment. They paid Principal Mitchell's expenses to recruit in-state students. During his absences, the graduating class of 1878 consisted of six students: James Lewis, Paris, Missouri; Riceler L. Wood, Macon, Missouri, from the full course. Burton A. Hardwick and James Hardwick, from Kansas City, William H. McAdams and Julia Naylor from Jefferson City also graduated. The May 30, 1878 commencement presented music, declamations, and dialogues by the Excelsior Society.³²⁰ Unfortunately, it was Principal Mitchell's last year at Lincoln. On June 19, the board voted 7 to 2 in favor of his dismissal even though he had positively impacted the morale of the school and had advanced the education of black students. The board commended him that August in a resolution:

Resolved, That in parting with Professor Samuel T. Mitchell, the principal of Lincoln Institute for the last three years, we can say of him that he has served faithfully and that the board's confidence in his ability, integrity, and character is undiminished.³²¹

Little did the board realize that President Mitchell would within six years become the third president of his 22-year-old alma mater, Wilberforce University. Lincoln Institute had already had four principals in a dozen years. A fickle board swayed by too rapid changes in membership and too much attention to daily political currents kept Lincoln Institute in chaos pitched between too little funding, too many necessities, and too much uncertainty.

Henry M. Smith, from Warrensburg, finally succeeded Mitchell as president at the reduced salary of \$1100 with concurrent reduction in teachers' salaries to \$500 each. M. S. Watkins of Oberlin joined the faculty while the remainder were to be named by a committee. The board set the total salary expenditure for the year at \$3,200.³²²

The board's efforts focused again toward the legislature to make Lincoln a state normal school. The state superintendent of public schools reported to the legislature that the state should take over Lincoln in order to meet the growing need for more black teachers. The school's budget still showed debt from building and operations. Again in 1879, the superintendent urged the legislature to take over the school. He even ventured to offer that there would be little expense in doing so. In addition, the U. S. Commissioner of Education urged the formation of a normal school for black teachers.

He saw Missouri as a leader among ex-slave states with its large number of black schools. To maintain that lead, the state would have to train enough black teachers for these schools. Opposition came from those legislators who did not want blacks educated. They argued that blacks were incapable of learning higher types of knowledge.³²³ The persistence of racism at this level dominated each effort made by Lincoln's supporters to fund teacher training. As late as thirteen years after the Civil War, pro-Confederate sympathizers held sway over the state's allocations to Lincoln Institute. It seemed as though any legislator could denounce the school without opposition because Lincoln Institute did not have a large vocal constituent group nor a single African American in a high political office to push for its support. Consequently, the school was at the mercy of every negative political current and every elected official from former heavily-populated slave holding counties in the state. Whether prompted by the concerns from the U.S. Commissioner or not, legislators made an offer to Lincoln that it could not refuse.

The General Assembly of 1879 granted Lincoln \$15,000 on the condition that \$5,000 be applied to reduce the school's debt. After much heated debate, Lincoln's board members convinced legislators that a normal school was the most expedient and the wisest course to follow to alleviate the teacher shortage. Nevertheless, the school did not get the funds. Governor Phelps declared that a private or sectarian school could not receive state funds according to the state's constitution. To change the school's status, he suggested transferring Lincoln's property to the state. The trustees considered the option of increased debt, few resources, and private status versus surrendering the titles to school property. Complying with school and community opinion, the board transferred the school's property to the state. The deed of transfer reads as follows:

Now, I, John Phelps, as President of the Board of Trustees and under authority of the resolution of the aforesaid and fully to carry the same into effect, do by these presents sell, convey and assign unto the State of Missouri, Lot Number 19 of the survey of Jefferson City on which Lincoln Institute is situated.

John Phelps, President

James C. Babbitt, Secretary³²⁴

Lincoln University thus became an actual state normal school. As a result, the field agents (Rev. Beal and Mr. Lane) fundraisers since 1868 were dismissed. Whether the board reasoned that there was no longer a need to raise funds in view of state aid, or whether the board thought contributions would cease pending receipt of state aid, the dismissal of these agents further removed the school from the public. No one would advertise the school and add supporters. Of all the rash and arbitrary decisions the board had made up to then, this would prove to have a long lasting impact. The school could have developed at a much faster rate with the combined financial aid of both the state and private donations. In characteristic manner, the board appointed Judge Krekel to deliver a resolution on behalf of Rev. C. R. Beal, the school's long term agent. It stated:

Resolved, That in parting with Rev. C. R. Beal of Everette, Massachusetts, who has heretofore

acted as the agent of Lincoln Institute, we
return to him our thanks for the faithful and
efficient manner in which he has discharged his
duty.³²⁵

With that, Reverend Beal's role in the development of Lincoln Institute ended. It is noteworthy that the school did not give Beal severance pay or a gift to commemorate twelve years of dedication, but rather acted as though Beal's energy and sustained commitment to the institution were a matter of course to be treated like volunteer labor. This attitude toward service was one of the most glaring deficits in the board's management of the school and instances like this would be repeated in board decisions about personnel into the present. It is obvious in the board's treatment of Henry Smith, a worthy principal dismissed after two years, later rehired as a teacher, then rehired as a principal, that their arbitrary politicized control had become an ongoing practice. Again in 1879 Henry Smith was not re-elected.

This year, the Board of Trustees became a Board of Regents when Lincoln became a state school because regents managed normal schools in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The new board did not elect a new principal at its first meeting, but it did hire teachers and appointed a committee to meet with a little-known figure named Nero in St. Louis as a potential candidate. He was not hired however. Instead the board hired A. C. Clayton, principal of Sumner High School in St. Louis.³²⁶ As at Lincoln, St. Louis schools for blacks also had white teachers, a custom borne of necessity at the initial founding of separate black schools in former slave states due to the shortage of black teachers. Because Missouri fought hard against schools for African Americans from the

beginning, most parents felt that schools for their children were worth the trade-off for not having enough black educators willing to remove to former slave states after the war.

A. C. Clayton, Principal, 1879-January 1880

Principal Clayton recommended a change in the curriculum at Lincoln Institute. He advocated one additional year for advanced or preparatory class, and no classes for those lower than preparatory age. He reorganized the preparatory curriculum to include arithmetic, English, grammar, geography, and U. S. history. He replaced Felter's Arithmetic with Robinson's Shorter Course. Students had to enroll in Algebra, Latin, U.S. history, and universal history a year earlier than in previous years. History courses presented general information about civilization and offered a comprehensive world view. The preparatory course also included natural philosophy, general science, astronomy, and chemistry. With the principal's recommendation, students could exempt art.³²⁷

Lee Drake Garnett, A female 1879 graduate had not attended a public school before entering Lincoln Institute. Her varied teaching career began after studying at Oberlin College. From Lebanon to Sedalia, back to Lebanon, then to Jefferson City, she taught in several small schools before marrying J. H. Garnett whom she met in Jefferson City. She served as music teacher, matron, and principal of an intermediate department to aid her husband's administrative positions in Texas and Kentucky. Later, when her husband became professor of languages at Lincoln Institute, she taught in the Baptist Sunday School. Later, she owned a successful grocery store in Jefferson City.³²⁸

The prospect of state aid did not change Principal Clayton's need for more teachers. The faculty committee recommended employing Mrs. Zelia R. Page at the same salary as other teachers. She taught six classes per day for three months at \$30 per month. Because classes were so large, teachers had little time for class preparation among their other duties. Although the course work followed an elementary and high school curriculum, teachers suffered from increased work loads and extra duties. However, the board refused to hire student teachers to alleviate the overworked faculty. The \$500 annual teacher's salary at Lincoln Institute hardly compared to that of other rural areas. Principal Clayton received \$1500, and even that was meager compared to other principals in Missouri.³²⁹

Fears by white Missourians hostile to blacks erupted during an incident made large and grotesque by the local editor's threats. He accused Lincoln's students of voting in a county election with the aid of certain "unnamed" persons from Callaway County. The People's Tribune editorial argued that across-the-river-county-infiltrators directed students' votes. Principal Clayton responded that only two students, both Cole County residents, voted in the last election and asked the editor to print the truth. The editor countered that one student voted so the principal was "50% wrong."³³⁰ He charged the students with being used for partisan politics and threatened to close Lincoln Institute if such an act occurred again. The editor wanted to know how Clayton knew only two students voted. Obviously, the board was shaken by this negative publicity and predictably did not rehire Clayton. Instead, they opted for an African-American principal.³³¹

CHAPTER V

THE GROWTH AND OPERATIONS OF A "SEPARATE SCHOOL"

To be unwanted as a school for blacks in a former slave state which had penalized black literacy with death fourteen years before the war, Lincoln Institute was alternately ignored and excoriated by the local press and arbitrarily managed by its governing boards. It is little wonder that the institution's real purpose--to educate--was so steadfastly realized year after year. Had it not been for the dedicated faculty, including various principals who came and worked and left and returned, there would be no evidence that students could ever be in an environment conducive to learning. Although removed from the day to day operations of the school's administration, the students had to know how precarious their school's tenure as an institution must have been. Every year, they could never know who would be on staff to teach and guide the school. They were simply corralled into rote routine and obedience to strict rules of movement, behavior, and performance. The pervasive nineteenth century philosophy of racial uplift and the seminary model of organization lasted much longer at Lincoln Institute than other historically black schools because of its isolation. Continuity of purpose and stable operations did not prevail at this institution which depended solely on the largess of philanthropic trustees from eastern states and the public within large black populated areas of the state.

By 1879, Lincoln Institute had shifted from a private school originally intended to serve both white and black children, to a separate school for blacks, to a separate school with a department for training black teachers, to a separate state normal school for training black teachers. Such shifts in the school's mission allowed only minor opportunities for the school to make substantial progress in educating a large portion of the black population. For the most part, Lincoln Institute remained removed from other historically black schools and the educational philosophies of noted black figures such as W.E.B. DuBois and Booker T. Washington. As a result, it existed under precarious day-to-day reactions to external forces rather than being guided toward long-term fulfillment of specific goals and an educational philosophy. Financial constraints notwithstanding, politics always ruled Lincoln. That is, until the board hired Inman E. Page.

Inman E. Page, President, 1879-98

Born as a slave on December 29, 1853 in Warrenton, Fauquar county, Virginia, Page grew up working as a horse boy. Often placed under the control of whites who consumed large quantities of alcohol, he showed moral fortitude early by refusing to drink liquor. He maintained the habit of total abstinence throughout his life. His father Horace bought his own freedom, established a livery stable and purchased the freedom of his wife Elizabeth, their daughter, and son, Inman. As a freeman, Inman's father moved his family to Washington, D. C. in 1862. He sent his son to two private schools in Washington. One was a seminary taught by George T. Cook³³² which he attended for three years while being hired out to work to support his family, and the other, a night school taught by

George B. Vashon³³³ where he learned the rudiments of Latin.³³⁴ To earn money, Page worked any job he could including laborious groundclearing for the first buildings at Howard University³³⁵ where he resolved to enter as a student soon after it opened in 1867. He earned \$.15 per hour as one of several industrious students hired by the school's administration. Throughout summer vacation, he studied, worked, and was soon promoted to janitor; then later he was placed in charge of the university building. He worked in a civil department of a federal agency and later became a clerk in the closing months of the Freedmen's Bureau under General O. O. Howard, co-author of the Freedmen's Bureau report concerning Lincoln's founding, and later president of Howard University, named in his honor.³³⁶

Page and his friend George W. Milford left Howard University in the fall of 1873 to attend Brown University in Providence, Rhode Island. There he and Milford encountered considerable racism from faculty and students. They were also hampered by attitudes of low expectations for black students. Page changed that perception through due diligence. At the end of his sophomore year, he had won a prize in an oratorical contest and claimed recognition of his talents. His classmates, over fifty white males from well-known New England families, selected him to write a history of the junior class year. The faculty then chose Page to deliver an oration at the junior exhibition, hailed by the Providence Journal as "the ablest oration of the day." His accomplishments as a scholar, his orations, and the "History" of the junior year, made him a prominent candidate for senior class orator for which he was unanimously chosen at his graduation in 1877.³³⁷

His commencement oration, "Intellectual Prospects of America," was a triumphant success and impressed all, but especially D. W. Phillips, president of Roger Williams

College, a school for blacks in Nashville, Tennessee. At the close of the commencement exercises, with the A.B. degree in hand in 1877, Phillips invited Page to a position at the Natchez Seminary in Natchez, Mississippi, a school governed by the American Baptist Home Missionary Society. Page accepted and became the only African-American teacher there. He saved his earnings and at the end of the year returned to Rhode Island where he married Zelia R. Ball, a graduate of Wilberforce University. They honeymooned in Washington. After only two weeks, he received letters from the regents at Lincoln Institute, each addressed to his last known location at Brown and at Howard. The board wanted Page at Lincoln; they wanted a distinguished black to head the school contingent upon his accepting a vice-principal post until he proved his capabilities.³³⁸

Already considering a position invitation from a school in Alabama in 1878,³³⁹ the Lincoln offer seemed worthy if for no other reason than the yellow fever epidemic raging through the South at the time.³⁴⁰ Page's former professor, George Vashon, had died of the disease October 5, 1878 while a professor at Alcorn University in Rodney, Mississippi.³⁴¹

Page became assistant to Principal Henry M. Smith; he was also the only African-American faculty member. When the year ended, in spite of harmonious relations with Smith and the other faculty, the regents told Page he was too young to head the school and would have to serve as assistant "a while longer."³⁴² Then the board appointed A. C. Clayton after dismissing Smith.³⁴³

One of the new students entering Lincoln Institute in 1879 under the administration of Clayton and Page was A. M. Wilson who having studied in Sedalia, Missouri under the Quaker D. W. Bowles, taught four months during the year in Howard

County to pay his expenses to attend Lincoln. He graduated in 1882 and became an assistant in the Sedalia public schools. From there he taught in Clinton, Missouri, then in Fort Scott, Kansas. He was a member of the Board of Trustees at Western University, Quindaro, Kansas and principal of Lincoln School in Leavenworth, Kansas. His long career ended as principal of an elementary school in Kansas City. Wilson was noted for regularly attending summer school training in spite of his numerous positions as an educator.³⁴⁴

As before, Page assisted Principal Clayton and at the close of the 1879-80 year, Page at 26, became the first president. It is not surprising that his promotion was not without opposition and the 4 to 3 vote in his favor shows this slim margin of support. Board members Turner, Barnes, Chinn and Cross voted for Page, while Dr. Claude A. Phillips, White and Babbitt voted against him. The black community felt it imperative that black schools be headed by a black principal as a model for achievement and inspiration. Page had the privilege of selecting his own faculty whom he wanted to be black and so informed the white faculty of the school. He thanked them for their services and explained his predisposition toward role models for the black youth at the school.³⁴⁵

Page considered his old friend Gabriel Nelson Grisham, a fellow classmate whose early education was similar to his own. Born in Smyrna, Tennessee in 1856, Grisham was educated in separate black schools and received a meager education under poorly prepared black teachers. He attended Baptist College in Nashville, later known as Roger Williams, then attended Worcester Academy in Worcester, Massachusetts where he prepared for Brown University. He graduated from Brown in 1878, one year behind Page. Grisham first taught at a school in Goliah, Texas where Page found him and offered

him a first assistant position at \$500 per year as principal of Lincoln High School.³⁴⁶

Page recommended that the board hire other black educators, Mary Graham and Julia A. Woodson. He also recommended his wife, Zelia, who had taught in various positions in black schools. He also employed students as instructors. With this small faculty, Page set about raising standards for the school. He advised the faculty to put the needs of the school first before those of the legislature. He met with the legislature prior to their annual appropriations and regularly arranged to present a concert by Lincoln Institute singers to keep Lincoln in their focus. The legislators reacted favorably and the first appropriation under his leadership was \$5,000 to build a dormitory and \$1,000 for school equipment. He far exceeded the expectations of the board and others who didn't expect the legislators' support. Of course, these amounts were very small in proportion to the funding needed, but the purchasing power then was larger.³⁴⁷

Lincoln's regents discussed plans for the dormitory in April following the legislature's adjournment. Fred H. Binder and William Vogdt, local architects, presented architectural plans. Specifications called for a building one hundred feet long by forty feet wide and three stories high with a basement. These levels were to be graduated in ceiling heights of ten, twelve, eleven, and ten feet under a metal roof. The board requested working plans and cost estimates for the basement and first floor and also authorized the architects to advertise in the Journal and the Tribune for contract proposals.³⁴⁸

The architects reported to the board May 24, 1881. The dormitory with basement and two floors could be built for \$4,441. The girl's dormitory was built and named Barnes-Krekel Hall. The first section consisted of twelve rooms and a basement. The girls occupied the rooms in January 1882. The board requested bids for completion of the

dormitory. Manchester and Beckley gave the lowest bid at \$1,640.³⁴⁹

Also in 1881, Lincoln University received a \$125 donation from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, an organization committed to dissemination of enlightenment among foreign and domestic black groups and organizations. The school's treasury held \$13,500 from the state; \$3,380 from fees; \$125 from the Society and rent receipts of \$25. These funds paid salaries and debts and the school was able to meet its obligations.³⁵⁰

At Principal Page's first commencement Mary I. Fauche, Omaha, Nebraska; James M. Rutledge, Chillicothe; James S. Hardrick and Ella L. Davis both of Kansas City graduated from the normal course and received teaching certificates. John L. Barnes, Jefferson City; Benjamin Hayden, St. Joseph; and Lewis J. Williams, Chillicothe received certificates for completing the two-year course.³⁵¹

James M. Rutledge proceeded through Lincoln's normal department in a rather unusual way. Having taught school before he finished his course work, he alternately taught at schools in Bellgrade and Fulton, Missouri, then attended Lincoln Institute, then taught at Carthage, graduated from Lincoln, then taught at Fulton, California, and Fayette, Missouri. He was an assistant in the mathematics department at Lincoln, then promoted to professor (teacher) before his health required him to retire. He is one of the many graduates whose multiple teaching positions was considered evidence of a desired educator since schools invited teachers and principals to be hired each year rather than any semblance of a continuing contract.³⁵²

One new student in 1881 was Isaac F. Bradley, a young man with barely five weeks of any formal training prior to his arrival at Lincoln Institute. Bradley graduated in

1885 from the normal department, entered law school at the University of Kansas and graduated from there in 1887. He would later become not only one of the most outstanding lawyers in the Kansas City area, but also a prosecuting attorney, businessman and civic leader. He remained one of Lincoln's ardent supporters throughout his life.³⁵³

Bradley's classmate was E. L. Scruggs who also enrolled in 1881.³⁵⁴ This 1885 graduate entered the ministry, pastored several large congregations in Missouri and Illinois, and studied theology at the Chicago Theological Institute. His training and reputation led to fourteen years as president of Western College, a small school in Macon, Missouri supported by the black Baptists. During World War I, Scruggs became pastor of Second Baptist Church in Jefferson City, then later headed the theological department at Kansas Vocational School at Topeka, Kansas. As an active alumnus, Scruggs gave an annual prize for the winning senior in a practice teaching contest.³⁵⁵

Predicated on Page's new administration, the board mandated new rules and regulations to clarify the roles of the president, the faculty, and the assistants. The officers of the administration consisted of the principal, a vice-president, and a secretary. The faculty elected the vice-president the day after school opened. The board also voted to deduct salary from administrators and faculty absent without permission except in cases of illness. Faculty had to attend regularly scheduled meetings with the president. The president could also call a meeting if two faculty members made the request. As sole director of the school, the president handled discipline cases only after the faculty's decisions. Teachers had to work in their assigned departments unless permitted to share or change classes. The faculty and the secretary of the board's executive committee received a daily agenda.³⁵⁶

The faculty secretary kept school records and acted as a registrar--a position not yet firmly established in American colleges in the 1880s.³⁵⁷ President Page fulfilled other duties later designated to a registrar such as classifying students and examining applications for promotion. The president also monitored each student's academic and moral development and made annual reports to the board about the school's condition and needs.³⁵⁸

The new building proved insufficient to house all the girls attending Lincoln Institute. The board authorized the president to rent a building for girls at \$12 per month. All girls who were not Cole County residents had to eat in the school's dining room because of the shortage of places the girls could live off campus.³⁵⁹ The school had to provide for them. Housing problems grew in proportion to the school's enrollment.

The state superintendent of public schools commended President Page as the best educator of his race and suggested a change in board member selection. In 1882, the board was self-perpetuating, a practice not in tandem with other state schools. In addition, the superintendent recommended African-American-board members for the separate school. Again, the motive for the recommendation was the heightened level of commitment from members of the race.³⁶⁰

After Page became President, Governor Phelps gave a favorable report to the legislature. He praised the school and its executive officers. Governor Phelps had recommended that the state rescue Lincoln University by making it a normal school. He proposed that Lincoln Institute become as closely associated with black education as the University of Missouri was for white students. He acknowledged the difficulty a student at Lincoln had to overcome in order to attend the school. To change that circumstance,

he recommended a sizable appropriation so that Lincoln Institute could actually do the work it set out to do.³⁶¹

Governor Phelps did not have access to statewide information about schools and their conditions. He recommended to the 1881 legislature that a committee visit other colleges and universities outside Jefferson City. A law to that effect passed the legislature in March. Because Lincoln would not be assessed by the visiting committee, the governor made a special plea for its sustained growth and development. In view of the increased enrollment between 1881 and 1883, and because the school was under good management, it should be treated as any other state normal school. The governor said that President Page was one of the most competent and diligent educators in the state, and his devotion to educating blacks required the recognition of the legislature. The governor's endorsement had significant advantage in being directed to the legislature and acknowledged by citizens. Major outcries against educating blacks had somewhat subsided and the external environment seemed more conducive to making the legislature aware of the worthy job Lincoln was doing. President Page's address to the legislature included a request for an increase in teachers' salaries to retain the best trained faculty.³⁶²

Katherine Moore, a Jefferson City resident, would soon lend testimony to the good work Governor Phelps cited. After graduating from Lincoln Institute in 1882, Moore earned an elementary certificate to teach in the Kansas City public school district. After a year, she taught in Sedalia for three years, then became principal at Brunswick, Missouri for six years. The next eight years she taught at Frederick Douglass High School in Columbia, Missouri. Her son also became a Lincoln graduate.³⁶³

Graduating with honors in Moore's class was J. H. Simms, one of the first African Americans to receive a life certificate to teach in Missouri. Beginning his teaching career in Sedalia, he later assumed the principal position at a black school in St. Joseph. When the high school was organized, he was elected assistant principal and headed the natural science and history department. Refusing to teach under conditions not equal to white students, Simms convinced the school board to equip the science laboratory in the high school. The state superintendent applauded his enthusiasm. Simms was one of the few who pursued extension work in chemistry, physics, history, literature, English, and sociology--evidence of his wide range of training. He was considered one of the best read men in the state. When Simms became principal of Lincoln Elementary School, housed in a substantial two-story building with a basement, he added manual training, domestic art, and horticulture to the curriculum.³⁶⁴

In 1883, Lincoln graduate, Louis J. Williams, left Missouri after one year teaching in the small black school in Kirksville, Missouri, followed by seven years teaching in Chillicothe. Williams taught in Denton and in Rockdale, Texas, and was invited to fill several school positions before becoming principal at Sherman, Texas. He was director of the state's summer normal school program for teachers and was elected vice-president of the State Teachers Association for black teachers.³⁶⁵

The Governor's Kudos

Again in 1885, Governor Crittenden voiced his accolades for the performance of the executive officers and faculty of Lincoln based on increased enrollment. Enrollment

under Page in 1880-81 showed 153 students, then dropped and rose in 1882-83 from 148 to 165. By 1883-84 the enrollment reached 187. The governor praised President Page as the best educator for black students in the state; President Page again requested an increase in teacher salaries to retain his best teachers.³⁶⁶ To increase enrollment, the board allocated \$100 per teacher for reimbursed expenses to and recruit more in-state students.³⁶⁷ Without a network of support, once filled by agents Beal and Lane, the school had to use its faculty to solicit donations and recruit students.

Walter M. Farmer was not recruited by Lincoln Institute's faculty but his mother was certainly aware of the school's reputation. Although she had no formal education, she wanted her son to have every advantage of education. Born in Brunswick, farm country in northern Missouri's Chariton County in 1867 to a father who was a porter and a mother who was presumably a domestic, Farmer attended the newly established and poorly equipped separate black school there. Farmer did not disappoint his supportive mother, father and uncle. He worked hard at Lincoln, taking the preparatory and normal department course work in the record time of two years. He impressed the state superintendent of public schools and the day after graduation was asked to teach for three years--a common practice. Farmer fulfilled his obligation at Weston in Platt County and turned to law studies at the University of Michigan.³⁶⁸

His longstanding hometown friend Fritz O. Sasse, a young German, was a law student at Washington University in St. Louis. Sasse wanted Farmer to attend Washington University however Farmer was wary this could ever happen due to a lawsuit brought against Brunswick schools when another black student attempted to integrate the schools. Sasse had another idea. Farmer had to promise that if Sasse could get him

admitted to Washington University law school, he would attend. Sasse got the mayor and other leading men in Brunswick to petition the dean of the law school to admit Farmer. He was admitted. Although matriculation there was extremely hard due to prejudice and humiliating acts from other students, Farmer persevered to show that race and color were not indicators of ability. He graduated and began a law practice in 1889 in St. Louis.³⁶⁹

In 1885, President Page was elected president of the state teacher's association which met in Kansas City. Several faculty members presented papers. Presenters included: E. L. Anthony, principal of Jefferson City public school; U. S. Sears, a Lincoln professor; R. T. Cole, an active participant in education in Kansas City and namesake for the city's vocational school; W. W. Yates, also of Kansas City, a namesake for one of the elementary schools there; M. F. Smith, a teacher of vocational culture at Lincoln Institute and Josephine A. Silone, one of the venerated teachers of Lincoln Institute. Miss M. V. Jackson of Kansas City, discussed "Overreaching in Education," while another teacher presented "Sectarianism in School." The ideology of religion in schools was often a debated topic at that time. Industrial education was the topic of many presentations especially concerning the type of training needed most by black students. The old debate of classical versus industrial curriculum remained unsettled. The turmoil was a contest between the philosophies of Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, professor of sociology at Atlanta University, and Booker T. Washington, founder of Tuskegee Institute and advocate of industrial education. Other topics discussed adding hygiene and voice culture courses to the curriculum. Lincoln faculty played a significant role in the success of this state meeting.³⁷⁰

Once again, opposition to Lincoln Institute's leader surfaced. This time, a faction opposing President Page, referred to in the Jefferson City Tribune as "those malicious persons"³⁷¹ wielded charges against the President. Although charges were not revealed in board minutes, the board defended President Page. The Plattsburg Democrat carried an editorial which denounced those against President Page. The editor declared:

Although a Negro, we do not hesitate to say that he was one of the most outstanding educators in the state, a thoroughly polished gentleman, and stands on so high a plane above the class that seek to injure him, that their efforts are somewhat on the order of a dog barking at the moon. He is the right man in the right place, and the Board is determined to keep him there.³⁷²

President Page no doubt was an excellent administrator given the constraints of too little money and fluctuating enrollment. The first half of the 1880s was a growth period for the school now funded in large measure by an annual small state appropriation managed astutely by Page and the board's executive committee. During this time, some men from St. Louis questioned the feasibility of establishing an industrial school and asked Page to meet with them in Jefferson City. When President Page learned the real purpose of the meeting was to use Lincoln Institute as a political tool, he and his faculty walked out. That fortitude endeared him to students, supporters, and the black community. It was not hard for Page to determine that the underhanded attempt to use the school could be traced

to some prejudiced state legislators who had their own agenda for Lincoln. Rep. Farris of Ray county introduced HB 227, "An act to appropriate money for the purpose of erecting a building adjoining or near the Lincoln Institute at Jefferson City for an industrial school for colored people, purchasing such tools and machinery as may be necessary in schools of similar kind, and the employment of proper instructors therefor." The Committee on Education recommended that the bill pass, but it did not. The question of establishing an industrial school adjoining Lincoln became a moot issue.³⁷³

The 33rd General Assembly did not give Lincoln Institute much of its funding request, but it did grant an additional \$2,000 to complete the girl's dormitory basement begun in 1883. Also, \$7,000 was awarded for construction of a men's dormitory of the \$16,000 specified. These allocations reflected the bias in the legislature, judging by funds awarded other normal schools and to the University of Missouri. Lincoln Institute managed to get the dormitories but at a significantly less amount than would have been awarded any other state normal school.³⁷⁴

Two students who became teachers upon graduation from the normal school program in 1887 were Rebecca Higgins Burriss and George S. Abington. Miss Higgins' first position was as a vocal and instrumental music teacher in Springfield, Missouri for five years. Then she taught at schools in Kansas City, Sedalia, and Marshall before returning to Lincoln Institute as a matron for boys. The female matron for male students was continued until 1925, then resumed in the late 1930s.³⁷⁵

George S. Abington's first position was as principal for the black school in Marthasville, Missouri for one year. Because of his success in managing this school, he was invited to become principal at the separate black school in Tipton, Missouri. During

his four years there, he located a small single-room house to use as a school building. In two years, he was able to erect a modern two-story building and hire an assistant. Known as a progressive educator, Abington accepted a position in Clarksville, Missouri--a particularly difficult assignment because no teacher would stay in this community for any length of time. With fortitude and commitment, Abington graduated the first class of black children from the elementary school. He continued to teach in this district and devoted his career to this school. Abington's work was well known and the superintendent of public schools asked him to direct several teachers' institutes throughout the state. When he retired, he was one of the state's oldest teachers.³⁷⁶

Governor Morehouse, like his predecessors, made special mention of Lincoln Institute in his message to the legislature. Students from 33 counties attended the school, and the school was substantially managed under Dr. Page. His assistants were as capable and knowledgeable teachers as those in other normal schools. He asked the legislature for a liberal appropriation. The legislature, influenced by the governor's remarks, passed an act to create a college under the supervision of the regents who could introduce new courses and establish programs similar to those at the University of Missouri. The regents could confer degrees and certificates similar to other colleges; they could make laws for the management of the school which did not conflict with state laws. The board's president had to report to the superintendent of public instruction regarding the college. This foray into framing the structure of an actual college duplicates other black schools who also sought to embrace a college curriculum ahead of the needs of the students. Unfortunately, the legislature did not fund this new development. The appropriation for the first half of the legislative session was \$18,000--a meager amount for operating expenses for the

existing normal school.³⁷⁷ This is one example among many to come wherein the governor complimented the work at Lincoln Institute, but the legislature did not substantiate the sentiment with funds. On the contrary, the legislature was more likely to offer an empty goodwill gesture as they had done in this session.

Another act passed by the legislature authorized the board to dispose of the school's farm, take the profit and purchase land adjoining the school. If the amount from the sale was low, \$500 was set aside for the purchase of the land. This land would be used for agricultural work and its proximity to the school would benefit teachers and students.³⁷⁸

Memorial to a Founding Board Member

In 1888, Judge Arnold Krekel died. A long time friend of the institution who augmented the school's instruction with hundreds of free lectures on civil government and political economy for over ten years, Krekel was given a memorial service September 14 in the school's chapel. President Page delivered the eulogy which emphasized Krekel's German heritage, his belief in education, and his commitment to punctuality, perseverance, and love of humanity. As board president, Krekel was remembered in a series of resolutions prepared by Professor Delaney, who characterized the early efforts of the judge to keep Lincoln alive, to advance the black community, and his battles to liberate slaves in Missouri.³⁷⁹

Early Black Institute Choirs

In the 1889 legislative session, President Page continued the tradition of a Lincoln student concert performed for the General Assembly. This February 19 concert was reported in the local news to be especially creditable to the young singers. The editor expressed praise that the art of music was still a vital part of the school's curriculum. Rep. Thompson from Macon County offered a resolution of congratulations to the president, faculty, and students for a splendid program.³⁸⁰

Concerts presented by black schools had become a longstanding tradition to raise funds for building capitol ever since the successful tours in America and England of Fisk University's famous "Jubilee Singers" during the latter third of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century. Fisk's school choir was under the direction of Professor George L. White and Rev. G. D. Pike, District Secretary of the American Missionary Association. The school was subsidized in part with contributions from the American Missionary Association. But the trend to finance school improvements and meet pressing needs for more space as enrollments increased began at Fisk and spread to other schools. Concurrent with Fisk's famous choir tours was the Hampton Institute Singers who performed all over the eastern United States under the direction of Thomas P. Fenner from Providence, Rhode Island who came to Hampton in June, 1872. Fenner arrived prepared to establish a music department and organize a band. The results became known as the "Hampton Students" who were ready to tour within six months of his arrival. The initial seventeen Hampton Students sang faithful renditions of slave songs which two of the school's teachers collected from former slaves. They also sung difficult German

works. With a \$500 donation, the group began their year-long itinerary of concerts. All but four of these singers had lived in slavery.³⁸¹ In the late 1870s and early 1880s, President B. F. Lee of Wilberforce University, organized and sent on tour the Wilberforce Concert Company throughout the West and Northwest. As advertisers of the school, they were superb even if they were not able to garner large donations.³⁸²

General protest rang loud and clear from St. Louis however. At a convention black citizens who met March 16, 1889 objected to a bill that would appropriate \$10,000 to annex a school for the blind at Lincoln Institute. Charlton H. Tandy, an earlier proponent of Lincoln Institute to the legislature, argued that passing the bill would create prejudice against Lincoln. The present asylum was suitable for black and white children and the state should allow both races to attend. Less expense would be incurred to operate a single facility than to build an annex for indigent persons next to Lincoln Institute. Tandy's sound argument convinced the legislators to drop the proposal.³⁸³

In spite of Dr. Page's excellent work, and statewide esteem, Dr. Tubbs, Rep. of Osage County, introduced a resolution to investigate rumors of mismanagement among board members. Board members Jesse W. Henry, L. D. Gordon, John F. Heinrichs of Jefferson City, and J. W. Dickey of St. Charles, were cleared. Then, on August 21, 1889, the board met and dismissed President Page. His successor, Professor G. N. Grisham, Page's old friend then teaching in Kansas City, was placed in charge. The shock of Dr. Page's dismissal caused an uproar. The Missouri State Tribune reported the local news filled with discussion of the changes in Lincoln's faculty. The public felt the board had made a serious and irreparable error in removing Page. Although the teachers had been hired in June, the board intended to meet that August to consider the resignation of

Professor Sears, vice-president. When discussion turned to President Page's relationship to the faculty, one board member lambasted Page who at the time was unable to answer any charges because he was in Washington, D. C.

Allegedly, Page managed the school in an arbitrary manner and good teachers would not stay. Board members J. W. Henry, president from Jefferson City; O. G. Burch, secretary; Judge W. S. Davidson, Jefferson City; Capt. F. I. Gaddin, Warren County; Alex Chinn, Howard County; and state superintendent W. E. Coleman, *ex officio* member, took part in this meeting. Oddly enough, when Grisham was elected to replace Page, he was in Jefferson City and ready to accept immediately. Not only was Page dismissed but also his faculty: W. G. Sears, vice-president and professor of languages (who resigned at the August meeting); Miss Josephine Silone, natural sciences; F. S. Delaney, history, civil government and art; William H. Furniss, mathematics; Miss Davie King, assistant in language and instrumental music; and Miss Minerva Matlock, assistant in mathematics. The new faculty consisted of W. G. Sears, rehired as vice-president and professor of languages; E. A. Clark, professor of mathematics; F. S. Delaney, natural sciences; Ella Brown, history, civil government, and art. Vacancies existed in the positions of assistant in English, instrumental music, and matron. It is not hard to deduce that such sweeping changes were precipitated by a hidden agenda. The president was out of state, the former teacher--his close friend--was in town, and the resigning professor was rehired. The board was not acting out of concern for the school, but in collusion with certain parties who had masterminded the whole event.³⁸⁴

In spite of the biographical summaries of the new faculty that appeared in the Jefferson City Tribune that August, there was a genuine expression of regret for the fired

Dr. Page who was no less held in high esteem by many in the white community as in the black.³⁸⁵

On August 27, 1889, a second meeting of the board was held at the office of the state superintendent of public instruction. President Page was called to address certain contentions about his administration. He reportedly answered candidly and then left without being charged with any misconduct. The board told the local news that they had hired Grishman illegally. Not surprisingly, Grisham sent a letter to the board declining to accept the position; he realized that the community wanted Page. The local editor commended Grisham's wisdom.³⁸⁶ Because of such close scrutiny by the local community and the press, the board had to change its policy. External pressure halted an illegal and highly unethical set of actions. Page was unfired.

Page was almost a legend in his phenomenal ability to advance Lincoln Institute. In St. Joseph he spoke at the opening of a new high school. The St. Joseph Herald described his address as an exceedingly brilliant effort.³⁸⁷ There is no doubt that President Page was instrumental in shaping the attitudes of several areas of the state concerning the value of educating blacks. His own exemplary deportment and polished demeanor was evidence of the advantages higher education could give to members of the race. The year 1889 closed the first period of Page's administration. Although the state had passed a compulsory school law requiring separation of the races in education regardless of the wishes of the communities who paid for their schools, Dr. Page had applied due diligence in showing various constituents in Missouri that educated African Americans contributed to their race and to their communities.³⁸⁸

At the June 9, 1889 commencement, the Jefferson City Tribune reported on the events. Rev. J. W. Jackson of St. Louis delivered the sermon; oral examinations occurred on Monday and Tuesday; the Excelsior Society presented a program on the 11th; the Alumni Association met on Thursday; gymnastic exercises were shown in the Banneker Lyceum; and commencement was held Friday June 14 in the hall of the House of Representatives followed by an alumni dinner. President Page, as he had done for the past nine years, conducted the ceremonies with the same unshakable faith in his integrity and the support of those who truly valued his efforts.³⁸⁹

No doubt Frances Dorton Grant, a graduate in that commencement ceremony, could attest to the value of the education she received upon completing the regular normal department course. Her first teaching assignment was at Lamon, Missouri where she married Rev. W. L. Grant, a Baptist minister. At Lawrence, Kansas, she taught six years in various schools, then in Topeka, Kansas she became president of the Progressive Club, one of several nineteenth century women's clubs for African Americans. Admission was based on passing an examination in English and American literature. Later, as a widow, she resumed teaching in the Kansas City schools.³⁹⁰

Not Separate from Politics, Not Equal in Education

Between 1889 and 1898, additional changes occurred in the second phase of President Page's administration. The school mourned the loss of Professor W. G. Sears who died July 24, 1890. At the time, Professor Sears was vice-president at Lincoln Institute, having served a number of years in the English department. He had tried

unsuccessfully to resign in August 1889 but was rehired as vice-president following the failed attempt to fire President Page. Sears was born in New York City in 1850 during the abolitionist movement. He graduated from Howard University and later married Miss Watts of Glasgow, Missouri. The faculty passed resolutions praising his contributions to the school. As reported in the Jefferson City Tribune on July 30, the community held Professor Sears in high esteem. Professor S. D. Fowler from Virginia became his successor. He was hired without a contract pending more information about his qualifications.³⁹¹

The Board of Regents made new rules for Lincoln Institute. In 1891, the administration collected a fee of \$10 from nonresident students. The money was designated for the Library Fund and became a much needed resource to keep up with the library holdings required for new courses and increased enrollment.³⁹²

Proponents for an industrial school reemerged in 1889. During the 35th General Assembly, Rep. Walter Young of Buchanan County, introduced HB 543, "An act to establish a manual training school in connection with Lincoln Institute." The Committee on Education recommended that the bill pass, but the Appropriations Committee, chairman, George T. Dunn of Lincoln County, recommended it not pass. The bill was tabled.³⁹³ The ever-vigilant supporters of industrial training for African Americans tried again in 1891. This time they succeeded in passing a bill to establish "as a department of Lincoln institute an industrial school, in order that the negro youths of this state may receive instruction in those branches of study relating to agriculture and the mechanic arts, and thereby fit themselves to engage in the useful trades."³⁹⁴ The law stipulated in Section 2. that the industrial department would be under the control of the Board of Regents who

had authority to hire teachers, confer degrees, and make rules and regulations as it deemed necessary and fit. The General Assembly granted \$10,000 for a building, \$9,000 for tools, machinery, and equipment; \$3,000 for additional land; and \$3,000 for maintenance. The legislature stipulated that none of the appropriations could be used until the board had plans and specifications for the completed facility. The legislature designated part of the Morrill Bill fund for this addition to Lincoln Institute. The superintendent of public instruction reported to the Secretary of the Interior in Washington the number of children between five and twenty eligible for school. White and black children were counted separately. During the 51st Congress, the Morrill Act was amended to preclude distribution of funds previously issued to schools under the 1862 Act to schools who discriminated on the basis of race. That meant the University of Missouri could not keep the federal funds and not distribute any to Lincoln Institute without forfeiting all the money.³⁹⁵

In an effort to comply with the terms of the federal grant, Governor David R. Francis told the legislature about the progress at Lincoln and suggested adding courses in agriculture and mechanical trades.³⁹⁶ The legislature had no choice but to comply. All along the legislature intended to give full distribution of Morrill funds to the University of Missouri. They had done so since the first state grant; however, the amendment made it clear that all funds would disappear unless Lincoln University received some of the money or at least made to appear as though the school received funds. Thus the seemingly generous, though in reality meager, handouts regarding an industrial school in the late 1880s did not reflect humanitarian motives. To that end, Lincoln's industrial school had to be constructed and the programs put into operation. The board however, had no idea

how to get an industrial school up and running.³⁹⁷

In an early April 1891 meeting, the board consulted Professor Bahlman of Independence, Missouri and President Osborne from Warrensburg State Teachers' College in Warrensburg, Ohio about manual training and industrial departments. The executive committee appointed another committee to visit manual training and industrial schools to learn how to set up such programs and make provisions according to the best information available.³⁹⁸

At a late April meeting, architect A. W. Elsner prepared plans and specifications for the industrial school building, and plans for the president's home. The board also contracted to purchase three and one-half acres of land adjoining the property of Lincoln. Two and one-half acres belonged to Honorable Phil E. Chappell and one and one-half acres belonged to Mrs. Eliza Neal. This purchase would increase the total campus area to a total of twenty acres. The board purchased four acres for \$400 of the \$500 appropriated by the legislature.³⁹⁹

The 35th General Assembly also authorized the commissioners to convey a tract of land next to the school. Outlot 21 and the northern half of Outlot 20, except one acre in the northeast corner, became the site for the industrial school building. Legislators also appropriated \$1,000 for the president's residence.⁴⁰⁰

Located on the east side of campus adjacent to the quadrangle above Chestnut Street, the president's new house built in 1892 became a singular feature at Lincoln Institute until 1967 when it was demolished. Ten presidents and their families resided in the home from 1880 to 1967. It was built with student labor from the industrial school. During the tenure of the fifth president, Clement Richardson, in 1918-1919, limitations on

coal and food were particularly discomfoting especially during the winter when a campus-wide flu epidemic hit and the president's home became a hospice for sick teachers tended by the president's wife. Burning sulfur lamps and spraying formaldehyde began the days of the makeshift infirmary. The president recommended that the main building be remodeled into a permanent infirmary. Its central location was close to the street and accessible to students who lived off campus.⁴⁰¹ Noise from campus was a particularly difficult adjustment for the president because the house had 63 windows. The president got little respite from campus activity and had too many visitors to work in peace and quiet.⁴⁰²

President Charles Florence brought his new bride to the house August 1, 1931. That year the school bought furniture for the house because previous presidents had used their own furnishings. The home also served as a guest house for distinguished campus visitors such as Dr. George Washington Carver, Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, and Dr. Carter G. Woodson. The last two presidents to reside in the home, Sherman D. Scruggs (1938-1956) and Earl E. Dawson (1952-54 Acting President), changed the original structure. Each added bathrooms to the original 17 rooms which included a large foyer, a sitting room, living room, dining room, kitchen, and sun porch on the first floor. The second floor had two attic rooms, a bath, and storage rooms.⁴⁰³

Board members discussed plans and specifications for the new industrial school building at a June 1891 meeting. Binder of Jefferson City offered the lowest bid and received the contract. The new industrial building situated on top of the hill was named Chinn Hall after Alexander R. Chinn, an African American board member.⁴⁰⁴ J. H. McQuillin became the new director. The facility opened November 10 according to a

report in the September 9 issue of the Jefferson City Tribune whose editor also vented a backhanded congratulations to the school for the new addition that would provide useful occupations other than preaching and teaching.⁴⁰⁵ As if there were other employment choices for black students in the late nineteenth century for professional training or careers above common laborer, the editor's snide comment did not go unnoticed. African Americans across the state knew how the legislature ignored repeated requests for industrial and agricultural training at Lincoln. These citizens saw lawmakers give all the Morrill Act funds to the University of Missouri. Nor was such mocking lost on those young black students who watched Lincoln's various boards hire, fire, rehire, and rehire presidents year in and year out. No one in the local black community lost sight of the racism that governed the external environment of the school. The stereotype of "teachers and preachers" was a truism by default of oppression from separate and unequally funded schools. More importantly, the need for teachers and preachers arose from laws prohibiting literacy which produced a nation with so few black teachers and virtually none in the South during the nineteenth century.

The editor further added in an October 14, 1891 editorial that the value of the industrial school could only be determined by trial since he thought African Americans were uninterested in the mechanic trades. He felt the younger generation had little desire to continue farming.⁴⁰⁶ His attitude was testimony to the negative undertones prevailing in Jefferson City. The editor had a forum to express disdain at every advancement made at Lincoln. Almost a decade earlier, black citizens had petitioned the legislature to get a share of the Morrill Land Grant funds to build an industrial school at Lincoln Institute.

The editor continued, "And as all know, it is a rare sight to see a race mechanic; so that it must be concluded from prejudice and lack of demand that there is little use in the Negro learning occupations at public expense which he would not be able to profit by in the future."⁴⁰⁷ In effect, the white labor unions had long waged a unified front in preventing blacks from apprenticeship training thereby blocking entry into the trades. There was prejudice, but not from blacks.

To further incite those steadfast efforts by Lincoln's supporters to establish an industrial school, the editor said he could tolerate the [industrial] school because he wanted it to be a success. Blacks needed to learn the habit of industry since they were too much the "loafer" and predisposed to expect something for nothing. In the public interest blacks should become more useful citizens.⁴⁰⁸ Duplicitous attitudes like these would continue to plague Lincoln Institute no matter which editor wrote his incendiary opinions.

There was even a peculiar letter to the editor given voice in the November 15, 1892 issue of that same newspaper. The letter's author declared that he found a distinction in the sound of the ten o'clock evening bell from the tower at Lincoln following a local election where the Democrats lost. He attributed the muffled taps to the despair felt by the campus at the lost election and lamented the loss of the joyous sounds coming from the eastern end of town every night. Obviously, the editor was so bent on publishing any conceivable smirch to the school that he failed to consider the possibility of the author's loss of hearing and the integrity of Lincoln to not profess any political preference.⁴⁰⁹

As before, in 1892 another round of insinuations surfaced regarding President Page's management. The factions which lost the round of contentions in 1889 brought to

the June 10 board meeting a motion to postpone rehiring the current faculty and instead allow the faculty to discuss President Page. At the July 7 meeting, in an unprecedented move, the board voted to dismiss the faculty and to keep the president. The board's secretary advertised faculty vacancies in the local newspaper.⁴¹⁰

On July 21, the Jefferson City Tribune reported a large public meeting headed by Rev. Whitmore of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Black community leaders were shocked by the loss of the entire faculty. George W. Dupee became chairman and S. H. Nuthall became secretary. The group appointed a resolutions committee composed of C. R. Costel, Rev. Whitmore, T. C. Capelton, Archie Drake, and J. E. Carter. They could not comprehend the board's actions taken July 7. They came out of concern over the school's future. The board did not give any reason nor charge the faculty with any violation before summarily dismissing them. Their resolution stated, "That the committee should appeal to the board, to the fair-minded citizens of the community and to the state to justify its action."⁴¹¹

The committee upheld the faculty's right to ask for an investigation of allegations that hurt the school's reputation. The board agreed to look into their concerns, but did not. To keep the faculty from resigning three weeks before the end of the term, they lied. Ignoring vehement objections to this ruse, the board claimed to know the facts regarding the accusations. To make these facts public would hurt the school even more.⁴¹²

The public assembly committee requested that the board reconsider its action against firing the entire faculty, especially those who were not charged with any infraction. Reverend Whitmore of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Reverend C. N. Douglass of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, Reverend J. S. Dorsey of the Baptist Church, and

Archie Drake, Howard Barnes, C. R. Carter, and G. W. Dupee comprised this appointed committee.⁴¹³

Before adjourning, the committee expressed appreciation to Professors F. S. Delaney, Edward A. Clark, W. R. Lawton, Miss Minerva J. Matlock and Miss Georgia M. DeBaptist for their service to the school, assuring them that they had no doubts about their qualifications or integrity. They deeply regretted the lack of justice in their dismissal. The board disregarded the committee's request to reinstate the faculty and proceeded to hire new teachers. The next term began with the new faculty: J. L. Love, R. L. Harris, J. M. Gilbert, Luellen Williams, Miss Susan Peters, and James Rutledge. In doing so, the board made it clear that they stood behind the president.⁴¹⁴

Commencement in 1893 lasted from June 11-16. Although the format for the examinations, recitations, and programs remained the same, statewide alumni organizations gathered on campus to plan a memorial building to honor the soldiers of the 62nd and 65th Colored Infantries. Preliminary plans called for a two-story building with a gymnasium on the first floor and a library on the second floor. The alumni appointed a committee to raise funds.⁴¹⁵

The Board of Regents included Jesse W. Henry, president, Jefferson City; Oscar G. Burch, secretary, Jefferson City; Thomas I. Goddin, Loutre Island, Missouri; L. E. Wolkfe, State Superintendent, Jefferson City; B. B. Cahoon, Fredericktown, Missouri; J. F. Heinrichs, vice president, Jefferson City; G. H. Green, Lexington, Missouri; and A. Brandenberger, treasurer, Jefferson City. Henry, Burch, Heinrichs, and Wolfe comprised the executive committee.⁴¹⁶

The nine-member faculty for the 1892-93 year appeared in the following year's catalog. The board had not chosen the current year's faculty before distributing the catalog. This faculty included Inman E. Page, A. M., president and professor of mental and moral science; A. P. Hollis, vice-president and professor of English and pedagogy; W. A. Magke, superintendent of the industrial department; James M. Rutledge, class of 1881, assistant in mathematics; Mrs. Luellen Williams, assistant in language; G. B. Johnson, assistant in the industrial department; Miss Rebecca Massey, instructor in instrumental and vocal music; William A. Jackson, assistant in the normal and college departments; and Mrs. L. C. Anthony, matron.⁴¹⁷

The daily operation of the school proceeded with a detailed program as outlined in the school's catalogue for 1893-4. The elementary department had four classes: A class had 22 students; B class had 41; C class had 32; and D class had 23. The normal class was similarly categorized and consisted of 44 students with 6, 9, 10, and 19 respectively. The college preparatory department had two classes with two students, one per class. Students were tutored in deficiencies prior to enrolling in the college program. They were required to pass all courses in the elementary department before proceeding to the next level. Sections were classified as junior, middle, and senior. Course work included English grammar, algebra, Latin, rhetoric, geometry, physics, Greek, and civics.⁴¹⁸

Courses in the normal department included:

D Class--First Term algebra, English grammar, zoology,

Latin

Second Term: algebra, rhetoric, zoology/physiology

Latin

Third Term: physical geography, algebra, rhetoric

Latin

C Class--First Term geometry, Latin, physics, English

literature

Second Term: geometry, English literature, physics

Latin, civil government

Third Term: psychology, methods and practice of

teaching arithmetic, geography, reading, etc..

B Class--First Term English literature, geometry, Latin,

chemistry

Second Term: trigonometry, chemistry, general history, Latin

Third Term: logic, trigonometry, Latin, general history

A Class--First Term psychology, geology, astronomy, general

history

Second Term: psychology, methods of teaching language,

reading, geography, arithmetic and lessons in natural

history; practice teaching

Third Term: moral philosophy, history of education,

methods, teaching.⁴¹⁹

Like many New England colleges, the classical curriculum received major emphasis.⁴²⁰

Similar to normal department course offerings at other state schools, the curriculum had two levels: two-year and four-year. The two-year graduates were

awarded a certificate upon completion of the program and were entitled to teach in the state for two years. The first two years followed a high school curriculum. The last two years included methodology courses for teacher training. Students also had to learn how to teach elementary subjects for a period of two terms. Subject matter content held priority over educational course content.⁴²¹

The college department taught courses in Latin, Greek, French, and mathematics the freshman year. The sophomore year included Greek, German, physics and mathematics, and by the third term, chemistry, botany, and elocution were added. The junior year, students studied German, rhetoric, astronomy, physiology, English literature, history, geology, and logic, while the senior year, classes included history, English literature, German literature, psychology, political economy, Anglo-Saxon (Early English texts), ethics, international law, and political and social questions of the day. Very little science or social science were offered at Lincoln but neither were they offered at many other colleges including the University of Missouri.⁴²² The industrial department offered male students courses in the use of tools and practical training in the trades. Accompanying academic courses followed the high school curriculum. Male students took classes in shop work, carpentry, blacksmithing, machine work, and mechanical drawing. Students also had to pass basic courses in arithmetic, algebra, geometry, advanced geography, natural philosophy with applied physics, chemistry, and mechanics. English language and rhetoric, composition and literature, U. S. history, and general history were also required. Students in the industrial department had to pass an exam above the elementary level in content; they also had to work in either the woodworking, smith or machine shop one and a half hours each day. Shops were open three hours

before noon and three hours in the afternoon. The department required forty-five minutes of drawing each day. If a student needed more time to work in the shop, he could make arrangements with his other teachers.⁴²³

Female students in the industrial department began the year without a teacher. Most instruction included sewing and homemaking skills. Another unhired teacher, an army officer, would teach military tactics.⁴²⁴

Grade school children in the elementary department also had four classes, three terms each, including reading, arithmetic, geography, language, writing, and drawing for the D and C classes. The B class added grammar and lessons in familiar science to the curriculum while the A class added U. S. history and botany.⁴²⁵

To be admitted to Lincoln Institute in the elementary, preparatory, and normal departments, boys had to be at least 16 and girls 14 years of age. Younger students were admitted at the discretion of the faculty, but none younger than 16 could enroll in the college department. The equivalent of letters of recommendation and transcripts were required as well as a signed "declaration of intention" to teach in the state's public schools for normal department students who were exempt from paying the \$1 tuition per term. Elementary students paid \$.50 per term. Dormitory residents were charged a refundable \$1 sick fee if it were not used on their behalf before graduation. The president directed the boarding department which provided food, fuel, and lights at cost. Students who agreed to work in the department were charged a maximum of \$7 per month; others paid \$8.50. All students had to pay a \$1 entrance fee to help the department buy supplies to make furniture in the carpentry department.⁴²⁶

The list of "Prohibitions" was daunting even if typical for the era. In order that older students not unduly influence younger ones, all rules and regulations were applied equally. On the list of DON'TS the following were held in priority: fraternizing between boys and girls, visiting, personal possessions, noise, or destruction. Students had to get permission to go home. On the list of "Requirements" punctual attendance at opening assembly each day, church, study, care of school property, and personal conduct were mandatory. The matron's word was law for female students and all students had to earn a "certificate of deportment" before they could remain at the school.⁴²⁷

Incorporated under a constrictor against tests for religion, Lincoln Institute was nevertheless bound by Protestant rituals from services similar in kind to all such denominations. Gathered in the assembly room, the day began with Bible reading, singing, and prayers. Each Sunday was observed as a holy day; no work, no play--just church. In the school's earliest years, religious affiliation had a definite effect on the school's governance. Principal Foster was a Congregationalist; board members Whittaker and Governor Fletcher were Presbyterians; while most likely Judge Krekel was a Lutheran. Principal Smith was a Congregational minister and President Page was a Methodist. Yet, the bulk of local students were descendants of slaves who were forced to attend services with their masters. Many of the first settlers with slaves in the early 1800s were Baptists and their churches were the first organized denomination. These wilderness congregations acted much like seventeenth century Puritans by meting out punishment to members for various crimes such as "horse racing, fighting, betting, gossiping, going to ball games, drunkenness and playing cards."⁴²⁸ There were three free blacks, Jennie, Gail, and Adam, who attended the First Baptist Church of Jefferson City organized July 8, 1837 when

meetings were held in private homes. The next year, Rev. Martin D. Noland and his eight founding white members built a church that was also used as a school at Monroe and Miller Streets. By the 1850s all the major denominations had church buildings in Jefferson City. The early black Baptist church founded in struggle during the antebellum period emerged into the Second Baptist Church.⁴²⁹ The school's catalog duly noted, "From the religious exercises of the Institute everything of a sectarian nature is carefully excluded,"⁴³⁰ yet the probability of so many staff members from various affiliations taking charge of daily devotional for predominantly Baptist children for their moral instruction seems farfetched. Most likely, each adult exerted some influence on the spirit of each child.

Students who missed the first day of classes would have to take an exam before they could attend classes. Likewise, students who missed part or all of one or more terms were required to take an exam when they applied for readmission. Teachers demanded discipline and order during class instruction. Students learned through the common method of weekly rhetorical exercises. These oral drills focused on accurate recitation of textbook passages. Carefully written compositions required original thought and evidence of reasoning.⁴³¹

Each year ended with written exams whose evaluation was averaged with the scores from drill exercises. First and second place students in each class could opt to take an exam to be promoted to the next highest level provided the grade average in three major subjects was 75% or higher. Students with 50% averages failed while those with 70% averages were promoted. Students in the college department had to have a 75% average to graduate.⁴³²

Students had daily training in vocal music. The Choral Union offered weekly training in classical music. Some students invested their energies in the Excelsior Society or the Philosphian for the higher and lower grades respectively. Those with a dramatic flair participated in either the Longfellow or Shakespeare clubs.⁴³³

Whereas the public schools began with free textbooks and supplies to avoid embarrassing students whose parents could not afford to buy them, the expense proved too much and the Jefferson City schools required students to buy their own books and bring their own supplies.⁴³⁴ It was mandatory that Lincoln's students bring their own textbooks but the school furnished tools, material, drawing ink, and paper. Students also had to bring aprons and towels.⁴³⁵

The catalog for 1893-94 reported a devastating loss of campus property. Lightning struck and fire consumed the first main building the night of August 2, 1894. Before help could arrive, the entire building burned down. The fire destroyed records, textbooks, equipment, and furniture. Classes were held and students were served in the girl's dormitory. The board used library and apparatus funds to pay for more books and equipment.⁴³⁶ President Page, who was in St. Joseph to deliver an Emancipation Day address, read about the fire in the newspaper. When he returned to campus, he met with the board president to draft plans to rebuild the structure. The administration requested \$50,000 from the legislature. Insurance on the building was \$10,000 paid to the state treasury, thus only \$40,000 was actually requested. Dedicated on September 4, the new structure was named Memorial Hall and held the administration offices, a small auditorium, and classrooms until 1930. Of Lincoln's total appropriation of \$65,000, minus \$30,000 for the building rather than the \$40,000 requested, \$18,000 was allocated

to support and maintenance; \$6,000 for the industrial department; and \$1,000 for the agricultural farm.⁴³⁷

The school could finally boast a first graduate from the college department established in 1887. William A. Jackson graduated in 1895 from the normal and industrial departments. He was appointed an assistant in the industrial department.⁴³⁸

Almost 200 students attended Lincoln Institute in 1895. That year the Board of Regents revised by-laws to its constitution and regulations governing the president, the faculty, and management. Following a resolution presented by Superintendent Kirk and passed by the board, the executive committee began to handle all departmental and special business of the school. They filled vacancies, employed additional teachers or assistants, and paid salaries. Without calling for a full board meeting, the executive committee could respond to current business.⁴³⁹

The 38th General Assembly awarded Lincoln Institute \$18,000 for maintenance and support. The new main building and equipment including furniture, library, apparatus, and repairs received \$40,000. The industrial department received \$1,000. The total allocation was \$65,000.⁴⁴⁰

On February 23, 1895, Representative M. B. Hart of Putnam County, introduced HB 792, "An act making Lincoln Institute the State university for the colored people of Missouri, and providing for the government thereof." It was presented again February 25 and referred to the Committee on University.⁴⁴¹ By March 15 committee member J. T. Short of Cole County, recommended that the bill not pass. On February 27, Senator Peers from the Tenth District introduced the same bill to the senate. Seventy-five copies were ordered printed after it was read. On March 1, the bill was presented again and forwarded

to the Committee on Education and School Text Books which reported March 23 and again denied passage.⁴⁴² The difficulty in passing this bill pointed to opposition to aid the school from pro-Southern legislators who would do less than nothing for Lincoln. This pattern of racism surfaced at each legislative session and especially when funds for Lincoln Institute could be redirected to the already well-funded state university. Representatives from Boone county, which included Columbia, the site of the University of Missouri, worked with that school's administrators to garner the largest appropriation possible. These allies also fought against other representatives and schools in their districts who tried to do the same. Lincoln Institute was the one school that had no specific pull on Cole county representatives to act on its behalf with the legislature. To do so would have engendered hostility toward anyone who spoke on behalf of blacks.

"Three times the charm" seems a fitting cliché for the next wave of dissident voices seeking to remove President Page. Rumors flourished. Had the president been accused of failure to perform his duties as head of the school, or some infraction against a faculty member or student, the board would have to investigate the impropriety. The real issue came down to an allegation by some inside and outside the school who claimed that President Page and his wife, Zelia, had caused a split in the Methodist Church--the black Methodist Church.⁴⁴³ These were the same people who in 1892 tried to get President Page removed. That was when the board fired the faculty and vindicated President Page, albeit circuitously.

This time, the board heard the allegations. Some members of the A.M.E. Church broke away to form the A.M.E. Zion Church and the former group seized the opportunity to malign the renowned president and his wife as the cause. Fortunately, the new

congregation headed off a potential disaster with the president's employment and passed a set of resolutions as follows:

Whereas, certain rumors are to the effect that Professor I. E. Page and wife were the prime movers in splitting the A.M.E. Church of this city and whereas certain persons are officious in circulating said rumors for a designing and malicious purpose, Therefore, be it resolved that we, the members of the A.M.E. Zion Church in a special meeting without the knowledge or advice of Professor I. E. Page or the influence of his wife, withdrew and severed out relations from the A.M.E. connection.

Further, be it resolved that we as members of the A.M.E. Zion Church do deny and denounce said rumors as being malicious falsehood and we condemn said parties in their attempt to destroy the good name and usefulness of the president of our great state institution.

Therefore, be it resolved that we most heartily endorse the careful and wise management of

Lincoln Institute.

Therefore, be it resolved that a committee of seven be appointed to draft suitable resolutions to be presented to the press and Board of Regents.

Ordered at a meeting of the members of the A.M.E.

Zion Church.

Committee: Richard Winston, Peter Woodfork, Silas Ferguson,

Harriet Parks, Matilda Nelsson, Lyncinda Hunter, F.N.G.

Brown, and P.W. Dunavant (Pastor).⁴⁴⁴

The board received this resolution June 22, 1896. Thomas Brown, Mrs. J. E. Carter, Ida Dupee, Mrs. Dupee, John Carter, James Henry, C.R. Curtis, and others spoke with the board against President Page and his wife. During this long late night meeting, board member Mr. Cahoon offered the following resolution:

Resolved, that the Board of Regents of Lincoln Institute Normal School of Missouri, after hearing patiently and fairly investigating the charges preferred against Inman E. Page, the principal thereof, and by Mr. Carter, Dupee, and other colored people of Jefferson City, do find all said charges to be ill-founded and not sufficient by the testimony brought out by the complainants before this board, to the contrary,

the board finds from such testimony that Principal Page is not only a gentleman of high moral character, of superior intellectual attainment and excellent executive capacity but his part and recent connection with said institution has been so commendable that we hereby re-employ him and also re-employ the entire board of present assistant teachers and professors and the matrons at the salaries paid them for 1896.⁴⁴⁵

The board adopted this resolution and the third attack on President Page, expanded to include his wife, was quelled. The board showed every confidence in President Page's deportment and skill in managing the school.⁴⁴⁶ They must have felt nonplused about being called upon to hear allegations about so personal a matter as a religious dispute in the black community. In the minds of many Victorian-era citizens, the power of any perceived indiscretion was fuel for a conflict that could potentially wreck a career. In the late nineteenth century, in Jefferson City, Missouri, that was exactly the case. Thirty years earlier, the school was just an idea, now the school was a battle ground for community affairs.

Fortunately, the daily operations of the school gave testimony to the outstanding management and teaching skills of the administration and the faculty. The A and B Normal classes no longer had to take courses in industrial work, shop work, or sewing. Other students were excused via faculty permission. Some form of industrial work was considered essential to success and was part of the program of all high schools.⁴⁴⁷

Effie Fisher was one graduate with honors of two who completed the normal school program in 1896. She came to Lincoln Institute in 1892 when she finished Young Public School in Independence, Missouri, also her first teaching assignment. After nine years in her home town, she married Alexander R. Chinn, principal of the black public school at Glasgow, Missouri. The new industrial building at Lincoln was named after him. He was a board member during the second attempted intrigue to fire President Page in 1889.⁴⁴⁸

Recognizing the lack of literature about African Americans, one Lincoln Institute graduate of the class of 1896, Henry F. Thompson, began building a library of books about the race. His outstanding work at Warrensburg, Missouri as a well read teacher gained him recognition and praise from his peers and others in education.⁴⁴⁹

In the late nineteenth century, many African Americans assumed teaching positions in small schools for black children before receiving formal teacher training. Then, they would take advantage of Lincoln Institute's normal department curriculum or earn a college degree before resuming their teaching careers. Such was the case with A. L. Reynolds and Otis M. Shackelford. Reynolds, an 1896 Lincoln graduate, taught in the machine shop for four years. Later, he became an assistant in the English and mathematics departments for a year, then head of the mathematics department for a year. In 1903, Reynolds became superintendent of the industrial department, an important and well paid position formerly held by a white teacher. Reynolds impressed President Page and the board with his work in this position for four years before taking leave to upgrade his training in industrial education at the University of Kansas.⁴⁵⁰

Otis M. Shackelford, an 1897 graduate, was the son of a Methodist minister-teacher. Born in Tipton, Missouri, he began teaching after graduating from school at Versailles, Missouri. He taught English and mathematics at Lincoln Institute and published articles and poems in the St. Louis Post Dispatch and the Jefferson City local papers. He published, Seeking the Best, an autobiography with notable details about Lincoln Institute. He continued his academic training during summer school sessions where he studied English literature and Latin.⁴⁵¹

In 1898, the state awarded Lincoln Institute \$1,280.10 from the \$24,000 state appropriation from the Morrill Fund. The state university used the money for its agricultural and mechanical departments; Lincoln did likewise.⁴⁵² Other changes occurred that year among the faculty and staff. Professor J. W. Damel offered a course in telegraphy; Professor Morse coached a male singing group each afternoon; and Miss L. L. Clarke became librarian. She devised a check-out system for books and periodicals.⁴⁵³

Dr. Page at Langston University

In 1897 the territorial government in Oklahoma was forced to establish a school for blacks named the Colored Agricultural and Normal University at Langston, Oklahoma. Rather than admit blacks to the newly created land grant normal school at Edmond, Oklahoma, or lose federal funds by not admitting them, the territorial legislature created the school when Cynthia Ware was denied admission in 1896. Dr. Page was asked to become its president; he accepted and characteristically applied his acumen to the development of that state's only land grant school, Langston University.⁴⁵⁴ It was named

after John Mercer Langston, an African American lawyer and promoter of communities for blacks free of white oppression. Several years passed before Page revisited Missouri.

President Page presided over his last commencement at Lincoln Institute in 1898. It was held in the hall of the House of Representatives. His administration had weathered three attacks and had advanced the status of Lincoln Institute from the realm of a small private school with a normal department to that of a normal school and college. That was no small feat given the circumstances of the external and internal environments affecting the school. The public supported his efforts in spite of splinter factions that attempted to derail him and the school from long term stability and growth under the leadership of one of the most distinguished educators of the nineteenth century. The local press never demeaned his efforts even if the editorials chafed the black community on various points. The immense interest President Page brought to Lincoln Institute cannot be underestimated, nor his notoriety around the state. With so many obstacles and so little monetary reward, his tenure at Lincoln Institute represents a model of administration that could not be duplicated during his time.

The year 1898 was more than a turning point in the history of Lincoln Institute with the exit of President Inman E. Page. His professional life took another direction but not at the expense of his personal life. President Page's daughter, Zelia, graduated this year. She was a student of both literature and music. Her music training began in childhood under a German teacher. Upon graduation, she continued her music training at the Chicago Conservatory of Music. When her father accepted the presidency of Langston University, a new land-grant institution for African Americans in Indian Territory, she and her namesake mother accompanied him. Her mother also taught at

Lincoln under her husband's administration in the 1880-81 school year when he began at the school. Zelia, the daughter, taught piano at Langston University although she was talented with the violin and coronet. She organized a twenty-piece orchestra and a fifteen-piece band. In March 1905, she arranged concerts in Oklahoma and Texas to pay for the instruments. Later, she became director of music in the Oklahoma City public schools. She married and became Mrs. Breaux, a teacher known to hundreds of students as the epitome of a legend in music training, but also the living legacy of a distinguished family of educators who touched so many lives.⁴⁵⁵

Zelia Page's graduating class also included Lillian Bryant Booker who as Miss Bryant began teaching at Western University in Macon, Missouri. After a year, she married. When a widow, she resumed teaching in Liberty, Missouri and garnered a reputation as an outstanding teacher.⁴⁵⁶

Nellie Page also graduated in the class with Zelia Page. She graduated from high school in La Crosse, Wisconsin before attending Lincoln. Her first teaching position was at Appleton City, Missouri before accepting positions in elementary schools and in the high school in East St. Louis, Illinois for several years.⁴⁵⁷

John F. Talton came to Lincoln Institute in 1887 but became a principal in Napton, Missouri before graduating. He was in demand as a teacher in charge of two other teachers in the small town. He remained there for four years before returning to Lincoln in 1896. Upon graduation he taught one year at Olathe, Kansas, then became principal at Liberty for several years.⁴⁵⁸

These were but a few of the successful educators to emerge from Lincoln Institute at the close of the nineteenth century. Each had labored and studied to enter a profession

that was still sorely short on African American participants. Lincoln's faculty trained as many teachers as possible to go out across the state and lead grade school children through the rudiments of an education. That was Lincoln's primary mission even though it held fast to the hope of becoming the counterpart of the state university.

Next?

The next man chosen to head Lincoln Institute was a Kentucky native educated in the public schools and the oldest of three sons whose father gave each a tract of land to work on shares. This son saved his money and went to college with encouragement but no immediate financial help from his uneducated parents. His mother worked domestic jobs to help meet his expenses at Berea College, a school founded during the nineteenth century reform movement. The school was aided by the gifts of a slave holder's son, John G. Fee. The Kentucky son attended a theological seminary and supported freedom through speeches made in the mountain counties of that state as a guest of Cassius M. Clay. Fee's church supported both the town and the college of the same name. Closed during the war, Berea College reopened in 1865 and two black students arrived to take course work in the normal school. Up to 1904 when state law prohibited blacks from enrolling in white schools, Berea accepted black students. This school also established Lincoln Institute of Kentucky and maintained it until separate trustees could be appointed. Within this liberal community, the Kentucky son graduated with honors and an A.B. degree. He was the first black student to do so. This individual was now a member of an even smaller minority of first generation college graduates from white schools in the south.

He was a college graduate before Inman E. Page.⁴⁵⁹

After several years teaching in the public school system in Lexington, Kentucky, he became principal of the Daniel Hand School, where the University of Kentucky was located. He retired in 1881 and moved to Kansas City. He was principal of Lincoln Grade School until 1887 when he was asked to head the State Normal School in Frankfort, Kentucky (later renamed Kentucky State Industrial College). During his second year at this school, he was asked to head Lincoln Institute in Jefferson City, Missouri.⁴⁶⁰ He was a man whose philosophy of education matched the needs of the day. His name was John H. Jackson.

John H. Jackson, President, 1898-1901

By unanimous vote at its June 20, 1898 meeting, the Board of Regents elected John H. Jackson from the State Normal School in Frankfort, Kentucky to succeed Inman E. Page. The newly hired faculty included vice-president B. F. Allen, J. W. Damel, J. H. Garnett, J. E. Givens, and Miss V. L. Johnson. The superintendent of the industrial department was to be appointed later by the executive committee, but the new faculty for that department included John H. Breadman, W. A. Jackson, and A. L. Reynolds. The board also hired Matrons M. E. Anthony and Mrs. Sallie Dupee. Custodians hired were H. Pringe, L. V. Hampton, and Phi Johnson. Music department positions remained open.⁴⁶¹

Board officer elections resulted in Jesse W. Henry, president; John F. Heinrichs, vice-president; O. G. Burch, secretary; and treasurer A. Brandenberger. Executive

committee members included Henry, Heinricks, Gordon, and Kirk.⁴⁶²

After the June hiring, the faculty expanded to include Professor W. D. Thomas also of the State Normal School, Frankfort, Kentucky, who filled the vacancy left by Professor J. F. Givens. The new school year of 1898-99 produced 100 students ready for the first week of school with a strong indication that by the end of the first month, enrollment would reach 200. Registration could occur at any time during the year and the large number for this term was especially noted as a sign of the school's good reputation.⁴⁶³

Changes in Student Policy

To combat tardiness, faculty members instituted new rules. Students arriving after roll call were required to bring a note from their parent, guardian, or employer in order to be excused. The note had to explain why the student could not be on time and seated by 8:50 a.m. Without a note, students could not attend class that day and were penalized with a zero for not reciting. The whole faculty would have to override this penalty. Students were wayward about attending class and the faculty threatened to institute a ticket system unless the students could correct the situation by coming to class.⁴⁶⁴

Exhibiting Industrial Skills

During the Trans-Mississippi Exposition, Lincoln Institute had an exhibit directed by Professor J. W. Damel, chairman of The Subcommittee on Industrial and Educational

Advancement of the Negro. The exhibit showed what blacks could do with training in industrial and educational development. The industrial department presented working models of two steam engines, one dynamo, one motor, a case of tools, artifacts from the blacksmith, woodworking and other shops, mechanical drawings, and elaborate needlework. The academic department displayed exercise papers, drawings, and copies of the memorial edition of Lincoln Institute's records.⁴⁶⁵

Lectures and Promotional Events

Another addition to the school's cultural education for students presented a series of lectures by prominent Missourians and Lincoln faculty. The fifth lecture presented professor J. W. Damel's talk, "What to Hinder?" Lectures were offered Friday evenings at 8:00 p.m. The music department, especially the glee club and the new mandolin club, accompanied some of the lecture programs.⁴⁶⁶

To fund purchase of an organ, students performed in a literary and musical concert at the A.M.E. Church. Contributions totaled \$10. President Jackson continued the tradition of presenting well-received musical programs to the General Assembly. The 1899 performance brought many compliments. The sole purpose of the concerts was to impress the legislators with the successful programs at Lincoln Institute.⁴⁶⁷

Integrating Industrial, Agricultural and Classical Curricula

President Jackson's report to the state superintendent of schools offered new insights into the industrial department curriculum. He noticed that students were poorly-prepared in manual training. He wanted to combine manual training courses with scientific and literary courses. Because Lincoln was not a trade school designed to produce blacksmiths, carpenters, and seamstresses, the combined course work would eventually yield better prepared students. He also wanted all students to take part in agricultural training even though the prevailing opinion held that black students were not interested in agriculture as a future vocation. Teachers also needed to learn more about the real needs of students from farm families in rural communities. Students could also learn efficient methods of farming and thrifty habits. Although record keeping in the industrial department was found in a state of disarray, and some courses were confusing as to content, President Jackson wanted to decrease the number of failures in the department and promote students on scholarship and deportment.⁴⁶⁸

Governor Lon V. Stevens' address to the 1899 legislature pointed out that Lincoln had grown from a normal school to train teachers and now offered industrial training and had a college department. The school had requested more financial support to sustain these programs and additional funds to build a dormitory and a library. The governor recommended granting the school's requests, especially funds for a dormitory. The current dormitory was too small and male and female students should not occupy the same building according to the prevailing mores of the time. The governor proposed that with student labor to build the dormitory, the appropriation need not exceed \$6,000.

President Jackson's letter to the governor revealed his continued concern for evidence of racial uplift--the philosophy of advancement in society through education and training. On that foundation the president pleaded for increased support to produce skilled workers in the trades.⁴⁶⁹

The legislature however, did not grant the governor's request. It appropriated \$30,590 to be disbursed as follows: \$13,000 teachers' salaries; \$1,200 for matrons; \$1,920 for custodians; \$420 for student assistants; \$1,800 for coal; \$7,000 for maintenance of the industrial school; \$1,000 for repairs and improvements; \$1,000 for new equipment; \$1,000 for domestic economy; \$250 for grounds, and \$240 for the library. In addition, a new clause was added to the appropriation stipulating that any overruns on expenses would be paid by the person or persons authorizing same.⁴⁷⁰

One significant annual event was the 1899 State Association of Negro Teachers which met in Jefferson City. During the Christmas vacation a multitude of educators met at the county court house. The Missouri State Teachers' Association, the white counterpart, met at a different location on a different date. President Jackson extended greetings from the black teachers' organization to the white teachers' organization. Several national speakers appeared before the white teachers' organization then addressed the black teachers' organization, but not vice versa.⁴⁷¹

Again in 1900, President Jackson approached the subject of industrial education in his report to the superintendent. Enrollment was now 278, the school's largest. To augment the small library inventory, Superintendent W. T. Carrington, Colonel W. W. Morgan of Kansas City, and Mrs. H. A. Gass donated books for agriculture courses. The president also pointed out the high cost of water compared to that of other normal schools

and asked that the cost be brought more into line with the state's average. He also recommended organizing a principals' association to produce an articulation agreement between black high schools across the state and Lincoln. When the principals and Lincoln administrators met, they tried to align high school courses with those required for admission to Lincoln's college program. At the time, the high schools did not train students for college level course work. President Jackson also suggested botanical mountings of flowers as objects for learning.⁴⁷²

Praise from the Governor

The governor praised Lincoln's success in educating black students. Enrollment had increased by 100 students and the level of scholarship was up. The school deserved to have needed facilities. He again requested that the legislature grant funds for a new dormitory.⁴⁷³

On March 24, 1900, young professor George F. Smith, chair of the mathematics department, died. This well-educated graduate from Atlanta University, also held a graduate degree from Dartmouth. He served Lincoln for two years, and it would be difficult to replace him. President Jackson and Superintendent Carrington recommended Mr. Henderson of Fulton, Missouri who filled the vacancy for \$50 per month for the remainder of the year. Later, Mr. H. L. Reynolds became the chairman of the department.⁴⁷⁴

Vice-President Allen produced a public program held February 10, 1900 to honor President Lincoln's birthday. The program featured speeches about Lincoln, vocal and

instrumental music performances. Students in the senior normal class gained experience in organizing an institute that year when they presented a program around education topics. Vice-president Allen, their guide, gave them the benefit of his experience in conducting several institutes in the Missouri Department of Education.⁴⁷⁵

In June 1900 President Jackson delivered the commencement address to the graduates of the Garrison Negro School in Chillicothe. He spoke about the progress of the race since emancipation.⁴⁷⁶

During Arbor Day events, President Jackson had 200 trees planted on campus. The president delivered a speech about the origin and purpose of the holiday. The tree planting later became a project of one of Lincoln's sororities.⁴⁷⁷

Rumors circulated that the board was not spending appropriations according to legislative mandates. A committee from the House of Representatives investigated the allegations; however, no proof materialized to indicate mismanagement.⁴⁷⁸

Enrollment continued to increase during President Jackson's tenure. The standard of work also improved and perhaps was the cause for a drop in enrollment from 278 to 236 between his first and second years when the president discontinued course work in the lower grades. Lincoln was now assuming a more significant flow of students from its preceding campaigns to raise public awareness of the good work the school was doing.⁴⁷⁹

June 14, 1901, President Jackson informed the board of several issues in a text rendered complete in the board minutes. First, he asked the board to consider the good of the institution when appointing teachers rather than the desires of individual teachers. He was eluding to weak teachers breaking the strength of the faculty. He envisioned the weight of the curriculum in the college and normal schools resting on the four strongest

department heads in English, Latin, Science and Mathematics. He desired to have a faculty of educators with excellent scholarship and wide experience. He advocated efficiency in order to raise the standards of morals and scholarship that he deemed essential to growth and development for black youth as citizens.⁴⁸⁰

President Jackson asked the board to consider hiring the president at least a month in advance of the teachers or giving him a longer term of employment as good educational practice followed by other schools. He hoped to end bickering and deceitfulness that occurred during annual hiring dates. The president needed the advantage of time to develop the school's operations. He strongly urged the board to adopt a new policy regarding applications for the president's position from a current faculty member. If a teacher applied for president, he must give written application sixty days before the hiring dates. If the applicant was denied the position, he was not to be rehired in his former position or in any other at the school to reduce. President Jackson's faculty was disloyal and harbored selfish ambitions according to an alumnus who was a student at the time. This former student considered the president a highly accomplished man, fully capable of managing Lincoln Institute, and the most efficient president the school had had.⁴⁸¹

In addition, President Jackson's report recommended students labor to help pay their expenses. He particularly had in mind upkeep of the campus grounds which now benefited from his campus beautification program. It was this president who was responsible for planting about 1,000 trees, constructing roads, walkways, flower beds, and landscaping wasted areas on campus. He was attuned to the aesthetic appeal of a picturesque campus as a strong recruitment tool to students and their parents.⁴⁸²

The board heard President Jackson's recommendations, then carried a motion to declare all positions vacant! In an instant, the one educator whose philosophy of the school's operations, facilities, faculty, students, and curriculum presented the strongest evidence of progressive vision from a man whose training, scholarship, and experience gave credibility to a set of future goals that could only benefit the school, was fired. This was but a typical response from Lincoln's board. Some of the regents persuaded others that former president Inman E. Page would return as head of the school. After Page had been hired in absentia, he was notified by mail of the appointment. Page's telegram briefly replied: "Regret to say cannot accept presidency of Institute." It was a shock to his so-called "supporters." Local newspaper accounts reported that when the board met, Page had indicated he would return as president. The community wanted Page and held out their support for this eighteen-year-veteran even in the face of the excellent work of his successor.⁴⁸³

The board was left without a president. The faculty was hired when John H. Jackson applied for reinstatement. During the board's interview with him, Jackson requested they consider his proposals for the school and remember the positive contributions he had already made during his two-year tenure. When he finished, the vote was 2 to 3 not to rehire him even though they accepted his recommendation concerning faculty application for the presidency.⁴⁸⁴

Without a word of contention regarding his work performance or his latest recommendations, the board dismissed one of a soon to be legion list of visionaries in the education of black people. A black man who rose from poverty to erudition and professional leadership had been dumped. The board risked a chance to secure a

venerable predecessor who had been ill-treated by certain factious groups throughout his tenure, not to mention his summary dismissal by that same board to be filled by his former college friend and colleague Gresham. Page was a newly graduated potential leader when he came to Lincoln, but Jackson was an established professional educator and head of a normal school in his native state when he was lured to move. The fickleness and politicization of this board was no less than another Lincoln tradition that would not only characterize the school now but would continue into its future.

President Jackson's Background

The General Assembly of Kentucky established the State Normal School for Colored Persons in 1886, the first of two land-grant institutions in the state. The school began operations May 18, 1886 on a 25-acre site of farmland and meadow located one and a half miles from Frankfort. John H. Jackson, who held a master's degree from Berea College, was its first president. With three teachers he began training 55 students on October 11, 1887. In-state black students were not charged tuition if they met qualifications and signed an affidavit to teach in public schools twice the length of time they remained at the school. The school's primary mission at the beginning was to train teachers for the public schools. In 1890, the school established the department of agricultural, mechanical, and domestic economy in preparation for funds from the Second Morrill Act and graduated its first class of five students. In 1893, with the addition of a high school curriculum, the legislature divided the land grant funds based on the ratio of black and white children. The black school received 14.5 percent and the white school

received 85.5 percent. By legislation in May 1897, the school began receiving \$627.75. The remaining \$4,322.25 was appropriated to the Agricultural and Mechanical College of Kentucky, later renamed the University of Kentucky.⁴⁸⁵ President Jackson was lured to Lincoln Institute in 1898 after twelve years as president of the State Normal School. No doubt his expertise and experience were highly valued at the time.⁴⁸⁶

In 1902, one year after Lincoln's board high-handedly fired President Jackson, Kentucky increased appropriations to his former school, changed its name to Kentucky Normal and Industrial Institute for Colored Persons, and in 1903 the school strengthened and broadened industrial and agricultural programs for its 200 students. Until 1929, the school was primarily a combined elementary, secondary, and normal school. The school's name changed in 1926, 1938, and finally in 1952 to its current name, Kentucky State College.⁴⁸⁷

Progress at Langston

Perhaps the ultimate payback for Page was how the board set up the circumstances that allowed him to show them what a loss really meant. Undoubtedly, his return to Lincoln would have disrupted the progress he was making at Langston University, then named the Colored Agricultural and Normal University of the Territory of Oklahoma. As now, it was then Oklahoma's only historically black college. It became a land-grant college to satisfy the provisions of the Morrill Act of 1890 when House Bill 151 was passed by the legislature March 12, 1897. The school was to be located in Logan County, Oklahoma in the all black town of Langston, known as "Black Mecca" and "Little Africa"

through promotions of the town and the school. Professor Inman E. Page began classes on September 3, 1898 in the local Presbyterian Church.⁴⁸⁸

President Page saw an opportunity to begin anew with the curriculum for agricultural and industrial education at Langston. Courses included farm equipment, shopwork, and farm building. Home economics was added for female students in 1900 and in 1904, a building for mechanical arts was constructed along with a program to assist practical farmers. The year-long program included courses in carpentry, blacksmithing, stock judging, butter making, dairy inspection and laws, and milk testing. The four-year degree was not awarded until 1924. The school owned and operated a 300-acre farm throughout its first 33 years. For the first twenty years, training was at the high school and normal school levels with major emphasis on teacher education and expanded training in agriculture, mechanical arts and home economics.⁴⁸⁹ It was not in President Page's interest to return to Lincoln and leave all this possibility to chance--at least not now.

Money, Money, Money

January 4, 1899, the 40th General Assembly appropriated \$30,590 of President Jackson's request for funds. They awarded \$142,700 to the University of Missouri. Lincoln received \$13,000 for salaries; \$1,200 for matron's salaries, \$1,920 for janitor's salaries; \$420 for students' salaries; \$1,800 for coal; \$1,800 for expenses (board member expenses, salaries of secretary and treasurer of the board, board meetings, postage and stationery, insurance, fire protection and water supply, catalog printing and incidentals); \$1,800 for maintenance of the industrial school; \$7,000 for repairs and improvements;

\$1,000 for additional equipment; \$1,000 for domestic economy; \$250 for grounds; \$200 for the library.⁴⁹⁰ His request for a new dormitory was not funded.

In contrast, the University of Missouri received \$95,000 in addition to the estimated income of \$157,000; an additional \$10,000 to augment a \$15,000 private donation to build and equip a hospital at Columbia; \$10,000 for the school's libraries; \$15,000 for the school's laboratories; \$1,000 to furnish the new club house; \$2,000 for the electric light plant; \$1,200 for student labor; \$4,000 for summer schools; and \$4,500 for the chairs of domestic economy, anatomy, architecture and drawing.⁴⁹¹ Certainly the disparity in these appropriations not only pointed to the size of each institution, wherein larger appropriations allowed greater expansion and development, such economic inequality--so drastic in its measure--pointed to the hollow rhetoric that Lincoln Institute would ever assume the quality of education for blacks that was afforded whites at the University of Missouri. The core phrases of messages to legislators from governor after governor praising Lincoln and hailing its reputation as equal to that of the state university had already evolved into a mantra, a mesmerizing chant designed to lull the curious into complacent acceptance and calculated to stem any overt action to accuse and hold the state accountable for the real truth. Lincoln Institute was not even close to equality with the University of Missouri, nor on par with appropriations that substantially supported regional state schools whose representatives pushed hard for development of their own area. Lincoln was a political orphan. As such, its administration and board president had to curry favor with each newly elected state administration in order to survive. At the same time, the school had to work miracles with what it had.

Memorial to the Founding Principal, R.B. Foster

Several obituary notices appeared around the country in 1901 announcing the death of Lincoln's founding principal, Richard Baxter Foster, on March 30, 1901. The Dartmouth listed him as an 1851 graduate and reprinted a notice from the Congregationalist April 13, 1900. When Foster left Lincoln Institute in 1872, after six years of worthy service, he again determined to find his "special work to do" and turned to the Congregational ministry--a denomination he had long membership in since the rallying Congregationalist environment that established Dartmouth College in 1769 during the Great Awakening.⁴⁹² Foster and his family of 10 arrived in Osborne, Kansas May 16, 1872 where he founded the first Congregational Church in Osborne, May 26, 1872 with 23 charter members.

He held services in one of the stores. Three days later he called a meeting to organize a Congregational Church. According to his own words, his years at Lincoln Institute were blessed by God but the work "exhausted my strength and means."⁴⁹³ He prayed for guidance and Providence led this 46-year-old former soldier and teacher to homestead in Kansas and take a partially-formed church of 26 members. He was ordained pastor August 1872. He preached in Osborne City, Bethany, Smith county, and in Corinth where he established churches in a log cabin, tavern, and in school houses. He was an early advocate of prohibition. He rode ten miles to each locale in an old dilapidated buggy with a harnessed pony. He wished for a better team in order to reach settlers in scattered places. He helped found the Downs Congregational Church (still existing in 1977) having preached in Cedarville, and Ross Townships. In Stockton his ministry led to founding The

Stockton Church--100 years old in 1976.

September 1, 1878, the Congregational Church of Osborne dedicated their first building, the first church west of Cawker City and the site of the first Christmas tree in town. A second church was dedicated November 2, 1902. The basement was named Foster Hall in his honor. In 1948, this building was sold to the V.F.W. organization when the Congregational Church united with the Presbyterian Church. Foster served in Kansas for ten years. Then he moved his family to Colorado for shorter pastorates.⁴⁹⁴

According to his daughter, Grace Foster Brown, the family lived on a "claim" two and a half miles from Osborne although they did not raise any crops or livestock. The wilderness of the Kansas prairie was a constant battle against "buffalo, prairie fires, rattlesnakes, grasshoppers and famine."⁴⁹⁵ They had only the bare necessities: lots of children, little meat but always books.

When Foster moved his family to Oklahoma in 1890, the new territory was just opened for settlement and Foster preached "the first sermon that was ever preached in the state of Oklahoma."⁴⁹⁶ He was very proud of this distinction. The family settled in Stillwater where he organized the first Congregational Church. He even gave the dedication address at the official opening of the State Agricultural College at Stillwater (now Oklahoma State University) when the governor was unable to come at the last minute. At this time, Howard University conferred upon Foster the Doctor of Divinity degree--another distinguished honor. While in Stillwater, he guided the lives of young men whom he counseled into careers as ministers, physicians, and educators. He became known as "Father Foster."⁴⁹⁷

In 1894 Foster became pastor at one of the largest churches in Oklahoma in Perkins, a small town south of Stillwater. Life was not as hard in Oklahoma as in Kansas; the Foster family again had but the necessities and few luxuries. They lived in an unfinished parsonage with unplastered rafters and rationed commodities like eggs and meats for special meals. As Foster advanced in age, the duties of a frontier ministry began to take their toll. He moved the family again to Okarche, further west in central Oklahoma in Kingfisher county. He pastored a smaller church and lectured weekly on the Bible, Church History, and Evidences at Kingfisher College. In 1898 his health failed and he resigned his pastorate. Richard Baxter Foster died in Okarche, Oklahoma at the age of 74. He was buried March 31, 1901 in the Okarche Cemetery. He was survived by wife Lucy and seven of their ten children. Testaments to his thirty years in the ministry abound but all show deep gratitude for Foster's "depth of thought, purity of purpose and his ever lovable character".⁴⁹⁸ He lived for the good he could do and provided inspiration so needed in frontier life. He stood for "devotion, integrity, courage and faith."⁴⁹⁹ and lived to fulfill his Providence-guided 'special work.'

During President Jackson's second year, the state awarded \$13,000 for the academic and normal department; \$10,000 for a new dormitory; \$1,000 for equipment; \$8,000 for the industrial department; \$2,000 for the agricultural department; \$3,000 for matrons, janitors, student labor; and a contingency fund of \$5,090. Funding the agricultural department and the new dormitory were new items. The board recommended building a small frame house on the farm as residence for the professor of agriculture. Although authorized by the legislature at the same time as the industrial department, the agriculture department was never funded until this appropriation.⁵⁰⁰

The building committee of the board decided to locate the new boy's dormitory as far away as possible from the girl's dormitory. Architects Opal and Miller of Jefferson City planned the building at a cost not to exceed \$10,000. When the building, named Yates Hall, was under construction, the architects could receive funds. Contract specifications called for heating, construction, blueprints, and supervision at a fee of five percent.⁵⁰¹

At the July 22, 1901 board meeting, regents acted to fill the presidency after denying reinstatement to President Jackson. That afternoon they hired J. H. Garnett as acting president, but later that evening, the board rescinded that action and hired J. W. Damel at a salary of \$110.00 per month plus residence in the president's home. It was understood that his services could be terminated at the will of the board.⁵⁰²

For less money and no tenure, Damel prepared and presented the annual report to the superintendent of schools for the school year ending August 31. Damel reported the previous year's progress equal to that of other years, but reminded the superintendent that the small faculty was overworked and continually asked to make sacrifices in order to educate black youth. Lincoln desperately needed a library because students were stifled by the lack of texts and scholarship available for research. Damel also cited a critical shortage of laboratory equipment, the lack of desks and chairs in the science department, and a general need for furniture throughout the school. He was also concerned for the general safety of the students and requested that gas be used to heat the buildings and laboratories due to the volatility of alcohol lamps.⁵⁰³

The faculty at Lincoln Institute continued to shift after the firing of President Jackson. Professor of English B.F. Allen resigned. On June 7, the board elected him vice-

president, then on July 14 rescinded that decision. He left. Mrs. Frances Jackson was temporarily hired to fill his vacancy in the department. The teacher of drawing also resigned.⁵⁰⁴ Her vacancy was filled on a temporary basis by John Bias.⁵⁰⁵

Edward E. Clarke, President, January-June, 1902

Mid-January 1902, the board hired Edward E. Clarke, grandson of the founder of Wilberforce University and son of two of the school's distinguished alumni-faculty. Also a Wilberforce alumnus with a bachelor's degree earned in 1881, Clarke's first position was principal of the black high school at Evansville, Indiana. He supervised thirteen teachers and 600 students for eight years. He was the only black educator at the time to hold a life certificate to teach in Ohio, plus certificates for Louisville, Kentucky, and St. Louis. He came to Lincoln Institute in 1889 as professor of science. He returned to his alma mater at their board's request and remained for ten years. He ranked first in a field of 90 who passed the civil service exam and was appointed to the War Department. He became assistant examiner of patents, the only African American in that department. He returned to Wilberforce to teach science, and as an ordained minister with an honorary master's degree, he served as college pastor.⁵⁰⁶

Again, another distinguished educator joined Lincoln Institute and tried to make improvements in the school's operations and programs. President Clarke approved the addition of new trades. Shoemaking, taught by Frederick Parker, a student teacher, took his students' work to represent Lincoln Institute at the Cotton Exposition at Charleston, South Carolina. In a February local news article, the director of the Missouri exhibit, T.

E. Crumbaugh, complimented Lincoln students' trade skills and the school, then endorsed support of President Clarke and Mr. Parker.⁵⁰⁷

President Clarke regularly delivered talks to students at the daily chapel service. The Jefferson City Tribune printed these speeches. A typical title was "A Good Life." The president exhorted students to survey their lives and look for ways to improve themselves. He offered practical and beneficial advice.⁵⁰⁸

Summer school, June 16-August 2, had a fee of \$5.00 tuition and \$2.00 room and board. As low as these fees were, many students could not afford to attend especially since this relatively new academic program was not fully accepted nor separately funded by the board. Twenty-nine students enrolled by July 5; sixteen men and thirteen women. The commencement address was given by Professor E. L. Anthony of Jefferson City.⁵⁰⁹

Board members included Jesse W. Henry, chairman of the executive committee from Jefferson City; L. D. Gordon, secretary, from Jefferson City; Robert H. Davis from Greenville, Missouri; J. Silas Harris from Kansas City; A. H. Bolte, president from Union, Missouri; Louis Hoffman, vice-president from Sedalia, Missouri; W. T. Carrington, state superintendent from Jefferson City; and Oscar G. Burch, treasurer. The first two members' terms expired in 1903, the second two in 1905, and the next two in 1907.⁵¹⁰

At the board's June 12 meeting, President Clarke presented his annual report of the status of the school. He informed the board that at his mid-year arrival he found the school in disarray. He cited lack of confidence in the faculty, students, and their parents. Only good salaries would bring good teachers and only secure positions could insure confidence to work hard.⁵¹¹

Faculty included J. W. Damel, A. M. acting president (until President Clarke's arrival in January); B. F. Allen, A. M., vice president; James H. Garnett, A. M., Latin and Greek; Alfred O. Coffin, A. M., Mathematics and Physics; D. A. Williston, B. S., Chemistry, Biology and Agriculture; A. L. Reynolds, A. B., assistant in English and Mathematics; John H. Bredeman, supervisor, industrial department; Mary E. Grimshaw, sewing; Carrie M. Carney, music; Kate M. Jordon, drawing and music; Mrs. Libbie C. Anthony, matron for young women and supervisor of the laundry; Mrs. Sarah H. Dupee, matron for young men.⁵¹² Whereas the previous catalogs placed the historical sketch of the school in the back, the new 1900-1901 catalog positioned the sketch in the front. Course content followed a hierarchy of college department, college preparatory department, normal department, sub-normal department (a tutorial for the normal department), the model and training department, and the industrial department (carpentry, blacksmithing, machine work, and machinery for men; sewing, cooking, laundry for women; printing and typewriting available for interested students).⁵¹³

Three new prohibitions were added to the existing seven: students could not board in the city without permission; students could not throw stones around the campus; and students could not disturb trees, flowers, and undergrowth.⁵¹⁴

Religious exercises and instructions now included the Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A., two Christian organizations students were invited to join. The school had a new band, a new chamber music orchestra, and a mandolin and guitar club.⁵¹⁵ Hampton Institute in 1913 dedicated a new building for their YMCA chapter. In conjunction with their February 2 Founder's Day Activities, Hampton patrons and school staff participated in the dedication of Clarke Hall, a magnificent two-story structure of Colonial architecture

built by Hampton students. The Young Men's Christian Association had a long affiliation with Hampton and throughout Virginia. Specifically dedicated to train black men for leadership roles in their communities, to hold to a religious life, and to lead in Christian work, student members were elected to offices in campus-affiliated chapters.⁵¹⁶

In 1914 the Young Women's Christian Association closest to Hampton Institute grew from a women's club, the Norfolk Association of Colored Women, originally designed to be part of a larger State Federation of Colored Women's Clubs. The Y.W.C.A. chapter in Norfolk, Virginia aided young girls coming to the city by providing room and board for homeless girls and employment data for working domestic servants. The group held domestic science classes conducted such activities as basketball, physical culture, Camp Fire Girls and Blue Birds, and organized units for very young girls. They held Sunday afternoon services and solicited aid from area churches and doctors who lectured on health topics.⁵¹⁷ The Y.M.C.A. became a vital force at Lincoln as it had at Hampton.

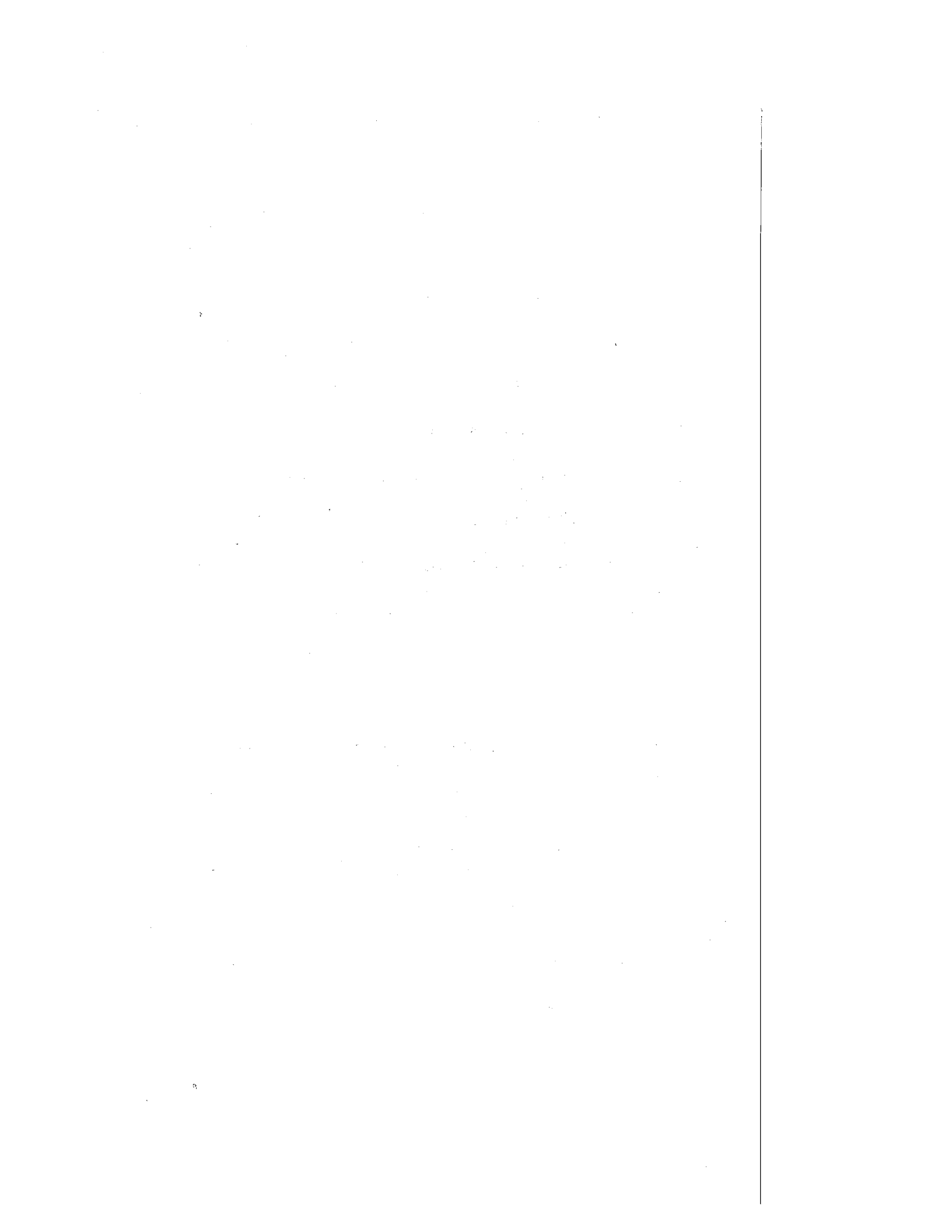
New Uniforms

Uniforms were adopted for economy. Men wore bluish gray cadet suits; women wore blue serge skirts, plain waists and blue mortar board hats. Uniforms could be made for cost in the sewing department. And now that the school had two dormitories, furnished with mattresses, washstands, bath tubs, tables, and hot steam heat, they could wash their new uniforms in the laundry for \$.75 per dozen items or \$1-\$2 per month.⁵¹⁸

Each catalog also listed the full alumni of the school from 1876 to 1900 and the names, classes, and departments of each current student. For the 1901-1902 school term, there were two seniors in the college department and one freshman. Students could still work their way through school as did 35 women in the laundry department.⁵¹⁹ By the turn of the century, the catalog reflected a new cleaner typestyle and easy to read layout on clear white paper as opposed to the late nineteenth century catalogs printed on ivory stock. Any interested prospective student and his or her parents could look at the catalog and know exactly what was expected of students and who was at the school. The only major flaw occurred when the board changed faculty, or worse, the president, after the catalog was printed at the end of the summer.

President Clarke held firm regarding discipline. Students balked at some of the rules and regulations they were forced to obey. He admonished against gossip from janitors, matrons, teachers, and students because such tailwagging only produced an environment of distrust.⁵²⁰

The president also wanted to change personnel practices. He particularly cited the practice of hiring teachers based on how they voted. He referred to a case of one candidate who circulated a petition among shopkeepers and passersby on the street for five months soliciting aid for the position. He condemned this behavior as beneath the dignity of a faculty member. He had heard rumors spread over the state that Lincoln hired incompetent and improper persons. Lincoln had to handle employment with integrity because several colleges were being established in Sedalia, Macon, and Kansas City, Kansas. Students could and would desert to these schools if such undignified practices were not halted.⁵²¹ The president had clear insight into Lincoln's internal problems and



asked the board to help him solve these issues, but he also expressed reservations about the board's resolve to change personnel practices even though he came to the institution to effect things positively if the board wanted positive changes. He was concerned that the board spare no effort in protecting the welfare of the patrons of the school and asked them to dismiss their personal preferences and work to build up the school. He recommended specific changes to the board:

1. Two year term for president (to settle annual unrest at the beginning of each year).
2. The president choose the faculty and staff.
3. The president he held responsible for the success and welfare of the school.
4. Raise salaries to a competitive level due to changes in the economy over the past ten years.
5. Appoint a vice-president to take over so the president can work on behalf of the school without detriment to the operations of the school. Make this a salaried position.
6. Separate the Chair of Agriculture and the Chair of Science with the latter a professor in charge of the farm. Request a sub-experiment station from the U. S. Department of Agriculture.
7. Appoint a professional teacher Superintendent of the Industrial Department, one who was a practitioner of a trade and also had training in teaching methods.
8. Establish a printing department and hire a teacher of printing to produce advertisements of the school through various publications.

9. Hire a home economics teacher (cooking) and purchase equipment for this new and very important department.

10. Establish a two-year business course with classes in typing, and stenography to follow the elementary or sub-normal department. Demand for business training is great while demand for teachers is scarce. Classes in business are being taught in other state normal schools.

11. The board should officially recognize the seven-week summer school program to begin June 16.

12. Add the item of Student Labor to the next appropriation bill for the school.

13. Add the item of World's Fair Exhibit to the next appropriation bill to allay expenses incurred in the school's desire to show well before a world audience.

14. Add the item Building and Repairs to the next appropriation bill, especially for expenses to restore the deplorable condition of the main building.

15. Appoint a faculty committee under the direction of the state superintendent to revise the catalog.

16. Add a post graduate course to the summer school curriculum for preparation for advanced academic work.

17. Continue the Boarding Club with supplements from farm products.

18. Improve the farm with fences, out-buildings, stock.

19. Purchase land east and south of the present campus buildings because of lack of room to expand and the close proximity of residential housing to the campus.

20. Recommend hiring the following faculty and staff for the 1902-1903 terms: Professors Garnett, Murray, Reynolds, Bias; Misses Carney and Grimshaw; Matrons Mrs.

Anthony and Dupee. After his first year at Lincoln, Professor Bias left to study at the University of Chicago.⁵²² The foregoing list showed the board that the president had thoroughly investigated the school. His recommendations proved almost too astute for the board members whose taciturn manner of handling the affairs of the school would yield yet another upset based on these very sound recommendations.

In his 52nd report, State Superintendent W.T. Carrington informed the board that teaching trades demanded a well-trained teacher, one who could teach and also knew the trade. He believed summer school was especially important for continuous teacher training. He recommended such programs begin in normal schools in 1902 to upgrade the teaching skills of educators who have to teach six to eight months each year. He recommended raising salaries and dispersing checks in twelve monthly installments to help teachers pay for summer school and to allow the board to hire faculty for year-round employment. He recommended this policy be implemented in September 1902.⁵²³

President Clarke's recommendations also showed progressive vision for the school and his awareness of current educational practices and policies in American colleges. He recommended keeping the efficient teachers rather than wholesale dismissal of the Lincoln faculty and staff to be replaced by his colleagues. He also requested the board seek the following budgeted items from the legislature: academic and normal fund (including summer school) \$18,000; industrial program \$10,000; agricultural program \$2,000; matrons and janitors \$4,000; contingency fund \$6,000; building and repairs \$4,000; World's Fair \$2,000; equipment \$2,000; grounds \$2,000, and student labor \$2,000. The final request from the president asked the board members to carefully consider the foregoing recommendations for the good of the school.⁵²⁴

President Clarke Out

Unfortunately, the next item on the agenda at that very board meeting was the re-election of the president! President Clarke was not rehired. As was now a tradition at Lincoln, no reason was given in the minutes for not re-employing this man who only five months earlier was hired by unanimous vote. This was another in a string of many arbitrary actions taken by the board and denounced by many people in Jefferson City and across the state. Objections to his firing appeared in the local newspaper. The editor of the Jefferson City State Tribune said the president was good for the school and had performed quite well in the short time he had been at Lincoln Institute. Further, the editor noted that the black community wanted to keep President Clarke. He was well qualified to manage such a difficult institution. The only objection cited by the editor was that the president wanted to hire his own faculty and staff. He failed to note that other schools, the University of Missouri in particular, had long yielded to the president the acumen to know who was fit for employment at the university and thus had practiced this policy of recommending his choice of academic and support personnel.⁵²⁵

Lincoln Institute students called a public meeting when they learned the board had fired the president. They denounced the board's action. The students liked the management and the personality of their president even if they objected to some of the rules he enforced. The Alumni Association had just commended the board for hiring President Clarke. Their association wrote the board expressing their attention to the problems and successes of the school and thanked them for hiring Professor Edward A. Clarke. They thought him competent, capable, and pledged to support him. Further, their

resolutions stated their desire to see an African American on the board as in the past. They called for an alumni association representative on the board, one whose principles and character put the welfare of the school first and one who would not stoop to political tricks, fraudulent or shady dealings. The resolutions ended with the members' pledge to increase interest in Lincoln in every honorable way. This was the scope of the written endorsement by the Alumni Association, and the response of the board was to dismiss the object and the intent of their resolutions! It was clear. Not only did the all white board not care about the distinguished black president, it did not care about the faithful and capable alumni, the conscientious students, the partisan newspaper editor, nor the frightened and demoralized faculty who again had to hold their breaths in anxiety over who would be the next man's neck in the noose, theirs or the next president's--or both.⁵²⁶

And Next?

Without proper support from the board, no president could implement improvements and gain financial leverage from the legislature. The perpetual revolving door of presidents continued. At its last meeting in June 1902, the board replaced President Clarke with Benjamin F. Allen who was in line for promotion the previous year. When the board failed to elect him in 1901, he resigned and accepted a position as professor of English and Pedagogy at Georgia State College. It is hardly fair to assume that the board felt remorse for slighting him, since they also slighted others, like Clarke, who left a worthy position to accept their offer of president at Lincoln and was then fired without cause after five months. Allen returned to Lincoln.⁵²⁷

CHAPTER VI

LEADERSHIP FOR A NEW CENTURY

America, as blacks knew it, was changing. Although common schools for blacks in Missouri were still insufficient in number, the gap of a severe shortage in black teachers was beginning to close. Whereas the problem was much more acute in the South, Missouri had Lincoln Institute as a training station to alleviate the problem. Moreover, Lincoln Institute had managed to emerge with a strong teacher training, industrial and mechanic arts, and classical academic curriculum. Without competition in the state, it remained the standard for advanced learning beyond the meager common school from which so many blacks could not advance. In addition, new black teachers were expected to work off their educational debt to the state by teaching a proportionate number of years per year spent at Lincoln. Consequently, most black teachers had numerous opportunities to teach in rural schools and small communities even if such locations were not their first choice of paid employment. Not surprisingly, the first priority for many of these new graduates was a paying position in order to afford more advanced learning or to help some sibling acquire the same. This arrangement kept a good number of new teachers in the state as a source of cheap labor. But rather than remain in labor jobs, many blacks pursued teacher certification as a means of personal, social, and racial mobility. Politically, they were too scattered and concerned with survival to attempt any concerted

change in the system that produced their meager income, or the institution that granted them a chance to earn one.

Once again, Lincoln Institute was poised at the beginning of a new school year, ready to try another new president. Although B.F. Allen was no stranger to the institution, he was just as eager and sincere as his predecessors to move forward. His vision and efficient management worked in tandem to pull Lincoln Institute to a higher level of achievement and push the board to a better use of resources.

Benjamin F. Allen, President, 1902-1918

Professor Benjamin Franklin Allen was born September 8, 1872 in Savannah, Georgia to Albert Kelley Allen and Elizabeth Green Allen. He attended public schools in Savannah and later graduated with an A.B. degree from Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia in 1894. He conducted several teachers' institutes in Missouri before coming to Lincoln as a professor of English and Pedagogy in 1896. He held honorary degrees from Wilberforce University and Morris Brown College. He was also a graduate student at the University of Wisconsin. He became professor of Latin and Greek 1901-1902.⁵²⁸ Arriving in June, Allen planned for the fall term. He wrote a news article asking blacks to patronize the school. He focused his comments on the work Lincoln Institute was doing for black students and he considered the school the counterpart of the University of Missouri for whites. He listed what the school had to offer and advised black students not to leave the state for similar training. He discussed the campus buildings, the departments in classical, college preparatory, normal, and English. While its mission was to train

teachers for black schools, the industrial features offered included farming, gardening, carpentry, woodworking, blacksmithing, mechanics, shoemaking, sewing, cooking, and laundering. He pointed to competent instruction from the best teachers. Free tuition, free dormitories with steam heat and modern conveniences. Lincoln was presented as the school for those who sought the normal degree free to teach in Missouri black schools without further examination. For \$7 per month, an education at Lincoln Institute was a worthy investment.⁵²⁹ This article informed prospective students of what Lincoln had to offer and asked for continued support from the black community.

The president also revised the catalogue that summer. He had to wait until the faculty and staff had been hired in order not to put in names of dismissed employees.⁵³⁰ Opening day was Monday, September 1, 1902. One hundred and fifty-five students enrolled the first day. Because enrollment was continuous, the total number of students reached 240 by the time President Allen reported to the board. The Missouri State Tribune hailed Allen as a businessman and complimented his efficiency and successful advertising of the school. Students from nine states attended. This alone was very encouraging because most states had several small black schools and travel out-of-state to school for normal training was restricted because of costs and inconvenience. All departments were fully operational the second day of school, a rarity at Lincoln. The dormitory was filled to capacity.⁵³¹

Students added floors to the new boys' dormitory by mid-September. When completed, the new building would hold 400 students. A brief respite from troubles with personnel and housing followed. The president opened the school to visitors to allay gossip. He advocated unity and peace.⁵³²

President Allen declared summer school enrollment a success in his report to the board. Teachers who attended were enthusiastic about their courses in English, civics, geometry, algebra, arithmetic, physiology, physics, and Latin even though students could only enroll in two courses per summer term. The school also taught these subjects during the regular terms. President Allen recommended that the summer school program become a permanent part of Lincoln's curriculum. With the board's approval, he requested funding for the program at the next legislative session. He also requested separating the department of pedagogy from the department of English and that it be given the same status as other departments. He recommended a professor to head the new department and one assistant who would direct the training school. He wanted to add a kindergarten to expand the teaching levels of normal school students.⁵³³

Football received new interest from local newspapers. Lincoln played Summer High School from St. Louis at College Place Park. This arrangement resulted from Lincoln's poor equipment and distance from other black normal schools. E. E. Campbell and H. V. Wallace coached the team. The game began but ended in arguments concerning the length of halves. Visitors left just after Lincoln made two touchdowns. Lincoln players were accused of slugging and holding. In November 1902, Lincoln played Fisk University who won their home game 11 to 0. Due to the extreme shortage of funds designated for athletics, at least Lincoln played a school of its own caliber. Later during the decade, Lincoln claimed outstanding scores in games against its peers.⁵³⁴

The legislature appropriated a total of \$52,900 for the 1903-04 school year. President Allen wanted funds to expand and to improve conditions at the school. The budget allocated \$17,000 for the academic and normal training departments; \$9,500 for

the industrial department; \$2,000 for the agricultural department; \$3,500 for janitors, matrons and student labor; \$5,000 for contingencies, fuel, water, insurance, printing and board expenses; \$10,000 for the heating plant; \$1,350 for repairs to the main building floor; \$1,500 for plumbing and furnishing the new dormitory; \$2,000 for general repair to buildings and grounds, and \$1,000 for the library. The president especially wanted the central heating plant to get rid of the dangerous and inefficient stoves.⁵³⁵

Although President Allen's news article successfully informed new students and served to boost enrollment, he declined many invitations to speak outside the school. He thought his duty was to govern the institution and therefore limited his excursions off-campus to those schools which could give him information about making improvements or bringing new ideas to Lincoln. One of those visits was to the Armour Institute of Technology and to the Manual Training High School, both in Chicago. He learned a great deal about top trade school operations.⁵³⁶

Training in the trades attracted renewed interest from the board who recognized the early 8:30 morning preparations for class instruction to be central to a full day's work. The board also recognized that Professor W. T. Carrington and businessman D. C. McClung operated the school as an educational business. With President Allen, the three believed that Lincoln was destined for progress in normal and industrial school education. They hoped it would become the best program in the country.⁵³⁷

Commencement exercises for 1902 followed the school's traditional program. I. F. Bradley, class of 1885, delivered the address. George K. Davidson was a distinguished graduate of that class. Born on a farm near Muskogee in Indian Territory, his family like so many others, struggled for existence. He completed rural school training and after

Lincoln Institute entered Dixon Business College in Dixon, Illinois. After graduating, he became a well-established and successful business man in Muskogee. With unlimited credit, Davidson's signature was deemed "gilt edge" on business papers. He owned 400 acres in Indian Territory, had controlling interest in the Home Undertaking Company of Muskogee worth \$5,000; had a block of stock in the Creek Citizens Realty Bank and Trust Company of Muskogee which he exchanged for bonds. He held first mortgage securities. He owned a ranch and raised hundreds of hogs, cattle, and sheep. He was assistant cashier of the Creek Citizen's Realty Bank and Trust Company, and private secretary to the head of the Creek Nation. He acted on behalf of the Creek Nation and in financial affairs of the Indian Territory.⁵³⁸

President Allen selected his faculty the second year. For the 1903 terms he recommended the following: Josephine S. Yates, English department chairperson; James S. Moten, mathematics and physics department chairperson; a new professor of science, Grant S. Murray; James H. Garnett, professor of languages; Carrie M. Carney, music professor; Professor John W. Damel, former interim president, assistant instructor of science. Archibald L. Reynolds was appointed superintendent, industrial department (the best paid faculty position); C. J. Stomes was Reynold's assistant; Phil Johnson, second assistant; Charles E. Schockley, superintendent of the farm; Mary E. Grimshaw, instructor, domestic economy; L. D. Sprague, a new appointee to head of domestic science; Romeo A. West, assistant teacher in the academic and normal department. Staff included J. B. Saunders, a new employee fireman in the heating plant; Frank Enloe; Libbie C. Anthony, matron of girls and assistant in domestic economy; Sarah Dupee, matron of boys. Most were elected at the board's first meeting, while others were hired later by the

executive committee.⁵³⁹

Josephine Silone Yates, Professor, 1881-1889, 1902-1910

One of the most widely known women on the faculty this year was Mrs. Josephine Silone Yates, the first woman to be named a full professor at Lincoln Institute.⁵⁴⁰ By now, she was a national figure in the black women's club movement--a coalition of local, state, and nationally-affiliated groups of activist, educated, middle-class women who took up the banner of racial uplift. She was elected treasurer of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs from 1899 to 1901; vice president from 1897 to 1899; and president, 1901 at the Buffalo, New York convention.

She was only the second president, having served under the two-term president Mary Church Terrell whose first term began in 1896. She had won the coveted spot over opponents Margaret Murray Washington, third wife of Tuskegee Institute's president, Booker T. Washington, and Josephine B. Bruce, wife of Mississippi Senator Blanche K. Bruce.⁵⁴¹ W.E.B. DuBois complimented her paper, "Equal Moral Standard for Men and Women" presented at the biennial NACW meeting in Chicago in 1899 when she became vice president.⁵⁴²

Mrs. Yates co-founded Missouri's first black women's club, The Kansas City Woman's League, in 1893 with Anna H. Jones, first female principal of Lincoln High School, Kansas City; Lucinda Day, and Libbie Anthony who was matron at Lincoln Institute in 1903 with Yates.⁵⁴³ Helene Abbott, a kindergarten teacher, was president of the Saint Louis Women's Club.⁵⁴⁴ Not that the idea for these clubs was formed in a

vacuum; Yates had traveled to Boston and Washington, D. C. to observe women's clubs being formed between 1890 and 1895 and returned to establish the movement in Missouri. Two early very influential clubs were the Woman's League, founded in Washington, D. C. in June 1892 and The New Era Club of Boston, founded the same year as Yates' group.⁵⁴⁵ The Harper Woman's Club of Jefferson City was formed in 1890. This group established a training school for sewing instruction, conducted a temperance department and held mothers' meetings for instruction in child care and domestic arts.⁵⁴⁶ The Missouri women's clubs rallied the call for a national organization which later Yates would head.⁵⁴⁷

Josephine Silone first came to Lincoln Institute in 1883 after graduation with honors from the Rhode Island State Normal School in 1879. As in her three years of high school at Rogers High School in Newport Rhode Island where she graduated valedictorian in 1877, she was the only black in her class. At 23, she began her teaching career during the summer of 1881 at Lincoln Institute as a female assistant but later became instructor of chemistry, elocution and English literature at the end of the first year of president Inman E. Page.⁵⁴⁸ Most of the school's 148 students were enrolled in the normal department who were taught by one male professor and two other female assistants. Page earned \$1,500 per year, the male professor, \$600, and the three female assistants, \$500.⁵⁴⁹ In 1886, Booker T. Washington offered her the position of "lady-principal" at Tuskegee Institute but she decided in favor of another offer and left Lincoln to marry William Ward Yates of Kansas City in 1889. Her husband was a native of Kentucky and principal of Wendell Phillips School in Kansas City, a school for black students. Between then and 1896, she was very busy starting and rearing a family (a daughter born in 1890 and a son in 1895⁵⁵⁰), interspersed with social and educational enterprises and women's club work where she

became a spokeswoman against civil injustices and an advocate of efficient training and rights for women--domestic and professional. She wrote numerous articles,⁵⁵¹ and spoke at various engagements across the country. Before her term as president of the National Association ended, she returned to Lincoln Institute, set up household for she and her children and commuted to Kansas City on weekends and holidays. Benjamin F. Allen was now president of Lincoln Institute. While teaching, writing articles, and working for the national organization and the local club in Kansas City, she became seriously ill in 1907. She tried to resign in 1908, but Lincoln Institute's Board of Regents would not accept her resignation. She stayed until 1910 when her husband died and she returned to Kansas City. Her immense outreach and intense sense of duty took its toll however. After two days of illness, she died September 3, 1912.⁵⁵²

Summer school enrollment in 1903 rose to 29,⁵⁵³ a fair increase and prelude to the 1904 enrollment of 66 (17 women, 49 men). Students praised the 1903 summer school session as the best, especially the focal point of President Allen's lecture "True Refinement." President Allen delivered other lectures such as "Historic Boston," "Higher Standard of Morals for Teachers," and "Cultured Man" in Boston while attending the National Education Association meeting.⁵⁵⁴

Enrollment for the new term showed impressive growth. Although there was only one in the collegiate department, and one in the college preparatory department, there were 81 enrolled in the four classes of the normal department; 82 in the elementary department's two classes; 22 special students; 50 in the model school for a total of 386 including summer school.⁵⁵⁵

The Missouri State Tribune August 2, 1903 issue praised the school under President Allen's leadership. His management skills were no longer a matter of speculation. While the article's reporter felt compelled to compliment Allen's operating methods, he acknowledged that even with the support of the board's president, D. C. McClung, and superintendent W. T. Carrington, the president largely succeeded because the board left him alone to work out management problems. One of the school's overriding problems had been when the board deemed it their business to manage the school by usurping the authority and role of the president. This situation had repeated so often that no one fully expected Allen to have an opportunity to show how he could manage the school.⁵⁵⁶

The Board of Regents for the 1903-04 school term included Robert H. Davis whose term expired in 1905; J. Silas Harris whose term expired in 1905; A. H. Bolte whose term expired in 1907; Louis Hoffman whose term expired in 1907; W. T. Carrington, State Superintendent of Schools, the ex-officio member; D. C. McClung whose term expired in 1909; Hugh K Rea, whose term expired in 1909; W. A. Dallmeyer, treasurer; and Nelson C. Burch, secretary.⁵⁵⁷ Faculty for the year included President Benjamin F. Allen, A.M. who taught Ethics, Psychology and Pedagogy; James H. Garnett, A.M. who taught Latin and Greek Languages, and Literature; Grant S. Murray, A.B., who taught Natural and Physical Sciences; Mrs. Josephine Silone Yates, A.M., who taught English, History and Drawing; James S. Moten, A.M., who taught Mathematics; John Wesley Damel, M. Ph., Assistant in Science and Mathematics; Otis M. Shackleford, A.B., Assistant in English and Pedagogy; Romeo A. West, B.S.D., Secretary and Assistant in English; Carrie M. Carney, Music; Florence G. Pigeon, B.S.D., Assistant in

Music; A. L. Reynolds, A.B., instructor in iron-work; James English, farm superintendent; Mary E. Grimshaw, instructor in sewing; Libbie C. Anthony, girls' matron; Sarah H. Dupee, boys' matron; and two unfilled positions: domestic economy and superintendent of the industrial department and instructor in wood-work.⁵⁵⁸

President Allen's report to the superintendent in 1903 began with a more comprehensive overview of the school's needs. He was in a better position to assess these needs now rather than the few months he served in 1902. Also, Allen thanked the legislature for last year's liberal appropriation. The school was indeed becoming known among more prospective students. Students arrived from 48 counties in the state. Many were poor and worked in Jefferson City in service occupations to pay tuition. In response to an enthusiasm within the industrial program, President Allen proposed placing the printing shop in that curriculum; however, implementation of this proposal did not last long. The printing trade was removed from the curriculum.⁵⁵⁹

Extra-curricular activities and organizations flourished at the turn of the century on many college campuses. Each department had its own literary society. The college and normal departments had male members of the Union Literary and Debating Society; the women had the Olive Branch. All students could join the co-educational Ruskin Literary Society which met Friday evenings. These groups helped students to develop self-expression. Faculty members sponsored The Longfellow and Shakespeare Clubs and all such groups, whether dramatic, debating, or department-oriented provided entertainment on designated occasions. The February 13, 1904 issue of the Missouri State Tribune noted that Lincoln's senior class paid tribute to Abraham Lincoln with a political and literary performance.⁵⁶⁰

New courses were added to the curriculum and the industrial department program was revised to focus instruction in the mechanic arts and to attain proficiency in the trades. Men in the normal department had to enroll in industrial training. Others took special courses in the trades. Blacksmithing, a new course, taught students how to weld and forge "old tire irons or old horseshoes into a square rod" to make "hooks, links, staples, clevises, tongs, horseshoes."⁵⁶¹ Students could advance to tool making, tempering, and ornamental iron work.

Machine work, the second new course, began with simple exercises in the uses of iron and steel in machinery. Students practiced making screws and spindles and learned proper handling of tools and machines in constructing machines. The revised program in the mechanical arts was not drastically changed from the old; it was still serviced by one faculty member.⁵⁶²

Ironically, the private pay summer school program begun by former president E. A. Clarke began to grow. At its June 16, 1904 meeting, the board placed the program under the administration of President Allen--specifically without any additional compensation for him. Regents also required President Allen to pay as close attention to the buildings and grounds during the summer as was given during the fall and spring terms. Summer school expenses were paid from a reallocation of \$625 from the academic and normal departments. The committee on teachers hired two expert teachers and distributed the balance among summer school faculty that included Josephine S. Yates, J. S. Moten, G. S. Murray, and J. H. Garnett. The meager stipend was common among state schools, but the idea of using short-term faculty was considered progressive at the time.⁵⁶³

The 1904 World's Fair in St. Louis was an internationally-known event. State institutions displayed exhibits and the Lincoln Institute Day program was well attended. Opening with President Allen's welcoming address, and a music performance, the public also heard addresses from a platform of distinguished alumni that included attorney Walter Farmer, class of 1884; C.C. Hubbard, principal of the black school in Paris, Missouri; and W. H. Harrison, class of 1900, principal of the high school in Chickasha, Indian Territory. Approximately 300 graduates, alumni, and friends came to St. Louis, as noted in the local Jefferson City Tribune on June 16, 1905.⁵⁶⁴

The publicity was good and the board rehired Allen. The faculty remained; the patrons and community were pleased. Enrollment increased to 325 by October. The industrial school grew and students enrolled in each program. President Allen suggested hiring another faculty member in that department for female students. Enthusiasm was high for mechanical and industrial training among students and eventually the board took notice by mandating that every student at Lincoln be required to take 1 1/2 hours daily training in the department. The board further urged Allen and the faculty to place greater emphasis on the industrial program by offering courses to male and female students on par with academic courses. Upon completion of a trade course, a student received a certificate. Those students who completed four years study in any industrial department received a diploma.⁵⁶⁵

The board also directed the president and faculty to require all boys who were candidates for the elementary normal certificate to perform one year's work in agriculture, half on the school's farm under approved instruction. Female students were to fulfill their requirement in cooking and housekeeping as subjects and perform their lessons in the

boarding department. In addition, the president and faculty were directed by the board to require every candidate for the normal diploma to perform at least one year of industrial work in addition to the work required for the elementary certificate.⁵⁶⁶ Ironically, these requirements in the industrial program were emphasized by the school's board and the vast array of exhibits on display at the World's Fair which sparked student interest in learning all kinds of trades. Lincoln's industrial exhibit won praise and a gold medal, the highest award given by judges at the exposition.⁵⁶⁷

In 1904 President Allen attended an annual meeting of the Negro Agricultural and Mechanical Colleges whose presidents gathered to exchange ideas, information, and address common problems. He discovered that the greatest institutional development occurred among schools without land-grant status.⁵⁶⁸

President Allen now had a reputation as a proponent of scholarship. In June 1904, Jesse Lawson, President of the National Sociological Society asked for Professor Allen's critical assessment of How to Solve the Race Problem, particularly the argument calling for a "commission to inquire into the condition of the colored people."⁵⁶⁹ In addition, Wilberforce University presented President Allen with honorary A.M. and L.L.D. degrees.⁵⁷⁰

President Allen asked Superintendent W. T. Carrington's permission to implement several new trades: tailoring, chair-covering, mattress-making, and upholstering. He also expressed concern that more could be done to enhance the school's agriculture department which had only two faculty--one to lecture, the other to demonstrate practical applications in the field. Gardens supplied the boarding department with large harvests of potatoes, cabbages, and beans. Allen wanted to purchase more land to expand the farm to include

poultry and animal husbandry. He felt rural students would be inclined to return to their farms (rather than migrate to large cities) if they could upgrade their farm skills.⁵⁷¹

Lincoln Institute, like other agricultural colleges, offered farmers traditional aid by inviting them to courses and conferences held on campus to help them solve problems. Every year the faculty and president held such a conference in Lincoln's auditorium. The school personnel and students sought ways to help black farmers improve their conditions. However, because the farmers' conference lacked publicity, as did the school in general, rarely more than 16 farmers attended in a given year. President Allen considered asking the legislature for \$500 to print and mail brochures to farmers across the state in an effort to give them information about the conference and how it might help them. As a proponent of upgrading agricultural methods and training in the trades, President Allen was as knowledgeable as the professor in agriculture who usually headed these conferences at various schools. The president presided at the 1905 conference to ensure its success.⁵⁷²

Under the direction of professor A. L. Reynolds, A.B., the trades received praise from the local newspaper. Housed in a large brick building with required machinery, the class work included first-rate instruction in machine shop, forging, woodwork, and mechanical drawing. Seventy-five boys in the department learned from two years of instruction and produced exhibitions in the shops of a wagon, a surrey, chairs, fine woodwork, and iron implements made in the shops.⁵⁷³

J. B. Saunders, head of the forging department, was a practical blacksmith and wagon-maker with 18 years experience. Charles F. Hoskins, head of the shoemaking department, graduated from Tuskegee Institute. He gained experience by operating a

shop in Rolla, Missouri before coming to Lincoln. He supervised 29 students and had been their instructor for two years. Enrollment increased throughout this period.

Eighty-seven female students learned household arts from Miss Sprague. Domestic training was considered necessary because most of these young women would be employed as housekeepers and maids. According to President Allen, every black could become self-supporting if he or she knew one trade well. He generated support for Lincoln's trade programs throughout the state and community as reported in a May 25, 1905 article in the Jefferson City Tribune.⁵⁷⁴

Prominent visitors to the school toured the industrial department as reported in a December 9, 1906 article of the Jefferson City Tribune. F. S. Wilson, Mexico, Missouri; D. C. McClung, Nelson Burch, Sam B. Cook, and Charles Winston all of Jefferson City, reported progress in the industrial training and were impressed with the grounds and buildings on campus. Order and discipline prevailed. President Allen took credit for revitalizing the industrial department but the good work and clean neat campus had been a trademark of the school for some time.⁵⁷⁵

As an indication of President Allen's far-reaching impact among black colleges, Morris Brown College in Atlanta awarded him an honorary Ph.D. degree⁵⁷⁶ in 1905 although like Lincoln Institute, neither school could give college-level work. At the time, the A.M.E.-founded Morris Brown College was barely two decades old.

Lincoln Institute's reputation had improved across the state as well. The 1905 appropriation from the legislature totaled \$77,400, a considerable increase over the previous biennial amount. Academic and normal training departments received \$23,000; summer school was funded for the first time, though meagerly; the industrial and

agricultural departments received a slight increase; and \$25,000 was designated for construction of a girl's dormitory. The student enrollment had grown to such an extent that the board and administration had requested more dormitory space each year. Plans by Miller and Opel were approved at five percent commission divided equally between costs for specifications, blueprints, and construction supervision. The board's executive committee handled all business concerning the contracts and construction costs. George M. Todd, general contractor, placed the lowest bid. As a source of accomplishment, President Allen gained additional notoriety for his efforts to acquire this dormitory and alleviate the intense overcrowding.⁵⁷⁷

At the May 16 meeting, the board changed the tuition policy from none to \$2.50 per month for non-residents who were instructed to pay the president five months tuition prior to registration. Another five months had to be paid before enrolling for spring courses. The board charged this high rate to get as much additional funding as possible. The regents condemned the idea of Missouri tax revenue paying for non-resident students. The president had to name all non-residents and the amount each paid to the executive committee on June 1 and January 1 each year. The committee placed the funds in a separate account until the board's annual meeting.⁵⁷⁸

President Allen continued to emphasize public appearances for the school's organizations and faculty. The legislature applauded a concert held in the chamber of the House of Representatives. The school's work was the focus and unlike previous events, the public paid \$.25 to cover expenses. Misses Carrie Carney and Florence Pigeon, vocal and instrumental music teachers, respectively, presented a musical program during the 1906 commencement. Class night, the second big event of commencement, was

followed by a literary presentation under the direction of professor Francis J. Jackson of the pedagogy department. Reverend Samuel Bacote of Kansas City delivered the baccalaureate sermon. C. G. Williams, principal of the black school at Boonville, Missouri, delivered the address to the half-course students. N. C. Bruce, principal of Bartlett High School, Bartlett, Missouri, addressed the literary societies. Professor Victor Collins, delivered an additional speech. President Allen made great efforts to bring noteworthy speakers to address students at Lincoln. State Senator John L. Bradley of St. Francois County in Missouri and J. C. Ford of Trenton, Missouri plus House of Representative members and their spouses all visited Lincoln to inspect the work of the school. Senator Bradley praised the unsuspected progress of the school when he addressed students during a morning devotional. He was surprised because he was aware of the small amount of money appropriated to the school. He praised the president for keeping politics out of faculty hiring and thought the practice should be employed universally. He promised his support for "the training of Negroes."⁵⁷⁹

In 1907, Benjamin F. Allen married Mayme Lee Williams of Macon, Georgia.⁵⁸⁰ He was Lincoln Institute's first head married during his tenure. It is likely the ceremony took place in Georgia during the Christmas holidays and after the couple settled into the President's campus house that this formal acknowledgment was held. In honor of the new couple, the Lincoln Sorority hosted the First Annual Banquet, Friday, February 21, 1908. The instrumental and vocal music program also included this senior class sorority's Preamble, an address from its president, a toast to Leap Year, a toast to the fraternity, and a toast to the President who also gave concluding remarks. The menu featured foods prepared by the young women in the domestic economy department with poultry and

vegetables grown on the school's farm. The twenty-four members and their guests enjoyed condiments of pickles and olives, an appetizer of escalloped oysters, an entrée of cold roast chicken, potato quenelles, apple and celery salad, cheese straws, rolls and cranberry jelly. Desert included Rueben cake, Neapolitan ice cream and chocolate wafers.⁵⁸¹

The senior class hosted a similar entertaining banquet June 1, 1909 to honor Dr. and Mrs. Allen and the faculty. W. N. Garrett, senior class president, opened with an address, Mabel Emery toasted President Allen, and Woodson Porter toasted Mrs. Allen. Geneva Colby toasted the faculty and faculty response came from Professor Romeo A. West (a 1901 graduate who would serve the school through several administrations). As usual, President Allen gave closing remarks.⁵⁸²

Reverend Chapman of the Episcopal Church also addressed students and faculty at Lincoln's weekly sermon. One of his sermons, "So Run That Ye May Obtain," was considered a marvel of religious and classical rhetorical acumen at the time because his analogies referred to the Olympic games. Customarily, students attended one Sunday service.⁵⁸³

Commencement 1908 presented the annual open meeting of the Allen Literary Society, an anticipated event. Students and faculty applauded the well-rehearsed programs and excellent demonstrations of music and orations. President Allen offered his advice for improving even on these ratings!⁵⁸⁴ The juniors opened the commencement program with "An Evening with Virgil." Speakers discussed Virgil from various viewpoints. A scene from Dido's court was presented from a classical play, translated by Mrs. A. J. Cooper, head of the department of classical languages. Students and faculty

alike praised the production.⁵⁸⁵

Required by the Revised Statutes of Missouri of 1899, the Board of Regents for Lincoln Institute reported to the 45th General Assembly on the meetings the board held, and the type of business presented for review. The report also stated that the board had "always been conservative in asking for appropriations and had never gone before the appropriations committee of the legislature asking for any sum of money beyond what was deemed the very smallest amount with which the work of the school could be conducted."⁵⁸⁶ No one knew this better than the faculty, staff, students, alumni, and friends of the school. Expansion and development had always been irrefutably slow. Every president wanted more funds to grow the school and show what the students could do and become. Yet here the board acknowledged that it had never asked for more than the smallest amount to operate the school. The rationale at the time was that the board could make friends of legislators by not asking for large sums. That policy ultimately embarrassed the school when the governor had to be consulted to release an allocation made in 1908 for repairs.⁵⁸⁷

Enrollment increased and that prompted the President's request for a new dormitory. He also requested a small building to house the burgeoning industrial program for girls; the present facility was small and inadequate. He also needed another teacher for the girl's industrial program.⁵⁸⁸ According to President Allen's report, 428 students had graduated from the full normal course since the school's beginning. Almost half, 216, graduated during President Allen's administration. These graduating classes were large and did not include students graduating from the half course. Students were interested in becoming teachers and by law did not have to pass an examination upon graduation.

Enrollment increased to 535, many of whom were in the training department (elementary and special students). The college department was still very small, with only two students in 1908 and one in the college preparatory department.⁵⁸⁹

The legislature increased the school's appropriation to \$75,700 for all expenses. Summer school received \$1,500 and remained a separate budget item. The library received a noticeable increase to \$6,000. Money was allotted to wire all buildings and make connections with the penitentiary power plant thereby eliminating the unsafe electrical plants on the ground. The training school received \$1,200 and met the president's request due to the increase in enrollment.⁵⁹⁰

Lincoln's Different Board Criteria

The legislature deliberated on the residence requirements of Lincoln's board members. As the only black normal school in the state, the law required regents to reside in the district where the school was located. Lincoln became a state school without any new provisions for its board. As a result, the legislature passed a law that stated Lincoln's board members could reside anywhere in the state. The state superintendent was an ex-officio member of all its boards. This would later prove to be not only a circumstance mandated by law only for Lincoln Institute, but the major obstacle to a cohesive and focused policy for the school.⁵⁹¹

Complaints surfaced against President Allen from Dr. Coston that the students and instructors were engaged in certain obviously inappropriate relations. Governor Joseph Folk ordered an investigation. He wanted the board to find the facts to combat such

allegations. Fortunately, Lincoln was cleared from any responsibility in the matter and the allegations were dropped.⁵⁹²

At the June 30 board meeting, Mrs. Josephine Yates, a long time and honored teacher of English, presented her resignation. The board refused to accept it and she decided to remain. Her duties increased to include professor of English and advisor to women.⁵⁹³

Without any reason or cause, the board abolished the department of instrumental music and did not hire a new teacher. Vocal music remained, albeit in an awkward position without accompaniment from the twin department. Professor Damel, another long term instructor, was not rehired. Professor Woodard of Tuskegee replaced him.⁵⁹⁴ With this, President Allen's first phase of administration ended. The school appeared well managed, enrollment increased, and the curriculum was expanded. Lincoln received praise from state officials and members of the black community⁵⁹⁵. It was headed toward President Allen's goal of becoming a first class university for blacks as was the University of Missouri for whites. At the turn of the century, Lincoln was on the way to realization of the dreams of its many predecessor presidents--or so it would seem.

The Impact of Education Trends--New Rules, New Uniforms, New Courses

President Allen's 1910 report to the superintendent of public instruction stated that Lincoln Institute was making progress comparable to other state educational institutions. Appropriations were economically and wisely used and results equaled state funding. No school in the state had attempted so much with so little. New courses and departments

expanded the school's curriculum and graduates of the two-year and four-year programs became productive and influential citizens in their respective communities.

The faculty and administration were committed to teaching students the proper modes of living in the home, to imparting virtues of "diligence, family affection and faithfulness."⁵⁹⁶ These concepts of racial uplift affected Lincoln Institute throughout the twentieth century; however, during the early decades, education was viewed as a means to acquire power and service. At Lincoln, ethics existed for practical use, culture for ways and means, and brains for industry (work). This practical educational philosophy hailed industry and knowledge as equally desirable qualities of the young educated black man and woman. Many blacks felt industrial education precluded higher (classical) education, that formal knowledge was superior and labor training was inferior. On the contrary, Dr. Allen and his faculty felt that a man could work with his hands and yet be cultured and refined. It was not the job but the attitude toward the job that determined the value of the work. These two divisive positions permeated education during the early decades and Lincoln Institute was not excluded from entering the debate between the loosely translated philosophies promoted by two great black leaders: Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. DuBois. The former was an advocate of industrial education; the latter, an advocate of classical training for leadership. Lincoln Institute attempted to straddle the middle by emphasizing education for use, whether industrial or academic.

The Business of Educating--The Vision of the Administration

President Allen's 1910 report to the superintendent again stressed that Lincoln Institute become the counterpart of a higher education for blacks as was the University of Missouri for whites. That in itself became the mantra for the school's existence. As yet, he lamented that there was no place in the state to train black doctors, lawyers, and other professionals. He advocated a Bible school such as the one at Tuskegee to train preachers of all denominations. Private schools of theology were too underfunded to produce preachers. Although President Allen and the board were aware of the 1875 state constitution and articles therein that prohibited state funds to be distributed to religious or sectarian schools, a non-denominational school would be more academic than religious. Denominations could unite to train better educated ministers.⁵⁹⁷

Lincoln's president requested tenure for faculty because such stability would engender a sense of security from external forces. A faculty without tenure could not ask the administration to intercede in its behalf with matters concerning the board. In addition, the lack of tenure warded off the best teachers who would rather teach for less money in a secure environment, than earn a little more in a precarious environment subject to the whims and predilections of one and all.⁵⁹⁸

President Allen requested the same freedom allowed high school principals. He was constantly bothered with problems that other principals did not have such as attempts by this or that faction to challenge his position. He preferred to devote his attention to the need for trained teachers for the state's public schools. At the outset of establishing black schools, few black teachers had ample time or means to secure formal training as teachers.

That had become the precedent-setting mission of the school after long petition by the school to receive state funds. Lincoln Institute was doing all within its resources to meet the demand, yet at the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, there was still a large contingent of blacks serving as teachers without formal training in education and without certification to teach. He closed his report by expressing a desire that these persons use the best materials available to overcome their shortcomings in order to better serve children.⁵⁹⁹

Jefferson City's Racial Environment

President Allen and the board had another problem to deal with before the close of the decade. Some Jefferson City residents of the prestigious Wagner's Addition protested Lincoln's farm in their section, even though the farm was owned and operated by the school several years before the residential addition was built. Their petition of January 10, 1909 stated:

To the Gentlemen of the Board of the Lincoln
Institute: We, the undersigned, wish to call
your attention to the location of Lincoln
Institute Farm. Situated as it is on one of the
principal drives from the city, among houses of
our most prominent people of Jefferson City and
surrounded by property of considerable value, we

beg you one and all to let your good judgement
 rule in this matter and until the farm is
 exchanged for one near their own school to refrain
 from appointing a colored man to superintend and
 live at the farm, thereby ruining the neighborhood
 and depreciating the value of our homes.⁶⁰⁰

This petition revealed the directness of the continuing racial climate that prevailed in Jefferson City in spite of the random kudos from those connected to the school (i.e., the governor, the superintendent of public instruction). In this document there were several points of racial bias that determined not only the value of the school's farm, but the attitudes toward the school's personnel and students. The farm, an instrument of teaching and training in agriculture, was not viewed as an educational investment. On the contrary, the farm was seen as a large garden, tended by a black man whose presence could not be tolerated by those in the surrounding residential neighborhood. Indeed, such a garden could simply be removed to another location because one black man was characterized as lowering property values.

In 1904 the board required all boys in the elementary normal program to work one year in agriculture. Half of this requirement was to be met with supervised labor on the farm. The petition silently addressed the presence of these young students who were mandated to work on the farm. The petition was not just about one black farm superintendent.

The presumption of these residents to tell the board what to do with school property proved to have a larger implication than first suspected. Not only were these

petitioners audacious in voicing their declared racist attitudes toward a particular school employee, but the wording of the petition does not attempt to address the fact that the school and its property belonged to the state, and its employees were employed by the state. Underlying these overlooked facts, the petitioners addressed the board in a manner that allowed for presumptive collusion with their wishes. In effect, the phrase: "to let your good judgement rule in this matter" assumes that the board will comply. To do otherwise is an admission of bad judgement, hence, a veiled threat. In another example of the petitioner's assurance that their desires would be complied with was the ready remedy for removing the farm belonging to the black school, and its black superintendent by simply "exchanging" its location for one closer to the school. Three assumptions are raised here. The first assumption is that the farm needed to be moved out of the wealthy surrounding neighborhood to satisfy the residents who wished to be removed from the sight of blacks. The second assumption is that the board will automatically decide that moving the farm is the easiest solution to avoid open conflict with powerful Jefferson City residents. And the third assumption is that the board can find another location for the farm that is "near their own school"--meaning that the blacks and their school should not be spread out around the city but contained in one set area.

At the time of its presentation, the board did not comment on the petition but instead passed a motion to file it. However sometime later, the farm superintendent, Mr. Charles E. Shockley,⁶⁰¹ was quietly replaced with a white person. By 1913, at the board's January 18 meeting, Dr. W.W. Charters, Dean of the School of Education at the University of Missouri, moved to abandon the board policy of having a white tenant on the farm effective March 15, 1913. The board had tried to placate the obvious constituents in

this matter by having a white man live on the school's farm and in doing so denied access to the farm by the professor of agriculture. In other words, the instructions the professor gave were incomplete without evaluation of the students' efforts. Since he could not set foot on the school's farm, he could not check progress or lack of it being given to projects, crop planting, harvesting, soil care, and sundry other details within his pervue to manage. This is the length to which the board extended its authority to placate the racist residents who deemed it their right to demand the disappearance of a black state employee and black students in the elementary normal school program from state property.

From 1909 to 1913, forces opposing Lincoln Institute were in full stride. In 1913 the legislature authorized the sale of the farm, the original 362 acres purchased by the founding board called the University Farm,⁶⁰² and asked Lincoln's board to purchase another farm. Representative Boyd of Monroe County introduced HB 923 authorizing the board to sell the land. Section 2 of the bill was an attached emergency clause--that is, if the land could be sold immediately at a reasonable price, the agricultural and industrial departments could use the proceeds to purchase another tract for their use. But the transactions had to be made at once or the opportunity might be lost. That was the emergency. Farm land had to be in use by these departments or the school could not lay claim to funds for those purposes. Ironically, Dean Charters' motion to remove the white tenant from the farm, made the same day as the bill was approved on March 15, 1913, was rendered moot by the legislature's actions. What is interesting in this tangle of maneuvers is how a representative from another county could introduce a bill authorizing Lincoln Institute's board to sell its farm based on the racist motives of a few wealthy residents in Jefferson City, located in Cole County. The Senate added the emergency clause to its bill.

The board hired Gordon and Church as agents to sell the farm surrounded by Wagner Addition. Uncharacteristically, the agents took interested persons out to the farm to inspect it and get information about the soil and boundary lines before the bill was approved, so certain were they and others in the community that the bill would pass. Sealed bids for all or a portion thereof were taken for the 24 acres on the east side of a road from Jefferson City to Berry Bridge on Moreau. Officially, it was designated as Outlot 94 of the City of Jefferson, lying east of the county road in Cole County, Missouri. Bids were taken to Nelson C. Burch, secretary of the board, at his office, 306 East High Street, Jefferson City. Bids were taken up to 3:00 p.m. Thursday, February 20, 1913. The terms required a cash sale.⁶⁰³

The board voted to have an appraisal of the farm made. They were cognizant of the increased price of land when the state wanted to purchase it. They asked five or six representative citizens of Jefferson City and from around the state to appraise the farm which they had planned to buy so the state would only pay the appraised value rather than an inflated one. The board believed that it would be difficult to persuade the state to buy land. Legislators were skeptical of individuals who wanted to sell their land to the state. As a result, many state institutions were forced to use various methods to get the land needed for their campuses.⁶⁰⁴

The farm was sold to Felix Senevey for \$15,000, paid by Mrs. Lou Bolton. The board then bought 60 acres in three outlots, 20 acres in each of Outlots 84 and 89, and 20 acres in Outlot 95 for a total of \$14,500. The 60 acres was not nearly as valuable land as the original 24.⁶⁰⁵ Ultimately the board was responsible for the outcome of these unsavory actions. They traded good land for poor, sacrificed integrity for pride, and

added another episode to the school's history of being discriminated against by rich local residents.

President Allen's 1913 report to the superintendent of public instruction praised classroom teaching and student performance. Teachers were chosen for their competence and such qualities of character that produced results. He feared however, that some teachers were too young for the responsibilities of managing students in a boarding school. To counter their laxness, all teachers were required to be at their post of duty almost 24 hours a day to supervise and instruct students.⁶⁰⁶

As a result of the president's observations to the board, new rules required teachers to report at 8:00 a.m. and remain until 4:00 p.m. except during the noon recess. Because teachers were so confined in their regulation of students' behavior, their activities, and their matriculation on and off campus, the total control procedures in place already usurped a great deal of teachers' time. There appears to have been little if any time to prepare for lessons or to tutor individual students because of classes held all day and the regimen of a boarding school atmosphere. Thus the board's new rule was probably a moot point especially with the female teachers who also informally assisted matrons in the girls' and boys' dorms.⁶⁰⁷

A common practice among schools in the state was the exchange of student labor for cash fees that could not be paid at the beginning of each term. Many poor students attended Lincoln and thus many students worked their way through school in various tasks that helped the school survive and helped the students achieve their certificate or diploma. Without student labor, many maintenance chores such as mowing, pruning, planting, snow removal, laundry, cleaning, painting, construction, etc. would have been

left undone. In 1912 President Allen had a faculty and staff of 28 and a student enrollment of almost 400. The state appropriations budgeted items by category and the amount allotted student labor was distributed to those exceptional students who assisted faculty members and not to students who worked in lieu of paying cash for fees.⁶⁰⁸

Several different changes affected students during the 1913-1914 school term. In an effort to encourage academic scholarship, the Lincoln Institute alumni awarded the Alumni Medal to the student who held the highest grade point average during the junior and senior years.⁶⁰⁹ Other reinforced rules included mandatory attendance at Sunday morning service in a Jefferson City church, then lecture at the school in the afternoon conducted by a number of city ministers who agreed to address the students and faculty twice each year. President Allen conducted the service when a minister canceled. Also on Sunday, the branch chapters of the Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A. held programs and meetings attended by faculty and students. Particular sectarian information was excluded, but entertaining, informative lectures and activities kept students interested in participating.⁶¹⁰

Punctuality was required at all Sunday activities and weekday recitations. At least two hours of study (usually between 7:00 p.m. and 9:00 p.m.) were required nightly. Students had to observe silence during study time in their rooms. Misbehavior in the rooms and damage to school property became infractions which held roommates jointly liable. The board also mandated orderliness and room inspections by the president and the matron. A good deportment card was issued at the end of the year by the matrons who observed the students in their dorm rooms. If a student did not earn a good deportment card, he was not expected to return for the next term. Students who could not adjust to

the rigorous rules and schedule had to get the president's permission to leave prior to the end of the term otherwise, the student was considered suspended. Such rules applied to students living in the dorms and in the city. At the end of the school year, students had to go home. How these rules of matriculation could be enforced during the school year is baffling, yet it is apparent that students who lived in the city had no more freedom than those who lived in the dormitories. City lodgers were placed in homes of approved black families, and it is presumed that the female head of the household took charge of her Lincoln Institute ward in much the same way as the school's matron by inspecting the student's room and requiring all day observance and participation in church and religious activities.⁶¹¹

The February 25, 1913 board minutes include a curious item involving students who tried to communicate to certain members of the legislature their grievances about faculty management of the Ruskin Literary Society. Specific details and students' names were omitted, but the board saw fit to discuss the petition. Eight students who lived and worked in Jefferson City spoke for the petitioners and were interviewed by the board as were five dormitory residents who disavowed any knowledge of the petition. The board considered the charges trivial and summarily suspended twelve students for contacting the legislature with their complaints.⁶¹²

By the June 11, 1913 board meeting, the president recommended that all but four of the suspended students be reinstated. The president recommended and the board approved a public reprimand of the eight reinstated students at a specified time and place. They were to be chastised for not showing the proper respect to the president, faculty, and board and were to be made to understand that their reinstatement was conditioned upon

their doing just that. This incident involving only male students led the way for the board to form a new policy concerning student grievances. Student complaints had to be addressed to the school administration. Unstated was the assumption that at no time were student complaints permitted to be forwarded to the legislature or the board.⁶¹³

The school further required students to have their own winter clothes including a raincoat and rubber boots for female students. Their health was important because there was no nurse or medical facility on campus, but their absence from Sunday observances and other work was not excused because of inclement weather. Students had to mark their clothing and keep an inventory of items brought to the school. Students' trunks were to be identified by owner and were subject to inspection at any time. The owners were responsible for their possessions or anything else found in their trunk. Students were led to believe that they entered into a sacred compact to obey all the school rules once they were accepted to Lincoln. And they were obligated to obey new rules that might be made during their tenure at the school. Old rules were printed in the catalog, new rules were announced at various meetings or in the dorms by matrons.⁶¹⁴

One particular new rule was the adoption of uniforms in 1915. Uniforms were promoted to save parents money. Female students were required to wear a shirtwaist blouse and skirt for warm weather and a blue suit (or dark silk blouse) for winter. They had to wear the mortar-board cap except during spring when they could change to a plain sailor hat. Girls could make their uniforms for \$7 to \$12.⁶¹⁵ In addition, the clothing of female students had to be plain and substantial, no fancy fabrics or fine embellishments in order to not allow one female an advantage over the others because she could afford such clothing. The matrons were constantly on the lookout for female students who showed

any attempt to look different from others at the school. Party dresses were banned.⁶¹⁶

Male students' uniforms consisted of a suit with white shirt, bow tie or thin tie. Male students' uniforms cost \$10.50 to \$14.00 to make. Since female students were trained in sewing, millinery and cooking in the Home Economics department from the 1890s on, most of the uniforms were made at the school by student labor. This is another instance where the school sought to trade labor for expense. Undoubtedly, some students made uniforms in lieu of paying fees.⁶¹⁷

The Boarding School Philosophy

Faculty and staff were in constant vigilance to implement other social rules of conduct and behavior in and out of the classroom. Males and females could not socialize without permission; passing notes between males and females was forbidden; alcoholic drinks, profanity, obscenity, gambling, card playing, smoking, possessing a firearm or deadly weapon were also forbidden.⁶¹⁸ Students caught disobeying these rules were subject to expulsion. Between the 1900s and 1930s, various editions of the school catalog printed fewer and fewer of these infractions. Entering students were presumed to know what was expected of them. On the other hand, a published lengthy list of rules and restrictions might scare away potential students.

Perhaps the most restrictive rule was tied to the boarding school philosophy of faculty and staff knowing where each student was at all times. Students were presumed to be under the control of the school from the moment they left home to attend Lincoln until they returned home at the end of each year. Consequently, students had to request the

president's permission to leave campus and go into town.⁶¹⁹ This in loco parentis philosophy was obviously tedious labor for the president; however, parents and community alike wanted tight control over students' whereabouts. Each president since Principal Foster had acted accordingly by not allowing students to go to town unless in a chaperoned group for a specific (usually church-related) event. Such events usually involved the school choir which was asked to sing or perform for various black churches during annual fundraising drives or during funeral services. Other events included singing and performing for the legislature during sessions when funds were expected to be allocated to the school.

By 1914 Lincoln's 435 students were enrolled in the normal department since employment was immediate once a teaching certificate was awarded upon completion of the two-year or four-year course. No students were enrolled in the college or the college preparatory departments.⁶²⁰ Revisions in the normal preparatory department prepared students for the normal and industrial departments. Elementary-level subjects were taught to make-up for poor or nonexistent elementary school training. The three year program included reading, geography, English, grammar, arithmetic, nature study, and American history. The courses in the normal department were also revised to be equal to other state school normal departments. Following elementary school, the normal department required six years, shortened to five years at Lincoln. Full credit was awarded to students who met these requirements at other accredited state schools although Lincoln was not accredited by any state or national association. Students who completed the normal department had to take two years of industrial work. Nine units (a unit equaled 45 weeks, five days each week, 45 minutes of recitation per class for a total of 18 units) were required to graduate

from the normal department⁶²¹ with a certificate to teach in any state public school for two years from the date of issue. Three units had to be taken at Lincoln Institute. The certificate required more than one year to complete. Practice teaching was also required for students in the training school covering the elementary-level subjects to be taught.⁶²²

Agriculture students had to spend half of their time in the classroom studying theory and half working on the school's farm. Upon completion of the normal school course students received the degree of Bachelor of Pedagogy indicating that half the work of the liberal arts college had been finished. Returning students were classified as juniors in the college of liberal arts, but not many did so due to the availability of employment in the public schools. Outside of Kansas City and St. Louis, most teachers did not need degrees to secure teaching positions.⁶²³

The normal department's course work was the same as that taught in most high schools and included some courses offered in a college curriculum. The education curriculum included elementary psychology, management (control of the school and educational hygiene), general methods, educational psychology, principles of teaching, methods and observation, history of education, and practice teaching.⁶²⁴

On the other hand, the college and the college preparatory department lacked students in 1914. Rather than drop these offerings from the catalogue, the school elected to show that should students desire such training, Lincoln could indeed provide it. Course work in these departments was largely classical and included some courses in biology, physical science and social science. In the college preparatory department, the curriculum was revised to include courses in physical geography, the second year; physics, the third year; and chemistry, the fourth year. Missouri history was a new course offered the first

year. These courses comprised the typical high school program which at this time was viewed as a terminal degree in academic training.⁶²⁵

When the old administration building was burned in 1894 under President Page, the school library was lost as well. Since then Lincoln's library staff was constantly trying to build up its holdings. By 1915, the library contained 7,000 volumes. Between 1914 and 1921 some 2,000 books, pamphlets, and periodicals were lost.⁶²⁶

Students became recruiters when the school's alumni offered free tuition, and room and board for a year in exchange for recruiting the highest number of students above five. The students were therefore more concerned about the school in their own interest and such a scholarship alleviated faculty from being required to canvas the state for students.⁶²⁷

At the July 12, 1913 board meeting, William Mueller offered to buy a rocky hillside adjoining his house and one corner of the Institute's farm for \$60 per acre for two and one-half acres. He was trying to cash in on a boon for native rock in Jefferson City, and Lincoln's farm had a considerable amount. The board decided not to sell because the expansion of the school depended on acquiring more land, not losing any already owned.⁶²⁸

Salaries were increased with the state legislature's appropriation of \$78,350.00 for 1913-1914. A new trade course, automobile mechanics, trained young men to become chauffeurs and repairmen. It was noted in the June 10, 1915 Democrat-Tribune as the first in the country. It was among many innovative courses in Lincoln Institute's curriculum in trades. At the 1914 State Fair, the industrial department was awarded five blue ribbons and four red ribbons for its outstanding exhibits of trade education.⁶²⁹

Honorary degrees were presented to many outstanding alumni invited to Lincoln Institute between 1915-18 to address students and faculty. In 1915 the president conferred the honorary Master of Arts degree on L. B. Quinn, principal of the black high school in Moberly; Oscar Spencer, principal of the black high school at Nowata, Oklahoma (later principal in Chickasha, Oklahoma); V.H. Collins, mathematics instructor at Lincoln Institute and formerly principal of Washington elementary school in Jefferson City; and R. H. West, secretary of the faculty of Lincoln Institute. Each conferee was asked to deliver an address to the students.⁶³⁰

In 1916 J.R.A. Crossland of St. Joseph spoke to the school and President Allen conferred the Doctor of Laws degree. The Master of Arts degree was presented to Joe E. Herriford, and Richard T. Cole of Kansas City; Charles H. Brown and David E. Gordon of St. Louis following their speeches to students and faculty. In 1917, outstanding educators Walter H. Harrison of Kansas City, H. V. Wallace of Springfield, and William H. Jones, one of two graduates in the class of 1876, received the Master of Arts degree following their speeches.⁶³¹

In spite of open conflict targeted against President Allen, and in spite of the board sending one of its members to the east to search for a new president, President Allen managed to retain his position for the 1915-1916 school term. The Daily Democrat-Tribune reported the school's sense of relief that the president would return and praised the president's high level of efficiency.⁶³²

To extend the scope of the manual training and domestic science departments, the board asked the legislature for an additional \$78,000. Every student graduated from Lincoln with some industrial training and such programs were popular routes to

employment for many graduates, who as young black men could not enter the trades or be apprenticed to tradesmen like their white counterparts. Tuskegee Institute's emphasis on vocational training helped other black schools such as Lincoln prepare students for jobs previously unattainable. As a result, the board wanted the legislature to understand the deep commitment Lincoln had made to both academic and industrial education for black students. In addition, such a commitment would necessarily require a larger appropriation to keep up with the demand. In an appeal to the legislature, the board's president reminded the law makers how significant Lincoln's contribution had been. He doubted if the law makers fully appreciated Lincoln Institute. He requested that appropriations change the 1913 distribution pattern from one to three funds: salaries, support, and equipment and maintenance. The board could better disburse funds to those areas that needed repairs and improvements. The stiff prohibition of not spending any allocated money beyond the amount determined for each budget item kept the board and the administration from being able to address problems as they occurred since any expenses incurred had to be paid by the party authorizing the service or purchase.⁶³³

A new course, cooking, was designed for male students who would work in hotels and restaurants. This training eliminated the need for apprenticeship--an option so little available for black males because of discrimination in hiring.⁶³⁴

Finally, the board addressed the \$50,000 state of Missouri appropriation from the federal government for agriculture. Lincoln Institute was called upon to do so much, but received so little of this amount for instruction in agriculture and industrial vocations as noted by the secretary of the U. S. Department of the Interior. Because the state had to include Lincoln Institute in its bid to receive this grant, it appeared that Lincoln was

receiving the whole amount, and thus the school's achievements looked dismal by comparison.⁶³⁵ The opinion was that little was accomplished on the school farm even though the board president reminded the legislators that the school's department of agriculture with two teachers and a farm superintendent only received \$2,000 for each of two years. That was a measly \$83.33 per month.⁶³⁶ How could the department carry on experiments in agriculture, horticulture, and stock raising? Lincoln did not even have farm tools, registered animals, or barns for storing equipment and tools. The legislators were invited to visit the farm, but the board president admonished the law makers that should they and the school fail to remedy the situation, the \$50,000 grant would likely be revoked. The likelihood of losing that much money was thwarted when the legislators awarded Lincoln \$50,000 for salaries, and increased the amount for the agriculture department from \$2,000 in 1913 to \$10,000 in 1915. Had it not been for the criticism from the secretary of the Department of the Interior, the weight of the board president's complaints might have gone unheeded. The \$116,000 appropriation for 1913-15 boosted the school's resolve to continue its commitment to agriculture training.⁶³⁷ The legislature also appropriated funds for deficiencies (presumably repairs and upkeep), and for the first time offered a prize for the best projects in agriculture to be judged by the professor of agriculture. What was not mentioned in the January 15, 1915 board minutes was where the remaining \$48,000 went during 1913. Such heightened interest in funding the agriculture program waned in ensuing years and appropriations were not specifically designated to the department of agriculture as had been done in 1915.⁶³⁸

Memorial to a Legend—James Milton Turner

On November 1, 1915 James Milton Turner died. Among the many notable persons who contributed great energy and acumen to establish education for blacks following the Civil War, none was more earnest, more capable, and more determined than James Milton Turner--a man born to meet challenges and accomplish astounding goals in the face of enormous opposition.

Turner was born a slave May 16, 1840, in St. Louis county, Missouri. His father, John Turner, purchased his four-year-old son's freedom for \$50. In childhood, Turner attended a secret slave children's school taught by nuns at the St. Louis Catholic Cathedral. He learned to read and proved an apt student. He also attended Rev. John Berry Meachum's school located in the basement of the Almond Street First Baptist Church in St. Louis. Later, he attended a day-tuition school in Brooklyn, Illinois in preparation for admission to the preparatory school at Oberlin College at age 14.

During the Civil War, he was a valet to a Northern officer. He was wounded in the hip at the Battle of Shiloh and as a result walked with a limp. After the war, Turner joined with other advocates who pushed for blacks to be educated, to have voting rights and to own property. His efforts in Missouri under the state's new constitution adopted in 1866 helped establish schools for blacks. He was appointed by the Kansas City school board to teach in the first tax-supported school for blacks, thus becoming the first black teacher in the state. The fall of 1867 he transferred to Boonville, Missouri as head of the black schools.

It was likely Turner who convinced black soldiers in the 62nd and 65th regiments to contribute over \$5,000 for a new black school in Missouri. He urgently pushed for establishing schools as quickly as possible. Politically active and a noted orator, Turner petitioned the Missouri legislature and led the mass show of support to get state funds for Lincoln Institute. In 1868, Lincoln's trustees made him a board member. In 1870 he petitioned the state Senate and House of Representatives to allocate educational funds in proportion to the number of students without regard to color. He argued that the show of financial support from the veterans was direct evidence of blacks' desires to educate their children. He further reprimanded the legislators for their injustices and exhorted them to pass a law fair to blacks. Appointed Assistant State Superintendent of Schools, Turner had the task of establishing free public schools for blacks throughout Missouri.

As part of political patronage from black support for electing the Liberal Republicans to state offices following the downfall of the Radical Republicans, Turner was appointed Minister-President and Consul General at Monrovia, Liberia in 1871. He served from July 1871 to May 1878 through disruptive years of native uprisings and frequent changes in government administrators. He ardently opposed any future U. S. attempts to place African Americans in equatorial Africa. He solicited funds from American philanthropists to aid the destitute conditions of native tribes in Africa.

After his return to America, by 1886 Turner had focused his attention on the former slaves in Oklahoma who had Indian ancestry, specifically, those in the Cherokee nation. The Cherokees ignored urging by the federal government to open full tribal membership to all of their freedmen. In the 1880s when Congress allocated \$300,000 to the Cherokee Nation as restitution for the western lands taken from them at the end of the

Civil War, the Cherokees opted to exclude the freedmen. Thus, the dispossessed freedmen hired Turner as their attorney to obtain their share of the money. Turner wrote D.W. Bushyhead, Chief of the Cherokee Nation in Tahlequah, Indian Territory in 1885 explaining the freedmen's entitlement and his evidence to prove their claims. Then he petitioned the U. S. Congress with the same. He was able to bring their claim directly to President Grover Cleveland and in October 1888 and March 1889, Congress passed laws finally awarding \$75,000 to be divided among the Cherokee freedmen, the Delawares, and Shawnees who were part of the Cherokee Nation.

Turner is less known for his efforts to settle blacks from the south into unoccupied land in the Indian Territory. He was president of the Freedmen's Oklahoma Association, a group located in St. Louis, who distributed a circular that promised 160 acres to every freedman who occupied public land in Oklahoma. The circular was in tandem with a petition from Senator William Windom of Minnesota presented June 6, 1882 and a bill presented by Senator Preston B. Plumb to the first session of the Forty-seventh Congress. All three documents proposed varying amounts of acreage, supplies and sections set aside for public schools to blacks in the south desiring to immigrate to the barren lands of the Indian Territory. Here is the origin of the famous slogan, "80 acres and a mule" in Windom's petition. Both the petition, the bill, and the circular were never heard of again but that did not prevent the migration that followed. An outstanding contemporary such as John Mercer Langston also toured Missouri at the same time Turner did in the late 1860s and had an impact on establishing schools for blacks. Both men kept up the push for black suffrage. Both became advocates of black settlement in the Indian Territory for which John Mercer Langston was honored by having a town and an A & M school named

after him.

Turner's efforts to find a fresh start for southern blacks away from vigilantes, a haven where even the hardest labor would pay off in future generations, was indeed another self-imposed challenge. Just as his efforts to found schools across Missouri and his resourcefulness on behalf of Lincoln Institute in particular established him a renowned and respected leader, his later work broadened to give whatever aid he could to lessen the plight of blacks in Liberia, in the Indian Territory, and in the southern states of America.

The St. Louis Argus editorialized Turner: "the good things that J. Milton Turner did in life will ever stand as a monument to the race."⁶³⁹ Noting his diplomatic successes and his work in education, the editor added, "the crown he wears without a rival is the manly and successful fight he made for the Negroes in the Indian territory."⁶⁴⁰ In 1920, J. Milton Turner High School in St. Louis was named in his honor. Indeed, Lincoln Institute should have a building so named for one of the greatest contributors to its founding.

President Allen's leadership in increasing support and enrollment for summer school at Lincoln Institute changed by 1914. Students only needed to complete training up to the eighth grade and pass an examination in order to qualify for a teaching certificate in Missouri. Students whose academic program had deficiencies could make those up during the annual 10-day teachers' institute. Summer school enrollment decreased dramatically because teaching requirements did not demand that students enroll for 45 days of instruction and pay room and board during the summer. As a result, the summer school program ceased during 1913-18.⁶⁴¹

Speaking to a group of black and white citizens at the Lyric Theater in Mexico, Missouri, President Allen broadcast the valuable training students were receiving at

Lincoln Institute. New training for chauffeurs called "all around men" was available and Lincoln's students could perform well no matter which vocation they chose. His address followed a vocal concert of music from black composers performed by the school's choir.⁶⁴²

President Allen, Alex Slater, Reverend John Goins, and R. A. West were appointed by the governor to attend a conference on education in Washington, D.C. August 23-26, 1916. Mr. Slater was the governor's messenger; Rev. Goins was pastor of Second Baptist Church, Jefferson City; and Mr. West was secretary of the faculty.⁶⁴³

Dr. M. M. Adams, Dean of Atlanta University, delivered the commencement address in 1916 to 160 students.⁶⁴⁴ This group constituted the largest population of vocationally-trained students in the state. In fact, there were still a number of counties in Missouri where the black population was so little that no elementary school could be established. As a result, Lincoln Institute continued into the twentieth century as the center for education and training for black students especially for high school courses outside St. Louis and Kansas City. While Lincoln continued to serve students from around the state, white students could attend local schools and then enroll at the University of Missouri-Columbia, the University of Missouri-Rolla, or at any of the five normal schools established for them. Board president, Guy Chinn, made this point clear to legislators at the 49th General Assembly. It was almost the same appeal made to the preceding legislative session. He asked lawmakers to reinstitute the summer school program to upgrade the skills of employed black teachers since no other state school would admit them. Black teachers had to earn advanced degrees at universities outside Missouri. The board felt such circumstances were unfair and highly inconvenient. As in

1915, the Department of Agriculture required the full \$50,000 federal grant in order to carry out its goals. This sum was more than the legislature spent on all of Lincoln's programs. Legislators were invited again to visit the school and see the good work being performed by teachers, students, and staff. The main thrust of President Chinn's report to the legislature was to keep the school in the focus of upgrading its facilities, programs, and salaries because it was forced to serve so many black students from around the state and not just a few local residents.⁶⁴⁵

For 1916-18, the school's appropriation increased to \$101,500 to be divided as follows: salaries, \$50,000; support, \$30,000; board expenses, officer salaries, and incidentals, \$1,500; repairs and improvements, \$10,000; and the agriculture department \$10,000. The board's president requested these categories at the 48th General Assembly. The legislature also gave \$6,449.73 as a deficiency appropriation which occurs when the legislators exceed the treasury's budget by allocating more money to certain accounts than is available.⁶⁴⁶ Although it was up to the governor to prevent such circumstances, the practice appeared to be common in Missouri because legislators- could vote to authorize a particular budget item to incur good will knowing that there were no funds to support it.⁶⁴⁷

A coal shortage occurred at Lincoln Institute at the beginning of World War I in 1917. The school closed that October. Although contracted, coal cars could not deliver. Many students joined the war effort and enlisted to serve. One change sweeping through state schools because of the war was to abolish courses in German. At the June 29, 1917 meeting, regents directed Lincolns' faculty not to teach German. Since most students were in the normal department, German was not a requirement and the directive was but a

point of record.⁶⁴⁸

Finally, the board joined the practice of other state schools and voted to award Lincoln's faculty a full year contract beginning September 1 and ending August 31. Faculty would be paid one-twelfth of their salary at the beginning of each month. In a most bizarre incident the board had another immediate problem to deal with involving two Lincoln employees. T.E. Martin, manager of the boarding department, killed Romeo A. West, a faculty member and football coach. Details of the murder were not recorded in the board minutes. West was considered the best athlete in the school's history and made the Lincoln Tigers football team renowned statewide. The board tried to ameliorate the impact of this violent incident and requested Martin's resignation. He was asked to leave campus after inventory of the boarding department. The board eliminated the boarding manager position and turned these duties over to the domestic science teacher under the president's supervision.⁶⁴⁹

As if this incident were not enough to wreak havoc on the administration, the board found a replacement for President Allen as well! J.R.E. Lee, principal of Lincoln High School in Kansas City, Missouri, was offered the position although he had not applied. The board understood from Mr. Lee, that should he be offered the job, he would accept. When the board met June 12, 1917, Mr. Lee formally declined the position.

With the president's position open, the board prepared to hire Clement Richardson away from his post at Tuskegee Institute. At his interview, Richardson told the board his qualifications and training. He was hired. Before leaving, the board asked Dr. B. F. Allen to invite W. J. Hale, president of Tennessee State Normal and Agricultural College for Negroes, and E.O. Boone, Sr., principal of the black school at Marysville, to speak to the

faculty and then present each with an honorary Master of Arts degree.⁶⁵⁰

Second only to President Inman Page, B. F. Allen's tenure at Lincoln was the longest and promoted the school in the most efficient upgrading of its agricultural and industrial courses. Under his leadership, the summer school program, begun under former president Clarke, flourished from his persistent requests for funding; his willingness to promote the school through various programs on and off campus made the school more widely recognized, and his ardent support for academic and vocational training allowed several hundred graduates to take their places in society as productive workers and teachers serving their communities and instilling the values of the moral uplift philosophy. From 1902-1918 president Allen succeeded during one of Lincoln's strongest growth phases. His administration brought the school through epidemics, war, supply shortages, and racial hatred. Under his administration Lincoln Institute expanded its facilities, programs, and reputation with completion of a new boys' dormitory, football competitions, exhibits at the 1904 World's Fair, honorary degrees awarded distinguished alumni, literary and debate clubs, social and religious organizations, revised school rules, uniforms, revision of the normal department curriculum, and new courses in the trades. In spite of very small appropriations, political opposition, restrictions, and long delays, he made lasting improvements that fostered Lincoln Institute's survival.

Clement Richardson, President, 1918-22

Clement Richardson was born June 23, 1878, Halifax County, Virginia. He was the son of Leonard and Louise (Barksdale) Richardson. He was educated at Mt. Herman,

Massachusetts, 1898-1902, Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island, 1902-1905, and Harvard University, 1905-1907, where he earned an A.B. degree. At the University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas, he earned the A.M. degree in 1923. He was head of the English Department, Morehouse College from 1907-1908, then head of the English Department at Tuskegee from 1908-1918.⁶⁵¹

At the August 8, 1918 board meeting, the new president, Clement Richardson, recommended regents hire a resident physician to take care of student health and sanitation. Lincoln Institute did not have a clinic or any formal procedures for maintaining ill students or faculty. He also recommended military training which had not been added during the war as it had at other land-grant colleges. He wanted the young men and women to receive some formal physical education training.

Laundry facilities for women and men students was still a problem at Lincoln. Although the matter had been discussed at previous board meetings, there was no designated place for males students to do laundry, and female students had to labor in a makeshift unequipped area for washing and ironing in Bennett Hall.⁶⁵²

Regents considered hiring an experienced farmer to teach agriculture and take care of the farm. Such an overload proved impossible for one person to handle.⁶⁵³ Student interest and funding for agriculture were in tandem--neither was sufficient to make the agriculture department viable. Too many students came to Lincoln from childhoods spent in hard labor farming. Now students wanted opportunities to move away from rural life to be employed as teachers and in various trades.

Newly hired faculty for 1919 and their salaries indicated another year of added responsibilities and low pay. President Richardson's monthly salary was \$183.33 for his

second year. The remaining faculty and staff were identified as follows:

Dean and Professor of Mathematics, I.C. Tull \$135;
secretary, Ethel Robinson \$85;
professor of science, school electrician, William
Steward \$100; agriculture, J. W. Damel (no salary listed);
instructor in education, W. S. Jacobs \$110;
mathematics, V. H. Collins, \$100;
business and history, T. P. Smith \$90;
English and pedagogy (Rural Pedagogy,
an education course in school hygiene, school
management; materials and methods), Mamie Smith \$90;
arts and crafts, L. E. Williams \$80;
music, Beatrice Lee \$80;
blacksmithing and machine shop, J. E. Rose \$125;
carpentry, J. H. Vailey, \$100;
sewing, H. S. Crampton \$80;
agriculture, Harley Hunter \$90;
military drill, William Herrisford \$85;
model school, Charles Brooks \$85;
tailoring, W. B. Kennedy \$80;
shoemaking, S. L. Burlong \$80;
field agent, V. E. Williams \$80;

gymnastics, L. M. Lane \$70;
girls' matron, Mabel Hinkins \$70; and
registered nurse, Irene Heron \$70⁶⁵⁴.

Although the editor of The Democrat-Tribune commented in a July 19, 1919 article that the salaries were better than those for other educated persons in other fields, it is obvious that these salaries were quite low.⁶⁵⁵ More instructors in trades were added and so was the nurse, but the low salaries remained a large obstacle in hiring. To make matters worse, these already low salaries were cut because of the school's financial shortages! At a time when the cost of living was increasing, faculty found little relief in a small increase at the beginning of the year. Several teachers stayed throughout the crisis, but new teachers for trades like automobile mechanics and repair could not be hired. In addition, the best prepared teachers were not seeking employment at Lincoln due low salaries and lack of tenure.⁶⁵⁶

However, the courses in trades were a significant boost to Lincoln. Graduates found employment in shipyards, packing-houses, railroad shops, foundries, and automobile factories in Michigan and Illinois. These skills brought higher wages and promotions especially in manufacturing automobiles--an industry that was fast replacing horse-drawn carriages. On the other hand, blacksmiths and wheelwrights in demand earlier found fewer positions in large cities. That was one reason for revising the industrial training courses for young male students and war veterans.⁶⁵⁷ These students were keen to employment opportunities away from their rural roots.

Much of what the students in trades courses learned came from practical experience gained by upkeep and construction projects at Lincoln. With only \$180 left in

the school's account for repairs, President Richardson could not contract repair and maintenance work for the school with commercial vendors as before. He decided to use student labor as a means to practical instruction and a way to save expenses. Students in trades courses and in the industrial department became the labor supply for facilities upkeep and maintenance. The domestic science department managed the dining hall; girls in sewing classes made students' uniforms, linens, curtains, and clothes; boys in the carpenter shop made repairs in dormitories, and built the grandstand and fences at the athletic field, plus the tool shed at the farm. Because the state was \$1 million in debt and Governor Frederick Gardner searched the accounts at state schools for idle funds, the idea of requesting additional funds for ongoing operations and needed services was out of the question.⁶⁵⁸ Almost as ludicrous was the idea that Lincoln Institute would at any time have idle funds given its long standing battle for even adequate appropriations.

The midsummer board meeting produced other changes. Wives, daughters, and sons of faculty could no longer be employed at Lincoln Institute. Other relatives could be hired in emergency situations. The president had so many problems with family members aligning themselves with this or that faction who were almost always contrary to the president's goals.

The board president's report to the General Assembly emphasized the need for modern equipment and materials. Health services needed a physician and a clinic. At the time, small areas in the girls' and boys' dormitories were converted to sick rooms while sharing laboratory space for nursing instruction. Although the board had attempted to improve health services in 1918, money was unavailable. Now the board asked the legislature for funds.

Another issue was the variety of seats in classrooms. Purchased whenever available, few chairs were appropriate for classroom instruction. Classrooms looked jumbled and gave a negative impression. Student laundry facilities were still scattered at various buildings. Lincoln desperately needed a fully equipped laundry.

The ongoing problem of how to best use the farm came up for discussion as well. In previous administrations, the president had no control over the farm, stock, produce or land even though this property belonged to the school. A white farmer resided on the grounds in a cottage and reported directly to the board. A small plot of land in the creek valley (across Chestnut Street that bordered one side of the campus), was used for a garden and demonstration projects, but the farm was off limits. Every two years the legislature gave \$5,000 for the farm but the land-grant funds were dependent on the farm used for agriculture instruction and experiments. President Richardson requested the board give the farm back to the school's agriculture department. The produce from the farm could then be used by the boarding department. The board approved and later transferred the farm to the school under the management of an experienced farmer directed by the farm superintendent who was also the professor of agriculture. A truck garden was started to supply produce. However, formal educational training on the farm had yet to begin. J. W. Damel and Harley Hunter were in charge of the agriculture department.⁶⁵⁹

President Richardson had several major concerns at the beginning of his presidency. His goals included acquiring the farm, revising the curricula in the industrial and normal departments, and increasing teachers' salaries. He also had to deal with the aftermath of the shooting and killing of Coach Romeo West, a result of bitter strife and

confusion that left the school in panic and alienated blacks from the school. President Richardson campaigned vigorously throughout the state speaking at churches, conventions, and organization meetings.⁶⁶⁰ He sent faculty, artists, and representatives to perform across the state to entertain and inform the public about Lincoln Institute. Misses Ethel Robinson, reader, Henrietta Johnson, violinist, and Beatrice Lee, pianist and singer (a faculty member), and Mr. Caldwell, pianist, displayed their talents on behalf of the school. Students entertainers soon replaced these adults.

The Lincoln Glee Club of 1919-22 achieved a great deal of notoriety for their spring tours throughout the state. The students were guided by Virgil E. Williams, general manager and booking agent; Jordan E. Rose, traffic manager; James A. Jeffress, boys' manager and orchestra director; Marie Ford and Mrs. Gladys Humbert, girls' manager and vocal music coordinators. Outstanding singers emerged. E. Douglas, Norman Hubbard, George Bland, Elmer Duncan, "Blue" Bailey, and Willie Smith were especially well known. Students traveled in a school truck and a car.

The athletics department needed a place to practice and equipment. Before 1918 when athletic fees were added to tuition, Lincoln students and coaches had to buy their own equipment. Lincoln's early teams practiced and played games on an area parallel to Lafayette Street (a boundary street for the east side of campus) or in the city-owned Ruwart Park. By 1922, Coach W. B. Jason, assisted by James A. Jeffress (the orchestra director) and W. Sherman Savage (the history professor), guided the defeat of rival Western University and other teams. These wins helped raise the department's prestige. Prominent players included Pearly, Douglass, Raleigh Willson, Gant, Robinson, John Kelley, Buddy R. Rankin, Nathaniel Sweets, and Guy and Ben King.

Basketball, a sport just beginning in some schools, had not become a competitive team sport at Lincoln. The team practiced in the most unlikely places such as the old study hall in the Page building, and in the upper story of an old hay barn in Houchin's Park. Discrimination certainly played a large part in the circumstance of Lincoln students who were given permission by the principal and coach to practice basketball in the Jefferson City public high school gymnasium at 6:00 a.m. before classes began. However, on the third morning of practice, white high school seniors chose to strike in protest of "some colored boys [that] were using the basketball court"⁶⁶¹ as quoted in The Democrat-Tribune. This objection added more evidence of hostility from the white community toward Lincoln's African American students.

The winter of 1918-19 also brought additional discontent among students and another problem for the president. The catalog price for room and board was inaccurate. Between the issue of the catalog in early August and the first of November, food prices doubled. The government also restricted certain foods, i.e. the Hoover black bread, clean plate, and very little sugar mandate. The school had no choice but to manage with reserve supplies.

Heat was another major problem due to the government's restrictions on coal. A railroad strike on the Missouri Pacific worsened the situation. Passengers and supplies often arrived days later than scheduled. Lincoln Institute could not depend on getting its modest supply of coal since people in town were willing to pay outrageous sums for any allotment that could be had. Such was the case in early January 1919. A sudden freeze and sleet hit Jefferson City. Lincoln had barely enough coal to keep the pipes from freezing. Two wagon loads of coal were bargained for and traveled along Lafayette Street

up the hill to the campus. Just as the wagons turned into the gates of the campus, an officer from the humane society prevented the horses from going up the slippery hill. Horses were more important than freezing humans in Lincoln's buildings! Students and faculty carried the coal up the hill and thwarted a bitterly freezing night from becoming a tragic situation.

Two days later, two carloads of coal awaited Lincoln at the railroad station. Trucks were borrowed to collect it, but when they arrived, the coal was gone. Obviously, the coal contractor sold the coal for more than Lincoln had agreed to pay. That Sunday morning everyone on campus was told not to get up before noon. They were given a hot breakfast while the president called hardware stores to buy wood stoves and axes. Stoves were installed in buildings with chimneys. After breakfast, volunteer students accompanied V.H. Collins to the woods to chop trees. Students congregated around wood stoves during class. Concerned parents wanted their sons and daughters to come home; however, no one left. The students turned a horrendous hardship into an adventure. But that was not the end.

When the cold weather eased and coal could be purchased again, a flu epidemic hit the campus. Sick students filled makeshift hospital rooms in the dormitories; sick teachers filled available rooms in the president's home. Nurse Irene Heron and student assistants took care of all these patients. Each day began with burning sulfur lamps and spraying formaldehyde. Fortunately, no one died. The morale was that of a place under siege. The campus community simply pulled together and vowed to get through this calamity.

The year 1919 was filled with other catastrophes. The Memorial Building--dedicated to the founding veterans--caught fire and sustained heavy damage. Students

proved to be critical assistants to the fire chief in extinguishing the blaze. School was canceled for one day to assess the damage. The electric light system needed replacing and the tower was destroyed. President Richardson asked the legislature for renovation funds.⁶⁶²

The Environment of State Politics

When the board's treasurer reported to the 50th General Assembly, all appropriations had been spent in accordance with the designations of the legislature. The school kept within its budget by means of deferring services and cutting salaries⁶⁶³. Salaries were increased to a total of \$60,100 for the next two years. That was a \$15,000 increase over the preceding allocation, but it was hardly enough to make up for the loss in wages incurred by the faculty since 1918. The budget item of support was allotted \$37,100; board expenses \$2,000; laundry building \$10,000; repairs \$20,000; and the agriculture department \$7,500. The total allocation was \$136,700 for the next two years. The state auditor's office held a deficiency amount to cover bills against Lincoln that amounted to \$1,618.37 which the state paid. The state rescinded the measure attached to each of Lincoln's allocations that prohibited any expense to be incurred outside the budget upon penalty of the authorizing person paying that expense.⁶⁶⁴

A separate resolution authored in the Senate and approved by the House of Representatives provided \$5,000 to repair Memorial Hall. In the process of that repair, the state auditor was to audit and the state treasurer was to pay claims for repairs pending passage of the regular appropriations act.⁶⁶⁵ The General Assembly assured the board that

the appropriation would be forthcoming. As a result, Lincoln's board hired F. B. Miller, a Jefferson City architect, to draw plans and write specifications for the restoration of Memorial Hall. According to Miller, the tower could not be restored, thus the structure of the original building was changed forever. In addition, a flag pole was not replaced and for years, the campus had no flag flying.⁶⁶⁶

The Governor presented the legislature with the names of two new regents chosen for Lincoln Institute. They were Judge E. M. Zevely of Linn and Samuel Daniels of Versailles. Unlike other state normal schools whose regents were chosen from the school's district, Lincoln's regents could be chosen from anywhere in the state because the legislature made no provision for Lincoln's board when the school became a state normal school. One of the new appointees would replace the recently deceased regent William F. Chamberlain. His contribution to the board was widely recognized by other board members, but not formally acknowledged to the community.⁶⁶⁷

At the 1919 commencement, fifteen students received the Bachelor of Pedagogy degree. Eighteen students earned certificates as graduates of the half course, a full year of normal school training. These graduates could now teach in the state's black elementary schools for two years with an option to renew for another two years before having to return to school for a renewed certificate. During the summer, teachers could earn enough credits to renew their certificate and secure a life certificate which required 60 hours of mainly education courses (except freehand drawing, English, and ethics). Twenty-five students graduated from Lincoln's high school.⁶⁶⁸

Commencement exercises that year lasted almost a full week beginning with a Sunday baccalaureate sermon delivered by Reverend W. Bohner of the Presbyterian

Church, Jefferson City. On Monday afternoon, the model school exercises recognized achievement in the lower grades. Practice teachers organized and managed commencement activities for the young children. Monday night, high school students graduated. The junior normal school (one year students training to teach) presented Shakespeare's A Midsummer Night's Dream. Visitors toured school buildings mid-morning on Tuesday. The early afternoon featured a military drill. Students exhibited skills in physical education on Wednesday. Wednesday night, the senior normal school held its class day exercises. Thursday was set aside for industrial department exhibits featuring projects from the trades classes. Thursday afternoon was also time for the alumni association business meeting, followed by a program and a banquet. Friday was the official commencement day for the degree and certificate candidates with R. H. Cole of St. Louis as speaker. It was a busy week because throughout this series of campus activities students were also taking exams.⁶⁶⁹

President Richardson kept the momentum of his first year going by resurrecting the summer school program. It had been discontinued from 1913-18 due to changes in teacher education requirements. During the session of 1919, 105 students enrolled--a significant increase over the last enrollment figure of 60. Sixty of the current enrollees were teachers from all areas of the state; other students were taking classes to either earn additional credits in advance of the fall term, or to make up credits. Even though these teachers and students were taking the same courses that were offered during the regular fall and spring terms including classes in domestic arts, industrial training, literary and education courses, there seemed to be renewed interest in taking advantage of a program begun under President Clarke⁶⁷⁰.

At its July 29 meeting, acting upon President Richardson's recommendation, the board decided to ask the legislature for a larger appropriation for salaries. Lincoln's teachers earned less than high school teachers in St. Louis. The board hoped to increase salaries for department heads to \$2,000, \$300 more than they currently earned. Although still insufficient, this move was a step in the direction of gradually increasing salaries in order to hire better prepared teachers. President Richardson also requested the board to hire a professor of economics and sociology (subjects assigned to any teacher without a full schedule). He also requested an additional matron and custodian. There were so many female students that one matron could not supervise them adequately. Buildings and grounds were now in dire need of maintenance and another custodian could help handle the additional work. The school also needed a bookkeeper to manage all the financial transactions not under the direct authority of the board.

Concerned about grounds and facilities, President Richardson requested that the main building, built in 1895, be renovated. The building needed new floors, desks, chairs, sidewalks, and fences. He also wanted to convert the president's home to an infirmary because it was too close to other campus buildings and the constant noise distracted him. Easily accessible, he could not relax or get away from problems.⁶⁷¹ Its convenient street side location would allow students to enter and exit without undue duress to the sick or injured.

Another construction idea from the president involved adding extensions to the existing buildings and adding a new dining hall. The kitchen size of 11 x 50 feet was much too small to prepare meals for over 300 people. The dish room was a mere 10 x 30 feet, and the dining room was 33 x 60 feet. Not more than 168 persons could comfortably dine

in such an area. Over 168 girls boarded at the school. How could the matron keep boys and girls separated during this impossible crowding? President Richardson wanted the board to ask the legislature for a building large enough to accommodate at least 1,000 in the dining room and an area to train students in domestic science.⁶⁷² Every student had to have a seat because the school required everyone to eat meals at the same time as was the custom in boarding houses and private boarding schools.

Finally, President Richardson urged regents to request a new dormitory. Housing for black students in Jefferson City continued to be extremely limited. Without a large black population in Jefferson City, few black families had the means to continue to board students. White residents did not rent space to blacks, whether students or not.⁶⁷³

President Richardson forwarded his report to the Tax Commission who determined costs. He requested an appropriation of \$504,812. That large sum was not awarded; however, Lincoln did receive more than the previous biennial allocation⁶⁷⁴

At the June 20, 1920 board meeting, regents increased teachers' salaries \$10-\$30 per month. W. B. Jason was hired to teach mathematics. This board meeting was most unusual because of a report from the secretary of the board, Nelson C. Burch, who held that position for 23 years. His father was board secretary before him. The board minutes were one of the remaining sources of information about the school because other records such as faculty meeting minutes, president's reports, deans' and professors' reports, and school papers were gone. However, secretary Burch's report was anything but a glowing tribute to the institution that paid he and his father for a lifetime. He began by noting how many presidents, four--plus two acting, he had seen come and go. He criticized Negroes by saying "as a whole [they] knew nothing of finance, that the operation of the school

could not be turned over to Negroes because they 'had to be watched'."⁶⁷⁵ His attitude of racial degradation underscored the close proximity of white board members to a long held Southern hatred of African Americans.

It did not matter to Burch that business manager I. C. Tull had routinely handled more money than he ever had. Burch did not bother to find out anything about the school administration beyond his own personal prejudices. After the scathing indictment against Negroes, secretary Burch asked the board to make the secretary the purchasing agent for Lincoln; he requested this person be allowed to have an office in one of the stores in Jefferson City where he could conveniently carry on his other work. He demanded a salary of \$900 per year and not a cent less.⁶⁷⁶ Fortunately, Burch was resigning due to poor health. His bigoted attitude toward blacks at Lincoln showed the very real meanness of a man so close to the school. For two generations these men of the Burch family held the power of controlling what did and did not get reported in the minutes. Because the minutes were subject to public inspection, and that included news reporters, the very general nature of the minutes indicated how few accurate and comprehensive details were actually recorded. Only those who attended board meetings actually heard and observed discussion and decision-making. Incidents particular to board action, such as the petition from Jefferson City white residents of the Wagner Addition who complained about the black farm superintendent, were astoundingly void of detail. The only evidence that the petition existed was its filing with the board secretary; however, discussion about the petition was omitted. This omission, and countless others like it, such as the reasons for firing president after president, obscured the board's true intentions to manage friction between the town and the school. Usually, the town took the advantage in such dilemmas

judging from the board's past decisions. Perhaps the Burches felt it was preferable to have silence in written records than verbatim testimony from irresolute minds.

At the May 27, 1920 board meeting, regents passed the usual commendatory resolution regarding Burch in his position as secretary. However, they did not attempt to ameliorate the racism expressed in his report. Far from it, they either concurred with his biased judgement or chose to ignore it when they hired his son, Edson Burch, for \$50 per year (not to exceed \$400) as clerk of the executive committee. They did make new requirements regarding the minutes. They wanted any citizen who asked, to be able to read the minutes and learn the transactions of the board.⁶⁷⁷ Burch's request for \$900 per year salary and office space in town was for the benefit of his son whom he correctly presumed would automatically take his place as secretary.

What's in a Name?

In his report to the board and to the Tax Commission April 29, 1921, President Richardson asked for more land for the athletic department. The board placed an option to buy the Ruwart land near the school for \$27,000 provided the sale could be closed within four months.⁶⁷⁸ This desire to expand the campus grew into one of the most formidable episodes in Lincoln's history regarding the state, the city, and the school. The circumstances pivoted around the election of a black representative.

For the first time, the legislature had a black member as a representative. Walthall M. Moore was elected by voters of the Sixth District of St. Louis. In his first session, the 51st General Assembly, Rep. Moore introduced a bill to recognize the work at Lincoln

Institute. Of particular importance was Article XVII, Chapter 102 of the Revised Statutes of Missouri, 1919. This act repealed all acts and portions of acts dealing with Lincoln Institute. It voided those items inconsistent with the new act. Lincoln Institute was thereby changed to Lincoln University. The board of control changed from a Board of Regents to a Board of Curators consisting of the superintendent of public instruction as an ex officio member and eight other members, four of whom would be African Americans. Appointees had to be citizens and residents of Missouri. However, it was inconsistent to continue to include the superintendent as a curator if the intent of revising the board was to emulate the University of Missouri's board.⁶⁷⁹ The superintendent position was a longstanding tradition at Lincoln going back to the first board created in the 1860s.

The governor appointed four curators to hold office until 1923, and four to hold office until January 1, 1925. Other regents and curators at Missouri state schools were appointed for six year terms and could not be members of the same political parties. All authority held by the Board of Regents passed to the new Board of Curators. Because these statutes were not written in full details, loose interpretation made the new board subject to the errors and oversights of the old board.⁶⁸⁰ With continued two year terms, the frequent changes did not help the school's administration achieve long-term focus or limit divisive political alliances.

Another major provision of Rep. Moore's bill was revision of programs and personnel to the standard of the University of Missouri wherever feasible. Curators could purchase land, erect buildings, buy equipment and do so in Cole County wherever units of the school could best serve students and citizens.⁶⁸¹

Pending full development of Lincoln University into an institution comparable to the University of Missouri-Columbia, the act authorized curators to arrange and pay for instruction of black students to attend any adjacent university where courses were desired but only offered at the University of Missouri and not at Lincoln University. Adjacent meant a school in the Midwest even though such requests were later filled for study all over the country.

To carry out the provisions of the law, an appropriation in the amount of \$500,000 from the unappropriated school fund was allocated to Lincoln University. Many black citizens felt that the state was finally inclined to make Lincoln an institution comparable to the University of Missouri-Columbia. That presumption proved to be short lived.

During the regular session of the 51st General Assembly, Lincoln's appropriation was \$329,000 for regular operations. A grant of \$60,000 was issued to improve facilities, renovate the main building, and repair the dormitories. A sum of \$30,000 was designated to buy land for use by the athletic department and a dormitory. With this money, dormitories were moved away from the academic buildings. Money for a new men's dormitory was also allocated.⁶⁸²

The legislature convened in an extra session from June 14 to August 3 to discuss several bills. One in particular concerned Lincoln's new curators who wanted adjustments in the law affecting the school's changed status. The new bill requested six curators, with no less than three blacks. The board could have requested that political affinity be restricted as well but they chose not to. This negligence would prove disastrous over the course of the school's history.

Legislators also discussed the curator's request to purchase the Ruwart land for athletic events. There was a lot of controversy over the high price. Lawmakers appointed a committee to investigate conditions of the purchase. They recommended suing to set aside the sale. In January 1921, an option to buy had been made by a prominent Jefferson City resident for \$18,000. The board purchased the land for \$27,000--a \$9,000 profit that went to some undisclosed source. At issue was the value of the land which could not have increased so drastically in four months. The Attorney General appointed David W. Peters, former prosecuting attorney for Cole County, to investigate the land sale. He recommended filing suit to squash the deal.⁶⁸³

Governor Hyde, guided by the committee's recommendation, appointed a committee to reinvestigate the land sale and the governor instructed the Attorney General to file suit. The governor felt the land was not worth more than \$10,000. Attorney General Jesse W. Barrett asked Lincoln's board to return the title for the 18 acres to W. H. Ruwart, the original landowner. The Attorney General filed suit in Cole County Circuit Court to recover the purchase price and seek any other legal remedies that might be in order.

This issue was of central concern at the next board meeting held October 6, 1921. The governor had spoken and so had the Attorney General. Even the editor of the Democrat-Tribune urged curators to return the title to Ruwart so the state could file suit against him. Curators discussed grounds for revision of the title to the Ruwart land. The board asked its attorney, who was also a curator, to contact the Attorney General to determine the board's legal position. Finally, the board was advised to return the title and demand full return of the purchase price. Suit was filed but a change of venue allowed the

trial to be moved to Audrain County. Judge Gantt ruled the state failed to prove fraud; the court ruled in favor of Ruwart. Ultimately, this very expensive land was used for an athletic field.

Because curators were not appointed until after the extra session of the 51st General Assembly, during the intervening time the school had no board and therefore could not transact business. Teachers were not paid for at least six months. A resolution to pay teachers immediately was submitted at an August board meeting, but there was no means to pay them. Only after September 1, 1921 were teachers paid back salaries⁶⁸⁴. Several teachers, including those who taught summer school without pay, endured major financial problems as a result.

Curator Dr. Edward Perry, a Kansas City surgeon, suggested a preparatory course in medicine. The school would need equipment, space for instruction, and a trained teacher. With that advancement in curriculum in mind, the board named a committee on education to review Lincoln's major programs. The committee studied options for a pre-medical course, a polytechnic school, a junior and senior high school, an advanced music class, and graduate courses leading to the masters and doctorate degrees.

Their enthusiasm to move Lincoln University into the realm of a viable institution of higher education soon dampened and turned to anxiety. The board planned construction of a new educational building. They hired architect E.C. Jamson to draw plans and write specifications. However, state auditor George Hackmann refused to pay the bill for \$4,287.40. According to the auditor, there was no "unappropriated school fund" from which to pay the bill. State law required allocations to be distributed at specific times of the year.

The board was shocked, disappointed, and angry. They met and voted to sue the attorney general in state Supreme Court to release the \$500,000 promised in the last legislative session. St. Louis attorney George V. Berry represented the board. He sued the state auditor for release of the stated sum. The board wanted to determine the legality of the act which appropriated the funds in the first place.⁶⁸⁵

The Supreme Court heard the case, Lincoln University vs. George E. Hackmann, state auditor. Attorney Berry contended that the \$500,000 was appropriated to Lincoln Institute to provide the means for the school to become a university. The board had taken the appropriation in good faith and toward that end had contracted obligations. In addition, compliance with other stipulations of the act would be impossible without these funds. Blacks in Missouri would still have to seek higher education course work at other institutions outside the state. To fund that expense, Lincoln would incur a great hardship.⁶⁸⁶

Judge Edward Higbee's opinion offered a query in logic: "Could the legislature appropriate money out of the unappropriated school fund?" The opinion argued that because no such fund existed, there could be no appropriation to come from it. Therefore, the obligation to Mr. Hackman for architectural services was improperly made and the state auditor was correct in refusing to pay it.⁶⁸⁷ With that ruling, the grandest faux pas by the legislature came to light.

The Attorney General ruled that the legislature obviously committed an oversight. The local Daily Democrat put it more bluntly. The editor said Hackman won in spite of the Attorney General's ruling. Earlier, the editor commented that the Negroes of Missouri would wait a long time before \$500,000 of state funds was used to revamp Lincoln into a

university. The editor blasted the Republicans whom he said gave Negroes a gold brick by giving them an unappropriated school fund and then obligating every penny in the state's treasury. He accused the Negroes of liking to be "flim-flammed" by the Republicans. Such was the attitude across the state. In retrospect, the board and black citizens realized that the legislature probably never intended to give the school that much money. Partisan politics held sway by promising blacks support for schools.⁶⁸⁸ Blacks voted for the Republicans and the party duped them.

Summer school for 1922 began in June but closed July 29 because students wanted to vote in the primaries held in their home districts. These civic-minded teachers forfeited five days of class work because all the Saturdays were scheduled with regular classes. This year the summer term changed from five to six days per week which allowed ten weeks of work to be completed in eight. With the shortened schedule, teachers on twelve month contracts could have longer vacations between terms. Students furnished their dormitory rooms, paid \$3 tuition, and \$3.50 board costs per week.

To prevent the city from paving Atchison Street and designating it a thoroughfare through campus, the board met with city administrators May 8, 1922. They agreed to deed the rights to put public utilities across campus provided the city would vacate Atchison Street between Chestnut and Lafayette Streets, the boundaries for the main campus. The board did not want school property divided by city streets during this era of expansion. President Richardson was told to post notices warning hunters not to trespass on school property. Curators expected the president to enforce this regulation to avoid accidents or other mishaps to student workers on the farm across Atchison Street opposite the main campus.⁶⁸⁹

Whether as rumors or truth, students had heard about the board's plan to fire President Richardson. A group led by Harley Davis, a senior high school student, spoke to curators. He pleaded with them to retain President Richardson because of his outstanding record of accomplishments and because the students wanted him to stay. Mr. Kirchner, board president, assured the students that their decision regarding the president would be made in the best interests of the school. That was not what the students wanted to hear, nor was it the truth.

The board fired President Richardson but offered him a hearing. Exactly why his services were no longer needed was never made clear save another arbitrary decision to have someone else try.⁶⁹⁰ To have a hearing after being fired was most unusual and not due process in personnel matters. With an offer of only \$4,000 for the next president, the board was not about to acquire the type of replacement it desired. High school teachers in St. Louis earned this much. Principals in St. Louis high schools earned \$6,000 per year. The board probably was not concerned about the salary offer to President Richardson's replacement. They already knew who they wanted.

Inman E. Page, President, 1922-23

The board secretary, Edson Burch, contacted Dr. I. E. Page in Oklahoma City to see if he would take charge of the school again. Professor Crissman, chair of the teachers' committee, handled correspondence with prospective candidates. At the July 25, 1922 meeting, the board hired Dr. Page. It was not a unanimous vote however, because of his age. Dr. Page was now 80 years old. Dr. Page remarked later that his first tenure

at Lincoln was hampered because he was considered too young; now, his last tenure was objected to because he was too old. He had the unique perception of both sides of the age issue.

Dr. Page met with the board in Kansas City on July 31, 1922.⁶⁹¹ The board explained its plan for the university and Dr. Page explained his educational philosophy which included hiring the faculty. His second term began that fall. His rehiring had precedent in the second administration of former principal Rev. M. Henry Smith. During the decade of the 1920s, two other presidents would follow the "Lincoln tango"--hired, fired, rehired, refired, and even a refrain.

President Richardson's leave of absence, July 31 to August 31, coincided with the rehiring of Dr. Page. Teachers were not rehired at the July board meeting, yet it was late in the summer for unemployed teachers to hope that Lincoln University would rehire them. Most teachers knew their employment status this close to school opening. The delay centered on the debate of who was to take charge of the administration. Although some faculty members were asked to put the catalog together before going on vacation after summer school, most students already knew the courses they would take and even the school they would attend by that late date.⁶⁹² The catalog was always printed after the close of summer school in order to include the names of the president, faculty, and staff who were hired from year to year. At Lincoln, that practice was a necessity given the school's precarious employment tradition.

It seems peculiar that although the board hired President Page at its July 25 meeting and did not meet with him until July 31, the July 26 issue of the Daily Democrat Tribune reported the following update on the venerable president:

Professor Inman E. Page, former president of Lincoln Institute, was elected to succeed Prof. Clement Richardson. Professor Page is now seventy years of age and was for many years president of Lincoln Institute. For a long time Doctor Page had been looked upon as the candidate likely to be chosen by the Lincoln University Board of Curators, as he was known to be favored by R. L. Logan, secretary of the board, and by Walthall M. Moore, who sponsored the bill which converted the name of Lincoln Institute to Lincoln University, and who has since exercised a considerable amount of control over the affairs of the school. Doctor Page, it was rumored, was twice before summoned to Missouri to be elected, but for some reason the election was not effected. He was said to be favored by Governor Hyde with whom it was reported he had two recent conferences at Jefferson City. Besides filling the presidency here, he had filled that position in Langston University, Oklahoma; Western College, Macon, Mo., and Roger Williams

College, Nashville, Tenn. He was retired from the last named institution in 1920. He was actively engaged in campaigning for the Republican party in the fall election of 1929.⁶⁹³

Such was the local response to rehiring President Page. He was not daunted by the news account's divulgence of his contacts and his previous work history if indeed they were true. This educator knew the kind of people who in common parlance, tried to throw a rock and hide their hand. In predictable fashion, President Page resumed leadership of the school.

The first priority came from correspondence with the Veteran's Bureau. This federal office wanted Lincoln University to educate and train disabled black veterans. C. G. Beck, representative of the Veterans' Bureau, asked the school to develop a plan. The board directed President Page to compose an agreement allowing these veterans to enroll. Mr. Beck was sent a copy of the board's resolution.⁶⁹⁴ The second priority was the salary fund--depleted once again. The board voted to borrow money to pay salaries. Board secretary Burch made arrangements for the loan without disclosing specifics of the terms.

As if financial problems were anything new, President Page encountered a less docile student body. Students went on strike to protest better food and more social privileges. He viewed the strike as retaliation for an investigation by school authorities into wild parties. The police came on campus and squelched the strike; the governor sent the sheriff and prison guards. The administration expelled the two strike leaders. Eventually, students resigned themselves to endure the poor quality food and strict social rules. This incident definitely impacted the president's encore.

On August 10, 1922 President Page resigned. He beat them. As only the third president to resign from a roster of 11 in 57 years of operation, he was not going to be cast aside. The school had changed considerably since his earlier tenure 1880-98, especially the factious nature of the students. Keeping order was no longer a matter of his unyielding authoritarian rule, not when it involved the police, the sheriff's department, and guards from the nearby state penitentiary. Such widespread jurisdiction was unprecedented at Lincoln in the 1920s even if later it would recur in the 1960s.

When he left Lincoln, Brown University, Page's alma mater conferred him the Master of Arts degree to recognize eighteen years of outstanding work. After he duplicated his efforts to establish Langston University the next seventeen years, he headed Western Baptist College in Kansas City, Missouri. Next, he returned as president of Roger Williams University, Nashville, Tennessee--his first teaching post after college. It was then that he doubled back to Lincoln. As though his whole career as an educator were confined to a small circle, he returned to Oklahoma, this time as supervising principal in Oklahoma City where he spent his last twelve years until he retired in June 1935. He was conferred the title "principal emeritus" after his tenure at the close of Douglass High School.⁶⁹⁵ The administrators, teachers, students, and citizens of Oklahoma City, many of whom he had trained at Langston University, paid homage to "the grand old man" of education for blacks.

CHAPTER VII

THE ATTITUDE OF A UNIVERSITY

Through the efforts of Clement Richardson and Inman E. Page, Lincoln University was moving slowly toward university status. Improvements in the pace toward that goal would remain slow without an infusion of a large sum of money to finance campus expansion, upkeep, and employment of better trained faculty and staff. But Lincoln University had accomplished something that none of its earlier presidents could dream of occurring. It went to court to stand up for what it believed was its rightful share of state funds to help it catch up to the University of Missouri. While few perceived that Lincoln's curators could act in tandem on such an issue, it would not be forgotten that for once in the history of the school, Lincoln's board and president did not back down when thwarted by the state. It did not readily hand over the deed to the Ruwalt property probably fearing that the school might not receive the full purchase price, if at all, but that the owner might keep the money and the land. Lincoln had turned a major corner in its vision for the future. No longer would it sit back and helplessly despair over the meagerest state appropriations. Now that Representative Wathall Moore was able and willing to guide its destiny and clear some obstacles to its progress, the clock would not turn back to settle for anything less than blatant progress. The one man passionate enough to forge that progress was Nathan B. Young.

Nathan B. Young, President, 1923-27

The board hired Nathan B. Young to fill the president's position vacated by Dr. Inman E. Page who left after one year. Young was president of Florida Agricultural & Mechanical College, Tallahassee, Florida. This was "the only one of the sixteen black federal land-grant schools in the former slave states that taught at the collegiate level."⁶⁹⁶ Florida A. & M. College had enrolled 12 black college students in 1917.⁶⁹⁷ Northerners interested in classical education recruited Young to lead the southern school. Young earned an A.B. degree from Oberlin College in 1888 and an A. M. degree in 1892. He was principal of Thomas School in Birmingham, Alabama for four years. Then at the request of Booker T. Washington, he headed the academic department at Tuskegee Institute for six years. Because of differences in educational philosophy between the two, he resigned to teach English and Pedagogy at Georgia State College,⁶⁹⁸ and then was hired by Florida A. & M. around 1902 where he remained for the next 22 years.

His ideas about educating black youth opposed those of white southerners who had control of black schools. Young was a proponent of classical literary training for all blacks rather than a few. Southern whites disdained funding education for blacks; many felt that only manual labor training for low-level skills and low-paying jobs was all blacks deserved or were mentally competent to achieve. As a graduate of Oberlin, a school founded upon a classical literary tradition as were most transplanted New England models in the early nineteenth century, Young had been reinforced in this curriculum as a successful means to educate blacks. The founder of Georgia State College, Richard R. Wright, Sr. also established the same type of curriculum there. What Young brought to

Lincoln Institute was a proven track record as a leader at preparatory, normal and land-grant schools. There were few who could match his conviction or resolve to make Lincoln a reflection of his ideal university. On August 10, 1923, Nathan B. Young was unanimously elected president for an indefinite period.

President Young became fully acquainted with Lincoln University's history in order to visualize the best course for the future. Without a major shift in the economics of the institution and without an overarching positive movement to push for change, Lincoln University existed as an institution still hoping to realize its full potential in service to blacks in Missouri. President Young fully appreciated the challenges in such circumstances, none too different from those he had addressed at Florida A. & M. He believed that every employee was important, no matter in which capacity each served the school. In his perception, the cook was the most important person and the least important were the registrar and the president. He wanted the faculty to understand his commitment to serve the institution for the betterment of its students. He hoped that their best efforts would render the future of the school in a most favorable report. Health was a primary issue of concern.

For his first set of changes, President Young wanted more dignified names for campus buildings. Names such as "Main Building," "Boy's Dormitory," and "Girl's Dormitory," were simply too general especially in view of plans to expand to full university status. He suggested naming buildings after outstanding persons connected with the institution. His policy was adopted and became a new tradition.

Due to rapid turnover and low salaries, the president had difficulty filling faculty vacancies. The current maximum monthly wage was \$160, a \$30 increase over the

previous year. He filled positions by recommending hiring several young teachers from Florida A. & M. Critics charged that he was making Lincoln a southern school and hiring unqualified teachers. Without regard to the low wages, and the short time between August 10 and September 1 when school started, these critics were simply standing in the way of an efficient means of operating the school. Black educators with masters degrees were so in demand that even better known Howard University in Washington, D. C. and Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee had trouble hiring such highly educated faculty. There was no way Lincoln University in Jefferson City, Missouri could compete with other black colleges in securing the most qualified faculty and staff. In addition, Lincoln University's board had yet to address the issues of low salaries and the absence of tenure in order to promote faculty security. Another major factor was the rapid turnover in presidents, a sure sign of unstable conditions. Nevertheless, President Young made a good effort to secure mostly experienced teachers and staff members in order to meet the needs of the school for the fall term.

New faculty included: Miss Gaynell D. Wright, A. B., University of Pittsburgh, an experienced teacher of French; Miss Gertrude E. Lawless, A. B., Talladega College, an experienced teacher now assigned to supervise the training school and assist in teaching education courses; Miss Vergil Watkins, A. B., Ohio University, an experienced teacher of English; Miss Bessie Hawkins, graduate of Mechanics Institute, Rochester, New York; course work from Columbia University, an experienced home economics instructor; N. W. Griffin, A. B., Fisk University, a new instructor in Latin and Dean of Men; George Williams, B. S., Florida A. & M. College, auto mechanics instructor; W. P. Terrell, B. S., Kansas State Agricultural College and course work at Massachusetts Institute of

Technology; an experienced teacher with employment in construction now assigned director, Mechanical Arts department; Charles Anderson, A. B., Bachelor of Oratory, Geneva College, Beaver Falls, Pennsylvania, an experienced teacher of English.⁶⁹⁹

New staff members included: Miss A. Theora Edmondson, an experienced office employee assigned assistant to the business manager; Miss C. Eugenia Sullivan, B. S. Education, Temple University, an experienced secretary, assigned secretary to the president; Rev. S. P. Johnson, pastor of several churches in Missouri, assigned superintendent of buildings and grounds; Mrs. V. H. Collins (wife of a faculty member), a Lincoln alumnus assigned librarian; Miss Mary Cargile, a Lincoln alumnus, assigned to teach in the training school.⁷⁰⁰

Those remaining faculty recommended for re-employment by Dr. Page informed him whether they were willing to stay and work with Dr. Young. Such a practice was at the time the opposite of the faculty member notifying the board of their intent not to return to Lincoln.⁷⁰¹

Legacies to Build On: Growth of a University Culture

President Young was eager to reposition the image of Lincoln University as a school of scholarship with adequate facilities to teach, train, and learn. Although the school could not offer courses for graduate credit, he wanted the academic and governing communities to know how well prepared Lincoln University was to send students into graduate training. He set out to make Lincoln renowned throughout the state.⁷⁰²

Aims and objectives of the school were published for faculty and public alike. He wanted Lincoln to have an adequately large well-trained faculty, well-paid, and content with favorable conditions; a good elementary and high school for every child; evening courses and adult education for those unable to attend regular terms and a health program for preventive and prescriptive treatments. To that end, the president viewed an expanded school that required the collaborative efforts of the school, its board, and the legislature.⁷⁰³

Specific improvements that would lead toward full accreditation as a university included: an infirmary, a gymnasium, a kitchen, a steam laundry, a modern efficiently equipped home economics building; a dairy, dairy barn and farm land; funds to complete the unfinished men's dormitory; renovation and new equipment for the mechanics arts building (now 33 years old).⁷⁰⁴

The president's study of the school also included a recommendation for a larger expense fund, a 50% increase in salaries; an increase of 75% for teaching facilities and maintenance; and a 150% increase in funds for repairs and renovation of facilities.⁷⁰⁵ Before the school could be accredited, the president focused on these major items as priorities for the board. Although the president did not mention the education building planned for under former President Richardson, it is significant that an overall increase in funding the existing organization and its facilities were announced as his goals.⁷⁰⁶

Fraternities and Sororities

As Lincoln University entered the decade of the twenties, the social structure of many American college campuses was changing. Students requested fraternities and sororities. The extracurriculum at Lincoln had grown since initiating elementary-level clubs and class groups such as the Excelsior Society, the Philosophian, and the Longfellow and Shakespeare clubs in 1894 under President Page. At the beginning of the century, Lincoln, like other schools was being transformed by its students. The school added campus affiliations with the YMCA and the YWCA to three other new groups: a band, a chamber music orchestra, and a mandolin and guitar club under President Edward E. Clarke. By 1923, under President Young, students realized that they wanted more autonomous personal organizations in sync with those at other historically black colleges. They requested Greek letter fraternities and sororities.

One school that influenced the establishment of such organizations was Wilberforce University in Xenia, Ohio. At Wilberforce University, at the turn of the century, the earliest secret organization was the Owl Club--an all-male group formed to share tastes and pleasures. Members met in the basement lounge of O'Neill Hall furnished by subscriptions. They played cards and checkers, read current magazines, and discussed school and political issues. Their debates had considerable influence on the opinions of other male students. Later joined by a few faculty and staff, the group's reputation grew in stature especially after adopting a constitution that advocated "elevating and enlightening" activities and "molding student sentiment in questions touching student life."⁷⁰⁷ Soon, the rival Black Cats organized and claimed their purpose as "good times." They primarily met

in an attic room of a private resident in the community at various times but also met at other places. They played cards, served Dutch lunches, and swapped lies. These groups adopted insignia of representative lapel pins, secret whistles, signals, and handshakes.

For all practical purposes, the Owl Club and the Black Cats functioned like fraternities. By 1907, other pseudo-fraternities formed. The Beta Kappa Sigma Fraternity and the Gamma Phi Fraternity were next. Neither group sought official faculty recognition. All four were forerunners of the incorporated fraternities and sororities who established chapters on campus from 1912 to 1927: Alpha Phi Alpha organized in 1912, Kappa Alpha Psi in 1914, Omega Psi Phi in 1923, and Phi Beta Sigma in 1927. Sororities included Delta Sigma Theta in 1915, Alpha Kappa Alpha in 1916, Sigma Gamma Rho, a junior sorority, in 1922, and Zeta Phi Beta in 1927.

In addition to fraternal organizations, Wilberforce University had affiliated fraternal pledge clubs and a host of other like-purpose groups. As the school population grew, so did the number and kind of secret student organizations. By 1926, the school administration was considering limiting these popular calling cards for fear they would be considered "little more than a haven for secret student groups."⁷⁰⁸ There were 13 secret clubs.⁷⁰⁹ Also the YMCA, YWCA and YPSCE and Sunday School were strong organizations during this time.⁷¹⁰

On the other hand, at Fisk University there was a long-standing prohibition against fraternities and sororities. In 1915 the board of trustees voted that "fraternities and other secret or oath-bound societies"⁷¹¹ should be banned. The board viewed such organizations as antidemocratic and against school values. Other groups such as debating, literary, and academic societies were approved but "exclusive social organizations" were not.⁷¹² There

was a definite demarcation between the historically black college of Wilberforce University in the North and Fisk in the South. What was Lincoln University in the Midwest going to do?

The faculty balked at the introduction of these organizations and the president, not in favor of such groups, yielded to the faculty's discretion since faculty members would sponsor these organizations. Social fraternities and sororities were seen as distinctly different from in-house fraternities, sororities or clubs. Views like those expressed by professor G. R. Crissman, Central State Teacher's College, Warrensburg, Missouri, in response to President Young's query about that campus viewed the Greek letter organizations as undemocratic and the cause of social stratification⁷¹³. Finally, the Board of Curators was asked to decide the matter. They voted to deny such organizations at Lincoln. Students were not happy with this decision since Lincoln University presumed to shape the institution into a university and such organizations were indeed part of the university culture even at other black institutions.⁷¹⁴ Instead of fraternities and sororities, the students got a Student Council.

The Student Council began in 1924 as a means of communicating student concerns to the faculty and vice versa. Five students, a high school boy and girl, a college boy and girl, and a fifth student, were elected to office. For several years the organization functioned, but when it ceased, students were forced to petition the faculty about their grievances. Chief among complaints again were the poor quality of food and lack of freedom to go off campus into Jefferson City, heretofore a major restriction. President Young addressed the food issue; Miss McGee was told to deal with the latter issue. Additional petitions were sent to the faculty's executive committee.⁷¹⁵ Students probably

knew enough about Lincoln not to expect any changes in the food service that was prepared by other students, but they hoped for some relief regarding off campus matriculation. At the very least, their petition served as a means to notify the faculty about problems.

Bed checks and room checks conducted by the president and matron continued as rituals of dormitory life.⁷¹⁶ However, some restrictions were eased. Male students were allowed to play cards in the reception area of the boy's dormitory, Foster Hall. Under supervision, students could dance at selected informal events. These changes were popular with students. But President Young, who hired Miss Alice E. McGee, the first dean of women in 1924, wanted more earnest supervision of the female students. Rather than merely guarding their physical well-being, he urged Miss McGee to address their intellectual and spiritual development as young women. She also had to escort female students to church each Sunday.⁷¹⁷

The Instructional Domain

The 1923-24 state educational manual listed President Young's teaching faculty of 50 and staff of 21 in detail. The information on Lincoln University presented previous occupation, former residence, position at Lincoln, and monthly salary.⁷¹⁸ Predictably, the new president made changes in the curriculum. Lincoln University dropped the elementary curriculum when the public schools agreed to teach young black students. Students sixteen and older could enroll in the first year of high school.⁷¹⁹

Tailoring and shoe-making were deleted as trades courses. President Young wanted to shift funds for those courses to support a printing press and blacksmithing course (previously deleted during the Richardson administration) resurrected as a needed skill in the mechanical industries--a new industry trend. The printing press could be paid for in money saved from contracting printed stationery.⁷²⁰

The board applied to the War Department to establish a military unit on campus. Under Section 55c of the National Defense Act, the federal agency refused Lincoln's request. Neither the money nor the personnel were available. A unit was established in 1926 however, with A. P. Hayes, a World War I veteran and non-commissioned army officer, assigned to direct the campus R.O.T.C. program.⁷²¹ Such training offered male students an orderly program of physical education.

Curators denied the president's request for \$3,000 to purchase musical instruments. The school needed a small pipe organ, a brass band (for the R.O.T.C.), and more music and instruments for the orchestra.⁷²²

In 1924 President Young changed high school courses from identification by grade to identification by subject. He reasoned that students taught by a poor teacher would not encounter a repeated experience because that teacher was assigned to a certain grade level.⁷²³ Still students were not attracted to course work in agriculture for the same reasons already cited under previous presidents' administrations.

Working Toward the Goal of Accreditation

President Young sent weekly news releases about Lincoln University to state newspapers. Again, he and the curators wanted to keep Lincoln's accomplishments in the forefront of public awareness to garner support for accreditation. In President Young's letter to F. W. Dabney, editor of the Kansas City Sun, he estimated that Lincoln University needed a million dollars over four years to make it an accredited school.⁷²⁴

C. A. Franklin, editor of the Kansas City Call, praised Governor Arthur M. Hyde in a letter to President Young. According to Franklin, the governor had removed Lincoln University from political mishandling, "rough stuff,". With or without amendments, the governor (later appointed Secretary of Agriculture under President Herbert H. Hoover) had given Lincoln an opportunity to better serve students.⁷²⁵

President Young sent the public a list of the school's needs in 1924. He wanted the public to be well informed about the school even if the president of the board, Judge James, did not agree with its contents. President Young wanted supportive citizens to push their own legislators to help the school. He countered the board president's objections by asking, "What are we to do? Are we to keep our needs to ourselves and spring them on the legislature after it has met and depend upon luck and lobbying for support?"⁷²⁶ Other state schools were not abashed to make their needs known, so neither should Lincoln. Judge James argued that the contents were not as objectionable as the signature of the author. In other words, curators were not asked in advance if the newsletter represented their views.⁷²⁷ Such pettiness and power plays for control seemed entrenched in each board, no matter whether they were called trustees, regents, or

curators. Each set of members took it upon themselves to manage every minute initiative from each of its presidents even in the face of having given each candidate affirmation of support. Lincoln's boards remained the most unaccountable group of individuals attached to the school.

Toward the goal of getting Lincoln accredited, President Young wrote Dean J. T. Cater, secretary-treasurer of the Association of Colleges for Negro Youth in Talladega, Alabama informing him of Lincoln University's reorganization of the high school as a separate unit to qualify for accreditation with the North Central Association of Secondary Schools and Colleges. He asked that Lincoln be admitted to the Association of Colleges for Negro Youth as an initial step. Later, the ACNY sent Dr. Gilbert H. Jones, president of Wilberforce University, to inspect the high school. He denied admission based on deficiencies in science including too little laboratory time. The president valued such insight and used these flaws as leverage to move the board toward more support for an accredited high school.⁷²⁸ It is odd that Lincoln's board had always had an ex officio seat for the superintendent of public instruction, yet the high school had never been accredited by the State Department of Education. This was the first step before seeking accreditation by North Central. With the urging of professor Crissman at Central Teacher's College and a Lincoln board member, Dr. J. D. Eliff, professor of Secondary Education at the University of Missouri-Columbia, inspected and approved Lincoln's high school. He recommended it be accepted by the North Central Association. Dr. Eliff later became president of the board. Dr. Young thanked Dr. Crissman for his support.⁷²⁹

Next, President Young contacted R. M. Hughes, secretary of the North Central Association of Secondary Schools and Colleges, for admission of Lincoln as a four-year

teachers' college. This time, Lincoln passed inspection and was admitted to the association. In three years, two of Lincoln's departments had been accredited. The next major hurdle was to win accreditation for Lincoln as a four-year liberal arts college. The board became encouraged and President Young doubled his efforts.⁷³⁰

Attorney Edgar B. Rombauer, also from the 1921 board, told President Young in a letter dated March 1924 that for too long Lincoln had not been treated fairly in terms of appropriations. The state needed to determine whether they wanted Lincoln or not, and if not, then close it. Otherwise, the school deserved to be funded as a viable institution of higher learning and "not a makeshift."⁷³¹ Attorney Rombauer would never have served on the board had he not been convinced the state would give the school the \$500,000 as appropriated. His views were probably shared by other members whose time and energy to serve on the board must have seemed wasted. Without financial options to put into effect the provisions of the act that was to recognize Lincoln as a school on par with the University of Missouri, no board could enthusiastically predict Lincoln's growth.

In many ways, the entire circumstance of changing Lincoln's name and revising statutes to change its status was of little value without a change in the economic standing of the school, at least rising in appropriations to that of a state regional school. The 1921 Board of Curators represented the first opportunity in Lincoln's history to change old thinking about education for blacks in Missouri, and the curators were willing to do just that. Unlike previous boards--the regents and the trustees--many new curators were armed with progressive knowledge of what could be done to better educate blacks in the state. Examples of other black institutions of higher learning abounded, and their progress, even in the most southern states, far exceeded that of Lincoln Institute in

Missouri especially as the earliest land-grant institution. In addition, there were numerous well-educated blacks in St. Louis and Kansas City whose degrees from out-of-state schools were proof that blacks could excel in any endeavor to which they set their minds provided racial hatred and extreme poverty did not block their efforts.

It was more than an oversight that the 51st General Assembly put into law an appropriations item for Lincoln Institute that they knew would never come to pass. It was a mean trick, whether fueled by partisan politics or not, the effect was the same. Lincoln Institute could have continued for another half century in its orphan position among state schools and never be mistreated more meanspiritedly than in 1921. The effects of that political trick continued for many years as Lincoln's board members and presidents struggled to make the lie of a university for blacks in Missouri a reality. President Young's efforts to get Lincoln University fully accredited were but a testament to that struggle.

And yet the board of 1925 headed by S. W. James still adhered to the old political thinking about Lincoln. In short, when the governor changed, so did the board, and thus the president. President Young's letter to the new board president addressed that very issue. State politics should not determine school administration. He reminded the president that he was summoned to Lincoln for the express purpose of getting the school accredited in accord with the legislative act. He wanted some explanation for his dismissal. He also wanted the board to respect his right to confer on matters of policy; and if they did not, he would resign. He wanted to know whether Lincoln's patrons thought he was doing a good service to the school or whether they thought he had stayed two years too long.⁷³²

In board president James's opinion, a new state government required a change in appointments to the Board of Curators. The new board wanted to put forth their own ideas and choose their own president--"that man whom they felt would most nearly carry out their idea of what the University should be."⁷³³ The new board was not out to assail President Young's character but argued that they wanted someone who "would do more for the Negro race"⁷³⁴ in the state than President Young. Was that possible?

In a May 5, 1925 letter to S. W. James, President Young referred to a news article from James that appeared in the St. Louis Globe Democrat. James objected to Young because he had filled the school with enough deans and professors from the south to serve a university of 1,200 students rather than the 400 at Lincoln. Young countered that 9 teachers were from the South, 9 from Missouri, and 17 from other areas. James did not understand that a university was a collection of scholars, and not a mere high school filled with local employees. President Young did not care about their origins, but rather the best teachers that could be hired. He did not hold to the prevalent idea that a university existed to give someone a job, but instead to benefit students.⁷³⁵ This was another glaring example of a board president ignorant of current educational practices, holding forth on partisanship and favoritism. His opinion was soon to be countered by others who had a vested interest in Lincoln.

Delegations from St. Louis, Kansas City, and other cities appeared before the board. President Young took this show of support to mean that the people were willing to fight for the betterment of Lincoln University and had the courage and determination to stand behind him.⁷³⁶ He was not about to give in and go away quietly. Not since the early days of Lincoln's history had a show of support for the school and its president grown to

such noticeable proportions. The attitudes of the blacks had changed. They now felt that the state was required to educate their children and rather than send their sons and daughters out of state as had been the affordable custom. Missouri blacks were standing up for their right to have a voice in the policies affecting this state institution.⁷³⁷ To the detriment of the school, the partisan board chose to negate this new momentum and risk losing such support. The push to get Young out continued.

The election of a president was the first agenda item at the board's May meeting. A motion to re-elect Nathan B. Young resulted in a tie; a motion to notify Young of his dismissal resulted in a tie. James appointed a committee to review applications for the presidency. At the board's June 9 meeting with C. G. Scruggs absent, a motion to re-elect Young was made and seconded. Another motion to defeat this motion called for W. B. Jason as acting president. This motion was defeated. Young was re-elected 4-2 for one more year, but the fight was not over. Had it not been for the pressure of the groups of black people who spoke on behalf of President Young, he would not have been re-elected. The force of public opinion, especially that from black constituents, had changed the normal political strangle-hold over the school--at least for the time being.⁷³⁸

However, James' political games still hurt the school and diminished the efforts of its formidable president. After two years of furious activity to get Lincoln University recognized in statewide media and various correspondences with educators and editors, curators pulled the advertisements for the school from the prominent Negro journal, The Crisis. It was not a question of expense that prompted the move but more a retribution for having President Young re-elected. The benefits of advertising in this widely-distributed and well-known publication were immeasurable. Prospective students, faculty,

staff, plus supporters and alumni kept informed about the school and its accreditation efforts through these ads. The board also stopped publication of the school's own University Record, revived during President Young's administration. This publication was a source of Lincoln's history and included students' creative writing. Now alumni and parents were cut off from this important vehicle for student publication and information.⁷³⁹

Progress Toward Accreditation

In spite of such defeating acts toward Lincoln, President Young continued to vigilantly pursue full accreditation with the North Central Association for the teacher training and liberal arts divisions. The teacher training division had been inspected three times, and by now the school might qualify for admission. Superintendent Charles A. Lee went to Chicago to appear at the Association's meeting to present Lincoln's case. He was successful and Lincoln earned full accreditation for its teacher training division.⁷⁴⁰ Now all departments except the liberal arts college had been accredited with the highest rating. President Young was not finished yet.

President Young informed board president Judge S. W. James of the school's accreditation standing. As a class "A" college rated by the Department of Education of North Carolina, this distinction gave the school's curriculum and operations the credit it deserved. Lincoln also was accredited by the Association of Colleges for Negro Youth. It was now among such distinguished institutions as: Lincoln University in Pennsylvania; Wilberforce University in Ohio; Howard University in Washington, D. C.; Shaw University in North Carolina, Knoxville College in Tennessee; Fisk University in

Tennessee; Atlanta University in Georgia; Morehouse College in Georgia; Bishop College in Texas; Wiley College in Texas; Talladega College in Alabama; Virginia Union University in Virginia; and Johnson C. Smith College in North Carolina. These leading black colleges proved that Lincoln University in Missouri was among the most widely respected and best attended schools in the nation. Although President Young did not believe that there was an exclusive level of education known as "Negro education" as he told J. R. E. Lee in a letter dated January 1926, he did believe in education without limits. Contrary to the thinking of such great leaders as Booker T. Washington, other Southern black educators shared Young's views of education as a color-blind, race-void entity.⁷⁴¹ Education was an objective tool for use in earning a living and functioning as a learned citizen.

President Young wrote Jackson Davis, a member of the General Education Board about the need for a study of education in Missouri. There were, according to Young, "200,000 Negroes who were just as backward economically and educationally as their fellows in the lower South."⁷⁴² Blacks in Missouri faced much more prejudice from white citizens and therefore needed help. He wanted to Board to help Lincoln University and its elementary school as had been done for schools in Mississippi, Georgia, and other southern states.⁷⁴³ Davis had already conducted a study for the General Education Board in 1924. He found that from 1921-1928 southern state normal schools and land-grant colleges graduated 387 from the normal departments, 33 from the colleges, and 505 from the high school departments. Approximately 8,000 new black teachers would be needed in 1928 to fill vacancies in the public schools. If the entire total of graduates from that period entered teaching in 1924, they would total 11.5% of the new black teachers

required. State schools could not supply enough black teachers either. These graduates preferred jobs in cities and towns of southern states, not the rural areas where the majority of common schools for blacks existed. Black private schools produced the most graduates in secondary, normal, and college departments, but that was only a fraction of what was needed each year. Throughout the first thirty years of the twentieth century, a huge shortage of black teachers existed especially in the rural common schools.⁷⁴⁴

In another letter to Thomas Jesse Jones in March 1926, President Young solicited help from this authority on education. Young recounted his efforts to seek accreditation but lamented the difficult challenges. He asked for advice in cutting "this Gordian knot." He considered his work at Lincoln University as his last commitment to education for blacks. He hoped he could see it through.⁷⁴⁵ In 1917, Jones had surveyed black private and higher education. He found that the Hampton-Tuskegee "offshoots" and similar schools had few if any students in their normal and secondary departments. Schools such as Robert Hungerford, Snow Hill, and Penn Normal only had elementary grades; Calhoun, Utica, Manassas, Voorhees and High Point Normal were also basic elementary schools with less than thirty in secondary subjects. Few were expected to complete the tenth grade. Few of these students were headed toward graduation to teach, nor could they spread the industrial education program as teachers in the South's rural schools.⁷⁴⁶

In March 1926 President Young wrote J. H. Mitchell, editor of The St. Louis Argus. The president informed Mitchell that a new building was needed if the school was to earn accreditation as a college.⁷⁴⁷ In reply to John W. Davis, President of West Virginia College, the following year, the list included a library and a laboratory as absolutely necessary before accreditation would be granted.⁷⁴⁸ In correspondence

between President Young and professor Crissman, who in 1926 was no longer a member of the Board of Curators, the professor congratulated the president for succeeding in getting two departments accredited. He added that he was pleased to have taken part in that effort and predicted a bright future for the school with an increase in student enrollment as a result. In response, President Young praised the professor for his involvement although current board members wanted to take credit for Crissman's efforts. As a 1921 curator, appointed when the school's name changed, professor Crissman and his fellow curators viewed their role in upgrading Lincoln Institute to a university with a great deal of conviction.

Memorial to Lincoln's First Black Principal

On August 8, 1926 Walter H. Payne, the second principal and first black to head Lincoln Institute, died at the age of 85.⁷⁴⁹ President Young wrote Mrs. C. W. Bailer, the educator's sister, to express his condolences and to commend his contributions to Lincoln. President Young's avid interest in Lincoln's history led to corresponding with Payne as early as 1923. He had first-hand knowledge of this founding leader's contributions and details about the school's early development.

Young Payne graduated from Adrian College in Michigan and arrived in Jefferson City, Missouri in 1868 with his sister Fannie as his assistant and the celebrated orator and classmate Charles A. Beal to lend their talents to the struggling Lincoln Institute then headed by its first principal, Richard Baxter Foster, the veteran First Lieutenant of the 65th Infantry. Payne taught old and young free of charge in a former stable once used by

the Colored Baptist Church. The American Missionary Association paid his \$400 annual salary. Payne became principal in 1870, the youngest by far of many who were yet to come.

During the two years Payne worked to develop the school, the state superintendent of public instruction had recommended to the legislature in 1868 that Lincoln Institute should be given aid to train black teachers. His recommendation was repeated in 1870. The four year old school had one teacher, no building, but \$7,000 in reserve. He urged the state to assist Lincoln as a school for educating blacks. Also in 1870, black citizens in Missouri petitioned the General Assembly for part of the 330,000 acres of Missouri's land under the Morrill Act of 1862. The citizens wanted Lincoln to become a state normal school. The state demanded Lincoln change missions to that of a teacher training school. The state also required Lincoln meet stiff financial requirements before giving any aid. Thus, Payne witnessed how Lincoln's normal department was created.

Three major changes prompted Payne to leave Lincoln in 1870. First, Lincoln's Board of Trustees honored Foster's request for \$1,200 annual salary, a sum just added to Lincoln's treasury by Beal's and Foster's vigilant fundraising and Payne's astute management. Second, Jefferson City's Board of Education asked Payne to teach the city's black children in the rented church building; he would be principal of the city's school for Negroes for \$75 per month plus \$5 from Lincoln. And third, Lincoln's catalog listed Payne as professor of Latin and Mathematics, not principal. He refused the board's offer and left Jefferson City.

In Lebanon, Missouri, Payne studied law with Judge Wallace. He continued to study law at the University of Kansas while working as principal of the Negro Public Schools in Lawrence, Kansas.⁷⁵⁰ He graduated from the University of Kansas in 1935 and moved to St. Joseph, Missouri. He worked for Thatcher, Inc. He served in WWII and retired as an Army Colonel. He worked as a Benefits Counselor for the Veterans Administration. He also worked at a newspaper in Wichita in 1936 and was connected with the Southern Kansas Stage in June of that year. He had a wife named Vicki, a son, Dow, and a daughter, Jan.⁷⁵¹ Undoubtedly, President Young mourned Payne's death even more when he considered how far the school had come in 60 years.

The Beginning of Lincoln's Athletic and Scholastic Culture

Lincoln Institute students played baseball during President Page's tenure in the 1880s; in fact, they played with President Page and Professor Grisham. When football emerged as a popular campus sport, Lincoln was one of the first schools to organize a team. Romeo A. West was one of those phenomenal athletes at Lincoln who excelled at all sports and so became the athletic coach. The "Lincoln Tigers" were one of the best football teams in the country at the turn of the century defeating several Midwestern teams from high schools. In 1924 during President Young's tenure, Lincoln played larger schools and stiffer competition. Baseball became too expensive as a competitive sport on most college campuses and at Lincoln became more intramural with the emergence of professional and semi-professional teams. Track, on the other hand, became a competitive sport at Lincoln in 1922. Winning several meets, the track team had a commendable

record showing the talents of many young black male athletes. By 1925, Lincoln Institute's athletes were well known among athletic programs at other black schools. In 1926, the school began the tradition of the Homecoming Game, a special day of football and activities dedicated to alumni. Each year the program became more elaborate and included parades with floats, bands, social gatherings and activities with community groups.⁷⁵²

While athletics at Lincoln achieved some notoriety out of sheer willpower moreso than funding, the academic area needed scholarships. President Young wrote William Dawson of the alumni association about establishing scholarships for needy and worthy students some of whom were athletes. New rules now required all athletes to be enrolled in a full schedule and passing three-fourths of their courses to play. The rules also applied to students in extracurricular activities. As a result of faculty enforcement of these regulations, many students were prohibited from participating in athletic and other events.⁷⁵³

Traditions: Reviving, Ending, Beginning

Founder's Day 1927 was revised during President Young's administration. Beginning on January 12, the Dramatic Club presented The Devil's Disciple, the R.O.T.C. paraded at inspection; Professor Green of Lexington, Missouri, class of 1879 and one of the oldest living graduates at that time, delivered the main address followed by an informal reception hosted by President and Mrs. Young.⁷⁵⁴ This renewed attention to various events served to lure supporters to the campus. With such access, President Young

undoubtedly had numerous opportunities to urge alumni for scholarship contributions and escort them through the buildings to point out various needs.

Leaders of the nation's black land-grant colleges decided to opt for an autonomous organization to better address their schools' needs. Previously, these leaders met with those from all agricultural schools. By 1927 many of these black schools were still struggling since their late establishment around 1911 as a result of government provisions issuing from the Morrill Act of 1890. Guided by the Bureau of Education in the Department of Interior and assisted by the National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools, black land grant schools were less well known than the white agricultural schools. To provide more information, the Bureau of Education launched a project to survey these schools. Directed by Dr. Arthur J. Klein, chief of the Bureau's Division of Higher Education, the survey committee included: Dr. William B. Bizzell, president, University of Oklahoma; Dr. C. C. McCracken, Ohio State University; Dean George B. Woods, American University; John H. McNeeley, assistant to the Bureau's director; Dr. Walton C. John and M. Proffitt.⁷⁵⁵ Seventeen black land grant schools participated in a survey of their external and financial administrations to be completed by June 30, 1927 at a cost of \$100-\$200 per school for two days or more of inspection.

Beginning in 1927 with the Seventh Annual Conference of Negro Land Grant Colleges, President Young began to regularly send a representative from Lincoln University. John J. Tigert, Commissioner of Education, informed presidents of black land grant schools he felt it was time these school leaders conducted their own conferences to better solve their problems. President Young agreed. He presumed that other land grant college presidents would concur and closed by thanking the agency for its contributions.⁷⁵⁶

What could be perceived as an opportunity for black college presidents to convene at their own discretion without accommodating the Commissioner's schedule and thereby direct the future of their organizations without scrutiny, could also carry the risk of absent information about opportunities and progress made by other colleges.

In the meantime, the school came under scrutiny of some in-state supporters. The Citizens Committee of One Thousand from St. Louis composed a resolution presented by Rep. Walthall M. Moore, one of two black legislators, calling for investigation of Lincoln University. Specifically, the Board of Curator's president, Judge S. W. James (former prosecuting attorney of Pettis County) was cited for coercing faculty members to buy stocks in the Standard Saving and Loan Company of Kansas City. After investigation by a legislative committee which included interviews of faculty members, the conclusion of the committee determined that although no criminal charges were in order, the action was unethical. James was ordered to cease.⁷⁵⁷ Unethical indeed--given that faculty had no tenure and were hired and fired at the discretion of the board, many faculty were no doubt hard pressed to object to being forced to spend their money at the bidding of the board president. As a judge, there was no legal salve to withhold prosecution save the fact that other board members, the county prosecutor, the legislators, and the governor were not going to charge James with a crime--certainly not a crime that could wear two faces. On the one hand, the board could claim no knowledge of faculty money in his company, or that their stock was purchased voluntarily. On the other hand, James could claim he was simply giving them financial advice and the decision to buy stock was purely voluntary. Either way, a crime had occurred against a group of persons who neither had representation with the board, who could not count on President Young to push for

prosecution because he had so many other issues with the board, and who had no intention of risking their position and incurring negative publicity for what might be perceived as their own cowardice. Such was the condition of the faculty's position that keeping a job was more expedient than righting a wrong.

Board Business

In a March 14, 1927 letter to Senator Phil M. Donnelly, President Young requested his assistance in passing HB 166 providing for common school benefits to more black children in Missouri. The Senator's response was that the Senate Appropriations Committee agreed to increase the amount appropriated by the House by \$53,300, more than the two-year allocation. In correspondence to Dr. Thompkins of Kansas City, President Young thought the appropriation had been increased by \$45,000. In 1927 Lincoln was appropriated \$275,000. Agriculture was designated \$3,000.⁷⁵⁸

School employees received a copy of new purchasing regulations. Purchases were now to be routed through the president and the purchasing agent who approved or disapproved the requests for the business committee (the president acted as chairman and the committee members were the registrar, purchasing agent, head of the education department, manager of the boarding department, and a faculty department head). Then the approved request went to the executive committee of the board. Requisitions and cash expenses were subject to approval by the business committee. Those cash expenses ranging from \$25 to \$300 each month had to be approved by the executive committee and all bills had to have signed requisitions of sources requesting the expenses or services.

The board's miscellaneous fund of \$100 was used for ready cash by the chairman of the business committee through the purchasing agent. This kept financial transactions flowing when the executive committee could not meet. Each month the purchasing agent submitted an itemized and annotated list of expenses to determine that the lowest bid price was used.⁷⁵⁹ Such tactical maneuvers by the board to control the internal management of funds attests to their desire to maintain control over every aspect of school operations rather than a remedy to mismanagement or adherence to standard bookkeeping practices.

Changes in Student Culture

The advent of the Jazz Age had not escaped students at Lincoln University or any other black college in America in the 1920s. In the early 1920s, Eubie Blake's ragtime music swept the country. In addition, the great influence of the Harlem Renaissance permeated African American culture. New ideas and new sounds infiltrated college campuses.⁷⁶⁰ Lincoln's faculty complained about noise in the halls, and jazz music being played in the music rooms. To nullify these influences, curators demanded mandatory attendance at Sunday School for freshman, a resurrected rule from the boarding school days, enforced once again.⁷⁶¹ They thought a tighter parochial hold would supplant these influences. Students in black colleges in the 1920s were different from those who attended before World War I. A growing black middle class sent their offspring to their black schools for the same reasons they went--to rise economically and socially. But their offspring were introduced to a Modern Age which brought radio, moving pictures, newspapers, and the spread of ideas by Northern students attending Southern schools. In

addition, black soldiers returning from the war were not submissive children willing to shrink their view of the world to the dictatorial authority of a single figurehead. While the Niagara movement countered accommodationists, the NAACP organized to counter lynchings and other forms of race genocide and injustice. Rigid regulation of students in dress codes, church attendance, separation of males from females, prohibitions against smoking, cosmetics, gambling, dancing, athletic competitions, matriculation on and off campus, student newspapers, fraternities and sororities, and a host of other forms of self-expression were being challenged on several campuses. No electrical appliances, flammable items (even candles) were allowed in dormitories on some campuses. Faculty turned into spies and could open and dispose of student mail and packages at their discretion at other campuses. As presidents at black schools, whether black as at Lincoln, or white as at Fisk, sought ways to deal with these issues and still retain board support, the dynamism of the time would soon force colleges to deal with student complaints. Some rules were arbitrary; others were meant to deny personhood and thus became embroiled in racial division. Nevertheless, black colleges had to deal with the new "radically different" student and manage to survive.

New Board, Old President--Again

June 15, 1927 was President Nathan B. Young's last day according to a letter from the newly installed board. Former president Clement Richardson, who served from 1918-22, was rehired as president at the April 8 board meeting. He hired the summer school faculty. President Young closed the spring term in the usual manner while President

Richardson began the summer term. At the next board meeting, April 26, President Young thanked the board for prior support and offered his services to Richardson during the period of transition. In other business, the board voted to resurrect the model school used for practice teaching in grades one through eight. It was closed because of too few students and even less resources. The board hired teachers to staff it anyway.⁷⁶²

President Richardson changed his mind. In a letter dated June 2, 1927 he stated:

Honorable Samuel W. James, Sedalia, Missouri.

My Dear Sir: I am herewith declining the
Presidency of Lincoln University. I am convinced
that I can render more acceptable service here at
Western College. Thanking you and the Board of
Curators for the honor conferred upon me, I am,

Yours sincerely,

Clement Richardson, President.⁷⁶³

The board hastily elected Dean W. B. Jason acting president for a year and included use of the president's home as a bonus. Jason taught mathematics, physics, chemistry, and served as football coach. He later quickly moved to director of the athletic department, then to dean before accepting this new role.⁷⁶⁴ Other business at the June meeting revised the position of the professor of agriculture. At a salary of \$2,700 minus a new rent charge of \$600 for use of the farm cottage, the board hired Arthur Hammons.⁷⁶⁵

The board also authorized publication of a completely new catalog; however, the executive committee that approved the expense did not take into consideration the lateness of the project. Students were already enrolled in courses listed in the current

catalog; a completely new catalog would serve no purpose. Whether the board recognized the poor timing or whether the faculty was too busy preparing for the summer term, the new catalog never materialized. The September 6, 1927 issue of the Jefferson City Post-Tribune announced September 12 as the beginning of Lincoln University's fall term amid many renovation projects and a revived model school. New faculty replaced those not rehired and Acting President Jason expected a large enrollment.⁷⁶⁶

I. C. Tull, business manager since 1919 when Clement Richardson assumed the president's role, was not rehired. Instead, the board hired Duke Diggs, a black Jefferson City business man, as his replacement. Diggs informed the board of an increase in the light bill for one month from \$199.76 to \$317.72. He cited too many lights in the classrooms and too many electrical appliances as causes for the increase. He suggested confiscating students' appliances. Diggs also pointed to the large number of students employed by the university. He suggested that many were boarding free. He also requested job descriptions of the president and the business manager. Typically, the president determined the duties of the business manager who traditionally acted as the president's chief assistant.⁷⁶⁷ The fact that Diggs was not familiar with traditional university practices proved that a business man had a much different perspective about cost saving measures than a trained and educated business manager with experience in higher education. He intended to run the school like a business.

New rules from the board included a lights out policy at 10:00 p. m. In an effort to save money on the electric bill, the board's policy ignored the fact that teachers who had no offices used classrooms to prepare lessons and grade papers. Students, of course, studied late in their dormitory rooms. Everyone on campus at night needed light.⁷⁶⁸

William B. Jason, President, 1928-1929

At its November 10 meeting, the board voted Jason the regular president's salary of \$4,000 for two years. The previous faculty met with the teachers' committee in April. They recommended the board hire Jason permanently although the new faculty and Jason were not officially hired until May 1, 1928.

The May 1, 1928 issue of the Jefferson City Post-Tribune published a brief biography of Lincoln's new president. The reporter incorrectly cited President Jason as a graduate of Brown University instead of Howard University, class of 1913. He earned an M. A. degree in 1915 from the University of Pennsylvania. The reporter called him one of the outstanding educators among "his people" in the state; one who would build a larger better Lincoln University.⁷⁶⁹

President Jason's expectations of a large enrollment did not materialize. The 163 students who entered the fall term in September 1927 was about the same number that enrolled the preceding year. A news article in the May 16 issue of the Jefferson City Post-Tribune applauded the enrollment and commended President Jason's work that year as the beginning of a progressive era.⁷⁷⁰

The May 31, 1928 commencement featured guest speaker R. E. Jones, bishop of the Louisiana diocese of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The number of graduates was the largest so far. Again, the local newspaper broadcast the attendance at this event by the governor and other state officials; however, only the graduates' parents came.⁷⁷¹

Board member Attorney Freeman A. Martin from St. Louis introduced the following resolution:

Beginning September, 1929, the board agreed under the provisions of the resolution to seek appropriations for the erection of a new building for a law school, a gymnasium and a science building for the use of the science departments.⁷⁷²

This declaration was but a repeat of that from previous boards and presidents Richardson and Young to raise Lincoln University to the standards of the University of Missouri-Columbia. The May 16 issue of the Jefferson City Post-Tribune reported the intention to advance the school as an accomplished fact.⁷⁷³ None of these facilities existed in 1928.

Newly elected Governor Henry S. Caulfield recommended that provisions be made to develop Lincoln University (which had no standard courses) into a university according to the 1921 law that intended its board to move in that direction. Governor Caulfield asked the legislature to fund a survey to determine what Lincoln needed. The State Survey Commission chaired by Theodore Gary included Claude B. Ricketts, secretary, Senator William R. Painter, Senator Manvel H. Davis, Representative Langdon R. Jones, Fred Naeter, Allen McReynold, and office manager Eldridge King. Experts who conducted the survey included associate directors Dr. George D. Strayer and Dr. N. L. Englehardt of the Teachers' College of Columbia University, New York City. Other members included faculty at the Teachers' College: Lotus D. Coffman, president of University of Minnesota, Edward E. Evenden, Donald P. Cottrell, Floyd B. O'Rear, Florence B. Stratemyer, Harry B. Hammond, teacher at Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute who directed the summer session of the Society for the Promotion of Engineering

Education. Graduate students from Columbia University and the University of Missouri also participated in the survey.⁷⁷⁴ The large number of participants in this survey promised an uncompromising assessment of the school.

Published in 1928, Lincoln University was included among those schools profiled. According to the surveyors who studied the school's activities, salaries, and working conditions, major concerns persisted in the area of too little work done in the agriculture and mechanic arts departments--central areas for a land grant college. Surveyors recommended more state aid to match the \$5,000 federal grant. In addition, committee members recommended a new classroom building to relieve congestion in Memorial Hall, and a name change to Lincoln College of Missouri to distinguish it from Lincoln University in Pennsylvania since graduate work was not offered.⁷⁷⁵

Higher education in Missouri was thoroughly studied to determine the needs of each institution. The conclusions made about Lincoln University contained no new information. Salaries were too low to keep well-educated faculty. At least \$4,500 for full-time faculty should be paid to outstanding teachers. The school should hire well-educated faculty with doctorates. The survey also recommended an annual specific amount to be spent on buildings.⁷⁷⁶ The governor's survey must have impacted the attitudes of the legislature. Lincoln was appropriated \$25,000 for a new classroom building and equipment. This was the building the board of 1921 commissioned--the one which the state auditor refused to pay architectural fees for services rendered. This 1929 appropriation funded the new building that was not completed until September 1931.⁷⁷⁷

Representative L. Amassa Knox, Kansas City and Representative Graves M. Allen, St. Louis introduced a bill to transfer a demonstration farm and agriculture school for

blacks from the University of Missouri-Columbia to Lincoln University. The property, located in Chariton County, was situated in Dalton, Missouri and referred to as the Dalton Vocational School. Repealing all conflicting laws, the state was required to appropriate funds to carry out provisions of the bill including who could attend and under what conditions. The House and Senate passed the bill. The governor signed it into law.⁷⁷⁸

Goodbye Mr. Jason

As evidence that politics governed Lincoln University from its inception to the present, the new governor, who appointed new members to Lincoln University's Board of Curators, continued to trigger the traditional response: new governor--new board--new president. The year 1929 was no exception. Although bound by contract with President Jason for another year, the new half of the board pushed to hire a new president. Consulting the State Attorney General, these appointees were pleased that his ruling allowed them to terminate the contract with Jason. The faculty was shaken. Anyone's contract with Lincoln University could be terminated at will.⁷⁷⁹ If Lincoln University did not have such a revolving door for hiring faculty members as well, a record marred with late hiring, uncertain expectations, and constant changes in the school's administration, they would have been employed long enough to see this year's switching of presidents as a predictable pattern of operations. As far back as the first black principal, Inman E. Page in 1868-70, Lincoln Institute had had a politically controlled destiny. No one who ventured to lead the institution or serve as faculty or staff could presume stability in their careers--ever.

The new board hired Charles Nagel president. Nagel was secretary of commerce in President McKinley's cabinet. He had served as a member of Washington University's Board of Trustees for several years. And he was in familiar company with Lincoln's Board of Curators whose newly appointed members, Mrs. Julia Curtis, Attorney Edgar Rombaur, St. Louis, and Dr. Edward Perry, Kansas City, had also served on Washington University's board appointed by Governor Hyde in 1921.⁷⁸⁰

Dr. J. D. Elliff, a board member, was asked to reroute his trip home from Europe to stop in North Carolina and interview J. W. Seabrook of the Fayetteville Normal School. Mr. Seabrook, expecting to become that school's next president, declined Lincoln's offer. To clear the way for the new board's choice of president, both President Jason and Duke Diggs, the business manager, resigned. In exasperation from their search, the board hired Nathan B. Young and I. C. Tull--again. Young served from 1923-27; Tull served from 1918-28 (except a year as business manager at Brick Junior College in North Carolina). Mr. Jason returned to his former position of Dean; Mr. Diggs presumably returned to his business.⁷⁸¹

Nathan B. Young, President, 1929-31

President Young was working as an inspector of Missouri's black schools during his hiatus from Lincoln University. He immediately resumed his stalwart efforts to better the educational opportunities for black children in the state especially if attending Lincoln University was a step in that direction. He resumed his advocacy for scholarships and his preferred means of communication--writing letters. In a letter to the public, President

Young offered free fees and \$75 to pay some expenses to destitute students if they were from districts without black schools. According to the president's contacts, there were at least 4,000 students who met the criteria. The state law that hampered certain areas from having an elementary school for blacks required at least 15 students. High schools for blacks were even less available than elementary schools. President Young saw Lincoln University once again as a beacon of light to these young and quite deprived students. The board granted scholarships to any honor graduate of any first-class high school in Missouri. Although this move helped a number of students, it was still too restrictive to help a large population of deserving students.

Three hundred black children in Jefferson City were hardly enough to support two elementary schools--the public elementary school for blacks and Lincoln University's model school. According to President Young, the best means to train practice teachers was in the public school setting, a relatively inexpensive operation for the city at \$175 per month. The board agreed with his assessment and at its May 1930 meeting completed plans with the Jefferson City Board of Education to allow Lincoln University's teacher education students to practice teach in the public schools.⁷⁸²

While President Jason had little opportunity to make changes in the operation of the school, President Young's three-year record was filled with innovative changes as well as troublesome recurring problems and issues. One that he diverted at the time it was presented was the students' desire to establish campus chapters of Greek-letter fraternities and sororities. The same route of their request occurred as it had in 1923. Students petitioned the faculty who informed the president who formed a faculty committee who wanted the board to decide the matter. This time, almost a decade later, the faculty

committee recommended the board grant the request.⁷⁸³

Seeking to operate by example, President Young queried other black colleges and universities for their rules governing these organizations. He went to the source--Howard University--where the dominant fraternities and sororities for black college students began. Unfortunately, Dean Holmes replied that Howard was revising its rules; he did not want to forward old ones. President Young queried Dean J. T. Cater of Talladega College. In the long run, the president entrusted the matter to a committee aptly named [The Committee on] Recognition of Fraternities and Sororities in Lincoln University. Chaired by L. S. Curtis, the members Miss J. M. Brassfield, Miss R. E. Muckelroy, W. W. Dowdy, E. P. Jones and N. P. Barksdale reported to the faculty February 5, 1930. Students could petition said committee for permission to establish a chapter subject to approval by the faculty and the board's executive council. This committee on fraternities and sororities functioned to guide and supervise all activities of such groups.

The committee decided that charter members must have a B average; other members must have a C average. Each group was allowed one annual members-only formal function. The number of informal events was not so specified. No freshmen could pledge, and upperclassmen must have resided one semester on campus. Initiations could not interfere with campus events; only one new member per semester could be invited to join.⁷⁸⁴ It is interesting to note that the committee did not make stipulations for a sponsor, nor did it include students in its collaborations. At the rate of membership increase, the new chapter could only grow by eight members each year in addition to the founding members. The provincial attitudes that had governed rule-making for students throughout the school's history were still very much in effect. The current faculty was probably

unaware of a students' petition to legislators years earlier citing complaints about faculty control of the Ruskin Literary Society.

In a letter to President Young, board member Dr. J. D. Elliff expressed concern that Lincoln's faculty be permitted to attend educational and scientific conferences. Since board members' expenses were paid from a miscellaneous fund, he suggested using \$50-\$100 or more of that fund to finance trips for the president and faculty. Requests for attending such meetings had to have the president's approval in advance. Prior to Dr. Elliff's suggestion, Lincoln University tried to send a representative to major scientific conferences but funds were not always available for long-distance excursions.

A ground breaking ceremony was held to begin construction on the new education building and a home economics building. The state had appropriated \$250,000 for the first building while the General Education Board of New York donated \$50,000 for the second. Governor Henry S. Caulfield spoke at the ceremony held September 30, 1930. He hoped this event marked the beginning of a new era at Lincoln University, a school that had just received the largest appropriation in its history. He predicted the school would receive better equipment and more adequate appropriations. He wanted to see Lincoln University rise to the level of the University of Missouri-Columbia. Lincoln had proved its worth with so little resources. Its graduates were good useful citizens, a credit to their state and race. He applauded the school's incentive to raise its cultural standards; it was that rise in standards that would bring accreditation. For years the school had been a university in name only; its credits not approved by recognized agencies. Graduates who wanted to secure standard work had to leave the state. He hoped the time was near that would no longer be required; the state would then recognize its obligations and make

educational equality more than a phrase. He wanted to see an elementary school within the reach of every boy and girl in the state.⁷⁸⁵

The Jefferson City chapter of the alumni association requested the new educational building be named after B. F. Allen, a former president who served the school for more than 20 years. The board decided to name the building College Hall. The home economics building was named Anderson M. Schweich Hall.⁷⁸⁶ President Young requested the board hire someone connected to the State Department of Education to conduct extension training throughout the state. Melbourne C. Langford, a graduate of Morgan College with a masters degree from Columbia University, was hired to begin giving in-service training. Her classes were filled with teachers from the black schools in southeast Missouri whose training had not been upgraded since the days when teachers were granted life-time teaching certificates if they could pass an exam after completing elementary school. The large population of blacks in this part of the state grew because of the cotton growing industry. Many teachers in these schools were poorly paid in addition to being poorly trained.

Board president Charles Nagel donated 15 books on history, literature, and music to Lincoln's library. The librarian, Miss Lovey A. Anthony, told the faculty at its January 30, 1930 meeting that 556 books had been catalogued. Subject to approval by the trustees, books could be purchased through a \$7,500 donation from the Rosenwald Fund. Nagel resigned in April 1930 because his services required too much time and he felt someone else could give the school more attention. Experienced in higher education, Nagel tried to use his business experience and educational training to assist Lincoln University.⁷⁸⁷

In an effort to change the length of time board members served, and to rectify the circumstance that half of Lincoln's board members changed every four years instead of every six as with other state schools, President Young wrote Dr. William J. Thompkins, St. Louis and informed him the St. Louis alumni association was pushing to pass a bill to lengthen the terms curators served. The bill called for alignment with those terms at other Missouri teachers' colleges and at the University of Missouri-Columbia. Such an act would prevent the board from being changed at the arbitrary discretion of each new governor and keep the school from becoming a "political makeshift."⁷⁸⁸ President Young also wrote Senator Phil M. Donnelly from this district explaining his reasons to support the bill. The president wanted Lincoln stabilized; this bill could bring that stability. A second letter to Senator Donnelly on March 11 urged his support of the bill. Unfortunately, the bill did not pass. But a similar bill introduced in the House April 15, 1929 by Wathall M. Moore of the Third District of St. Louis set the board at six members to include three blacks. After the bill became law, the governor immediately appointed qualified voters. Two members terms would expire January 1, 1931, the next two in 1933, and the final two, in 1935. Successors were appointed for six year terms. The board was to be organized like that of the University of Missouri-Columbia and meet annually and semi-annually.⁷⁸⁹ Lincoln was the only state school that still had the superintendent of public instruction as an ex officio member. There were no specific statutes about the constitution of Lincoln's board when it began to receive state funds for normal school training. It was long past time for change.

The General Education Board of New York initiated a survey of education for blacks in Missouri before contributing to Lincoln University. Dr. Frank P. Bachman and

Dr. Doak Campbell of Peabody Teachers' College, Nashville, Tennessee conducted the study. Their report to curators on April 8, 1930 concluded that Lincoln University's greatest contribution to black education in Missouri was as a teacher-training institution. Bachman and Campbell recommended Lincoln's mission and curriculum change to meet that need. As a result, the curriculum was revised. Four and five-hour science courses were reduced to three-hours.

Dr. E. B. Stouffer, Dean of the Graduate School, University of Kansas, held a conference with the State Department of Education and the curators after inspecting classes and meeting with administrators. He was conducting another inspection to determine the admissibility of Lincoln University to the North Central Association. He commended the construction projects for two new buildings--administration and home economics. He also commended the integrity and earnest commitment of the university community to educate black students. On the other hand, he determined that many faculty members did not have the required educational training to teach certain subjects on the college level. In addition, the administration and faculty were not trained to establish curriculum standards and the general atmosphere of a college. Dr. Stouffer did not recommend accreditation and the Association concurred.⁷⁹⁰

The board was surprised. The faculty, who were forced to teach the courses set in the curriculum, did not applaud the inspection. Dean Stouffer recommended that the school reapply for admission when the school's faculty was educated to the level required for a college. President Young wrote board member T. B. Watkins about the results of the inspection. Lincoln University was accredited by North Central Association as a teacher-training school, but not as a liberal arts college. He was sure that by meeting the

recommendations for improvement, the school would one day become fully accredited in all departments: high school, teacher-training, and liberal arts.⁷⁹¹

President Young requested an increase in the biennial appropriation for a laundry building, stokers for the power house, repairs to the old model school which had been damaged by fire, funds for agriculture and for a mechanic arts building. The Tax Commission disagreed with funding these needs and reduced the amounts requested. The Commission deleted requested funds for the mechanic arts building, the stokers, the model school, extension service, and drastically reduced amounts for the remaining items. President Young informed board president J. B. Edwards, and the curators of the Tax Commissions' actions. He also informed E. W. Keithly, chair of the House Appropriations Committee of the 56th General Assembly urging him to increase funding and restore requested amounts. He informed Keithly the board had not requested more than was absolutely needed.⁷⁹² The legislature appropriated increased funding for some items. The total was \$520,655 for the next two years. The president and board had a difficult time holding on to this amount. The \$250,000 set aside for the education building begun in 1929 must have seemed to some legislators like a huge allocation to Lincoln. There were those who wanted to reduce, reduce, reduce funds to the school.

By the April 6, 1931 board meeting, Lincoln University had two buildings under construction, approximately 200 students, two-thirds of full accreditation by the North Central Association, an extension program, a revised curriculum in teacher-training, and a dismissed president. The board informed President Young their intent to terminate his services at Lincoln University. They hired Dr. Ambrose Caliver, senior specialist in black education at the Bureau of Education, for \$4,000 annual salary to begin June 1931 for

three years. Dr. Caliver declined.⁷⁹³ The board then invited Charles Wilbur Florence to see the school, meet the board and the governor. At its June 21 meeting, the board approved Florence and hired him at a salary of \$4,200 for three years beginning as soon as possible before August 1.⁷⁹⁴

Charles W. Florence, President, 1931-37

Born in South Brownsville, Pennsylvania, a suburb of Pittsburgh, and educated in the city's schools, Charles Florence earned a bachelors degree in education and philosophy from the University of Pittsburgh where he excelled in debating. At Virginia State College he was professor of education, then assistant to the president, then dean. He earned a masters degree at the University of Pittsburgh in 1923. In 1929 he began a doctoral program at Harvard having been awarded two scholarships for graduate study. When he arrived at Lincoln, he had only to write his dissertation.⁷⁹⁵

Dean Jason presided over the 1931 summer term until August 1 when the new president arrived. President Florence conducted the summer commencement exercises held August 14. Dr. Joseph S. Gomez, a prominent pastor of the A.M.E. Church in Kansas City, delivered the address. Two hundred and six students were enrolled that summer. The increase was precipitated by a change in the requirements for a life-time teaching certificate. Now that certificate could be earned for two years of course work rather than sixty hours in four years.⁷⁹⁶

F.C. Heariold, superintendent of buildings and grounds, informed the board that construction on College Hall and Schweich Hall met the specifications; the contract could

be accepted. Fall classes began in College Hall, meals were now served in Schweich Hall. That was the end to the nineteenth century boarding school arrangement of set dining times that required all to be present. The new cafeteria system provided choice in the menu items and allowed freedom of dining times.⁷⁹⁷

To meet requirements for faculty upgrading recommended by the North Central Association's 1930 inspection, the board voted to give department heads a year's leave with half pay to earn doctorate degrees, now a requirement for such personnel. In 1931, no faculty member held a doctorate. Three department heads accepted this offer: A. A. Kildare, physics; W. W. Dowdy, biology, and W. Sherman Savage, history.

Newly hired faculty included: Marcia Canty, head of home economics, M. A. Home Economics, Columbia University; Alice Harris, head of cafeteria, M.A. Home Economics, Columbia University; Donald Edwards, acting head of physics department, A. B., M. S., University of Chicago; Marguerite Burns, head of home economics, high school, A. B. University of Chicago; and L. H. Bryant, former State Inspector of Negro Schools.⁷⁹⁸

Dr. J. E. Perry, a board member, reported on the health status of the school to curators. He recommended each entering student be given a physical examination and health records. He reiterated the need for a hospital and suggested use of the senior cottage, a small building used for student overflow, for that purpose. He estimated expense for the hospital at \$2,500. He wrote Dr. James A. Stewart, secretary of the Missouri State Board of Health for advice and resources. Dr. Stewart agreed to work with the board to establish some process for meeting students' health needs.⁷⁹⁹

J. B. Coleman, another board member, discussed student matriculation in a letter dated October 6 to President Florence. According to Coleman's assessment, 90 percent of the students requested work during the early years of the Depression. In completing Schweich Hall, Coleman cited \$308 paid to contractors that could have paid student labor. An additional \$265, plus architect's costs, also could have been paid to students. There were other expenses such as a drainage system around College Hall that with student labor could have been reduced to \$1,000 in costs. He also suggested establishing a museum headed by a state citizen and hiring a registrar.⁸⁰⁰

At the October 12 board meeting, President Florence presented his assessment of the school. He found the teachers cooperative, but the morale low. He made no changes in faculty but cited the need for additional personnel. He recommended hiring an experienced and trained Dean of Men. Former deans had also worked as athletic coaches. Due to a shortage of funds during the Young administration, the registrar was also a combination position for former staff members. Under the business manager, the person fulfilling the tasks of the registrar was also a business office employee. Only during the Jason administration was it a separate job for two years. The president also cited the need for an activities building for assemblies, meetings, and space for the music and art departments. Unfortunately, the economic downturn prevented the board from acting to fulfill these needs.⁸⁰¹

Founder's Day, January 14, 1932, featured Reverend H. B. Burton, pastor of the A. M. E. Church, Jefferson City and a former teacher of English at Lincoln University. The orchestra and choral groups performed. Visitors toured College Hall and Schweich Hall. Although the administration expected a large crowd, the winter weather and the

timing close to holiday break kept many former teacher-graduates from returning.⁸⁰²

L. D. Thompson audited the school's financial records from October 1, 1927 to June 30, 1931. The last audit occurred in 1927. He recommend students get a receipt for textbook purchases at the time of purchase, a copy of which should be filed in the business office.⁸⁰³

In December 1931, W. J. Monilaw of Chicago inspected the athletic program for the high school now that that division was accredited by North Central. Monilaw suggested that the program was trying to imitate larger schools and recommended downsizing to intramural athletics because of the great distance between Lincoln University and its competitors. The program had a deficit each year paid from the general budget, but athletes were not violating any rules of the accrediting agency because they volunteered to play. Lincoln could not afford a recruitment program and since its earliest sports teams were volunteer by necessity of being the only organized physical activity for males, it became a source of pride that athletes willingly played without the benefit of scholarships. Monilaw thought there were too many athletes working at student jobs compared to the number of other student workers, yet it was widely known that white schools participated in exactly the same arrangement.⁸⁰⁴

Yet Another Survey

Dr. J. D. Elliff, now board president, presented a resolution to form a committee of five to survey the school's curriculum, physical plant, faculty, and other areas for evidence to warrant a larger appropriation for the 1937-38 legislative period. Still

pursuing the elusive goal of rising to meet the education needs of Missouri blacks at the standard of the University of Missouri-Columbia, the adopted resolution authorized him to appoint Superintendent Lloyd W. King, V. H. Collins, principal, Washington Public School, Jefferson City; J. L. McLemore, attorney, St. Louis who were members of the board, plus Harry J. Gerling, superintendent of schools, St. Louis; O. G. Stanford, dean, Kansas City University and former assistant superintendent of Missouri public schools. The committee met on April 28, 1936 to organize the survey. Lincoln University's assistant professor of history, Lorenzo J. Greene, was given release time to work on the survey. Professor J. E. Miller assumed Greene's classes and duties. However, Professor Greene and the other committee members were not able to complete the survey. Dr. Elliff tried to move the project forward and appointed Everette E. Keith, State Department of Education, as director, and Professor Greene, as collaborator.

During the summer of 1936, Professor Greene worked on the survey and taught summer school. His 46-page report was ready December 21. In brief, Greene cited the need to revise courses to meet the needs of graduates who returned to their communities to work. Since many were from impoverished backgrounds and lived in communities with poor economic advantages, Greene's report showed a relationship between what was needed in the curriculum versus what was offered. Two areas in special need of revision were mechanic arts and social services. The absence of a sociology department seemed a gross oversight because the needs of blacks in the state could not be quantified nor qualified. Greene based his report on the demographics of the African American population and economic conditions, the school's physical plant, equipment, curriculum, and faculty.

Greene recommended the following changes over the span of a carefully structured ten-year program: 1. establish a business and commerce department for clerical jobs and teaching; offer business enterprise training to equip blacks to own businesses; 2. increase course offerings in the department of mechanical arts to train for jobs in industry and teaching; 3. add a veterinary science course to agriculture department and strengthen the program; 4. establish a sociology department including applied sociology to train social workers; 5. establish a physical education department for employment in teaching, playgrounds and social agencies; 6. develop kindergarten instruction to meet demand for teachers; 7. develop a program in vocational guidance and student-training; 8. strengthen the fine arts department (music, art, dancing and allied fields); 9. provide adequate, comfortable student housing; 10. establish scholarships like the Curator Scholarship for out-of-state students; 11. strengthen faculty education and training; 12. establish academic ranking from assistants to full professors; 13. increase salaries; add an additional one-sixth pay increase for summer school teaching (as in state teachers' colleges and the state university); 14. support system for research via a research fund and clearing committee (including leaves of absence with pay to conduct research and a reduction of teaching load); 15. emphasize work on the undergraduate program during first half of implementation; then survey the need for graduate courses the latter half.⁸⁰⁵

Superintendent King thanked Professor Greene for the survey; Dr. Elliff cautioned against announcing the report until arriving at a consensus from the original committee members. However, the report was never forwarded to the committee, thus Professor Greene's effort was interpreted as one man's wish list. Beyond a courteous response from King, who did no work on the report, Professor Greene worked solo and free.⁸⁰⁶

President Florence recommended that the board ask the governor to appoint a commission on higher education for blacks and that funds be appropriated to undertake a more comprehensive study than was done in Professor Greene's report. Superintendent King presented that resolution. The governor appointed a seven-member commission to survey the educational, economic, and social needs and to report in 30 days. He recommended \$500 to conduct this survey. After this commission's report, the governor planned to appoint a permanent commission to make a comprehensive survey and secure an appropriation for it. Although the same commission was appointed to serve permanently, there were no funds to conduct the survey.⁸⁰⁷

With or without a survey, the school budget prepared in December 1936 requested a total of \$1,045,500 for all purposes that included personnel \$276,000; additions totaling \$645,500; a library building \$125,000; a women's' dorm \$150,000; a heating plant (no amount specified); \$18,000 for land to expand the school; \$26,300 repairs, supplies; and \$97,600 for operating costs. The board approved and submitted the budget to the budget officer of the legislature who disapproved it. The budget officer, who based his approval on the amount of revenue available, approved \$230,000 for personnel; \$200,000 for additions; \$20,000 for repairs and replacements; and \$90,000 for operations.⁸⁰⁸ Still the board and the president had to push the legislators to restore amounts from the originally submitted budget if they could. The needs of the institution were a priority that must be made clear to the House and Senate. This time, the budget office prevailed and the recommended amounts given by that office went to Lincoln.⁸⁰⁹ The appropriation for the Dalton Vocational School for 1937-38 totaled \$65,000. It was divided into the following allocations: \$14,000 personnel; additions totaled \$45,000 with \$4,000 for repairs and

\$2,000 for operations.⁸¹⁰

The president reported to the board concerning the recent accomplishments under his administration. President Florence cited improved scholarship, improved teaching, added extra-curricular activities, and The Clarion, a new bi-weekly student newspaper. A faculty study examined the teacher education program and the liberal arts program for content and teaching methods. Although there was little agreement in teaching content for both divisions, the study allowed the president an opportunity to gauge the needed improvement between these areas.⁸¹¹

Negro History Week

Lincoln University celebrated Negro History Week, one of the most significant occasions for renewing the history of African Americans. A staff member distributed information about the purpose of the week throughout the state and aided the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History to that end. This association was founded by historian Carter G. Woodson in Chicago in 1915.⁸¹² Distinguished speakers took part in the regular lecture-recital series featuring some of the best known historians and educators connected with black schools such as Dr. Alain Lock, professor of philosophy, Howard University; Dr. Charles Johnson, professor of sociology, Fisk University; Dr. A. A. Taylor, dean, College of Liberal Arts, Fisk University; Dr. Rayford Logan, Atlanta University; Professor Sterling Brown, Howard University; Professor L. H. Reddick, Dillard University.⁸¹³

Changes in Student Matriculation and Faculty Upgrading

To assess the effectiveness of teaching and student scholarship, in 1932 seniors had to take a comprehensive examination. Liberal arts students took one exam while secondary teacher education students had to take two. There were opposing responses to these exams. Some faculty discounted their value because a student did not receive credit for passing the exam but was detained from graduating six months if the student did not pass. Students also had to continue course work while preparing for the exams. The exams required considerable outside reading and synthesis of concepts from several courses.⁸¹⁴ For those not constrained by exams, debating regained interest if not acclaim. The Lincoln team competed against Langston University, Arkansas State College, and LeMoyne College.⁸¹⁵

Faculty on leave to study for graduate degrees included: U. S. Maxwell, chemistry; N. P. Barksdale, languages; S. F. Collins, education; C. A. Blue, English; W. B. Jason, mathematics; and T. H. Miles, mathematics. Later, the General Education Board, the Rosenwald Fund, scholarships from schools and the state for black educators assisted other faculty to pursue doctorate degrees. Curators paid out-of-state tuition--but not room and board or other costs--to schools in adjacent states where faculty pursued degree programs. Because state law prohibited blacks from attending the University of Missouri-Columbia to take graduate courses, they had to apply to schools outside Missouri. This was the only way most blacks in Missouri could earn a graduate degree.⁸¹⁶

Dalton Vocational School

President Florence suggested a workable solution to best use the Dalton Vocational School, a facility established with donations in 1907 by N. C. Bruce, a former state inspector of black schools. The 1911 Board of Trustees of that school conducted an industrial school for black children. In 1925, trustees donated 50 acres of good land to the state to establish an agricultural extension model farm for both vocational and industrial training. The University of Missouri-Columbia board supervised the work until a 1929 state law transferred the property to the Board of Curators of Lincoln University. Because the remaining land for the school was heavily mortgaged and could not be used, Lincoln tried to make use of the 50 acres. Curators had to decide whether to use Dalton as an experimental station or as an industrial school. President Florence suggested a vocational high school because of the lack of additional funds to operate the facility, and because it could serve the community of Dalton, Missouri. The school could then receive state aid. The board discussed President Florence's suggestion with George W. Reavis, Director of Vocational Education, State Department of Education. The board's executive committee delineated the relationship between the Dalton facility and Lincoln; they did not want any legal connection to the Dalton Public Schools.⁸¹⁷

To alleviate miscommunication and provide a routing process for letters to board members, the board decided that all correspondence to them from faculty or staff should be forwarded to the board president for his perusal. Then the communication would be presented at the next board meeting.⁸¹⁸

Almost 100 educators attended the newly established Educational Conference of High School Principals and College Teachers of Missouri, founded at Lincoln. Held April 15-16, 1932, the conference theme, "The Articulation Between High School and College," drew addresses from superintendents, principals, presidents, deans, directors, and registrars. Featured speakers were Dean Irion and Professor Phillips from the University of Missouri-Columbia. The objective of the conference was to communicate academic expectations between the two levels of education in the state.⁸¹⁹ The conference became an annual event.

In 1932 the first student loan fund was established with \$196.97 donated by Mrs. Annie Robinson. Students applying for loans had to make notes and put up security. The impetus behind the loan came from Mrs. Robinson's genuine concern for the education of black students. Born in Tennessee in 1852, she moved to Topeka, then Wichita, Kansas where she homesteaded a farm. After 56 years, she was the only black resident in the area, having worked the farm alone. She constantly read books about blacks to fill the void. She willed the majority of her property and assets to six black schools; Lincoln was one of them. President Florence thanked Mrs. Francis Renfro, the agent for the bequest, and hoped others would show their support of black youth through gifts and scholarships for deserving students.⁸²⁰

F. E. Baker, president, State Teachers' College, Milwaukee, Wisconsin inspected Lincoln University January 11, 1933 for admission into the North Central Association. After forwarding faculty questionnaires to Dr. Baker, he identified several areas of the school that failed to meet the Association's standards; however, he recommended admission. The school had been inspected in 1930 by Dr. E. B. Stouffer, Dean, Graduate

School, University of Kansas. Comparing the two reports, the school had made considerable progress. The Association did not agree. Still more had to be done.⁸²¹

The 1933-34 budget was an item of concern for the president during the school term 1932-33. He requested \$431,200 for operations that included \$75,000 for an activities building furnished with an auditorium and classrooms for art and music. The board approved the request and forwarded the budget to the Tax Commission, then to the governor before reaching the legislature. The Tax Commission slashed the budget and recommended a mere \$194,000. The last appropriation was \$520,155 and of that \$214,155 was set aside for College Hall. The board met in January 1933 to discuss the budget. The president was anxious that the board prevent the Tax Commission's recommendation from becoming reality. Such a drastic drop in funds would ruin the school. Letters were delivered to Senator Phil M. Donnelly, representative of the district that included Lincoln and a member of the Senate Appropriations Committee. Representative H. L. McCawley, William Meredith, Speaker of the House and others were asked for their serious attention to the matter.⁸²² President Florence had requested \$311,000 as the absolute least amount required to keep the school operating. The legislature appropriated \$286,000. The request for a building was dropped in order to secure more in the normal budget categories.

Grappling for higher appropriations was not the only concern for Lincoln's president and board. Now they had to contend with impending legislation that could stifle future attempts to increase faculty salaries. Senator Donnelly introduced a bill to fix the salaries of all state employees by law rather than by elected officials in charge of certain bureaus, agencies, and offices in state government. The bill also affected salaries at state

colleges and universities. For Lincoln, the imposed salary caps would prohibit them from competing for better trained teachers who could secure higher salaries elsewhere. The board's executive committee met with legislators and the governor to explain the hardship such a bill would have on Lincoln. Faculty left Lincoln because they could secure higher salaries in the St. Louis school system and at other colleges. The school would never be able to meet the standards of North Central if they could not employ the best trained faculty and staff. Senator Donnelly amended the bill March 15, 1933. The board and the administration were relieved.⁸²³

In 1933 Stowe Teachers' College, St. Louis, discontinued extension courses. Students informed President Florence that Lincoln University should offer the courses. After conferring with Superintendent Gerling, Lincoln advertised extension classes throughout the St. Louis schools. On February 21, 1933, prospective students met with Lincoln officials to learn more about the content of the courses and the schedule. Most extension centers were in southeast Missouri because African American teachers there were could not afford summer school nor could they leave their jobs to pursue advanced degrees and certificates. Marshall, Missouri was the cite of one such program where Mary W. Fisher taught psychology from the same text Lincoln University used.⁸²⁴

High School Day

On May 13, 1933, the first High School Day became a new tradition at Lincoln University. Seniors from state high schools came to Lincoln to become acquainted with the school. Such senior field trips were already a tradition at white schools in the state.

To facilitate reaching a large pool of black students who would have to provide their own transportation and pay for food, the male faculty members were asked to contribute to the expenses of seniors from small poor schools. The next year, the whole faculty contributed \$107.56. The faculty decided to establish a student loan fund instead; they did not want to fund the event via annual donations. They felt the school should pay expenses for the field trip events on campus.

The success of High School Day added to the enthusiasm for the state high school track meet and over 300 students participated in both events. Seniors attended the track meet free of charge and toured the campus.⁸²⁵

The third Educational Conference of High School Principals and College Teachers held in April presented the theme, "Re-Examination of Objectives in Education" and featured Dr. Earl Collins of Central Teachers' College, Professor L. S. Curtis of Stowe Teachers' College, and J. R. Robbins, Dean, Graduate School, University of Missouri-Columbia. Successive conferences included presentations by Lincoln University faculty and featured Dr. Walter S. Monroe, University of Illinois, Dr. Charles Johnson, Fisk University, the distinguished Mary McCleod Bethune, president, Daytona-Cookman College.⁸²⁶

President Florence encouraged athletics at Lincoln and during his administration the school became a member of the Mid-Western Athletic Association, a group that included Wilberforce University, Kentucky State College, Louisville Municipal College, Tennessee State College, and West Virginia State College.⁸²⁷

January 14, 1934 Founder's Day celebration proceeded as tradition dictated. Held on Sunday this year, the principal of Attucks School, Kansas City, Prof. Walter H.

Harrison, delivered the featured address. Mrs. Rosetta Bennett Graves, daughter of Logan A. Bennett, one of the veterans of the 65th Colored Infantry which contributed to Lincoln's founding, presented Civil War muskets to the University.⁸²⁸

Lincoln Receives Full Accreditation

Finally on April 20, 1934 the North Central Association of Secondary Schools and Colleges approved Lincoln University for admission into its ranks—the long sought goal of former president Nathan B. Young. Now credit at Lincoln was on par with credit from other state schools. After countless inspections and preparations to upgrade the school, President Nathan B. Young's greatest dream for Lincoln had been realized.⁸²⁹ The faculty also recognized this advancement in the school's status. At the May 19 board meeting, the teacher's committee pointed out the advantage that a better trained faculty held in the accreditation process. They expected the board to acknowledge the value of their education and award tenure. They thanked both the board and the school president for their efforts toward admission to North Central. The board returned the kudos but did not change the annual hiring practice.⁸³⁰

In May 1934, the faculty voted to establish a student loan fund. Committee members W. Shermann Savage, chairman; B. T. McGraw; M. G. Hardiman; U. S. Maxwell and J. D. Parks met to study the feasibility of such an offering. In October the committee reported to the faculty the results of their survey of student loan funds at other schools. They determined that each faculty member could contribute \$5 and each alumni, \$1 over a period of five years to raise \$1,500. When fully funded, loans would be

made.⁸³¹ President Young called attention to the fact that during his administration there were no scholarships for students. At the time, Lincoln was 70 years old. Now, over a decade later, it was the faculty who initiated steps to fill that void.

Regarding the issue of tenure, in May 1931 the faculty asked the board for rules on tenure and leaves of absence. With no response to that query, the faculty contacted the board again in June. The board responded that custom dictated first-rate colleges and universities recognize scholarship, character, and service when hiring and not time limit [to their contract]. These sort of teachers were rarely dismissed and not without a hearing. The board acknowledged that a special committee had been studying tenure for more than a year. At the time of their queries, a particular situation had emerged regarding a faculty member. Currently, the committee did not feel teachers were qualified to be hired with the prospect of tenure. Some faculty were not qualified according to the standards of the accrediting agency and thus the board felt did not deserve tenure.⁸³²

Former President B. F. Allen had also asked Lincoln's board of 1910 to grant tenure to faculty. He urged the board members to recognize how tenure would promote security from outside interference. Tenure allowed the president to mediate between the faculty and board when problems arose.⁸³³ Good teachers often traded less salary for the security tenure provided at other schools rather than come to Lincoln where employment was conducted by the will of the board.

Following accreditation the board conceded that certain faculty members deserved tenure in gratitude for their graduate training and long service. Within three years the high school had two teachers with masters and others with substantial graduate hours; the college faculty had four with doctorates and several with substantial graduate hours.⁸³⁴

The board said it was now a fixed policy to award tenure to such teachers and to raise salaries so far as they were able. Tenure would therefore be granted to faculty who met that criteria. Now tenured faculty would only face dismissal for cause. The faculty member could then request a hearing and be represented by an attorney. The board granted tenure to 14 faculty members.⁸³⁵

In a generous mood, the board contacted Liberty Life Insurance Company to draft a group insurance plan for teachers. A faculty committee studied this issue earlier in the year. Other colleges and universities had such policies and the faculty group felt a plan could be worked out for Lincoln. The board did not pursue this benefit however.⁸³⁶

President Florence, ever keen to expand the school's facilities, presented the board with a list of additions he felt the school needed now that it was accredited. At the December 1934 board meeting, the president presented the following:

men's dormitory, \$150,000

activities building, \$125,000

laundry, \$40,000

mechanical arts building, \$75,000

physical education building, \$65,000

two women's dormitories, \$300,000

renovation or removal of existing women's dormitories, \$45,000

agricultural plant, \$73,000

livestock barn, \$5,000

modern dairy, \$6,000

poultry house, \$3,000
hog barn, \$2,000
high school building, \$125,000
grading and terracing campus, \$20,000
additional land, \$28,000
farm, \$18,000
private property adjoining Lincoln, \$10,000
grandstand and bleachers on athletic field, \$15,000
general campus maintenance, \$550,000
library building, \$57,000
science building, \$175,000
classroom building, \$150,000.⁸³⁷

This grand list of proposed campus expansion and maintenance was not approved by the board but it did delineate the president's vision for growth.

Enrollment increased by 77 students in 1934 over the preceding year. The president attributed the 32.21 percent change to better publicity, accreditation, conferences on campus, highschool day, and assistance from the Federal Emergency Response Administration (FERA). At 350 students, it was the largest enrollment yet.⁸³⁸ The enrollment increase also prompted the President's higher than usual budget request.

President Florence's budget request for 1935-36 totaled \$947,880 and stated the following needs:

personnel, \$237,320; and

additions, \$606,500 which included
 library building and equipment, \$100,000
 activity building, \$125,000
 mechanical arts building, \$80,000
 addition to Foster Hall and equipment, \$85,000
 dormitory for women, \$150,000
 laundry and building equipment, \$40,000
 heating plant equipment \$13,500
 land [purchase] across Chestnut Street, \$7,000
 operation equipment, \$6,000.⁸³⁹

At the January 24, 1935 session of the legislature, board secretary V.H. Collins introduced the president who presented his budget. Honorable John D. Taylor, chairman of the appropriations committee, said that he would appropriate an amount congruent with what the treasury would allow. The legislature appropriated \$400,000 for the following two years. The categories of the appropriation were: administration, personnel, \$200,000; repairs, replacements, \$20,000; operations, \$80,000. The allocation for salaries had not changed from the preceding year and the overall appropriation was considerably less than the president desired. The legislature also approved a bill to transfer to Lincoln University Outlot 33 located across from the campus and formerly used as a cemetery for state prisoners. The board planned to use the property for a girls' campus called East Campus.⁸⁴⁰ Appropriations also provided funds for a mechanic arts building.⁸⁴¹

At the September 4, 1935 board meeting, curators voted on new requirements for hiring based on qualifications (education, training, experience, character and personality).

The president and the teachers' committee (a committee of board members) approved the new criteria. Partisan politics and religion dropped from consideration. Instead of the prevailing "who you know" path to employment, the board declared a "what can you do" philosophy. Employee turnover, a big problem at the University, was now a procedural matter under the guidance of more than the board as had been the tradition.⁸⁴² In 1935 the board's executive council granted authority to establish new fraternity and sorority chapters. The registrar had to certify students' grades for membership.⁸⁴³ However, these new rules were probably enacted too late to satisfy the desires of some students for more autonomy in campus social life. The campus reverberated with student complaints.

A student strike disrupted the school for a brief period. In response to two students who were expelled for inappropriate conduct, students rallied to protest their lack of freedom to govern their social contacts on campus. Students expressed their grievances to the board who in turn authorized a student council to be formed. But it was the faculty who determined the functions and scope of the organization and not the students.⁸⁴⁴ Another opportunity for student input and responsibility was thwarted yet again by oversupervision from faculty and administration. As a result, the student council did not function to serve student needs or as a vehicle for communication among students who had complaints. Repeated efforts such as this would soon become full blown conflicts in the future.

J. Ernest Wilkins, Lincoln Institute high school class of 1914, donated a \$25 cash prize to a senior ranked in the upper 25 percent of the class who exhibited good character, good conduct, and involvement in extra-curricular activities.⁸⁴⁵ Another award from an alumni who died in 1936 was the Spencer Gold Medal given to the winner of the

oratorical contest. James Oscar Spencer, class of 1900, was an outstanding athlete at Lincoln Institute who moved to the Indian Territory (later to become the state of Oklahoma) at the turn of the century. Devoted to education, he became a renowned teacher and influenced the development of schools for black youth.⁸⁴⁶ In the 1920s he was principal of the high school in Nowata, Oklahoma.⁸⁴⁷

Lloyd W. Gaines and Desegregation in Missouri

During President Florence's administration Lloyd W. Gaines, class of 1935, applied for admission to the Law School at the University of Missouri-Columbia. He was refused admission because it was against the 1875 state law for blacks and whites to attend the same schools. A provision for students who wanted courses not offered at Lincoln University but offered at the University of Missouri-Columbia mandated such persons apply for tuition to attend an out-of-state school. Gaines argued this statute denied him rights guaranteed under the 14th Amendment to the Constitution. The case was argued in the Circuit Court of Boone County in June 1936. The court denied the mandamus proceeding against the registrar at the state university on the ground that his rights had not been denied, since provision had been made for him.

Gaines appealed to the Missouri State Supreme Court. The case was heard December 9, 1937. Justice William F. Frank's opinion stated that to admit Gaines was contrary to the public policy of Missouri. He explained the state's effort to make higher education available for blacks. This was indication that the state intended to make higher education separate. He said it was the duty of Lincoln University's curators to give the

relief requested.

Gaines appealed to the United States Supreme Court. The case was argued November 7, 1938. The court's decision was returned December 12, 1938. Chief Justice Hughes gave the majority decision. He stated that the University of Missouri-Columbia must admit Gaines to its Law School or the state must establish a law school at Lincoln University. The tuition aid given in the past was outlawed. The dissenting opinion upheld the decision of the Supreme Court of Missouri.

The implications of the Gaines vs. University of Missouri case made it clear that the legislature would have to increase appropriations to Lincoln University to establish a law school, or the semblance of one. In no instance did citizens think that the University of Missouri-Columbia would admit blacks to any of its programs. Because there was no time limit for establishing the law school, the legislature could delay appropriations for it as it had for so many other areas of the school's budget requests.⁸⁴⁸

The Firing of Another President

The board gave President Florence leave of absence for a year during which time they would seek a new president. On June 10, 1937 curators terminated his contract effective July 1, 1937. After meeting on June 18, the board changed its original termination decision to include half pay with the stipulation that President Florence complete his doctorate. While president, he could not complete his dissertation because of this demanding role. Dean W. B. Jason, as before, served as acting president until a permanent candidate could be hired.⁸⁴⁹

In 1937 enrollment was 422. The board managed the school with close attention during the interim between presidents. L. B. Boler, a teacher of agriculture and board member, was authorized by the board to seek federal funds for land-grant colleges and to find out how to develop the agriculture program. The executive committee allotted funds for this survey which examined agriculture departments in several schools.⁸⁵⁰

Sherman D. Scruggs, President, 1938-56

Two new candidates for president were Dr. Harry Blackiston, Professor of English and German, Stowe Teachers' College, St. Louis and Dr. Sherman D. Scruggs, Supervisor of Elementary Schools, Kansas City, Kansas. Dr. Blackiston earned his doctorate from the University of Pennsylvania. A former faculty member at Lincoln, he had considerable teaching experience at a variety of schools. Dr. Scruggs held an A.B. from Washburn College, a masters and doctorate from the University of Kansas. He too had a wide range of teaching experience. He was hired and accepted the offer. He reported to campus July 1, 1938.⁸⁵¹

Under President Florence, Lincoln University completed long-standing plans to fund two new buildings, College Hall and Schweich Hall. The liberal arts college received full accreditation after years of inspections, surveys, and personnel changes. Faculty took leave from teaching to work on graduate degrees outside the state as a requirement for accreditation, and students gained some voice in directing their environment albeit not without the trauma of petitions, strikes, expulsions, and an inordinately high level of coercion operating against them.

As a transition president, Florence, came under daily supervision by the Board of Curators who controlled every expenditure above \$25, who imposed strict rules on student matriculation, who managed the hiring and firing of faculty and staff to an even greater degree than their predecessors, and who unreasonably expected the president to complete a dissertation from Harvard University while managing Lincoln University in Jefferson City, Missouri. President Florence bridged the gap between those presidents who previously had only the insular environment of the school's board and the local press to deal with. The external forces of accreditation requirements and a U. S. Supreme Court decision expanded the reach of the institution to establish a law school--something even the board had no previous intentions of pursuing.

Faculty Discipline

At the July 8, 1938 board meeting with board president J. L. McLemore presiding and Acting President W. B. Jason with business manager, I. C. Tull and president-elect S. D. Scruggs, a citizens group from Brunswick, Keytesville, Triplett, Salisbury, and Dalton presented a petition concerning principal Beverly R. Foster of the Dalton Vocational School. The June 20 petition accused Mr. Foster of mismanagement. Scruggs recommended investigation. He and board member C. C. Hubbard investigated the charges which revealed that complaints against Foster were initiated by two faculty members: E.M. Parrish and W.E. Perkins. Foster was viewed as too reserved in contacts with district and community patrons. He was advised to show more interest in their activities and to socialize with them. He was urged to become active as an educational

leader for "social uplift and betterment among the people." Scruggs and Hubbard exonerated him of mismanagement charges.

Instead, the board revoked the 1938-39 contract for Parrish and placed him on three months probation for provoking unrest and discontent among faculty and patrons at Dalton. If he could not satisfactorily explain and free himself of those charges at the end of that period, he would be dismissed. Perkins admitted to circulating the petition against Foster. He was hired as an uncertified manual training teacher. His 1938-39 contract was contingent upon getting certified from the State Department of Public Schools or he would face dismissal.

In another personnel decision, President Scruggs recommended deduction of one day's pay from Mrs. Bennie C. Bozeman for the month of July due to her absence from the University without permission Friday, July 1, 1938.⁸⁵² This action clearly showed the new president's resolve to manage personnel.

A New Academic Climate

Sherman D. Scruggs was inaugurated as Lincoln's president on Founders' Day, January 14, 1939. Ernest L. Lindley, Chancellor of the University of Kansas, delivered the keynote address. A forum entitled, "The Negro College and the Social Order," followed. Presenters included college presidents.⁸⁵³

A shift in the school's direction was about to begin with this president. Board of Curators' president Dr. Elliff charged that politics caused the dismissal of Charles W. Florence. He submitted his resignation to the Governor charging that under present

political gameplaying with Lincoln, accreditation was threatened. He did not want any part of these tactics and the inevitable consequences. Dr. Elliff was active with the North Central Association, which did threaten to dismiss Lincoln if the state did not correct its practices of political meddling. Consequently, a new method of appointing board members allowed for each to serve a six year term as in other state colleges and universities. Terms were staggered to create slow turnover. Four of the nine members would be African Americans. School operations for broad policies were the domain of the board, while daily implementation of those policies belonged to the management of the president and faculty. Finally, the major flaw in the growth and development of Lincoln University was addressed. Membership on the board was no longer the ticket to favoritism and manipulation by various political entities. Governance of the school was in line with that of other state institutions of higher education even if it did take 72 years to occur.

The new board prepared to establish a law school for blacks in Missouri. Funds were appropriated by the legislature to meet Chief Justice Hughes' mandate to either admit Lloyd L. Gaines to the law school at the University of Missouri, or to establish a separate law school at Lincoln University. The board arranged to use the old Poro Building in St. Louis. In September 1939, former acting dean of Howard University Law School, W. E. Taylor, served as dean of the new law school. The first class included Otis C. Booth, Robert L. Hampton, John W. Harvey, Lucille O. Irving, Edward W. Keene, M. Olivia Merriwether, James E. Miller, Vertie L. Moore, Alvin Rose, Joseph McDuffie, and Frank Weathers. The first class of thirty students was taught by Daniel Bowles, James C. Bush, Scovel Richardson, Silas Garner, Myron Bush and H. Wilson Gray.⁸⁵⁴

Lloyd Gaines vanished under suspicious circumstances after the high court's decision. With financial help from the NAACP, in 1937 Gaines earned a master's degree in economics from the University of Michigan. After the Supreme Court decision, he left a job in Lansing, Michigan to return to St. Louis. He expected to be admitted into the law school at the University of Missouri in September 1939. Discouraged by delay and broke, Gaines went to Chicago to look for work. Still unemployed, he moved into a fraternity house. He disappeared March 19, 1939 after reportedly venturing out on an errand.⁸⁵⁵

The Master of Arts Degree

Summer school in 1940 initiated a new program leading to the Master of Arts degree. Faculty with advanced degrees formed a Graduate Council that included Dean W. B. Jason, Dr. R. Clyde Minor, Dr. Sidney J. Reedy, Dr. H. F. Lee, Dr. W. Sherman Savage, Dr. B. T. McGraw, S. F. Collins, Cecil A. Blue. Four women and three men were accepted for admission. Mildred Allen, Queenabelle Walton, Marjorie Beck, Clotine Sloan, Joseph King, Herbert Kitchen and Thomas Meeks were the first students for the new degree.⁸⁵⁶

Celebrating the 75th Anniversary

The 75th anniversary of Lincoln University occurred in 1941. Dr. N. P. Barksdale, class of 1917, organized the January 12 celebration. Several acclaimed persons appeared including Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, Atlanta University, who delivered the major address, "The

Future of the Negro State College." Dr. Ralph Bunche, Howard University delivered an address, "World Problems and the Negro." The year-long recognition of the school's anniversary also included Negro History Week guest speakers Dr. Mercer Cook, Dr. Abraham Harris, and professor and poet Sterling Brown among other distinguished national figures.⁸⁵⁷ The school's yearbook, The Quill, was resurrected in 1936 after a four year absence. In 1938 it was renamed The Archives, and redesigned to highlight the special year.⁸⁵⁸

New board members included: Dr. F. L. McClure, president, Westminster College, Fulton, Missouri; F. L. Williams, lecturer, St. Louis Public School System; C. C. Hubbard, class of 1896, principal, Lincoln High School, Sedalia, Missouri; Dr. J. Edward Perry, physician, Kansas City; Cliff G. Scruggs, business owner, Jefferson City; W. W. Fry, attorney, Mexico, Missouri; H. I. Mimmelberger, Cape Girardeau, Missouri; M. A. Lewis, Hannibal, Missouri; B. F. Boyer, Kansas City; Mrs. Ethel Bowles, St. Louis. The African American appointees included Perry, Hubbard, Williams, Boyers, and Bowles.

In 1940, Lincoln University responded to the demand for licensed pilots to train at army aviation schools by establishing a Civil Pilots Training Program, similar to ones at other colleges across the nation. G. Robert Cotton, head of the mechanical arts department, and flight instructors C. M. Ashe and Erskine Roberts trained ten in the first class, nine of whom received their pilot's license after the first year. Wendell Pruitt and Richard Pullam, two of the nine, became distinguished pilots during World War II.⁸⁵⁹ Meeting the needs of a war torn country prompted organization of a Defense Council at Lincoln who were to plan courses that would train students with skills needed during the war. Courses in foods, first aid, secretarial training, and machine shop were added in

1942.⁸⁶⁰

Lucille Bluford and Desegregation at the University of Missouri -- Columbia

By February 1942, the beginning of a new journalism building broadened the scope of Lincoln's future as a result of another court case waged by Lucille Bluford, who in January 1939 applied for admission to the School of Journalism at the University of Missouri. Traveling the same route through the courts as the Gaines suit, Lincoln was charged with establishing a school of journalism or the University of Missouri would have to admit blacks to the School of Journalism. Curators at the state university chose to close the School of Journalism rather than admit Miss Bluford! Subsequently, Lincoln University added a journalism program to its offerings. Three faculty taught three students. Headed by Thelma B. Boozer, instructors Elliott J. Barnett and Rashey B. Moten, Jr., taught the first students, Clarence M. Long, Miss Wallulah Ockleberry, and John Williams, Jr.. Dr. Kenneth Olson, Medill School of Journalism, Northwestern University, was hired as a consultant for the fledgling program. In 1942, the law school graduated Dorothy Freeman, Aguinaldo Lenoir, and Betty Stuart.⁸⁶¹

The Midwest Journal: Scholarship and Creativity

During the 1940s nineteen new periodicals were initiated by black organizations, colleges, and universities. In 1947, Lincoln University Press began publication of The Research Journal, initiated by the law faculty and open to the instructional staff for the

dissemination of research articles. A biennial, the first issue appeared in the spring. By the winter issue, the journal format expanded and its name was changed to The Midwest Journal, a compendium of scholarly research in the social sciences and humanities including creative writing. Funding came from the operating expenses of the colleges of Arts and Science, Law, and Journalism.⁸⁶² Edited by Lorenzo J. Greene, with associate editors Cecil A. Blue and Sidney J. Reedy, the 150-page journal gained national recognition with articles for and about blacks from the nineteenth through mid-twentieth century.⁸⁶³

Volume I, Number 1, Winter 1948 opened with an article by the editor, Dr. Greene, professor of history and author of the seminal work The Negro in Colonial New England (1941). The first issue published articles on "the future of the newly created United Nations' wartime, migration and housing programs for Negroes; self-purchase of black slaves in Cole County, Missouri; race, caste, and class in Haiti; a biography of Horace Pippin, the first black to enjoy success as a 'popular painter' during his lifetime."⁸⁶⁴ Book reviews by historians John Hope Franklin and Benjamin Quarles also appeared in this issue. Melvin B. Tolson, a renowned poet of the Harlem Renaissance and collaborator with Langston Hughes on several plays submitted "The Negro Scholar." The term, Harlem Renaissance, was first used in Tolson's 1940 master's thesis at Columbia University to distinguish the 1920s New Negro Movement.⁸⁶⁵

The second number contained two poems, "Low to High", and "High to Low" by the celebrated Missouri native and key figure in the Harlem Renaissance, Langston Hughes. Noted historians, John Hope Franklin and John Henrik Clarke, and social scientist, Herbert Apetheker contributed essays. Cecil A. Blue, professor of English and

assistant editor, contributed a review of Barton's Witnesses for Freedom.

The second volume's contributors were equally outstanding in scholarship and creativity. Lincoln's own historian Dr. W. Sherman Savage, head of the history department and author of the school's first history, The History of Lincoln University (1939) contributed "Intrigue in California." W.E.B. DuBois' significant essay "The Freedom to Learn," argued against limitations imposed by American universities on courses about Lenin and Marx in order to censor "foreign ideology." He further proposed that this nation does a disservice to its citizens when citizens cannot find facts and think for themselves especially regarding economic changes that threaten powerful forces entrenched in the industrial organization in the United States. To know about other economic systems stems the likelihood of a collapsed American civilization but also keeps a strong will to fight for civil rights that have been so costly won.⁸⁶⁶

Sterling Brown, Harlem Renaissance poet and former professor of English Literature at Lincoln 1928-31 (hired by Nathan B. Young), submitted "Riverbank Blues." At the time, he was a professor at Howard University. Brown's Southern Road (19--), a collection of poems, was written while at Lincoln and this blues poem is a blues song as much as it follows the debate poem tradition. Written in black dialect, the speaker surveys the landscape of early Jefferson City and mid-Missouri. He names seven rivers and creeks and alludes to the Mississippi as muddy boundaries for an "ornery riverbank town." The Missouri River tells him to bide his time, take life slow like the river. But inside, the speaker's heart "rared up." He decides to move on, not get rooted, because the towns along the river are sinking into "sulky" "creepy," "evil" ways of the "Ole Man."⁸⁶⁷ He's got to make his mark somewhere that won't sink his hopes and dreams. He closes with,

"Muddy water fool you, ef you stay. . ."⁸⁶⁸

By the 1950s several renowned writers, scholars, and poets had contributed to Midwest Journal including August Meier, historian, Fisk University; Herbert Apetheker, historian, Jefferson School of Social Science; Dudley Randall, then Lincoln's reference librarian but later contributor to several 1960s literary journals, most notably Black World; poet Robert Hayden who contributed four poems; Benjamin Quarles, historian and biographer, Morgan State College, and later Dillard University; author John Henrik Clarke; historian Rayford W. Logan, Howard University. Missouri's Assistant Attorney General Hugh P. Williamson's research on a particularly infamous court case against a young black woman, "The State Against Celia, a Slave" appeared in 1956, the final volume. This case became the subject for a favorably-reviewed 1991 book, Celia, A Slave by Melton A. McLaurin.

Among the luminaries that made Midwest Journal particularly distinguished are a number of works from international contributors such as Haitian folklorist F. Turenne des Pres; professor of economics and sociology, Taro Sakata from Jamaguchi University, Japan; and Heinz Hector, German psychologist and anthropologist, Max Planck Institute, Munich. Of course, Lincoln's faculty starred among these academics and artists with pieces by Dr. Armistead S. Pride, Dean, School of Journalism; Dr. Oliver C. Cox, professor of sociology; Alfred Farrell, associate professor, English; and J. Erroll Miller, professor of government among others.

Because the journal was published during the early days of focus on black Africa, the reprint of a British Broadcasting Corporation broadcast presented valuable information about the University of Nigeria (now the University of Ibadan). This

significant report described Nigeria's goal to provide university education for Africans south of the Sahara as an alternative to immigrating to Europe and North America for advanced degrees. Also important to blacks in Missouri was the full transcript of a panel discussion on "The Supreme Court Decision on Education: What It Means to Missouri," sponsored by the West Central Division of the Missouri Association for Social Welfare. Panelists included association members and Sam Blair, judge of the 14th Circuit District of Missouri, who in 1950 ordered the University of Missouri-Columbia to admit blacks to graduate study; and Hubert Wheeler, State Commissioner of Education. They discussed implications of the Gaines v. University of Missouri decision with particular emphasis on the concerns and responsibilities of blacks and whites especially during the late 1930s and early 1940s. This discussion was also relevant to the Brown v. Board of Education case of 1954 that declared segregation in public schools unconstitutional.

Unfortunately, publication of Midwest Journal ceased after May 1956.⁸⁶⁹ The status of the institution became tenuous precisely because of segregated education in Missouri; black students could attend other schools, and enrollment dropped. Financial problems ensued and forced those divisions who funded the publication to return money to operations.

A Growth in Facilities

Campus buildings increased as Benjamin F. Allen Hall opened in 1936 as a men's dormitory; Logan Bennett Hall opened in 1938 as a junior and senior women's dormitory; Libby C. Anthony Hall opened in 1940 for freshmen and sophomore women. Also in

1937, John W. Damel Hall provided long-sought facilities for the mechanic arts and agriculture departments. Printing was added in 1939. Enrollment increased shortly before the end of the war, and surplus Army barracks filled the lower West campus. Later, the barracks housing recreation courses were removed for construction of a new gymnasium. Irving C. Tull Hall, opened in 1950, served as a men's dormitory. The library, planned under so many previous administrations and not funded until 1947, finally became a reality when Inman E. Page Library opened in 1950.⁸⁷⁰ The library "occupied the site of old Yates Hall."⁸⁷¹

A reconditioned Baldwin organ played "Pomp and Circumstance" for the class of 1949 graduates filing through Page Auditorium in Memorial Hall. This building also had a new set of chimes installed as a result of efforts from the Bible Class. Interludes rang loudly all over Jefferson City early each morning and at 5:30 p. m. each evening. Every building now had vending machines to dispense Coca-Cola and candy. The Chestnut Street Farm had a new modern house for the farm manager.⁸⁷²

Memorial to an Early Educator – Clement Richardson

At the age of 71, Dr. Clement Richardson died on December 25, 1949. He was President of Western Baptist Seminary at the time. He was also president of the Board of Directors for Wheatley Provident Hospital. The fifth president of Lincoln University, 1918-1922, Dr. Richardson was a member of the State Board of Charities and founder of the Citizens Social Service League of Jefferson City, Missouri. He was also member of the Kansas State Board of Temperance Education. In 1928, he became treasurer of the

Kansas Baptist State Convention.

In 1927 he had the distinction of heading three institutions simultaneously. He was re-elected president of Western College (five years previous tenure), re-elected president of Lincoln University (four years previous tenure), and principal of the Kansas Vocational School of Topeka, Kansas. When he left Lincoln University he immediately became President of Western College from 1922-27. From there he headed the Kansas Vocational School.

A frequently sought guest speaker, Dr. Richardson contributed to several journals including Southern Workman, Missionary Review of the World, and Survey. He also wrote a booklet, Extension Work at Tuskegee. Tuskegee Press, 1912, and a book Cyclopedia of the Colored Race. National Publishing Company, 1917. This Harvard educated leader was ousted by Lincoln's board because as a political independent he did not espouse the agenda of Governor Hyde's Republican party. He was replaced by Inman E. Page.⁸⁷³

The Organized Alumni

The April 1953 issue of the Alumni Bulletin contained a rallying piece from Mrs. Beryl Moore Maupin,⁸⁷⁴ editor of the initial edition of the publication. She reminded readers of the significant role of alumni associations. The editor exhorted:

Other institutions revere their alumni
associations, the importance of such

groups is made known and felt, and they maintain and operate an office with full-time paid workers. We are three thousand strong now. Let us get behind this project of establishing our campus office, and support it. We can do this by lending support and assistance of all kind, and of course, by paying our local and national dues.⁸⁷⁵

Dues of \$1.00 per year, augmented by requests for donations, were urgently needed to fund a new alumni office and a secretary. "She MUST be paid," the editor added with unabashed emphasis.⁸⁷⁶

Begun in 1876, the national alumni association encouraged establishment of local chapters throughout Missouri and other states. Many former graduates kept up ties to their alma mater with strong organizations that sponsored student scholarships and hosted annual homecoming celebrations. Each local chapter had its own officers and informed the national group of members' activities. The October 1953 issue announced plans and activities of the 95-member strong Kansas City Alumni Association who were producing an annual Yearbook of the group. This publication contained a membership directory, outlined major projects of the year, names of officers, committee chairmen, city school building representatives, and names of hostesses for monthly meetings. Projects included continuation of the annual student scholarship, sponsoring an annual scholarship card party, observance of Founder's Day, and presentation of the Lincoln University choral

group in the spring. The groups' president was authorized to meet with officers of the Langston University Alumni of Kansas City and the coaches of both schools to arrange and plan for a Queen contest for the 1953 Lincoln-Langston football classic at Blues Stadium. Chicago chapter president, A. J. Henderson, informed readers about its summer picnic and announced hosting a November 14 Party and Dance at the "exquisite" Sutherland Hotel.⁸⁷⁷

Two-hundred eight new students greeted thirty-five new employees hired in 1953. A total of 31 alumni now worked at Lincoln University and held positions as administrators, faculty, secretaries, clerks, and a librarian. Just as former President Nathan B. Young scoured the east and south during the 1920s for the most qualified faculty and staff he could lure to accept Lincoln's low salary of less than \$200 per month without tenure or in many cases without room and board, President Scruggs continued the tradition under somewhat the same circumstances. Twenty-one of the new faculty were from out-of-state.⁸⁷⁸ Nevertheless, one of the most important additions to Lincoln's personnel that year was the young tennis champion, Althea Gibson.

Miss Gibson was hired to coach Lincoln's brand new tennis team. And, having already achieved an outstanding record of winning prestigious tournaments throughout the south and east, few at Lincoln University could guess how outstanding her future record would become. As evidence, her name was merely listed among the newly hired in the spring issue of the Alumni Bulletin; however, the October 16, 1953 issue of The Lincoln Clarion presented her to the University community in an article "Althea Gibson Advises Sports Beginners to Learn the `Fundamentals.'"

When she came to Lincoln, she was a June graduate from Dr. Young's alma mater, Florida A. & M. College in Tallahassee and attended college on a tennis scholarship. This was her first job--a physical education instructor for women students.⁸⁷⁹ When she first saw the campus in May, she commented on how beautiful and spacious it was. Although other schools made attractive offers, she considered coming to Lincoln a "great honor and an opportunity" at an institution she respected. She had just played her best game in 1951 at the National Championship in Forrest Hills against Miss Louise Brough. She was the first black to enter Forrest Hills in 1949. She advised beginners in athletics to "Learn fundamentals first, then specialize."⁸⁸⁰

Althea Gibson, Tennis Great

Althea Gibson was born in Silver, South Carolina in 1927 but grew up in the "rough and tumble" of Harlem where she graduated from junior high school in 1941. She hated being transferred to the Yorkville Trade School rather than one of the downtown high schools with her classmates. She dodged classes until her parents and the truant officer warned her of dire consequences. She had learned to play paddle tennis on her home block of 143rd Street and won medals in competitions. Musician Buddy Walker took notice and bought her a cheap tennis racket and helped her train at the Harlem River Tennis Courts at 150th Street. Juan Serrell, a school teacher, took interest in her skills and helped her train at the tennis club coached by Fred Johnson in 1941. In her first tournament the next year, she won the girls' singles in the New York State Open Championship at Lincoln University in Pennsylvania, but lost in the finals.

American Tennis Association tournaments were canceled during World War II until 1944; however, in 1945 Gibson won the girls' singles championship. In 1946, eligible to play in the women's singles, she succeeded to the finals but lost to a Tuskegee Institute teacher. Coached by two A.T.A. officials, Dr. Hubert Eaton and Dr. Robert Johnson, during high school she won the A.T.A. championship in the summer of 1946 which she held for ten years. As a Florida A.& M. student, coached by Walter Austin and Jake Gaither, she trained for Forest Hills competing in the Eastern Indoor Championship, and the National Indoor Championship where in 1950, she reached the finals. At Forest Hills, she lost to a Wimbledon champion and former U. S. title holder.

Now nationally recognized, the U.S. State Department invited her to tour Southeast Asia with other tennis players and her reputation became international. In 1957, her pinnacle year, she won both the prestigious Wimbledon and Forest Hills championships. Vice President Richard Nixon presented her championship trophy at Forest Hills.⁸⁸¹

The Era of the Black College

The 1950s ushered in modern growth (buildings, equipment, accreditation) rather than traditional growth (political puppet, obsolete facilities, academic inferiority, financial jeopardy) for Lincoln University. This decade opened with the presence of a campus that looked like the idealized small Midwestern college with manicured lawns, named buildings, intelligent students from large cities including several alumni prodigy, and soundly-credentialed faculty whose degrees from other universities brought together a vast

pool of expertise and a wide range of talents which this school had so long struggled to attain. But for all its acquisitions, the institution would not continue isolated from the larger world outside its boundaries. While the Korean War began and ended, as McCarthy harangued would-be Communists across the land, as Dillon S. Myer did the same to Native Americans, as the Truman administration gave way to that of Eisenhower, Lincoln University was on the brink of abrupt change. Unlike previous changes of governors, board members, presidents, faculty, and students, this change came from decades of concerted efforts to render separate school laws unconstitutional. Changing laws that created separate schools would also challenge the existence of those schools.

In many ways, Lincoln University could look ahead to the momentum from the Gaines v. University of Missouri case and the State Ex. Rel. Bluford v. Canada case shortly thereafter to see that change was coming. Beginning with the summer session of 1954, as a mandate from the U. S. Supreme Court's unanimous decision in Brown v. Board of Education May 17, 1954 that Linda Carol Brown could attend a white school (segregated schools were unequal and therefore unconstitutional), Lincoln University opened admission to all qualified students regardless of race or creed--not that anyone but the state ever mandated Lincoln's segregated education mission.⁸⁸² Not only did the student body change, but so did the faculty. As early as 1950, Lee S. Cole, a white faculty member, began teaching in Lincoln's School of Journalism.⁸⁸³

To add further to the momentum for change, Gus T. Ridgel, class of 1950, applied to the graduate school at the University of Missouri. He was refused admission. He filed suit in Circuit Court. Judge Sam C. Blair ruled that because comparable graduate work was not offered at Lincoln University, Ridgel would have to be admitted to the state

university's program. Ridgel, a brilliant student, graduated summa cum laude with a Master of Arts degree in economics after one year.⁸⁸⁴

An honor graduate at Lincoln, and the first president of the local chapter of Alpha Kappa Mu National Honor Society, Ridgel was named recipient of the John Hay Whitney Foundation award to pursue a doctorate degree in labor economics. He was one of only 22 other African American recipients.⁸⁸⁵ Ridgel earned a Ph.D. from the University of Wisconsin shortly thereafter. Now because of a court ruling, Missouri's blacks could attend the University of Missouri's graduate programs notwithstanding that Board of Curators' disingenuous statement that all areas would be open to all qualified students.⁸⁸⁶

New Student Involvement

During the late 1940s, faculty members tried to limit evidence of wide-spread cheating. Mrs. Hazel Teabeau, English department, recommended starting an honor system. By 1955, five honor societies were established including: Beta Kappa Chi Honorary Scientific Society, Epsilon Chapter, January 1944; Alpha Kappa Mu Honor Society, Alpha Gamma Chapter, June 1950 (general scholarship); Phi Mu Alpha Sinfonia, 1953 (music); Delta Mu Delta National Honor Society, Kappa Chapter (economics and business administration); and Scabbard and Blade, 1955 (military) for cadet commissioned officers. In 1961, 11 cadets from the Military Science department were inducted into this society.⁸⁸⁷

To counter student apathy in the 1950s due to dwindling enrollment, Mrs. Consuelo C. Young, assistant professor, journalism department, organized the Greater

Lincoln University Committee to operate a coffee shop, and help publish a new student handbook. The dormitory with the highest scholastic average received a cup of coffee for each resident. Student members included William Calhoun, Ernestine Cofield, George Enlow, Alicia Hastings, Robert Patterson, Robert E. Greene, John Ferguson, Robert McCurdy, Claude Guinn, Doretha Harris, Christian Bishop, Perline Foster, Gerlena Reed, La Von Woodson, Esau Taylor, and Charles Thomas, all of whom graduated in the decade of the 1950s. In 1954-55, the Committee presented a \$100 check contribution toward construction of a student union building.⁸⁸⁸

In 1950, with the reestablishment of military training at Lincoln, the Department of Defense authorized the school as a place to train officers for the Army. Students could earn the rank of Second Lieutenant after a post-graduate training period at a military base. Some of these R.O.T.C. students remained in the military, while others elected reserve status.⁸⁸⁹

Faculty Evaluation and Education

President Scruggs appointed a committee to study faculty evaluation. He proposed higher salaries for better teachers. N. P. Barksdale, chairman, worked with Daniel W. Bowles, Cyrus B. Taylor, and Dr. H. F. Lee, who reported to the faculty in March 1950. The report, under revision by the committee, was completed without Dr. Barksdale due to ill health. Dr. Lee, as chairman, submitted a completed report in 1952.⁸⁹⁰

In 1954 President Scruggs joined a group of educators from San Francisco State College on a goodwill tour of eastern Europe. Lincoln University was left under the guidance of an Administrative Council headed by Dean Earl E. Dawson. Involved with implementing the first stages of integration, the Council took over the daily operations. While in London, President Scruggs suffered a stroke that paralyzed his vocal cords. He was forced to step down as president in 1955 after an attempt to return to his duties at Lincoln. Curators selected Dean Earl E. Dawson in September 1956 as his successor.⁸⁹¹

Earl E. Dawson, President 1956-69

Earl Edgar Dawson was born in Manhattan, Kansas, September 16, 1904. He earned a B.S. from Kansas State College in 1926, an A.M. from the University of Iowa in 1931, and a Ph.D. from the University of Kansas in 1942. He taught history and served as registrar at Arkansas A.M. & N. College between 1926-1937 before becoming President of Western University, Quindaro, Kansas from 1937-39. At Prairie View State College in Texas he served as registrar and professor of history and education from 1941-42.⁸⁹² Since 1942, Dr. Dawson was Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences and professor and Chairman of the Education department, replacing Dean Jason who was promoted to Vice President. Assuming the presidency was in line with his experience in various facets of the school's administration as a business manager and as registrar. His first action was to compile a plan for university growth. He asked for assistance from faculty, students, and alumni. He advocated publication of the Alumni Bulletin as a public relations tool. Forerunner to the Alumni Bulletin, The Greater Lincoln University News kept alumni and

students informed about activities and growth.⁸⁹³

Enrollment Exceeds 1000

One of the stories the alumni read about was an increase in enrollment. Registrar Odra W. Bradley released enrollment figures for 1953. A total of 842 students compared with 791 for 1952 had enrolled for the fall semester. The College of Arts and Sciences had 655 students; School of Journalism 14; Law School 18; Laboratory High School 130; and the Nursery, 15. During the fall and spring terms of 1954, there were 776 students. By December 1957, 200 students were enrolled in evening courses. By 1959, total enrollment was 1,487 and by 1965, 1,652.⁸⁹⁴

There was a decrease in WWII veteran enrollment with a loss of 12 and a current enrollment of only 15. There were 27 at the beginning of the fall semester 1952. There were 25 veterans from the Korean War, a gain of 16 students. Only 9 were enrolled in September 1952. According to the veterans' counselors' record, there were over 300 enrolled in 1946 in one semester. At the end of the second semester in 1946, there had been a constant decrease. In 1949, the decline drifted swiftly to the present levels. Veteran Administration clerk, Norman Trigg, stated that the Korean War veterans' educational benefits required them to take 12-14 hours each semester and thought there were better advantages to attending small schools with low costs since Public Law 550 required these veterans to pay school expenses from their monthly subsistence allowance. World War II veterans were under Public Law 346 which mandated the Veterans Administration to pay up to \$500 per year for educational expenses.⁸⁹⁵

Honorary Degrees

In September 1956, a faculty committee recommended that honorary degrees such as the Doctor of Education and Doctor of Letters be given to persons who benefited the school in an outstanding manner. The first recipients were Dr. H. Byron Masterson, board president, and Thomas Hart Benton, artist, Kansas City, whose mural depicted the development of the school. Benton donated his \$15,000 commission to Lincoln.⁸⁹⁶

Like his predecessors President Dawson also wanted increases in faculty salaries, plus retirement, life, and hospital insurance programs such as those long established at other state colleges and universities.⁸⁹⁷ He realized the value of a contented and well-educated faculty such as the one that now taught at Lincoln. Lincoln's faculty continued to accrue publication credits and grants. In 1959 Oliver Cox, professor of sociology, published Foundations of Capitalism. Joseph T. Johnson, economics, published The Potential Negro Market, 1952. Articles from Milton G. Hardiman and Joseph Marek, foreign language; Willis Byrd, chemistry; and Walter Talbot, mathematics appeared in scholarly journals. Journalism professor Armistead S. Pride published articles on the black press; he also received a Fulbright Scholarship to study in Egypt. The English Department's Dolly McPherson's Fulbright award sent her to Holland; Queen Shootes, home economics, received the same to teach in Trinidad during 1953. Clarence G. Perry, professor of French, won two Smith-Mundt Grants from the U. S. State Department to teach English in Laos and Cambodia.⁸⁹⁸

The Lecture-Recital series presented poet Ogden Nash in March 1955 who delivered a reading and commentary on many of his poems; poet Louis Untermeyer,

appeared on campus April 6, 1956. Musicians also came to Lincoln. Bands directed by George Shearing, Duke Ellington, and Dave Brubeck livened concert attendance on campus.⁸⁹⁹

Modeled after an early program at the University of Missouri's School of Journalism,⁹⁰⁰ Lincoln's journalism department held its annual Headliner Banquet. During the 1950s various recipients of the Headliner Awards included Life, Reader's Digest, Redbook, several small newspapers from Tennessee, Cleveland, Ohio, and St. Louis and The Jefferson City Tribune.⁹⁰¹ For one week, high school journalism students attended seminars and heard lectures from top editors and writers. Student newspapers also competed for awards.

Former president Scruggs was greeted by all his colleagues and friends when he appeared at the January 14, 1957 Founders' Day celebration. Although not completely recovered from his stroke, he appreciated viewing Clement Richardson Auditorium and Fine Arts Center that were now complete.

The National Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education sent a five-member committee to review Lincoln University's teacher education program. The group arrived October 14, 1958 and made recommendations before granting accreditation. First, the school had to revise and upgrade the process of making practice teacher assignments; second, the school was advised to get additional teaching materials; and third, the school was charged to raise entry requirements for teacher education applicants.

In order for Lincoln University to participate in the National Defense Education Act of 1958, Lincoln University had to provide matching funds for student loans. The low interest rate and the eleven-year payback period following graduation made the program a

benefit to students. Although Lincoln's faculty had tried in the 1930s and 1940s to establish a student loan fund, paid mostly from their meager salaries, the funds never reached their goals. After a committee appointed to study the prospects of Lincoln's participation in this federally-financed fund, recommendation to participate allowed several students to proceed through school with less financial pressure.⁹⁰²

Perhaps the area of college life that exhibited both progressive and regressive changes was student matriculation. Lincoln's traditional patriarchal treatment of students remained a steadfast characteristic as did the heavy emphasis on religion as a tool for instruction in moral behavior. Although students came from 21 states and paid low tuition and fees (\$600 paid for one year's tuition at \$60 per semester; room and board at \$47.50 per month; books and fees), strict regulations appeared in the Student Handbook. Female freshmen had to be in the dormitory by 9:30 p.m. each week night; senior females by 10:30 p.m. Weekend curfew was 11:30 p.m. Underclass females had to have parent permission to leave campus; upper-class females could travel five blocks from campus. Male students had no curfew but all students had to notify the Dean of Men or Dean of Women when leaving campus. Alcohol was forbidden upon penalty of suspension.⁹⁰³ The main cause for such limited student freedom was the result of Jefferson City's historical treatment of blacks which was pro-Confederate and ostensibly connected to slavery in mid-Missouri. The town's anti-black prejudice required the school to look out for students who may unwittingly become victims of aggressive racial hatred in the form of violence. A secondary cause was Lincoln tradition.

Campus life was also formalized by white shirt and dark tie for men at the evening meal and the absence of shorts in class. Marcia C. Hammons, home economics

department, taught a required course, "Graceful Living," that included instructions on grooming, manners, and etiquette. Attendance at Thursday morning convocation class was mandatory. Religious Emphasis Week, the week before Easter, also required attendance at five lectures or recitals on religious topics. President Scruggs held a Sunday morning Bible class in Memorial Hall; although not mandatory, attendance was expected.⁹⁰⁴

With four fraternities and four sororities on campus, more than 70 percent of students participated in these organizations. Of the 350 men in 1951, 141 joined fraternities. Hazing was entrenched and extreme. "Hell Week," a final week of initiation, preceded formal installation as a member. By the end of the decade, these groups had garnered a tarnished image. In a March 14, 1958 issue of The Lincoln Clarion prior to one student being crippled by initiation abuses, Hazel Teabeau, English and Speech Department questioned the purpose of such organizations whose participants sacrificed study time, required a substantial amount of personal funds to belong, and encouraged cruelty toward pledges.⁹⁰⁵

Athletics in the 1950s

The 1950s also ushered in recruitment of athletes via a scholarship program, actually a work-study plan, that Lincoln referred to as an "ethical athletic subsidy" according to the May 16, 1951 Lincoln Clarion student newspaper. Not a new concept at Lincoln--student laborers--except now, the gloss of "scholarship" was added to redeem the school's inadequate appropriation to sports, especially football.

During the 1950-51 Midwest Conference, Lincoln's record was 1 and 7; but, that dismal record was somehow softened by defeat of Fisk University during Lincoln's Homecoming game. Lincoln had not won a Homecoming Game since 1935. In 1951, Lincoln's record changed to 7 to 2; the school placed third in the conference and ranked fifth among competitive small colleges. The next two years were phenomenal: Lincoln was undefeated in 21 games and tied in two by the end of the 1953 season. Under the guidance of Coach Dwight T. Reed, high performers like Harry Stokes, Leo Lewis, and Ron Marsh excelled. Stokes, team captain, was voted All-American by the Associated Press; Lewis, called "the Minnesota Express," was also named All-American, selected for the Little All-American Squad, and received the Pigskin Award in 1954 as the most outstanding football celebrity in the Midwest.⁹⁰⁶

The winning streak in football ended in 1954 even though the team's record continued to draw fans and alumni during the 1950s. Basketball began the decade with a rank of number one in the Midwest Conference. The next year, the team ranked third; but recouped and shared its former rank in 1952.

The track team won the 1950 Midwest Conference and broke records in the 440, 880, 2-mile and 1-mile relays. At meets in Kansas and Illinois, Lincoln's all-black team won all but one event. Under the extremely skillful coaching of Althea Gibson, the tennis team won competitions in the 1954 Midwest Tennis Meet in Jackson, Mississippi.⁹⁰⁷ Miss Gibson, already an American Tennis Association champion in girls' singles tournaments, and a young college student at Florida A. & M. College, came to Lincoln University in 1953 to train the tennis team. In only one year, her coaching shaped a victorious team before she moved on to win fame at Wimbledon, the annual international championship

tournament held in England, and winning another national championship tournament at Forest Hills both in 1957.

Football, basketball, and track teams basked in the winning seasons of the remainder of the decade. Outstanding football players, Ezell Brewer, quarterback; John Bradley, fullback; and Lew Heffner, left end were on hand to defeat rival Tennessee State University in 1958. At the Mineral Water Bowl, a competition for small colleges, Lincoln' Tigers beat Emporia State 21-0. As was the case with the first winning streak, the Tigers again almost clenched the Mid-Atlantic Athletic Association Championship.

The basketball team won a string of victories between 1955 and 1960. In 1955-56, the team had a 17-7 record; in 1957-58, the record was 17-3. Top players included Theodore "The Blade" Savage, Alphonso Freeman, George Pruitt, and George Jackson. Pruitt received Honorable Mention, 1959 All-American Team from the Associated Press. He was a two-time qualifier for the all-Midwest Athletic Association First Team.

Robert Perkins and Jim Shannon, broad jumper, spared no effort to make the track team victorious at such meets at Central Missouri State and Northeast Missouri State universities. The team placed second at the Triangular Missouri University and the Northeast State College meets. Tennessee State's track team beat Lincoln by one point at the Mid-West Athletic Association Meet in Nashville, Tennessee. The team also placed second at the NAIA National Meet.

As a result of integration, several white athletes played on football, basketball, and track teams. Because of rules against playing mixed teams, Grambling College in Louisiana, and Jackson State and Alcorn College in Mississippi dropped membership in the Mid-West Athletic Association. In track, the results of integration produced the

reverse circumstances. The Central Missouri Negro Conference disbanded.⁹⁰⁸

Lincoln University, Jefferson City and Integration

A 1949 survey in the Lincoln Clarion showed that the University and its students spent \$74,880 per month for services and goods purchased in Jefferson City. In spite of this addition to the local economy, the retailers, trade services, professional practitioners, manufacturers, and a majority of the town residents reacted with contempt for Lincoln's business. Looking back to the days when a railroad strike forced a coal shortage during blizzard conditions and Lincoln's contracted allotment was sold before the loading wagon could make it to the station, the attitudes of business owners kept trade with Lincoln on a last, late, or not available status. Rigid segregation throughout the decades kept blacks out of restaurants, hotels, and other public places.

Even Jefferson City's public school board promoted race hatred by first granting Lincoln permission to use the high school stadium for \$50 in 1947 for the October homecoming game against Tennessee State University, then refusing Lincoln's team use of the showers and locker room. Lincoln officials petitioned the town's school board whose president refused to change the decision or return the money.

The same school board also denied black students enrollment in the adult education evening courses. Under pressure from weeks of negotiation, Superintendent A. L. Crow agreed to set up a segregated class of 8-10 blacks with a district-paid black teacher. This was not acceptable. Circuit Court Judge Sam C. Blair finally overturned this inequity with a court order. Legal mandates were the only remedies to inequities in

education, but such rulings had little effect in changing a history of racial discrimination and hatred of blacks especially in Jefferson City, Missouri.

During the inauguration of Governor Phil M. Donnelly in 1953, the parade marshal ordered Lincoln's R.O.T.C. unit to march at the end of the parade behind the artillery. This violation of standard military practice which never puts infantry units behind artillery pieces because of the history of horses pulling canons and men walking behind them on filthy streets, resulted in national exposure in the newspapers. The Lincoln R.O.T.C. unit refused to march. The embarrassed Governor orchestrated the House of Representatives to vote an apology which passed 109 to ten.

It took another extreme circumstance to gain recognition from St. Mary's Hospital when its officials were forced to hire three black registered nurses to help alleviate a staffing shortage.⁹⁰⁹ Formation of a Lincoln University chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) followed the Supreme Court's 1954 decision banning separate but equal status for blacks and whites. Across America, African Americans demanded full citizenship participation in and access to community services and accommodations. Students at Lincoln University, led by Ralph George, successfully integrated Jefferson City restaurants. The Missouri Hotel opened its facilities to blacks in 1955 without negotiation or pressure. The bowling alley owners became partners in negotiations with Lincoln students who demanded admission to these facilities. Under Ronald Copes, student leader sanctioned by the Student Council, President Dawson allowed students to lead the process to open bowling alleys to blacks. Copes' success was rewarded with election to president of the Student Government Association in 1956.

City residents approved a nonsegregated serviceman's club restricted to the absence of dances or activities involving blacks and whites.⁹¹⁰ Probably the large number of servicemen in Jefferson City precipitated this rare conciliation.

Desegregation and Enrollment

The G.I. Bill, Public Bill 236, was the means by which Lincoln increased enrollment during peak years 1946 (333 veterans) to 1948 (309 veterans). The next year, enrollment dipped to 236 veterans and by 1950, 115. All but 12 law school students were veterans in 1949; in 1952, three out of 20 were.⁹¹¹ The decrease continued in spite of new state requirements for teachers. Many returned to earn their B.S. degrees. Not even new veterans from the Korean War, so few compared to the previous numbers, could halt the decline.⁹¹² As a result of court decisions reversing separate systems of education in Missouri, black students could enroll in other state schools now that they were no longer confined to Lincoln.

In 1951, Gus Ridgel, won his case in Cole County Circuit Court to be admitted into graduate school at the University of Missouri-Columbia. The following year, Lincoln's School of Journalism enrollment dropped from 30 to 17 even though the new building was not completed until the next year. Lincoln University administrators struggled to meet the school's demands with even more serious dips in appropriations which halted campus expansion until later in the decade. The school had merely completed earlier expansion goals of a library, a men's dormitory, and a 160-acre farm near Mokane.⁹¹³

Still, the movement away from segregation in schools surfaced each year in the state legislature. Some representatives and senators came up with varied reasons to consider such legislation. Whether from fears of blacks courting Communism, the immorality of segregation, or the dual expense of operating two school systems, bill after bill appeared in the House of Representatives. Each effort to end separate education based on race was unsuccessful until the Supreme Court decision in 1954. Missouri Attorney General John M. Dalton responded to queries about the decision. He determined that Missouri's school laws were null and void. Jefferson City ended segregated schools in grades 9-12, opened the junior college, but stopped short of full integration due to a lack of facilities in the elementary grades and signed teacher contracts at the all-black Washington School.⁹¹⁴ Ebony magazine noted the cooperation between town and school.⁹¹⁵

Faster than integration of blacks into white schools, was white students admitted into Lincoln University. Eighteen whites, mainly female teachers seeking inservice credit for career credentials, enrolled. In 1956, 200 whites enrolled; in 1958, 385 whites enrolled. Total enrollment that year was 1,184. White students comprised 32.4 percent. Now white students could take advantage of Lincoln's low tuition and fees which in 1957 were \$600 compared to \$1300 at the University of Missouri-Columbia. In addition, Lincoln was was a short commute for residents from surrounding towns.

A larger enrollment at the end of the decade did not mean stability for Lincoln. The Missouri General Assembly questioned the school's existence. Representative Icie May Pope, Webster Groves, sponsored a resolution in 1955 to have a committee of twelve investigate whether or not to close the school. Perversely, the legislature

undermined integration by attempting to show that Lincoln duplicated services available at the University of Missouri-Columbia. Closing Lincoln would save money. The committee's report January 4, 1957 to the Senate and House Committee on Higher Education praised the school and recommended not to close it. Statistics projected higher enrollments in Missouri's state-supported schools--doubling in 10-15 years. To close Lincoln, then face expansion or new college construction would be "ridiculous."⁹¹⁶

By 1958, Lincoln's dormitories were filled. Each of the five dormitories squeezed in 75 students over ideal capacity. Between 150-200 students were denied admission due to a lack of housing. The Ebony article in the March issue hailed the school as a model of integration by showing readers a photo spread of students mixing freely in classrooms, in activities, and organizations. President Dawson capitalized on the publicity surrounding this model achievement with an urgent request for \$3,194,000 to build a new gymnasium, an R.O.T.C. building, and a swimming pool. Part of his request for funds was granted. A 3,000-seat auditorium named the Langston Hughes Theatre was added to Richardson Fine Arts Center for \$1,400,000 that year. The next year, a 1900-seat gymnasium was ready for the Department of Health and Physical Education plus classrooms. However, there was an ever-present deep resentment of Lincoln University that continued unabated in the legislature. Appropriations were stingy. Even editorials in The Jefferson City Tribune noted the efforts to cut funds to Lincoln. Appalled by the circumstances of Lincoln's lagging financial disposition, the writer of one editorial noted how little Lincoln's faculty earned and how some were paid less than unskilled laborers.⁹¹⁷

A "Guest Editorial" of special significance demands an encore since its first reprint in the January 1959 issue of the Alumni Bulletin. First published in the Jefferson City

News & Tribune December 14, 1958 issue, the author bares a striking resemblance to a university president in his appeal to the mid-Missouri community and the 1959 General Assembly to rally behind and financially support Lincoln University. Publication of this essay revealed a direct turnaround in attitude toward the school. The earlier eight-decade litany of negative publicity that prevailed toward the school required C. C. Damel, Lincoln's public relations director, to count "inch space" in this local newspaper to determine how the university fared with the community--the "town and gown" cliché. According to the director, the 1950s showed a more favorable attitude than the preceding decades. The editorial was titled: "Lincoln U's Requests Deserve Consideration." Here is what the author wrote:

Lincoln University which did not fare well when the \$75 million bond issue was sliced up among Missouri institutions, is feeling the pinch of this negligence. At the time the university's status unfortunately was uncertain. Lincoln had put its desegregation-in-reverse policy into effect. But there were a few who questioned the need for its continued existence. A special legislative study group, which looked into the whole picture of Missouri's higher education needs gave a resounding answer. Last fall Lincoln's enrollment increased

approximately 32 per cent. Today it has a record number of 1,356 students. And it turned away some 200 students because of inadequate dormitory facilities.

Every year more and more Jefferson City area students are enrolling at Lincoln. About a third of its students are white and it is fast becoming an institution of higher education for Mid-Missourians.

Because of past neglect Lincoln's needs are as great, or perhaps greater, than any other state university or college. Lincoln University's budget will go before the Legislature early next year for consideration. How it fares should be of deep concern to every Mid-Missourian. Like any other educational institution--or for that matter any business--Lincoln's operating costs have gone up. It takes more money to cover salaries and other normal expenses. But Lincoln University also has some critical capital improvement needs. Some of them are long overdue. With the increasing enrollment, they have become critical.

For example, Lincoln urgently needs to acquire several tracts of land adjacent to the campus.

Some of this land lays to the south, but Lincoln also should have the tract which surrounds the old Washington School. The latter, presently being used by the university as a laboratory school, is inadequate and a fire hazard.

If the university fails to receive an appropriation to acquire these new tracts, the land may be developed for private purposes. The result would be that the state would eventually have to pay five to six times the present prices.

Additional dormitory facilities and a new education school building are Lincoln's most critical needs in the capital improvement field. The school's present dormitories are overcrowded. And as noted earlier some 200 students had to be turned away last fall because of this. The state would have to foot only a small part of the cost of new dormitories with Lincoln itself defraying most of the needed money.

The proposed new education school building

would contain classrooms and laboratories for teacher training. The old Washington School building can't fill this need. Likewise, Lincoln needs capital improvement funds to renovate the present gymnasium in Young Hall, to create new classrooms and laboratories for the arts and sciences school. The new fieldhouse containing gymnasium facilities will be completed about April 1.

And university officials are hopeful funds will be supplied to permit building a wing to the fieldhouse to house the ROTC program. Lincoln undoubtedly will be able to receive some financial help from the federal government on this project which officials say is also urgent. The fieldhouse is designed to permit the wing to be attached to it.

The Lincoln campus also is sadly lacking in parking facilities, especially since the construction of the new auditorium and fine arts center. Parking congestion will get progressively worse after the fieldhouse is opened and as enrollment continues to increase.

The Legislature should give thoughtful consideration to Lincoln University's requests when it convenes next month. Overlooked and somewhat neglected in the past, Lincoln University's hopes--and they are Mid-Missouri's also--rest with the 1959 General Assembly.⁹¹⁸

The author was not only thoroughly acquainted with the campus, but had a front row seat in the power plays that kept Lincoln University behind. Greater than past history of maltreatment was the author's awareness of Lincoln's significance for the future of Mid-Missouri. Now that whites had a stake in the institution, they demanded better facilities. This appeal for capital improvements meant more than just campus expansion. Now it meant that Lincoln was an investment for citizens--one that they should care about and push forward.

The School of Law Closes

In an effort not to waste a penny, curators decided in June 1955 to close the School of Law located in St. Louis. Students who had not completed their program could now earn their degrees at the University of Missouri School of Law. The board also demoted the School of Journalism to a department.⁹¹⁹ Because these changes required approval of the legislature's various committees, President Dawson had to go around informing them and the House Appropriations Committee why the administration and board decided to make these changes in anticipation of saving \$254,094. The changes

took effect at the beginning of the 1955-56 school year.⁹²⁰

Having risen to the challenge to set up these two Schools following court mandates and rulings by the legislature, Lincoln's president and board had to forego capital improvements and other operational expenses in order to hire faculty, consultants, and lease space for the new Schools. It was no secret that Lincoln University was poorly financed, having always been on shaky ground with the taciturn bodies of the General Assembly and the personal predilections and political goals of revolving governors. But when Lincoln had to pick up the "tab" for past discrimination because of a 1921 law that merely exchanged "institute" for "university" and provided no funding to make substantive differences between the two, the school could not even take solace in an attempt to refute such historic changes. Why wouldn't a "real university" want a School of Law and a School of Journalism? Why wouldn't a "real university" want its graduates to earn professional degrees so long denied? To object to the "opportunities"--no matter how they were conferred--would have alienated a good number of various constituents. Lincoln's response mechanism followed a pattern: get the program first; then pressure, pressure, pressure to fund it. Next, grow it, grow it, grow it. In this case, the two Schools were not Lincoln's ideas and the challenge to keep them both functional was too great.

Integration and Burgeoning Enrollment

The Jefferson City school board closed the local public junior college ushering students to enroll at Lincoln. Almost 300 students appeared on campus in one year. By

1959, the Chamber of Commerce featured Lincoln University on the cover of its monthly Chamber of Commerce Business. Lincoln was applauded for its immaculate campus and cited for an urgently needed student union, stadium, and of course additional dormitories.⁹²¹

Beginning with the spring semester 1959, Lincoln students could take advantage of student loans funded under the National Defense Education Act of 1958. Students could apply for up to \$1,000 per year for five years. Perspective teachers only had to repay one half of the borrowed amount provided they agreed to teach for a minimum of five years. Students had to begin repayment one year after leaving school and had a maximum of ten years to pay in full at 3 percent interest. Students in natural sciences, mathematics, and modern languages received first preference; others were awarded loans as funds allowed. Co-signers were required for underage applicants who had no security or credit.

The University's attitude was one of dissuasion rather than persuasion. According to A. P. Marshall, editor of the Alumni Bulletin:

It is believed that with the many opportunities to work at Lincoln University, and with the rising interest of alumni and other groups in providing scholarships, few students will need to tie up a large amount of their future earnings in this way. But for the student who can find no other way to get the money for a college education, this fund will be a real benefit.⁹²²

There were certainly enough students to take advantage of the new loans. In the graduate division, Lincoln's degree candidates had grown from 16 in 1940 to 40 in the fall of 1958. A. Leedy Campbell received the first graduate degree in 1944; in 1958, nine graduates crossed the stage at commencement.⁹²³

In the undergraduate division the summer enrollment in 1958 was the highest yet according to the Admissions and Records Office. In June, 606 students attended classes and workshops; thirty-five were in the graduate division; seventy-eight in the high school; and one-hundred and one were in the elementary and nursery school.⁹²⁴

The Alumni Association had grown too. There were now chapters in Baton Rouge, Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, Los Angeles, New York, Kansas City, St. Louis, Southeast Missouri, Jefferson City,⁹²⁵ and Washington D.C.⁹²⁶

Student activism at the end of the 1950s took the form of a March 1959 Student Council vote whose results showed students were willing to pay higher registration fees to fund building a Student Union. The Alpha Psi Chapter of Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity had donated \$150 in 1957 toward the project. Two weeks of vigorous collection and campaigning preceded the vote whose results were to be presented by President Dawson to the board for approval. Building plans on display in the Page Library foyer showed the two-story building was to be located on the east side midway between Atchison and Dunklin Streets.⁹²⁷ State funds were not available for this long wanted facility that first appeared on the urgent list of President Florence who called it an "activities building" and requested \$125,000 in 1934.

Memorial to a Staunch Supporter--Dr. J.D. Elliff

The death of Dr. Joseph D. Elliff, August 28, 1959 was an astounding loss to Lincoln. Dr. Elliff served on the Board of Curators from 1929 to 1937 and from 1946 to 1958. At the age of 95, he had just retired--reluctantly--from the board. A resident of Columbia, Missouri, he was a tenured professor of education at the University of Missouri. He wasn't just a disseminator of educational theory, he was a practitioner as well--par excellence. It was Dr. Elliff who inspected Lincoln Institute in 1906 and criticized the overly-heavy emphasis on the classics. By 1925 as a representative of the North Central Association, he inspected Lincoln's laboratory high school and recommended accreditation.⁹²⁸ In 1929, he worked with President Nathan B. Young to allow Lincoln's teachers to practice teach in the city's public schools rather than in a simulated school on campus.⁹²⁹ He also worked with President Young's administration to get the college accredited; a long-sought goal of both educators. Dr. Elliff was one of the founding contributors to the Dalton Vocational School, and through his efforts, the legislature gave Lincoln's board control of the facility and its property that was formerly in the hands of the University of Missouri. He also used his influence to increase appropriations from the legislature. Recognizing that progress doesn't exist in a vacuum, he fought to get faculty members and President Young funds to attend educational and scientific meetings as early as 1930. He pushed for funds to get faculty members sabbatical leaves to study for advanced degrees.⁹³⁰ Through his efforts, Lincoln University was prepared to be accredited on April 20, 1934 under President Florence.⁹³¹ In 1936, it was Dr. Elliff's resolution as president of the board to appoint a committee to conduct a

comprehensive survey of Lincoln University.⁹³²

Always working to better the academic opportunities at Lincoln, he donated many of his books and manuscripts to Lincoln's poor library. The J. D. Elliff Chapter of the Future Teachers of America was established on campus in honor of his contributions. The members of this chapter presented the school with a framed photograph of the eminent educator that hangs in Page Library

Dr. Elliff did more for the development of secondary education in Missouri than any other person. He established the first high school vocational program while serving as director of vocational education. He served as director of the University of Missouri summer school program for 14 years, retired, then returned to serve again until 1936. He was an emeritus professor twice.⁹³³ Born in 1863 in Council Grove, Kansas, Joseph Doliver Elliff graduated from Central State Normal School, Warrensburg, Missouri in 1893. He received a B.A. from the University of Missouri in 1903 and a M. A. in 1906. He continued graduate courses at the University of Chicago and at Columbia University. He taught in rural village schools from 1882 to 1892; he was principal of the high school and superintendent of schools in Joplin, Missouri for the next eleven years. In St. Joseph, he was superintendent of schools from 1903-1904. He was a faculty member at the University of Missouri from 1904 to retirement.

He came to Lincoln University with the momentum of his career in full stride, with enthusiasm to make a difference. Over the years, he exercised his influence in Missouri education for the benefit of Lincoln University. Not afraid of controversy, he resigned from Lincoln's board in 1937 in formal protest to the governor. He criticized the board's treatment and firing of President Charles W. Florence whom he personally interviewed to

replace President Young. He and Young, both strong-willed leaders, ceased to see the same direction for Lincoln. Nevertheless, he was persuaded to assume the duties of a board member again in 1946 with Sherman D. Scruggs in the president's chair. He remained until shortly after Earl E. Dawson took over as president following President Scruggs' stroke. Joseph D. Elliff made a difference at Lincoln University by guiding the school to full accreditation and helping it survive. Undoubtedly, his service to the school for a total of twenty years spanning over the first half of the twentieth century was indeed unique for any board member. Few could say they really knew Lincoln the way he did.

The End of a Chaotic Era

The 1950s was another great decade of change--the kind of change that shakes the very foundation of an institution. Racial barriers lowered, funding dropped; curriculum, enrollment, and personnel quickly expanded. Traditions were altered, and the mission--the mythic mission to emulate the University of Missouri--was seen by one and all as just that: a myth. The hastily established School of Law and the School of Journalism proved that. At mid-century, Lincoln University could barely handle all the disruption, especially the obvious signs of too few dormitory rooms, too many students in classrooms, and too few parking spaces. Pressures were mounting. The sixties were designed for eruption.

CHAPTER VIII

LETS HAVE A SIT-IN LIKE EVERYBODY ELSE

During the 1960s, the 1950s ambiance of a small liberal arts college built on proprietary control and academic achievement clashed with a decade of burgeoning growth spurred by introduction of a different clientele and a nationwide attitude that put college age youth at the center of several conflicts. Student activism emerged over civil rights, racial equality, and preservation of the African American heritage. Lincoln University was not prepared, but then neither was the rest of the nation. Yet, students at Lincoln had been changing for some time. Involved students, after years of being corralled into campus clubs and programs as vehicles for self expression mainly in dramatic, vocal and oratorical presentations, now seized an environment of freedom to address adults and each other. Faculty control was just as parochial as it had ever been especially since many older faculty were nearing retirement and faculty turnover had been slowed by tenure. The school maintained a provincial attitude concerning student obedience and respect for authority. The administration was just as concerned with building expansion, budget allocations, and community relations as during the preceding decades. Few meaningful exchanges between the university's various constituencies occurred. Having good press from national magazine coverage and local response to the 1954 end to segregation in Missouri schools coupled with a decided victory in terms of

continued state support, Lincoln presumed too much.

The signs were everywhere on campus: white students commuted in and out, black students closed ranks by status in fraternal groups, sports teams, and student government. The partiers, the players, and the planners hailed from various urban districts and states, but on campus student division was an understood tradition. Federal loans allowed poor students continued access to higher education, while others could write personal checks for low tuition, fees, and books. By all appearances, Lincoln University looked fine.

At the beginning of the decade, Lincoln was busy being a black college. Students were involved, faculty was involved, the administration was involved, the alumni was involved. Every constituent group had a cache of interests to keep their attention. To start the new year, on January 4 the president called for a six-point fund-raising project to net \$1,415,000.⁹³⁴ Following a survey that showed favorable results for the goals, the Lincoln University Development Fund solicited and collected contributions for student loans, student scholarships, a new student union building, adult education, faculty research and cooperative housing. The school estimated that in order to receive matching government funds for student loans, every \$9 of federal money would require \$1 from the school. For 1960-61, the fund would require \$38,000 in contributions. State funds could not be used for student loans or any of the other goals targeted by the campaign. Alumni organizations spearheaded the drive, but an executive board composed of alumni, friends, faculty, and students would oversee contributions.⁹³⁵

Just as students demanded participation in the Jefferson City community as full citizens in 1954 and later, the faculty grappled with increased enrollment, antiquated

procedures, and mounting pressures to accommodate a rapidly changing student body. Parking had become a major problem. An increase in commuter student traffic rendered the campus almost inaccessible to faculty and administrative staff. After a committee study and report on the problem in January 1960, the next year saw implementation of designated parking spaces for faculty and staff and student parking areas.⁹³⁶

The new decade also brought realization that students were far more diverse and aware of what a college culture could and should provide. No longer were they docile, obedient, or content. Their sense of being constrained by antiquated and arbitrary rules and regulations was a testament to their awareness of the turmoil the 1960s was about to unleash across the country. The old must go; the status quo would no longer suffice. Not only new music that differed from ragtime and jazz of the 1920s student, but also new clothing and hair styles appeared on campus. Whatever hopes the graduate faculty with tenure and the administration with clout thought about these changes, they were certainly not prepared to be challenged in their authority to operate the school. It was this lack of anticipation that Lincoln University, situated snugly on top of a hill in the small capital city of a Midwestern state, would ever awaken to these changes, but awaken it did. In the meantime, the faculty, administration, and board proceeded to begin the most tumultuous decade of the century with business as usual.

In 1962, the board asked the faculty to participate in reorganization of the administrative staff, revision of the curricula, and refocus of the mission. These reports were due by 1966 in time for the North Central Association review of Lincoln in 1967. Dr. James H. Seeney, head of the education department, was asked to supervise and coordinate a study of all aspects of the instructional program to make recommendations

for improvement.⁹³⁷ The faculty had certainly made the instructional program worth noting.

Lincoln's faculty had outstanding academic credentials. Seventy percent held the doctorate. Many were widely published in juried periodicals. Several received research grants while others headed professional and academic organizations. Dr. Lorenzo Greene wrote Battles of the Civil War (1962); Dr. Louis M. Sirois, speech department, published two new textbooks, The Art of Reading Aloud to Others and Fundamentals of Speech. An earlier work, Elements of Good American Diction, appeared in its fourth edition. Phyllis Wills wrote books on Japanese dwarf trees and Jesse James. The science and social science departments were especially prolific with articles on sit-ins, ethnicity, chemical compounds and topics in biology.⁹³⁸

Evelyn Tutt, assistant professor in biology, spent 1963 studying at Stanford University on a fellowship; Dr. Kenneth Hempel, history, received a fellowship in political science from the University of California, Berkeley. Doctors Spurgeon M. Talley, James Freeman, and Herman Miller received research grants from the Department of Agriculture.

The fact that most state members of the American Association of University Professors (AAUP) were faculty at the University of Missouri-Columbia in 1965 when Cecil A. Blue, head of the English and speech department, was elected president of the state chapter, proved to be another source of pride for Lincoln. An equally flattering kudos went to Dr. Walter R. Talbot, mathematics, who was elected executive secretary of the National Institute of Science. Last but not least, Dr. Lorenzo Greene was elected president of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, founded by Carter G. Woodson to promote scholarly research in black history.⁹³⁹ Dr. Greene was

Woodson's assistant in studying conditions of Negro labor. Together they wrote The Negro Wage Earner before Greene came to Lincoln as a history instructor.⁹⁴⁰

Guest lectures were given by James D. Parks, head of the art department, to students at Tuskegee Institute; Dr. Herman Miller, chemistry, lectured at the University of Missouri medical school. Dr. Thomas Pawley, English and speech, lectured at South Carolina State College.⁹⁴¹ Dr. Oliver C. Cox, professor of sociology, took leave in 1960 to conduct research at the Library of Congress. He delivered an address on redevelopment in Africa and the West Indies to members of the District of Columbia Sociological Association.⁹⁴² Sponsored by the Experiment in International Living organization, Dr. Armistead S. Pride, professor and chairman of the journalism department, lead a group of 1500 people on a tour of Italy during the summer of 1960.⁹⁴³ The faculty was now in a position to not only attend out-of-state conferences encouraged years ago by curator president Dr. Elliff during the tenure of former President Nathan B. Young, but now routinely made presentations at such events. The faculty possessed a longstanding record of academic achievement albeit without salaries comparable to those of faculty at Missouri's regional universities. Collectively, Lincoln University's faculty had come a long way since the days of being forced to earn advanced degrees from other states.

In 1960, Lincoln enrolled 1,427 students. In 1963, 329 freshmen included 68 who ranked in the top three positions of their high school senior class. There were 39 from the upper third of their senior classes. The next year, 499 freshmen included 112 students who ranked in the top three slots of their senior classes; sixty-one students were part of the top one-third of their classes. These figures were certainly impressive given past

alarms about poorly prepared students. A top-ranked faculty now had a large pool of top-ranked students to educate.

Throughout the decade recruiters from some of the nation's best-known companies appeared on campus. The school newspaper carried ads from Beech Aircraft, Pet Milk, Equitable Life Insurance, TWA, McDonnell Aircraft, Lindsay-Schaub, Humble Oil, General Foods, Continental Insurance, Bendix, Kodak, Western Union, Ford Motors, and IBM announcing interview dates to interview Lincoln graduates for jobs with corporations. The largest pool of new employees remained elementary and secondary education majors ready to accept teaching positions all over the world.⁹⁴⁴ The time was truly phenomenal given the school's struggles against racism and illiteracy to train and hire teachers for over a century.

The Alumni Achievement Award in the 1960s

During the June 1965 Commencement, three alumni, nominated by a committee of faculty, students, and alumni, received citations for their contributions to their professions, to Lincoln, and to their communities. The Alumni Achievement Award was presented to Dr. Lionel H. Newsom, class of 1938, president of Barber-Scotia College, Concord, North Carolina; Dr. Gus T. Ridgel, class of 1950, head of the economics and business department, Kentucky State College, Frankfort, Kentucky; and Albert P. Marshall, class of 1938, librarian and alumni secretary, Lincoln University.⁹⁴⁵ Marshall was the author of the first pictorial history of Lincoln University, Soldiers' Dream. A Centennial History of Lincoln University of Missouri (1966).

Demographic and Curriculum Changes in the Mid-1960s

In 1965 one half of the students came from eight counties near Cole County. Nearly 35 percent came from Cole County in 1967, and by 1969, when enrollment hit 2,143, 49 percent were from Cole County. At the end of the 1960s, Lincoln had grown to tenth in size among the state's 62 four-year colleges.⁹⁴⁶ Students were not slow to recognize that Lincoln University offered a central location in mid-Missouri with ease of access on and off major highways. They also recognized the value of low costs and available financial aid. There were no competing schools to offer baccalaureate degrees and that gave Lincoln University an advantage. The circumstances had completely changed from the days faculty had to take their summers, travel the state, and recruit black students from poor, sparsely-populated rural districts whose teachers could hardly meet the challenge of providing a rudimentary background in elementary subjects. Now all the school had to do was meet the growth in population and caliber of student with an expanded curriculum and more fully equipped buildings.

Music therapy was added in 1960, accounting in 1961, speech pathology and audiology in 1967. A big change occurred with addition of the Department of Nursing spurred by shortages in Jefferson City's three hospitals in the mid-60s. The board planned this new program using science courses. Prerequisites for pre-medical majors were ideal for science requirements in nursing. Rearranging these courses in the proper sequence for nursing students allowed 20 new students to enroll in the first class in 1968.⁹⁴⁷

With the bulk of students in elementary education and business administration degree programs, faculty shortages were augmented with adjunct personnel and additional

sections. The dormitories and classrooms were extremely overcrowded. That was obvious not only to the news reporter who announced it in the Jefferson City Tribune, but also in President Dawson's annual report to the board on December 1960 which emphasized the need for immediate relief. Students were being turned away from classes due to lack of space. Dormitory rooms often had four students each instead of two as Dean of Students Dr. Charles M. Hoard told a local reporter in February. Urban renewal projects had eliminated low cost housing near the campus and the few rooms and apartments available for rent were either too expensive or too far from campus for students without cars. The school was so desperate that it rented spare rooms in Mr. and Mrs. Houston Ellis' home at 802 East Miller Street house students until dormitory space became available through mid-year attrition.⁹⁴⁸

By 1961, state appropriations allowed the school to purchase three new lots, to make classrooms in the old gymnasium in Young Hall, and to renovate Memorial Hall. Alumni and state funds helped finance two new dormitories, Martin Hall and Perry Hall which together could house 728 students. By 1964, Jason Gymnasium and a new Student Center were ready. Elliff Hall was renovated to accommodate a new laboratory school, part of an elementary and secondary teacher training unit. Founders Hall was completed in 1968; Martin Luther King Hall in 1969. Ten acres next to the athletic field were purchased in 1967 for a future \$6,000,000 sports complex.⁹⁴⁹

During the summer of 1966, President Dawson, his wife Anna, and their daughter Margaret Ann, moved into 601 Jackson, a renovated home purchased by the board in 1965 for the president's residence. Originally built in 1913 for \$16,000, the Williamsburg-style home made from stone sits at the top of a hill overlooking the campus. It was

designed by Tracy and Swarthout, architects who planned the State Capitol in Jefferson City in 1912. The original lot extended over present-day Highway 50 and south to Elm Street. A well existed at the end of the stone wall in front of the house. Civil War soldiers drank water from the well and ate fruit from the surrounding orchard. The owner later covered the well to prevent children from playing in it on their way to school. Except for a Chinese mimosa tree started from seed and positioned in the center of a circular drive, most of the property's original trees tower over the front and back.

The two-inch thick mahogany doors have original brass knobs and locks with keys. The 22-room structure has a large foyer, nine exits, the original winding staircase, three woodburning fireplaces (living room, library, master bedroom), and an original commode and wash basin in the first floor bathroom. The library was added in 1918.⁹⁵⁰

Hugh Stephens, the original occupant of the home, was chairman of the board of Exchange National Bank. He bought the lot from Mrs. Louisa Bragg. Married to Bessie Miller in 1901, their daughter Louisa Miller Stephens Otto became heir to her home in 1962 when her mother died, just two years after her father's death. Another local businessman and his family, Vernon O. Burkhalter, rented the home. He was former president of City National Savings and Loan Association. They occupied the house from 1961-64 when the city's Housing Authority bought it. Lincoln University bought the home from Urban Renewal in March, 1965. The first home for Lincoln's presidents built by students in 1892 was demolished in 1967.⁹⁵¹

Campus News

Records were no longer the drudge of clerks in the business and administration offices after 1961 when the board approved purchase of an IBM 1620 computer. Air conditioning installed in Page Library became a big hit with students according to a campus newspaper article in April 1967. Dr. Thomas Pawley, professor of English and speech, directed the Stagecrafters--the student theater company--in several plays ranging from Greek tragedies, Shakespeare, Ibsen, O'Neill, and Tennessee Williams. Concerts scheduled in the Lecture-Recital series presented the Don Cossock Choir, the Myra Kinch Dance Troupe, the U. S. Marine band, the American Jazz Ensemble, the National Ballet, and several concert pianists. Debate team tournaments and travelogues took center stage in Richardson Auditorium. The extremely popular rock and roll singer Aretha Franklin, known as the Queen of Soul, appeared in concert in Richardson Auditorium as did the Tommy Dorsey Band.

The Journalism Department's successful Headliner Week presented journalists from The Washington Post, NBC News, The Los Angeles Times, and other newspapers. The activities of the R.O.T.C. became regular features in the student newspaper. Representative Stuart Symington, Jr. reviewed the troops in 1968; congressmen also attended the annual Military Ball.

Religious affiliations also flourished during this decade. The Wesley Foundation, active on campus since 1953, built a permanent home in 1961. Weekly forums of interest to students included one on the topic of marriage which drew a record crowd of 50. The Baptist Student Union moved to new facilities close to campus at Chestnut and Fairmount

Streets in 1968. Active on campus from 1961, The Newman Center, moved to the former Baptist Student Union building on Dunklin Street in 1968. This group met every other Monday and sponsored informal old fashioned gatherings like hootenanny masses and basket suppers.⁹⁵²

Athletics in the 1960s--Stars and Glory

In 1960 and 1961, the Tigers experienced dismal losing seasons, but the next year the team won enough games to compete in and win the Mid-West Athletic Association Championship--recapturing football glory from 1958. Star players included Laron Dozier, John Curtis and Howard Christian. The latter two freshmen impressed Coach Reed with their skills enough to start in varsity games. Freshmen, Willie Dent and James Tolbert, played in winning games led by team captain Robert Walker, an all-around athlete and student government president.

Co-captains Gerald Walker and George Buckner led the Tigers to an 8-2 record in 1964. Florida A. & M. College and Tennessee State University were the victors. But the Tigers bounced back to a 73-0 win over the University of Missouri-Rolla. Coach Reed concluded the season with a 103-57-6 record after sixteen years of leadership. At the end of twenty years, the record stood at 124-72-6. The 8-2 record repeated in 1968 and launched the professional careers of two star athletes, Homer Cavitte who signed with the Philadelphia Eagles, and Henry Burnett who signed with the Atlanta Falcons.

Standing room only proved the norm in the new gymnasium for fans who came to support Lincoln's basketball team. Inaugurating the new facility with an impressive 10-7

record, beating rival Tennessee State University 76-65 and the host cite for the Mid-Western Athletic Association opened the first year record. The 1960-61 team produced a 20-8 record with three of those losses in tournament competitions but coming out with a second place finish in the NCAA tournament. The Associated Press Little All-American poll gave an honorable mention to Chester Moran who had 395 points. In 1961-62, the 14-10 record included a close match between the Blue Tigers and Tennessee State. After three overtimes, the Tigers won 109-105. Star players were co-captains Chester Moran and Norman Stikes.

New basketball coach Jonathan Staggers (1964-66) who began coaching in 1963 guided the athletes in the 1964-65 season when Arvesta Kelly, the 6'2" guard accrued 538 points for the season. Another top scorer was Milton Williams who accumulated 396 points. The 20-3 record of the 1966-67 season placed the team in third place in the Associated Press poll. Kelly earned honorable mention in the All-American rankings and ended the season with 53 points against Mid-Western College. The 1967-68 record was 20-3; the 1968-69 record was 20-6. Both seasons resulted in third place ranking in the NCAA Regional Tournament. This exhilarating trend came to an abrupt halt during the 1969-70 season with a 4-20 record.

The 1960s was an exceptional decade for the track team with the 1963 season cited in the NCAA Bulletin and the popular Track and Field magazine as such. Albert Wheatfall in the 100 and 200-yard dash, Willie Dent in the broad jump, Stanley McDonald in discus, John McGowan in the 440-yard dash and Robert Hayes in the 70- yard dash, who at the 1964 Chicago Invitational Indoor meet equaled the world record, scored impressively.

Golf, tennis, gymnastics, and soccer competitions had impressive players during the sixties. Phillip Jones, Lincoln's top player, won all dual and single tennis matches in 1964. The golf team, coached by Danny Williams, won a NAIA District Championship and second in the NCAA District Tournament. The team might have won second if they had not been forced to practice on the sandy and burned out greens and fairways at the city's municipal golf course.

One obstacle to building winning teams had to do with the integration of black and white players. In the late fifties administrators and coaches hailed the newness of such integration. By the mid-sixties, problems arose. Black athletes comprised the football team and most of the basketball team, yet the golf team was all white. An editorial in the black-owned St. Louis American dated March 29, 1962 accused Lincoln's administrators of deliberately excluding whites from campus activities in order to put forth the school's black identity.⁹⁵³

Bowling, Lincoln, and the NAACP

Bowling at two Jefferson City businesses relegated Lincoln students to specific times they could use the facilities. This policy had been in place since the 1950s when most city businesses appeared to comply with desegregation laws; however, Lincoln students desired unrestricted access and convened a meeting with alley owners in September 1960. By November 1961 when no change in policy seemed forthcoming, approximately 300 students rallied on the campus quadrangle March 2, 1962 to hear a telegram from Roy Wilkins, Executive Director of the NAACP, read. Encouraged by

Wilkins' support to insist on a change in alley policy, the students continued their negotiations with alley owners. Both agreed to change times to weekday mornings and afternoons. A probation period of five weeks was set to observe any problems with the arrangement. If successful, open bowling could ensue without barriers. Providing the local NAACP chapter approved, the negotiations between Lincoln's Visanio Johnson and the owners would go into effect. The student members refused the restrictions and the time frame. Instead of returning to negotiations, they marched to the bowling alleys and picketed their businesses for half an hour.

Another meeting on campus with NAACP members and students included an impromptu response from Lincoln President Earl Dawson. He claimed to oppose segregated practices at the bowling alleys but reduced the value of that position by chastising the student negotiators for "unprofessional actions." To underscore his attitude toward the matter, he suspended nine students who spoke at the rally including the head negotiator Johnson. The president claimed the students did not have permission to meet and therefore violated school policy. The following day, the president was hanged in effigy. A sign read: "I am your president and your dictator." Students gathered in the quadrangle wearing gags to emphasize the lack of free speech on campus. They also boycotted the cafeteria. In the March 23 and 30 issues of the school newspaper, The Clarion, the president was criticized for suspending the students. According to the newspaper articles, permission to meet applied to buildings and campus rooms, not out-of-doors. Examples of other meetings held on the quadrangle without penalty were cited to lend support against the president's arbitrary use of school policy. Only students who favored picketing were suspended; opposing voices were obviously supported by the

president. Soon the state and national NAACP chapters were involved. President of the Missouri branch, Mrs. Kelsy B. Besheares, called a meeting in support of the suspended students.⁹⁵⁴

Feeling the pressure, President Dawson tried to explain his actions in statements issued on March 23 and 25. He claimed to act to lower racial barriers in the city. He claimed the demonstrations implied administration support to the protests. He was trying to ameliorate that impression. He claimed to have reached an agreement on March 22 with both alley owners to end all discriminatory practices against Lincoln students and blacks in general. He even reinstated one of the nine suspended students.

Curators supported the president's suspensions; the University Alumni Association denounced his actions. By Monday, April 2, Roy Wilkins arrived on campus from Washington, D.C. to get the remaining eight students reinstated. According to Wilkins, the president's actions were disastrous for the NAACP. Dawson was a black president at a black university that suspended nine black students for demonstrating their civil rights to protest racial injustice in two local bowling alleys whose discriminatory practices against blacks was a matter of record. More fearful of a backlash from the city's white establishment, the president's actions were categorically embarrassing for the school and its constituencies. Wilkins talked with Dawson all night. The result was the reinstatement of the eight students pending letters seeking reinstatement. Most complied and were readmitted.

In spite of the resolution to the bowling alley discrimination and the initial good faith negotiations conducted by the students with alley owners, the denial of free speech and the heavy-handed approach to the insignificant picketing by the students whose

patience had lasted for over a year, the president and the board avoided addressing the underlying volume of student discontent. By April 1967, students presented a lengthy list of grievances to the president. The president nor the board heeded the advance warning from the St. Louis Alumni Chapter president Charles Young who informed them that the students were sorely dissatisfied with a number of issues that these officials should pay attention to. They did not.

The actual protest erupted one evening in the cafeteria. Perhaps coincidentally, that Wednesday, April 5, 1967 featured the annual Headliners Banquet, an annual event held to recognize media personnel and their accomplishments. While the banquet guests ate prime rib, asparagus al la mornay, and potatoes au gratin, students were being fed one spare rib and a slice of bread! Fifteen hundred students blocked entrance to the student center and directed banquet guests to the cafeteria instead. Irving Dillard, a journalism professor from Princeton, sought refuge in the reception area and nibbled on hors d'oeuvres until the crowd dissipated and he could escape.

Later that night, a rock crashed a police car window and precipitated a call for 75 highway patrolmen who surrounded the campus all night. The next morning, the patrolmen's siege of the campus catapulted into opposition from students who boycotted classes. Some professors dismissed classes; others did not. Reporters interviewed students and published complaints. The Kansas City Call April 21, 1967 issue declared that so many students could not have joined en masse over cafeteria food especially so late in the year. The article listed several complaints: chicken fried in leftover fish grease, continuous servings of pork products, cold cuts, food shortages, dormitory conditions that included dirt, poor ventilation, and lack of maintenance. Students also objected to a dress

code that prohibited wearing shorts to class, girls could not have keys to the dormitory doors, and excessively high prices at the campus book store. An article in The Kansas City Star reported student complaints against censorship of The Clarion, the student newspaper, and thus the need for the underground newspaper, The Student Liberator.⁹⁵⁵

Students complained about relations between blacks and whites on campus in an April 11 article in the Kansas City Star. The administration was accused of "kowtowing" to the white community. Students feared the school was losing its identity and they were losing their own racial heritage by being forced to act and look like white students. The Kansas City Call's April 21 article also noted tension between blacks and whites on campus especially complaints about white students not participating in school activities.⁹⁵⁶

The board, acting out of self-preservation, assured students their complaints would be heard provided there were no further incidents and thus no reprisals for the blockade. President of the Student Government Association, Robert Newton, and a small student group met with curators who assured them the food issues would be remedied and the dress code reconsidered. Newton, diplomatic but wary of the board, advised students to wait and see--end the demonstrations and return to class. Like a magic wand waived over a troubled land, the campus eruptions ceased, the local and school news hushed. But this was the calm before the storm.

The tumult of the spring term gained momentum the next fall. The board had not kept its word. On October 14, 1967 a melee erupted in the cafeteria that caused \$1500 damage. The problem: the food. It was as bad as ever and nothing had changed.

Acting on a rumor of arson to occur at Memorial Hall, the overactive president again summoned police patrol all over campus. According to Student Government

Association president Turhan Brown in an interview published in the Jefferson City Post Tribune, the food service had improved since April. Repairs were being made at some dorms. There was more freedom in the dress code. Either he was out of touch with his representative group or he was telling the media what the reporter should report but his sense of surprise was echoed throughout the campus. Surely there was the real issue of reprisal should he or other officers become connected with the incident. No one had forgotten the "suspended nine" who suffered under this same president.

Perhaps Brown did not eat in the cafeteria nor live in the dorms since most male students had some degree of freedom that the female students did not, but other students on campus were not surprised by the fracas. A circulating flyer on campus claimed the protest to be caused by those very issues: bad cafeteria food and unfit residence hall conditions.

As expected, the administration did respond but with more reprisals. Dean of Students Ben Pugh called in a so-called ringleader of the cafeteria revolt--Joseph E. Scoggin. Although no one witnessed Scoggin in the melee, the Dean claimed he instigated the chaos--without rallying the crowd nor throwing a dish. Not unlike similar responses from the administration, the Dean charged the incident to a few vocal students whose purpose was to create unrest. The local Jefferson City Tribune claimed its own assessment of the cause: outside agitators. Why "outside agitators" would be eating in the school cafeteria was never questioned but some athletes and some SGA members voiced opposition to these unidentified "outside troublemakers." Five students identified by Dean Pugh were summarily expelled from Lincoln; however, two of the accused, Edward Jefferson and Joseph Scoggin, were quietly readmitted for the spring semester.⁹⁵⁷

The university administration congratulated itself for acting quickly to bring the culprits to punishment; disinterested students continued their apathy; and, the remaining three expelled students probably did not have the resources to force the board to reinstate them.

Again, the administration and the board seized the surface symptoms of unrest and ignored the causes. Their strategy had always been to isolate a few students, make them an example, and bury the controversy as quickly as possible. Lincoln was certainly not the leader in such ploys, but because colleges and universities across the country were following this same pattern, it seemed the least resistive way to handle outbreaks given the mood of student unrest during the decade. No one questioned the causes or the circumstantial evidence based on hearsay. It was all a matter of punishment. But like a festering sore, real issues never heal themselves.

In April 1968 shortly after a memorial service commemorating the assassination of Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, two editorials in the Jefferson City Tribune sparked another incident. One editorial published April 3, called Dr. King "one of the most menacing men in America," a "dangerous man, who. . . does not serve the responsible elements of Negro Society."⁹⁵⁸ The April 4 editorial labeled Dr. King "an apostle of Marx, and [said] Marx was an apostle of violence."⁹⁵⁹ The first editorial hit the stands the day before the assassination; the second, the day after. Offended students proposed to march to the newspaper office and demand an explanation. They were labeled "campus radicals" and "Black Power advocates" by some who didn't know otherwise than to use the common parlance of the time to identify any who chose to speak out. A contingent of students peacefully marched down High Street and gathered outside the entrance to the newspaper office. They were met by publisher William Blosser and editor, Joseph Majersky.

Majersky told the students that the newspaper planned to run articles "reflecting credit on Dr. King's accomplishments."⁹⁶⁰ For some students, the future articles were no balm against the incendiary remarks in the two published editorials. They wanted a retraction. Pushing started from the back propelling those in front forward at such momentum that bodies went through the plate glass door. Twelve students entered through the broken door and began to damage the entry. A telephone was ripped from the wall before police arrived in hard hats and forced students out of the building. The group retraced their steps up High Street with police behind them. Bottles and rocks crashed through store windows and hurled toward passing cars. Merchandise was looted and offices were broken into. After reaching campus, the students dispersed.⁹⁶¹

The administration declared an immediate Spring Break; most students left campus. Although local authorities threatened prosecution, no arrests were made and the instance dissolved into silence. The Mayor John Christy called for a citizen vigilante group to protect the fair citizens of Jefferson City, but fortunately less anti-Klan-like persuasion prevailed. There was now a clear indication that the so-called good relations between the Lincoln community and the Jefferson City establishment was a sham. The only real relationship that dominated was as it had always been from the beginning: racial prejudice against blacks at Lincoln. Until the advent of desegregation laws, blacks had no way to redress discrimination in public and private dealings with the white community of Jefferson City. Playing the game of public relations for whatever benefit could be derived for either side, the mayor's true attitude toward blacks came forth when he asked the city council to enact legislation that would allow him "to call to his aid all citizens in suppressing outbreaks against the public or private property."⁹⁶² Yet only days earlier, at

the Lincoln University memorial to Dr. King, Christy cited "Dr. King as a man who would take his place as one of the great martyrs of the U. S."⁹⁶³

Students were in no way immune to the politics of discrimination that had become tradition in Jefferson City. Barred from renting apartments, shopping in stores, eating in restaurants, attending reserved-seat paid events, using the high school gym at dawn, resigned to practice on a decrepit golf course while the high school team practiced at the exclusive country club--all these instances and countless others were the daily fare of black students attending Lincoln University. To make matters worse, the school also took advantage of the students by overdoing events for true "outsiders"--those who neither donated to the school, nor helped students at the school when they attended lavishly catered events and tours on campus. It was as if Lincoln's administration never left the nineteenth century while time had passed over half of the twentieth century with the same posture and same response toward students--that is, best seen and not heard.

Not unlike other historically black universities such as Fisk, the president was always caught in the middle. To act in favor of the students would risk reprisal by the board and the white community; to act in favor of the board and the white community would risk disfavor with the students. The latter position always seemed the lesser of two unappealing choices to Lincoln's presidents. After all, students were transitory and jobs for black college presidents were scarce and always built on word-of-mouth reputation rather than credentials--especially at Lincoln University.

Unsettled Matters

When students in the early twenties wanted to form Greek-letter fraternities, President Young turned the matter over to the faculty who presumably followed his non-fraternity predilection. The students grumbled but didn't forget their own sense of normal college life and what that entailed. The administration countered with more and more required attendance at and membership in religious-affiliated groups and activities. That was not what the students wanted but they bided their time. When the request surfaced again in the late twenties, Young turned the matter over to the board who turned it back to the faculty with unseemly fearful and strict provisions.

When President Page returned after Young and encountered a different student body than the dominated group he had corralled under the prolonged use of the seminary model, he was shocked by their desire to hold private parties and not be strictly chaperoned by faculty at every turn. He left at the end of the year.

Had it not been for the pervasive external disruptions to student life caused by WWII and later the civil rights movement, Lincoln University could have continued its isolated highly-authoritarian style of student governance while at the same time promoting itself as a haven for black student development and intellectual growth--two themes that always sounded good to parents, especially those who did not live in Jefferson City and thus were unaware of how constrained student life actually was. And too, most parents were grateful that their offspring could get an education given the unilateral Jim Crow laws that held tight all the way to the Supreme Court. It was much too early for sociological studies on how students perceived their educational experience at historically

black colleges and universities. It was also too soon to supplant the errant notion that black students should have any other attitude than sheer gratitude to hold a teaching certificate or degree given the overwhelming size of the black population with no hope of attaining either. To speak openly against the all-too-common negatives of education at a segregated school would have seemed libelous against the black race, against one's parents for their sacrifices, against the school for their "help," and ultimately would have discounted the value a degree was supposed to bestow--an element of self-sacrifice for a higher goal--whether that goal was a better than manual labor job, or the opportunity to move to graduate level programs and degrees.

That is why the decade of the sixties seemed so disjointed from previous periods at Lincoln. The school did not conduct its affairs as part of the American university mainstream and so neither prepared for nor anticipated causes that could lead to disruptions. The administration and the changing board members simply chose to confront each instance as though the institution could get back to the fifties or even the twenties if authority prevailed--at all costs. That philosophy proved wrongheaded.

On May 9, 1969 students met in the ballroom of the three-year old Clifford D. Scruggs University Center. Although athletes called the meeting, issues discussed were the same as those from the early sixties, but now there was deep anger added to the disgust. Athletes protested certain policies enforced by the athletic department from the administration. They wanted (1) formal contracts outlining their full obligations to the school, (2) experienced and educated trainers, and (3) a dormitory for athletes only. Other students voiced their complaints. The list grew to include unfit and unhealthy conditions in the dormitories, severely limited curfews and no (dormitory) key access for

female students, inept counseling, unfair grading, bad food, substandard food service, and excessively high prices on merchandise and texts sold in the book store. There were special complaints against the "cantankerous nature"⁹⁶⁴ of the student center's female supervisor.⁹⁶⁵

In an effort to resolve some of the issues, a group of thirteen students planned to meet with the president the next day and gain commitment to do something about these issues. President Dawson refused to meet with the group, preferring to see only four or five. The students found this unacceptable and returned to the student center until the president, the Dean of Students, and the Dean of Women agreed to talk with the "Committee of Thirteen." The students boycotted classes. Instead of meeting with the students, President Dawson concentrated on clearing the building and getting students back to class.⁹⁶⁶

The faculty was not silent this time. They were critical of the administration for another ill-thought-out reaction to student complaints. This time the faculty met and elected Cecil Blue, Rosemary Hearn, Dr. Gordon Morgan, David Finley, Arthur Pullam, and Dwight Reed, to act as arbitrators between the administration and the students. On May 13, 1969 the Student Steering Committee, Doris Gregory, Oliver Holt, Jr., Marvin Kilt, Hamel Rose, Percy Harris, and Johnny Anderson, met with the Dean of Instruction, Dean of Students, Dean of Women, and the Athletic Director from the administration. Dr. Morgan was requested to be replaced with Dr. Wayne Johnson. Desire Jett was also added to the faculty committee. When the Dean of Students let loose with an unseemly outburst, Cecil Blue resigned from the Administrative Committee, as the faculty group was called. Miss Hearn became chairperson. Students requested Mary Rank to replace

Cecil Blue. Reverend Parker served as moderator. The deans and director were unyielding. The students slept on the floor of the student center for the next three days. They encouraged continuation of the boycott.⁹⁶⁷

In response, President Dawson ordered students out of the student center and back to class. He threatened police enforcement on May 12. Several faculty acted to avert the adverse publicity to the school and possible violence against the students. Arthur Pullam, David Finley, Rosemary Hearn, Mary Rank, and Desiree Jett plus Deans Ben Pugh and Betty Adams entered the building on May 12. These adults stayed with the students throughout the night to provide the university supervision the president said the students had to have in order to meet in the building. After talking all night, the exhausted students, faculty, and two deans left the building the next morning.⁹⁶⁸

The administration did not act in its own best interests when Dean of Instruction Oscar Chapman broke off discussions because students did not attend class. The May 12, 1969 issue of the St. Louis Post Dispatch reported that such an affront to negotiations encouraged more radical protest. The report was correct. At 10:00 p.m. May 19, some students set fire to Memorial Hall and Page Library as diversions to the main fire set in the student center, especially in the bookstore and in the office of the student center supervisor.

The fire department trucks arrived an hour later. They were fired at by unknown assailants from Allen and Foster Halls located within 200 yards of the center. That in turn brought the police, the highway patrol, and the National Guard to roust everyone out of the dormitories. The dorms were surrounded and Dean Pugh demanded students come out. Students were herded into the gym and searched. The dorms were searched.

Reportedly guardsmen found firebombs and rifles.⁹⁶⁹

Damage to the student center was estimated at \$648,000. The Jefferson City community was outraged as expected. A \$500 reward for information leading to the arrest and conviction of the arsonists was issued by Governor Warren Hearnes. Restraining orders forbidding interference on campus were issued by Attorney General John Danforth. Mayor Christy called for swift action against "them" and an end to negotiations. Even a Circuit Judge got in on the naysaying. Byron Kinder called the incident "typical of the Black Mafia."⁹⁷⁰

Police issued a 9:30 p. m. curfew for all Lincoln students and backed it up with arrests. Two hundred patrolmen and two hundred guardsmen canvassed the campus. Three students were arrested the first night and four the second night for violating the curfew. A daytime injunction prohibited students from gathering or loitering on campus or for disobeying a patrolman.⁹⁷¹ The campus was in a lock-down as was characteristic of a prison.

The administration suspended all twenty of the enlarged Committee of Thirteen. In spite of protests from the Legal Aid Society, the suspensions held until later when the in-state students were quietly re-admitted. Those "outsiders," meaning those from out-of-state, remained suspended. At the end of May, the police, patrolmen, and guardsmen still occupied the campus. Final exams kept most students occupied and the prison-like conditions took care of the rest. Fortunately for his health, President Dawson retired early. It was clear that he was not fit to govern the institution. He was officially replaced by Walter C. Daniel on July 1, 1969.

Walter C. Daniel, President (1969-1973)

Inaugural events for Dr. and Mrs. Walter Clarence Daniel began in April 1969. Once again, a round of teas, luncheons, guest speakers, and a formal ball preceded the inaugural convocation held April 19 followed by a reception.⁹⁷² True to the character of such events at Lincoln, Governor Hearnese, the curators, the faculty, the alumni association, the band and the choir plus a host of community supporters all appeared on the program.

A Johnson C. Smith University graduate in English, Dr. Daniel earned a M.S. degree in Science at South Dakota State University and a Ph.D. in English with a minor in philosophy at Bowling Green State University. Dr. Daniel taught in several elementary schools in Los Angeles, California before moving to chair the English department at Mount Vernon Junior High School in Los Angeles. From there he moved to Bowling Green, Ohio to pursue his masters and became a graduate assistant in the English department, then an instructor there. He left Ohio to become associate professor of English at North Carolina Central University in Durham, North Carolina and from there to chair the Division of Humanities and professor of English at Saint Augustine's College in Raleigh, North Carolina. In Greensboro, North Carolina he served as professor of English and Director of the Division of Humanities at the Agricultural and Technical State University of North Carolina as well as director of the 13 Colleges Curriculum Development Program at that institution. He published ten articles mostly in English and humanities journals between 1962 and 1971.⁹⁷³

Taking over Lincoln University after a decade of strife was not an appealing task to many candidates invited to apply for the president's position. Dr. Daniel set out to change the University's image. He hired fourteen new faculty with doctorate degrees in 1971, he opened communication with student leaders, he worked to get Scruggs University Center repaired and reopened, and he added new facilities and programs.⁹⁷⁴

The most important new campus addition was the football stadium after almost a century of playing on dirt. The 5600-seat stadium cost approximately \$900,000 and a new track was added around the field.⁹⁷⁵ The first game was against Minnesota's Bemidji State College. Tower Hall was constructed in 1972⁹⁷⁶ and added 180 rooms for women students, a future dining area, and parking for over fifty cars (63).

The new 40,000 watt public education radio station, KLUM-FM, was also added in 1972. Broadcasting began in late summer 1973 to a 70-mile wide area including Columbia, Fulton, Rolla, and other mid-Missouri towns. Financed via a matching grant from the U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, the independent station grew from a unit of the Speech and Theater department to an academic enterprise operated by the Communications department in 1976.⁹⁷⁷

Memorial Hall, deserted after the sixties fire, was demolished in August 1972. Fearing a safety threat, the board resolved to tear down the last building from the nineteenth century. The alumni wanted some parts of the structure preserved for posterity; however, the tower did not survive demolition because of its deteriorated condition. A cast metal eagle, a plaque commemorating Founders Day, a stained glass window, archway stones, four old records of speeches from the 75th Founder's Day in 1941 including one by W.E.B. DuBois on the "Future of the Negro State College" were

retrieved along with millions of files.

New programs included Adult Basic Education begun with assistance from a local state grant serviced nine counties. With no tuition charge, participants that included high school dropouts, veterans, and non-English speaking immigrants could earn a GED. Community employees could also sharpen basic literacy skills. This grant also helped Lincoln University establish the Adult Learning Center in Eliff Hall for one-on-one tutoring. In 1971 Lincoln hosted a summer institute to train teachers for adult education positions; eighty-one persons enrolled. These institutes continued for three years via support from another U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare grant.⁹⁷⁸

A Surprise Resignation

In spite of all the notable accomplishments made during his brief tenure as president, Dr. Daniel resigned October 30, 1972 to become Vice Chancellor of the University of Missouri-Columbia. It was the highest position held by a black educator in the state. Dr. William G. Brooks served as interim president from October 1972 to July 1973. A faculty member since 1947 and now Director of Financial Aid, Dr. Brooks told curators that he had no inclination to fill the slot permanently. He was scheduled to retire in 1976.⁹⁷⁹ Consequently, the board was on the search again for a president.

James Frank, President, 1973-82

The first alumnus, 22nd head, and 14th president, Dr. James Frank, joined Lincoln University in July 1973. He was formerly Vice President of Academic Affairs at Medgar Evers College at the City University of New York. Over 500 persons feted the new leader at the inauguration ceremony that included Governor Christopher S. Bond, Lt. Governor William C. Phelps, and several state university presidents. Dr. Frank told the group he envisioned Lincoln in a larger educational and cultural role provided there were liaisons between the school, community, and state to raise it to nationwide visibility. He also had plans for Lincoln University to serve as a research center for "racial and minority affairs" in the form of a museum. He advocated student involvement in school affairs.⁹⁸⁰

Dr. Frank received a Ph.D. degree from Springfield College, Springfield, Massachusetts in physical education with a college administration emphasis in 1962. He had earned a M.S. degree there in 1956. He had served as associate professor of physical education and graduate coordinator, and assistant dean at Herbert H. Lehman College at the City University. Before those positions, he was assistant professor in physical education program at Hunter College there from 1964-68. Earlier still, he taught physical education at Woodlands High School, Hartsdale, New York and at Springfield College. While a student at Lincoln University, James Frank was a member of the ROTC and served as first lieutenant in the Army Corps of Engineers 1953-55. He and wife Zelma, a 1957 alumnus, had two children. She was a reading consultant in New York. Dr. Frank promised "careful and systematic assessment of the University" followed by implementation of decisions needed for the future.⁹⁸¹

One of the first pieces of evidence that Lincoln University would need more than another "systematic assessment" came in the form of an anonymous letter published in the Jefferson City Post Tribune December 31, 1973. Signed only with "Black Citizen," the author cited his long residence in the city and the declining discipline in Lincoln students' behavior in public. He chastised students for walking en masse on sidewalks forcing pedestrians to go around them, for all night loud parties, for rowdy, loud behavior on city buses and during events held at Richardson Auditorium. He attended fewer and fewer of those events due to their unruly behavior. In addition he recalled where Dr. Frank declined to comment on several issues and took this as a negative indication that the situation at the school would change in spite of his hopes that when the board hired an alumnus, changes would follow.⁹⁸²

Dr. Frank did respond to this writer in a letter to the editor. He wished to open communications with the citizen and assured the party that he was very concerned about students' conduct. He hoped the cited examples of inappropriate behavior were exceptions. He refuted any notion that he thought students today were the same as twenty years ago. He hoped the school's policies had accommodated such changes for the benefit of the students and the community. If the writer had suggestions, he would certainly listen.⁹⁸³

A student editorial in the Lincoln Clarion by Ben Johnson praised Dr. Frank's immediate attention to students by conducting a meeting with them so soon after his inauguration. Following a list of demands submitted to the board prior to hiring Dr. Daniel's successor, the board could not openly commit to hiring a black alumnus, but they found one anyway in Dr. Frank. Students were pleased with his arrival. Dr. Frank

promised that the administration and faculty were there to serve the students. The student writer criticized Dr. Frank for using Lincoln as an "experimental ground" [and] "a stepping stone" to other things. Without students, there would be no Lincoln, the writer argued. He anticipated new faces in key administrative positions. Those who did not like the president's new pro-student program would likely leave.⁹⁸⁴

Dr. Frank made his philosophy of school governance clear in a feature article in the local newspaper. He advocated modernizing Lincoln to upgrade the services and academic preparation needed for students to succeed in a technological society. At 43, Dr. Frank, the former alumnus and varsity basketball coach (1959-62), set out his agenda. He supported several major administrative changes to which the student writer Ben Johnson alluded to in his editorial. He discussed his participation in the birth of Medgar Evers College but welcomed the opportunity to return to his alma mater to try to improve the school. He thought the 2600-student population at Lincoln should have a black president in order to preserve the school's heritage. He saw no wealth of black presidents at white colleges and universities. He saw no major pressure to hire blacks at these schools, so why the dismay at hiring a black president at Lincoln at this time? Since taking office, the president had faced increased expenses in school operations, a deteriorating physical plant, and a need for major administrative adjustment and re-established relations with the alumni chapters.

First and foremost, his priorities were with student relations and education, then efficient operation of the facilities and services such as business, admissions and records, and maintenance and grounds. He studied these areas and recommended changes. To garner greater alumni support, he planned to mobilize chapters nationwide. He witnessed

six or seven new chapters form and three or four reactivated during the first year of his administration. Because of his efforts, alumni chapters doubled to sixteen in a few months. By the July national convention, twenty-three chapters would be operational.

Dr. Frank requested \$303,905 from the House Appropriations Committee early in the year to renovate the heating plant. In all, the University requested about \$10 million for capital improvements including an athletic track, gymnasium, library, and nursing education building. The track could be funded the easiest for \$75,000. His interim predecessor, Dr. Brooks, had requested \$6.7 million in operational funds for 1973-74. Governor Bond recommended \$6 million. The current budget was \$5.8 million. In a local news article, Dr. Frank also fielded questions on integration, the number of white administrators, purchasing property at the corner of Chestnut and Atchison Streets, review of the curriculum, and acknowledged that he favored use of tape recorders and television cameras in open sessions of board meetings.⁹⁸⁵

Forward Ideas vs. Backward Funding

Students were indeed the focus of a new increase in fees for room and board and tuition due to inflation. The Coordinating Board on Higher Education recommended only \$4.7 million for 1976-77, \$1.4 million short of the requested funds and only \$100,000 more than last year's appropriation. A new formula based on student credit hours rather than headcount now determined how much each institution received. This formula ultimately hurt Lincoln. Faculty salaries, increased by 6 percent the previous year at a cost of \$300,000, would not receive an increase next year. There were no surplus funds. The

student center and university housing were not producing income to offset expenses. Of the 800 predicted students for 1974-75, only 650 resided in the dormitories. The University still owed the federal government interest payments on bond indebtedness to build the dormitories. Allen Hall would be closed as was Anthony Hall the past year which saved the school \$25-30,000. Although room and board fees were the lowest in the state, the income was not offsetting fuel expenses. The president was considering mandatory dormitory residence as another means to increase revenue.⁹⁸⁶

Out of Favor

The students' president got an earful when he met with them in Foster Hall in November 1975. Seeking cooperation from students, Dr. Frank emphasized that vandalism caused the need for dormitory improvements and that new furniture would be serviceable if not fashionable. He reminded students that funds for dormitory improvements came from the housing system, not the state. He asked for their observations. Hostile students asked for tight security around dormitories "during football games, decent furniture, washing machines that worked, extermination for roaches, less heat, elimination of fire hazards, mops and brooms, and better cleaning, maintenance and food services."⁹⁸⁷

Some accused the president of using dormitory residents as scapegoats citing no vandalism in two semesters but still no improvements. Dr. Frank informed students that furniture and phones would be installed on each floor, but that process took time. He was surprised to learn that dormitory rooms were accessible without a key and asked Dean

Johnson if counselors were available on each floor. Students complained about the president's unproductivity. They wanted the television set returned from a semester-length stay at the repair shop. Others blamed student apathy and lack of responsibility.⁹⁸⁸

In response to the students' grumbles about the president's inattention to their needs, the president addressed a sparse crowd of about 100 during a student convocation held in Richardson Auditorium the third week in November. Prompted by a question and answer feature appearing in the school newspaper and remarks in the president's column "Rap Sessions," the president reminded students that yes, the University was there to serve students, but students had to do their part by "preserving furniture, keeping the campus clean and respecting the rules and regulations."⁹⁸⁹

Students' needs were being seriously considered and as evidence the president pointed to issuing work-study checks before Homecoming. He urged student involvement in school affairs--academic, extracurricular or administrative--citing a need to take advantage of what the school had to offer. He asked students to re-examine their reasons for attending Lincoln University by asking themselves why the school existed and why they were there.⁹⁹⁰

Dr. Frank and the Sports World

Dr. Frank was elected vice-president of District V of the National Collegiate Athletic Association at an annual convention held in early January 1975. During his two-year term he would assist policy-makers on the council to find ways to reduce costs of intercollegiate athletics. He simultaneously held positions on the long range planning and

Theodore Roosevelt Award Jury of the NCAA.⁹⁹¹

Dr. Frank received one other kudos from some fans, namely residents of Aliquippa, Pennsylvania, where he was inducted into the Aliquippa Sports Hall of Fame in March 1976. The young Frank, known as Jimmy to hometown fans, played basketball and baseball. He had outstanding records both on championship teams and individually, named "all-conference, all-section and second team all-state."⁹⁹² He was a star on the baseball diamond and played on both the school team and two championship American Legion teams. In high school he was football manager, vice president of the National Honor Society, member of the court of honor, and recipient of a scholarship to Lincoln University in 1949.⁹⁹³

At Lincoln his accomplishments continued when he was named the "most promising freshman," captain of his junior and senior basketball teams, and earned the most versatile athlete award. He graduated in 1953 with a B.S. degree in physical education. He even played on the Korean All-Star Team and in the Far East Tournament while stationed in Korea in the Army Corps. He was already familiar with Lincoln when he returned in 1956 as assistant basketball coach and physical education instructor. He became head coach in 1958. His 62-36 record in four years led the Tigers to the regionals each year.⁹⁹⁴ Dr. Frank was also appointed to the American Council on Education's Commission on collegiate athletics. The three-year study funded by the Ford Foundation was convened to study the impact of athletic programs on the goals of universities.⁹⁹⁵

Revenue Woes

Dr. Frank presided over a March 30, 1976 Public Higher Education Day Conference held in Kansas City. State educators and guests discussed the need to keep fees and tuition low at state colleges and universities. Many students were being denied access because they could not pay the increase in fees caused by lower appropriations and limited funds.⁹⁹⁶

Board members were concerned about any and all lost revenue for Lincoln and that included funds paid into the state's retirement system prior to establishing Lincoln's system. According to the Missouri State Retirement System which eliminated employee-paid contributions, Lincoln personnel who paid into the state system would not be reimbursed for those funds. The University withdrew from the state system in 1969. If a declaratory judgement ruled against the school, Lincoln would have had to repay about \$178,000 to as many as 60 employees who paid into the state system. These payments would be made in a lump sum at retirement. At a cost of \$29,000 per year until repaid, the University voted to lower the number of years of service benefit eligibility from 20, or 15 at age 55, to 10. This was done to compensate employees who would not receive raises in 1977. Only \$13,000 would remain at the end of the fiscal year July 1 barring unforeseen circumstances.⁹⁹⁷

The predicted budget deficit occurred because of high utility costs and withholding of three percent of state funds. The University did not replace staff and teaching positions, and reduced expenditures for supplies and travel. Governor Bond approved \$4.9 million for 1977. Expenses exceeded \$6 million. Income from fees, tuition, and other

sources added a little over \$1 million and left the shortfall at \$490,000. The University tried to reduce administrative costs by not replacing one administrator who resigned, and eliminating the Dean of Instructional Services office upon retirement of Dr. William Brooks in the fall. The board also hired a Kansas City firm to study the school's economic impact on Cole County. At a cost of \$11,000 paid by industries which supported the school in various projects, Lincoln personnel would volunteer assistance.⁹⁹⁸

A Consultant's Review

The board hired Ray Wells as consultant part-time for about three months to review operations in the vice president's office. Wells was also hired to conduct workshops and give personnel motivational strategies in interpersonal communications. Although his background was as personnel director for the Missouri Department of Conservation, Wells had some experience in education as superintendent of two schools in Franklin County. He was also a board member of the Missouri chapter of the American Society for Training and Development.⁹⁹⁹ In a decade when consultants were being called to educational institutions more and more to deal with human resource issues, Lincoln was no exception, but Lincoln continued to rely on consultants long after the trend abated in other schools.

At a spring breakfast held at Lincoln University, Dr. Frank voiced concerns to Senator Ralph Uthlaut and Representative James Strong, R-Jefferson City. The senator voiced objections to the state Commission on Higher Education citing several legislators unhappy with the Commission's objections to making Linn Technical College a state

school. He advocated legislation banning the agency or reducing its power and slicing its funding. Representative Strong claimed the new board was having problems due to poor organization but should be given an opportunity to improve. Dr. Frank reiterated objections to the Commission's funding formula that substituted credit hours for head count. Such a formula was unfair to small schools like Lincoln and ignored the school's fixed costs. The Commission recommended over \$5 million to Lincoln for 1978-79; Dr. Frank was forced to appeal for almost \$500,000 more of which the Commission approved \$304,000. That was not going to be enough to forego cuts.¹⁰⁰⁰

Although efforts might change the formula in the future, changes would not occur soon enough to ease current and future financial problems. Now Lincoln had a 2-3 percent decrease in enrollment. Representative Strong offered to amend the capital improvements bill under consideration by the House of Representatives to include money to repair Richardson Auditorium.¹⁰⁰¹

Drastic Restructuring

The hard-hitting facts of budget reduction became known in a school newspaper article highlighting reorganization of the school's top-heavy administration. In order to save approximately \$73,600 in administrative costs and make the school more efficient according to President Frank, the current seven divisions including graduate and 24 departments and one area in the academic structure would change to 11 departments, three colleges, and a separate graduate division. Expected to be finalized in May, the plan would begin July 1, 1977. The 25 percent release time for division and department heads

would be replaced for some with full-time teaching assignments. Along with anticipated cuts in mostly non-tenured positions but including some of the schools 33-40 percent tenured faculty positions required under the new plan, Dr. Frank also cited the reduction to a 10-month teaching contract for most who did not teach during the summer instead of the customary 12-month contract for those on the administrative level.¹⁰⁰²

The three new divisions would be the College of Arts and Sciences with six departments: communications, education and psychology, fine arts, humanities, natural sciences and mathematics, and social sciences; the College of Business Administration and Economics; and the College of Applied Science and Technology with five departments: agriculture, natural resources and home economics; health and physical education; military science; nursing science; technology and industrial education. The School of Graduate and Continuing Education would remain separate.¹⁰⁰³

According to an earlier commissioned study, Lincoln's board learned just how much the school affected the economy of Jefferson City and surrounding areas: \$26,000,000 worth. Lawrence-Leiter conducted the two-year study that proved Lincoln a major economic force.¹⁰⁰⁴ By analyzing the school's business operations and economic profiles of employees and students, the study found that "more than 90% of the University's expenditures of \$9.6 million for fiscal year 1975-76, was spent in Cole county. The respending of this money and that of employees and students generated the \$26 million."¹⁰⁰⁵ The vice-president of the firm, Kent Crippin, stated that this impact should support Lincoln in the budget hearings with the legislature.¹⁰⁰⁶

In a recap of his past six years as president, Dr. Frank counted three or four reorganization plans always seeking to meet the needs of the students and yet retain

efficiency. He reorganized general maintenance, the business office, and the academic structure. Instead of the 28 departments, there were now 12 under four colleges. He established the University Senate to increase involvement among faculty, staff, and students who voted on all matters affecting the University's academic program. Before the Senate, only faculty had input in program changes.

Dr. Frank referred to the University's recent economic impact study as evidence of its involvement with the county and local area businesses. He stressed that managing the institution effectively with credibility and thoroughness would prove the positive approach. He still faced the problem of dwindling enrollment, a problem shared by many administrators. Of the 2,192 students enrolled for spring 1977, the total number of credit hours only amounted to 1,727 full-time students. He also wanted to raise more money from outside the University, namely through the federal government.¹⁰⁰⁷

To combat the loss of revenue based on student credit hours, Dr. Frank announced a new recruitment effort. A coordinator was hired to head Project 800, a long range plan to add new markets and methods. He also solicited the help of the Lincoln community toward that end. Student programs and dormitory conditions (repairs, safety and energy conservation measures) were also high priorities. With several buildings already renovated, funds were now available to repair Richardson Auditorium. A new structure, Memorial Plaza, was also being planned with fund-raising efforts to erect a functional building in tribute to the founders. He especially stressed his attention would focus on an excellent academic program. He announced workshops for academic improvement and refinement of all 12 projects currently in progress. Most of all he intended to increase efforts to get more state funds for the 1979-80 school year hoping that as estimated the

University would be able to avoid a deficit at the end of the year.¹⁰⁰⁸

By the end of the 1979-80 fiscal year, Dr. Frank was well aware of how meager Lincoln's appropriations were likely to be for the 1980-81 year. Governor Joseph P. Teasdale recommended only 6.8 percent more than current appropriations for the next year. Dr. Frank labeled that amount "inadequate" if the school was to comply with the governor's recommendation calling for a 9.5 percent increase in salary for all state employees. The governor recommended 1.1 percent less than the almost \$6.5 million recommended by the Coordinating Board of Higher Education.¹⁰⁰⁹

To show just how inadequate the upcoming recommended appropriation was, the president referred to inflation indices from the Higher Education Price Index that predicted how much \$1,000 of goods and services purchased by an institution in 1970, 1979, and 1989 cost. The increase ranged from \$794 to \$3,444. Lincoln was certainly not keeping up. The president said he most wanted to increase faculty salaries and looked for continued success of the Project 800 recruiting program in spite of the projected decrease in 18 to 22-year-old students entering college between now and 1984. Fall semester enrollment increased 3.4 percent in headcount and 4.9 percent in full-time equivalence (FTE). Lincoln would continue the project with more weekend courses and expansion of the funded programs in Missouri's prisons.¹⁰¹⁰

With less, the school would have to implement "new patterns of institutional behavior" to cope with financial shortages in the decade ahead. Not only would people have to adjust aspirations, but also resources and priorities. Dr. Frank pleaded for everyone to take an interest in student retention and make a commitment to do everything possible to assist students at Lincoln to have a positive learning experience. Working

together would prove beneficial to all members of the Lincoln community.¹⁰¹¹

Dr. Frank was elected NCAA secretary-treasurer, the second black to hold that office. This one-year voluntary position typically served as lead into the agency's president's office. Already the organization's vice-president elected for two consecutive two-year terms, this office required electing a substitute to fill in the fourth year in that position. He would be an ex officio member of the national and executive councils of the organization which included 16 vice presidents and an eight-member committee.¹⁰¹² The organization's San Francisco convention agenda looked at enforcement issues and concerns over equity in womens' sports programs.¹⁰¹³ In the winter of 1980, Dr. Frank was elected president of the National Collegiate Athletic Association at the Miami, Florida convention. In the 75-year history of the organization, Dr. Frank represented the first black elected to this post.¹⁰¹⁴

True to his inaugural pledge to invigorate Lincoln's alumni chapters, President Frank spoke to 250 alumni, students, and supporters at the three-day National Alumni Convention. Former students participated in gold and bowling tournaments, a Las Vegas night, and a pre-dedicatory service on the site for the proposed tribute to the founders named Memorial Plaza.¹⁰¹⁵

The president talked business and budget to the prospective supporters stating that the governor cut Lincoln's \$6.1 million by \$600,000 for 1981-82. Less state funds and 19 percent fewer students in Missouri alone appeared to be trends. He promised that the school would continue to strive for quality education and indicative of that was the nearly complete animal research building. The new computer center for students and the international program to foster aid to undeveloped countries were other examples of

better service to Lincoln's students and constituents. Lincoln's future depended on service to the community, relations with other institutions, and preparation for excellence.¹⁰¹⁶

Featured guest at the convention was Sterling Brown, an outstanding scholar in black poetry and former head of the literature department in 1928 for two years. Brown had authored and co-authored three nationally-recognized anthologies on black poets and several articles. He held a Phi Beta key from Williams College, a Harvard master of arts, and honorary doctorates from the University of Massachusetts, Northwestern University, Boston University, and Yale.¹⁰¹⁷ He built Lincoln's English department curriculum before moving on to Howard University where he spent the majority of his academic career. His own poems had been widely published in several periodicals and anthologies where his name was a staple of African American poetic expression.

To underscore the severity of the state 5 percent withholding of funds to agencies and institutions for 1982-83, Lincoln University's board approved a surcharge to be added to second semester fees. Dr. Frank estimated a shortage of \$500,000 for the school and a serious fiscal crisis. The one-time surcharge was ranked by credit hours and doubled for out-of-state students. Charges ranged from \$4 per credit hour to \$46 for graduate students. The board also voted to defer scheduled payments into the school's retirement trust fund during the second and third quarters opting to make three payments during the fourth quarter. Dr. Frank declared a moratorium on all state expenditures until the crisis abated. Employee vacancies under review could save \$125-\$150,000. Long distance service on almost 60 telephones was stopped. To save energy, Dr. Frank was also considering closing the campus during the Christmas break and stopping all overtime pay for hourly employees. Through matching funds from the National Endowment for the

Humanities grant, some money was collected to begin construction on Memorial Hall.

More donations could come when the building was in progress.¹⁰¹⁸

The rumbling started during Homecoming in October 1982. By the end of October, board members withdrew into closed session to discuss the continuation of Dr. Frank's contract. Not without support, Lincoln Alumni Association president Bill Gillespie voiced complete support for James Frank and urged the board to discard a very subjective evaluation conducted by Dr. Wendell Rivers, a St. Louis educational consultant.¹⁰¹⁹

Board president Dr. Otis Jackson defended the evaluation begun in June to assess the school including its management to project "what we want the university to be three to five years from now."¹⁰²⁰ Assessment of the school's internal environment included the president. Rumors circulating more than a month earlier stated that the board was planning to oust Dr. Frank and that explained the appearance of alumni at the board meeting. An anonymous source told the local reporter that the board was displeased with the president's handling of the school's finances. Claiming that the president's top priority in appeals to the Coordinating Board was a swimming pool, and that the federal government offered \$2.7 million in matching funds for an agriculture building provided the remainder could be secured from the state. Dr. Frank was accused of opting for the pool even though there have been no plans for a pool.

In addition, two board members and a local resident bypassed the president to appeal directly to the Coordinating Board which made funding recommendations to Governor Bond. They were able to secure an all-time high appropriation because of their presentation. Gillespie was wary of the board's outside consultant and the nebulous

secretive nature of the evaluation of the president. Anonymous factions on campus complained to the local reporter and the newspaper about Dr. Frank's tough approach to dealing with financial shortages. They complained about cuts in the physical plant budget and installation of a remote-controlled mirror on the president's car. They questioned why the president's wife represented Lincoln at the NCAA national conference when her husband was president of the organization and she was a reading specialist. They wondered why all other salaries save that of the president were not on par with other state colleges and universities. Dr. Frank began at \$38,235 in 1975-76 and now earned \$58,075. When Lincoln reportedly lost \$25,000 on a concert, Dr. Frank was accused of threatening employees if they discussed the matter with the news media.

Gillespie characterized the president's evaluation instrument as "highly subjective."¹⁰²¹ During the board meeting, Gillespie confronted curators who circumvented the president and appealed to the Department of Higher Education for an explanation and also questioned the ethics of their many secret ad hoc meetings among local curators. Gillespie sensed that the evaluation was being filled in by one board member and handed to another board member. How could anyone conduct such an evaluation without standards or objectivity he wondered. Before Dr. Frank, Gillespie reminded the reporter, Lincoln was total chaos. Since 1972, the school had only made improvements.¹⁰²²

The next issue of the Jefferson City Post Tribune Monday, October 25, 1982 confirmed that President Frank had been fired by the board following the closed session meeting on Saturday, October 23. Effective October 25, the board offered an extension until October 31. Citing a desire for a new leadership style as their reason for his

dismissal, Dr. Frank responded in writing that he would not resign and that he expected the board to fully honor all provisions of his contract until its expiration June 30, 1983. Beginning October 25, he would no longer be acting as president.¹⁰²³

Board president Dr. Otis Jackson, who was also an assistant provost at the University of Missouri-Columbia, refused to discuss details from the closed session. The newspaper had learned of a potential lawsuit against the board to be discussed during an upcoming weekend meeting. Dissatisfaction with the president purportedly grew from new board members. Two local board members, David Donnelly and Mrs. Carol Ellinger, resigned before their terms expired. One anonymous spokesperson for the board stated that curators had difficulty working with Dr. Frank and the decision to fire the president was not preplanned.¹⁰²⁴

Alumni president Bill Gillespie defended the president at the board meeting and characterized strong support for Dr. Frank among graduates. The two board members and third party who allegedly secured an all-time high appropriation from the Coordinating Board without the president's knowledge were what President Frank called "part of the problem."¹⁰²⁵ He said that appropriation level was false and showed curator interference in operating the school.¹⁰²⁶

One naysayer criticized the president for presenting a five-year financial plan to the board, then asking for approval without giving them time to study the proposal. The four new board members began to question the president's proposal and he reportedly responded defensively. In another instance, Dr. Frank was accused of stopping a goodwill gesture offered by the Jefferson City Chamber of Commerce who volunteered to pay for curators' subscriptions to the local newspaper. In another instance, curators learned

through news accounts that the University lost \$25,000 in anticipated concert proceeds early in the year. They expected the president to inform them of this loss. When critics accused the president of spending state funds to send his wife to the NCAA convention, he told them that the University did not have the funds to send the athletic director, so he sent his wife at their personal expense. Her trip, for the benefit of the school, did not cost the school "one penny."¹⁰²⁷ Dr. Frank reported that he was proud of his record at Lincoln even though he had not accomplished all he had set out to do. He felt confident that the school was now in better shape than when he arrived as president. In addition, his tenure as NCAA president (which worried some) was not affected by his firing. The two were never related because he had earned his position in the organization by serving in various capacities over a long period of time. Of the school's 2600 students, 70 percent were white.¹⁰²⁸

The students were also shocked about Dr. Frank's dismissal. A local news article dated Tuesday, October 27, reported that 200 students attended a Student Government Association meeting to express disgust over the president's dismissal and how it was handled. They agreed that the board should honor the president's contract and expressed fear that Lincoln would become part of the University of Missouri system, losing its heritage in the process.¹⁰²⁹

The St. Louis Sentinel October 28, 1982 issue also reported Dr. Frank's dismissal. Allegedly the ouster began with conflicts between two new African American curators and Dr. Frank. When the governor appointed four new board members, tension increased. They felt him too autocratic. Failing to take the offer to resign by October 31, curators agreed to pay Dr. Frank's salary through June 1983. Dr. Frank learned of his termination

over the telephone while he was attending an NCAA hearing in Washington, D.C. He asked why, and why so abruptly? Board president Dr. Otis Jackson refused to comment. Curators fired Dr. Frank even before the paid consultant finished his clandestine evaluation of the University and its management. The reporter also wanted the curators to answer why they did not plan for an orderly and smooth transition. To inform the president long-distance on a Saturday that he was fired effective Monday, was a disservice to the University. Vice President John Chavis became acting president.¹⁰³⁰

According to another article reporting on the dismissal in the St. Louis Globe-Democrat, state audits of Lincoln revealed as early as 1975 (when Dr. Frank arrived) that the school was losing approximately \$500,000 in unpaid student fees due to poor accounting procedures which state auditor, George Lehr helped improve. In 1981, state auditor James Antonio criticized Dr. Frank and the board for mishandling funds from the dormitories, cafeteria, and bookstore. In addition the audit showed the University behind \$1 million in payments to the U. S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. That amount included \$483,000 in interest to be paid on the \$3.5 million loan for dormitory construction.¹⁰³¹

By November, the St. Louis Globe-Democrat reported that the board was still silent over their real reasons for firing Dr. Frank. The board president merely repeated the statement on leadership style to 500 students, faculty, and staff at an assembly where he spoke for five minutes. Dr. Frank was on paid leave through December 31, then "he goes off the payroll."¹⁰³² Jackson discounted truth to rumors of merging Lincoln University with the University of Missouri. Refusing to answer any questions by waving off reporters, Lincoln students, and faculty, Jackson, and board members Robert Chiles and

Craig Davis left the room.¹⁰³³

The Kansas City meeting of curators in executive session was supposedly called to respond to demands by the Alumni Association and other groups for an explanation of Dr. Frank's firing. No explanation was given. Alumni president Rev. William Gillespie of St. Louis called the board action "a dastardly thing."¹⁰³⁴

The St. Louis American published a scathing editorial by Farley Wilson who was seething over the real motives behind Dr. Frank's firing. He said whites wanted to take over the school completely. They did not want a black educator to head the school. Citing enrollment of 72 percent white students, Wilson briefly traced the cultural heritage of the school's founding and revealed conflicts beginning with the Gaines case and the University of Missouri's failure to retain more than 2 percent of black students. He explained how only three black curators at the University of Missouri had tried in vain to increase black student enrollment since desegregation and how quickly so many white faculty and students clustered at Lincoln University since 1954. Many of these persons he claimed had racist motives for affiliating with the school and their ultimate aim was full control.¹⁰³⁵

Wilson argued that since blacks students were blocked from attending the University of Missouri by academic qualifications, and then had to compete with whites to attend Lincoln University, they were now victims of "black removal"¹⁰³⁶ and had no place to go. Dr. Frank was blamed for pipes bursting when a new employee over engineering maintenance hired an unqualified white female in the department. She allowed the wrong chemicals to be used in the pipes and thus when the pipes froze, they burst. Dr. Frank was blamed for the catastrophe but no one questioned, reprimanded, or fired her for such gross

incompetence. Dr. Frank did not recommend hiring her. Like the faculty that patted the president on the back the day before he was fired, and then met behind closed doors and recommended his firing, there was nothing but enmity between the races when the president had to fight for dwindling black student enrollment in the middle of clandestine coups.

Wilson sharply warned readers to keep their eyes on Lincoln University which two decades ago had Homecoming fetes of pride for the graduates and now alumni bemoaned the state of uncertainty about any black graduates. Wilson said that someday Lincoln would have a white president: "Just keep your eyes open."¹⁰³⁷

And by December, the issue would not go away. The Missouri Times reported that alumni leaders were threatening to withdraw their financial and other support from Lincoln University unless they got a full accounting of the firing of Dr. Frank. Alumni Association President Bill Gillispie and former Lincoln curator Julius Dix asked Governor Christopher (Kit) Bond to investigate the board's actions and secret meetings. The governor's office had not decided to investigate. Nationwide, alumni had been trying to get an explanation via letters and telegrams to curators.¹⁰³⁸ Alumni chapters contributed between \$50,000 to \$70,000 a year, and provided scholarships, lodging, and transportation for athletes and student groups. Unless the board came forth with an explanation, Gillespie warned such assistance "might be sharply curtailed."¹⁰³⁹

The protests were no help. Dr. James Frank was out. The board could not be forced to reveal anything, and they didn't. Governor Bond certainly wasn't going to question the actions of four new members whom he had just appointed. To do so would have appeared as though his choices were ill-made. While the board operated under cover

of the state's closed meeting law to fire Dr. Frank, they had not acted illegally. No one could question however, that they had acted unethically and immorally. There were no grounds for a suit given Missouri's Right to Work laws which allowed termination without cause. And, given Lincoln University's long history of shafting presidents under this rubric, the curators did not even have to worry about ethical challenges to their actions. In spite of alumni disgust, half the people who knew Lincoln University politics expected it; the other half knew no one had successfully challenged the board's actions in personnel matters. The autonomy of the nine-member board was like a totalitarian government. The only thing missing was that victims got to keep their heads.

Dr. Frank managed to get two graduate programs added: the M. E. in Adult Education in 1973 and the M.B.A. in Management in 1975. The latter program filled a need for state government and business employees who wanted a graduate degree in business but who could not afford the commute or costs of attending the University of Missouri-Columbia whose business classes were held during the day.¹⁰⁴⁰ He also established the Correctional Institutions Education Program from its predecessor, the University of Missouri-Rolla, who transferred their sites at the Missouri Penitentiary and the Algoa Reformatory for Men to Lincoln to fit the needs of the inmate population and because of proximity to those facilities.¹⁰⁴¹

Dr. Frank also expanded programs in agriculture and cooperative extension via Lincoln's land-grant status which changed in 1967 with passage of Public Law 89-106 to receive \$18,239 for research versus the \$3,125 annual appropriation it had received under the old Morrill Act of 1890. In an era of multiple grants awarded to colleges and universities from various federal government agencies, Dr. Frank applauded grants

awarded to Lincoln University to aid mapping black historic sites in Missouri (of which Lincoln's campus comprised many select buildings listed on the National Register of Historic Places), to map Native American sites along the Moreau River, to establish the Ethnic Studies Center in the Inman Page Library at Lincoln housing and cataloguing artifacts and texts relative to Missouri's ethnic groups.¹⁰⁴²

During his tenure women achieved distinction in a national environment of equal rights controversy. Judy Brown was commissioned into the Women's Army Corps during commencement in 1972; Johnetta Haley became the first woman to head Lincoln's Board of Curators; and Karen Tate became the first woman to head the Student Government Association. Dr. Frank reorganized the school into four major units and in the process carved out offices for veterans affairs, international students, and an operating budget for the Student Government Association. The unused Lincoln Laboratory School was closed in 1979 because prospective teachers could practice teach in the city's public schools following desegregation. Because Dr. Frank's entire administration was a battle for more state funds and more black students, the Laboratory School became a victim of financial exigency.¹⁰⁴³

There is no doubt that the turbulent, disruptive sixties left a residue of discontent in the seventies. Inflation became a sword that threatened Lincoln University's survival. Old problems like the state law fixing Lincoln's revolving state-wide politically-appointed board would never be resolved and thus became a weapon against the institution instead of for it. Notwithstanding an undertow of racial conflict that created the chasm between black students and white, the ever-growing white faculty and student population which seemed to threaten the cultural heritage of the school, Lincoln was the constant victim of

its own structure--one which allowed state laws in employment to work in tandem with the transient board members who had no stake in the institution and the national chaos resulting from desegregation. All three forces became weapons against the school's survival. Always without adequate funding, the nineteenth-century legislative traditions and discrimination against the school kept it one foot in debt. The inflation of the 1970s just turned the debt to quicksand. Those who knew what was happening to the school had a right to be worried and perhaps the students who feared being taken over by the University of Missouri were not far from the truest vision. In the meantime, the school succumbed to two more years of micromanagement by the board who manipulated behind an interim president, Dr. John Chavis.

CHAPTER IX

THE AGE OF RESTRUCTURING

John Chavis, Acting President, 1982-84

In 1974 Dr. John Chavis came to Lincoln University as professor of history from Tuskegee University. He was promoted to Dean and then Vice President. Having served under Dr. Frank whose extensive reorganization of the University affected his position in 1977, board president Dr. Jackson decided to reorganize the school again. Changes were made in the administration. The office of Institutional Research and Development had a new vice president, so did the office of Business and Finance, and the Academic Affairs office had a dean. Colleges were renamed schools and a provost now headed Student Life and Student Development.¹⁰⁴⁴ New flow charts were not going to resolve management issues however. That chore would be left to the next permanent president, Dr. Thomas M. Jenkins.

Thomas M. Jenkins, President, 1984-86

With no less glowing vita than his predecessors, 58-year-old Dr. Thomas Miller Jenkins became the twenty-first permanent president on February 1, 1984. His long career

in higher education was impressive. Dean and professor of the Law School at Florida A. & M. at age 28 from 1953-63, Jenkins became dean of the College of Community Services at the University of Cincinnati, then vice president of administrative services at Georgia State University, then president of Albany State College for four years before his last position as associate chancellor of academic affairs at the University of Illinois for the past seven years. He had a long list of offices held in legal, educational, and civic organizations on the state, regional, and national levels.

Dr. Jenkins graduated Summa Cum Laude in 1946 from West Virginia State College with degrees in history and economics. He held a J.D. degree from Boston University earned in 1950. He served as consultant to the Republic of Panama, and chaired wage hearings in Puerto Rico for the U.S. Labor Department.¹⁰⁴⁵ He was everything the board wanted: highly intelligent, personable, well-educated, experienced in various levels of higher education including head of an historically black college, capable of working with a broad range of constituencies and willing to take a pay cut from \$1,075 to \$4,075 less than the outgoing president who was criticized for his salary of \$58,075 that had increased almost \$20,000 in seven years. In fact, Dr. Jenkins was taking a pay cut to accept that amount. But he was enchanted with Lincoln University, eager to trade his 27th floor office at the University of Illinois for some human contact with students, faculty, staff. An ex-football player in his college days, Dr. Jenkins was a big supporter of college athletics, especially football and nostalgically recalled his undergraduate football team wanting to play Lincoln University. Unwittingly, he failed to ask about Lincoln University's problems, believing that a phone call to even the few people he knew in Missouri would be in bad form during the application process.¹⁰⁴⁶

That lack of insight into Lincoln University's "problems" would prove a poor strategy especially in light of the fact that he proposed to not make any changes until he had heard from every constituent group on campus, following attendance at board meetings and at least two campus visits. One of his new goals reported to the curators was to make Lincoln University more a part of the Jefferson City community, reaching to civic, community, school leaders, and other agencies in shaping the institution to the desires of a wider population. He also wanted to upgrade continuing education and develop more cooperative agreements with industry to develop two-year programs. He also aimed for better relations with the General Assembly. He believed that he could provide that cohesive leadership.¹⁰⁴⁷

After two years of reorganization, the board hired Dr. Thomas Miller Jenkins from his post as Associate Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs at the University of Illinois in Chicago. He came. He saw. He reorganized—again. Dr. Jenkins changed the academic areas into two: Arts and Sciences and Professional Studies. Deans were appointed to upper level managers including some former vice presidents and upon joint faculty-administrator recommendations, five new administrators were hired.

Buildings became a focus of the early part of his administration--not their construction but their dedication and their demise. Two that were added to the campus plan were the Charles E. Dickinson Plant and Soil Science Research Center (named for a professor) to house research on plant and vegetable production. The other, the Walthall M. Moore Small Animal Research Center, held research projects. Attached to that facility was the Ralston-Purina/Lincoln University Horticulture Information Center for demonstration plots, flower beds, and a Garden of the Five Senses for the mentally and

physically impaired. The building that met its demise in the fall of 1984 was the Blue Tiger Cafe, torn down to make way for the Collier-Hatcher-Parks student parking lot completed in the fall of 1985. The Cafe had been a popular student hangout since the 1920s.¹⁰⁴⁸

At the end of 1984 the Coordinating Board for Higher Education voted to eliminate Lincoln's graduate programs and the curriculum in agriculture and change the board to a regional one. House Bill 515 proposed in February 1985 by Rep. Jeff Schaeperkoetter-D from Owensville opted to make Lincoln a regional university and put its graduate programs under control of the University of Missouri-Columbia. The bill was voted out of Committee by 6-5 on February 21. The House recommended passage. An article in the Daily Capitol News reported Rep. Schaeperkoetter's rationale for sponsoring the bill. He claimed that only 6.5 percent of Lincoln's students were enrolled in its two unaccredited graduate programs and those students would receive better instruction and full accreditation under the state's system. What was at stake was loss of the 1890 land-grant status and upgraded funding for research acquired under Dr. Frank's administration. Instead of the paltry \$3,000 based on the ratio of black children to white, Lincoln now received a portion, close to \$3 million under Public Law 95-113.¹⁰⁴⁹

House Bill 515 caused a grand rally of Lincoln's forces. Vice President of the Alumni Association Carl Smith distributed a news release urging supporters to vote against the bill. Higher Education at Lincoln (HEAL), a campus support group, organized efforts to defeat the bill. President Jenkins and four other administrators appeared at a press conference to clarify the misconception that Lincoln's graduate programs were not accredited. The school had been fully accredited by the North Central Association of

Colleges and Secondary Schools since 1934. They ardently defended the graduate programs, the faculty who taught in them (36 with doctorates) and employment data on placement of graduates. Pending enhancement funds for Lincoln's agriculture programs were also at stake. According to Assistant Secretary, Department of Agriculture, Orville Bentley, Lincoln was entitled to the funds provided the state did not discontinue the agriculture program there.¹⁰⁵⁰

Sheila Aery, Commissioner of Higher Education, claimed concern over duplication of programs at Lincoln and the University of Missouri-Columbia. She stated in a May 28 interview, "We already have a land-grant institution down the road"¹⁰⁵¹ in Columbia. To avoid duplication, Lincoln's administration and faculty had already coordinated efforts with the University of Missouri to maximize and not duplicate research efforts. Both schools' agriculture program directors filed annual reports with the U.S.D.A. in compliance with federal legislation. The two cooperated, not duplicated.

In addition, the Coordinating Board decided that two land-grant schools was two too many and recommended Lincoln turn over its land-grant status to the University of Missouri. Had the Coordinating Board read Missouri's history in education, members and Commissioner Aery would have learned that both schools were funded under two separate appropriations approved each year by Congress. Because of initial wrangling to establish the University of Missouri as the "state school," the legislature awarded all of the funds from the 1862 Land-Grant Act (of which Lincoln was initially promised 20 percent but settled for state aid instead to keep from being closed) to the University of Missouri at Columbia. Lincoln received land-grant status under the Morrill Act of 1890 after massive effort by supporters to force the governor and the legislature to turn over funds to Lincoln

or risk losing all federal land-grant funds. Lincoln University received funds for Cooperative Extension and Research under P.L. 95-113, Sec. 1444 and 1445, which separated funds for 1890 institutions from those of 1862 institutions.¹⁰⁵² Surely those charged with administering recommendations to fund higher education in the state should have known the state's history in education. Apparently not.

In a second letter from Assistant Secretary Bentley, neither the University of Missouri nor any other state school would receive special funds for instruction [in agriculture] due Lincoln should Lincoln discontinue those programs. To abolish Lincoln's agriculture program meant the state would lose \$2.8 million and additional funding for enhancement of facilities.¹⁰⁵³

In another action with potential to cripple the school, Commissioner Aery argued for changing the school's status. In a local news article dated February 12, 1985 Aery deduced that since desegregation, Lincoln was not a state school for blacks as originally founded. She advocated changing the school to a regional institution simply because the population had shifted to 70 percent white students from the surrounding ten counties. Supporters argued that changing the school's statewide canvas would limit access to its traditional population areas for black students from St. Louis, Kansas City, and the Bootheel areas. President Jenkins countered that it was the increase in white student population but not a corresponding decrease in black student population that caused the disparity in perception of percentages about the school's market and mission. In addition, the school still enrolled 30-35 percent of all black students, higher than at any other state school.¹⁰⁵⁴ Students came for reasons other than academics. The supporters managed to make their point and Rep. Schaeperkoetter withdrew HB 515 from House vote. However,

Commissioner Aery was not through with Lincoln.

The Commissioner announced that Lincoln University was spending more than it was appropriated and earned from other sources. According to her June 1986 communication, spending in 1986 was short by \$600,000 to \$1 million. She recommended the Board earmark no further funds from the school until it declared a state of "financial exigency,"¹⁰⁵⁵ which translated to institutional bankruptcy. The Commissioner calculated that spending had grown by 52.6 percent since 1982 and state funds had grown by only 28.2 percent. In response, President Jenkins informed the Board of Curators on June 25 that a new budget effective July 1 would absorb the deficit. Lincoln board member Jerrilyn Voss opted to declare financial exigency. Governor John Ashcroft stated on June 26 that those responsible for the overspending had not taken proper precautions to avoid such a problem. The local press editorial called for resignation of all board members and the president.¹⁰⁵⁶

By August 9, 1986 the board voted to declare financial exigency when figures showed that revenue of \$11.8 million exceeded expenditures of \$13.6 million during the previous fiscal year. The deficit was raised to \$1.8 million. Board president Dr. Otis Jackson resigned and was replaced by Robert Chiles who had training in financial matters. The board claimed that they were not getting accurate information in 1985 or early 1986 due to an outdated computer system that produced data six to nine months old. State auditor, Margaret Kelley, whose office audited the University, agreed with Commissioner Aery in blaming incompetence and inept decision-making (such as hiring for new positions). The third reason for the crisis was cited by University administrators as a history of low state funding. Every president had his list of woes caused by too little

funding yet having to meet state and governor initiatives and rulings as though income could stretch forever. President Frank had to forego merit pay raises, and suffer with 2 percent increases and inflation. To offset a cutback in state funds, in 1982 Lincoln's board added a surcharge, supposedly a one time charge, that yielded only one percent over the previous appropriation. In comparison Southwest Missouri State, Southeast Missouri State, and Northeast Missouri State all had total percentage increases exceeding 100 percent while Lincoln had 66.9 percent.¹⁰⁵⁷

As a result of the barrage of blame, five curators resigned August 13. On August 14, Governor Ashcroft appointed their replacements. Two Lincoln administrators resigned: Dr. Jack Pitzer, Dean of Services, and Onesimus Kivindio, Internal Auditor. On October 13, President Jenkins resigned. All three were retained as consultants in order to honor their contracts until April 1987. Dr. John Chavis was named interim president, and Mitchell Crusto assumed the vice presidency of the board. He would chair the search committee to begin screening for a new president. Dr. Jenkins, who was not without support and the board, received a letter from faculty, students, and staff enumerating his many accomplishments in upgrading equipment (computers and telephones), in his accessibility to students, in equalizing salaries between genders, positions, and races and for raising faculty salaries.¹⁰⁵⁸

Not surprisingly, the chaos damaged Lincoln's image. Enrollment declined from 3,321 to 2,486 in 1986-87. Although the crisis had caused a media blitz of negative publicity, tuition and fees were raised from \$40 to \$50 per credit hour beginning in the fall semester of 1986, and scholarships were decreased. All sorts of emergency measures were being given credence in the frenzy that followed. One suggestion was to close the

school and make it part of the University of Missouri system. Another suggestion was to make the campus part of the University of Missouri. And last, Rep. Winnie Weber-D suggested closing the school for the fall semester, allowing students to choose other schools and the board to right the financial wrong. Board president Muriel Battle argued that the board was making progress and there was no need to close the school. Governor Ashcroft denied a request to close the school for the spring semester. Positions eliminated included: Dean of Services, Executive Director to the Board of Curators, Internal Auditor, and University Psychiatrist which saved \$177,600 for fiscal year 1987. An additional \$127,735 was saved for the same period by cutting thirteen positions from administrative and nonacademic staff. The board terminated the dairy farm in September 1986 and sold 66 head of cattle and the milking machines.¹⁰⁵⁹

The Governor and the CBHE Commissioner recommended the board hire Dr. Henry Givens, President of Harris-Stowe as temporary chief administrator. He headed the school from January to June 1987. He recommended the University merge its retirement fund with the state's to avoid the continued nonpayment of scheduled funds into employees pensions. After Dr. Givens, the board hired a management team, Dr. Norman Auburn and Dr. Luther Foster, for three months. Both were principle owners of the Academy for Educational Development, a non-profit business that had expertise in higher education management.¹⁰⁶⁰ They would stay until the new president arrived, hopefully before their contracts expired.

The firestorm of financial problems was the quicksand that had been forming since the school's founding. As though programmed by a litany of collusive external forces and stagnated by an internal oligarchy, Lincoln University was destined not to survive--

certainly not to thrive. The external forces operating against the school included: racist attitudes of state legislators amid a social culture of racial hatred that denied standardized laws to establish Lincoln's board and equalize funding for the "separate" twin of the University of Missouri; a legion of governors who alternately used the school as a political pawn for partisan gain or ignored the needs of the school as much as possible without being held accountable or subject to reprisal by the public. Both types simultaneously projected the myth of parity and paid lip service to the school's accomplishments as a smoke screen. Added to these causes was a remote location away from a sustaining large black population with subsequently a lack of black legislative representation to oversee its interests; a hostile local community that until full desegregation constrained, ignored, and denigrated the institution and its constituents not only through public services, media coverage, and social contact, but through manipulation of construction, land sales, and service contracts with the institution.

The internal forces were no less damaging as a result of reactions to external forces. Internally, the school was forced to fit its daily operations to the human and capital resources on hand, often consigning those resources to the least efficient use. Internal pressures included: a disparate, politically charged series of board member appointees whose personal agendas superseded the welfare of the school's constituents in order to further control and inhibit maximum growth and institutional potential; a step-child mentality borne of the residue of slave-state status and uninhibited use of illegal actions to deny education to blacks; a repository of second-hand and dilapidated equipment, supplies, and under-maintained facilities and grounds that fed the underclass "hat-in-hand" mentality in dealing with the legislature, the various state and accrediting

boards and agencies; and not least, an autocratic management style exercised by principals and presidents down to the matrons who ruled the students.

Whether the historical precedents of the nation's racial climate and black institutional traditions could have shifted to a higher level of social conscience and thereby bypass or correct the injustices endured, remains to be seen. What remains evident is that circumstantially, Lincoln University adjusted to whatever chaos confronted it and absorbed the shocks of those conflicts for the sustained purpose of liberating black generations from life long poverty through education. As a consequence of that larger social mandate, Lincoln University could never afford the luxury of being just another mediocre regional school whose premise for existence was not consecrated in the sustained abjection of slavery. Nor, given the residual national social climate from that period in American culture, could it realistically presume to change the state's attitudes against preference for a large higher education institution for whites. The major distinction in realization of that myth had its cause in sheer numbers: there were more whites in Missouri than blacks. Consequently, if the state's resources from taxpayers was to be wrangled for the benefit of the majority, and that not without its own story of political and provincial motives, the sum pinched away for Lincoln would necessarily be less. However, it did not have to be an appropriation of such futile proportions wrapped in prejudice so strong and hypocritical rhetoric so thick as to lead to such serious dysfunction as bankruptcy. Regardless of the current participants who defrayed blame from one cause or person to the next, the fact remains that the state was ultimately responsible for 120 years of its own bigotry. And now, begrudgingly, the state had to help Lincoln fix the problem. Yet, amid all the drastic actions taken to balance the numbers,

the causes and effects that produced the crisis were never fully examined. The school and the state, mired in their own perceptions of "what went wrong" were simply content with short term solutions. The big issues such as underfunding, board membership, legislative representation, and modern management practices were not changed to prevent recurrence of the same crisis. Instead, another new externally-recruited president was chosen to carry on.

Wendell G. Rayburn, President, 1988-96

Dr. Wendell Rayburn, the 16th president, was hired on January 15, 1988. He was third of four finalists culled from 90 applicants.¹⁰⁶¹ He was President of Savannah State College in Georgia for seven years. Before assuming that post, he was Dean of the University College at the University of Louisville having been associate professor and a full professor there.¹⁰⁶² He earned a B.A. in Natural Science and History from Eastern Michigan University; an M.A. in Secondary Education from the University of Michigan; and an Ed. D. in Guidance and Counseling from Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan. A career educator, Dr. Rayburn had held several positions as either a teacher or administrator throughout the public school and higher education systems of Detroit, Michigan.¹⁰⁶³ President Rayburn realized the condition of the school and planned to lessen the school's dependence on state funds by finding independent sources of revenue.¹⁰⁶⁴

Almost immediately upon his arrival, another attempt was made to dismantle the school. Commissioner Aery announced plans to make Lincoln University part of the new Missouri State University system by combining it with Central Missouri State University,

located in Warrensburg, Missouri; Southeast Missouri State University located in Cape Girardeau; and Northwest Missouri State University located in Maryville. A statewide governing board would control the new system. Again, the Commissioner advocated Lincoln University transferring its 1890 land-grant status, only this time to Harris-Stowe State College in St. Louis. President Rayburn viewed such changes against the school's mission. The University communicated in a formal statement how much money the state would lose (now \$4 million) which would be distributed to other states' 1890 land-grant schools. In addition, the state would lose \$3.7 million in research and extension service funds along with almost \$3 million invested in research facilities on Lincoln's campus.¹⁰⁶⁵ For now, that attempt was thwarted given the obvious reason—loss of federal revenue.

In a noticeable rebound, the school began to emerge from the financial crisis. Students returned to Lincoln University during the 1988-89 school year. Enrollment increased to 2,743 students, over 10 percent from the previous year. The College of Business was established and Lincoln earned approval from a review by the North Central Association. The public access channel opened in 1989 on Lincoln's campus. Jefferson City owned the broadcasting license while Lincoln University personnel operated the station.¹⁰⁶⁶ The Nursing program was accredited by the National League of Nursing.¹⁰⁶⁷

The next year, enrollment increased by 17 percent to 3,063 students. Efforts from two full-time recruiters were yielding results, and so was an extensive advertising campaign. In May 1989, curators lifted the financial exigency status. Under Dr. Rayburn and Vice President Dr. Cornelius Wooten, the University had a \$1 million surplus. Several groups of community and alumni saved the school, especially the efforts of Earl Wilson, Jr., a tireless alumnus who canvassed alumni chapters across the country and

garnered \$1.3 in cash and pledges. Dr. Rayburn referred to him as the "Million Dollar Man."¹⁰⁶⁸

In 1990, enrollment continued to climb to 3,619 students, another year of 10 percent or greater increase.¹⁰⁶⁹ The University was now in a position to enter the decade with financially sound operations and a new image. And, a new image was in mind with Dr. Rayburn's "New Beginning Campaign" launched soon after his inauguration. Dr. Rayburn emphasized a three-part focus to position Lincoln University in the 1990s. First, he advocated finding alternate sources of funding to lessen dependence on state allocations;¹⁰⁷⁰ second, improving the school's image; and third, establishing a positive relationship between Lincoln University and the mid-Missouri community.¹⁰⁷¹ A slew of editorials that followed his arrival announced various versions of what the president declared in his first interviews. He knew the challenges ahead and he knew that only through cooperation with the mid-Missouri area constituents--the business sector, the civic organizations, and the public at large--could such accomplishments be made. For now, the media conceded that all areas were at least poised to try a new alliance.

By the summer of 1990, the school had \$1.8 million in unallocated funds, enrollment was up by 11.7 percent, African American student enrollment increased by 12.4 percent; the faculty and staff received salary increases of 13 percent and 9 percent, respectively; the state approved a new four-year degree program in Computer Information Systems; the University received grants to install a new computer laboratory in the renovated Bennett Hall, and a \$1.6 million grant to establish a Southeast Region Training Office for international students in agriculture. In the cost cutting measures directed by the board, Lincoln trimmed its full time employee roster by 40¹⁰⁷² and dropped the debt-

ridden football program. In three years, the athletic program had a deficit of \$2,307,345, the football program for 1989 had a deficit of \$236,228 revenue of only \$6,700 and a budget of \$243,000. It was a matter of fiscal expediency to cut the loss and keep on track with sound financial practices.¹⁰⁷³ There were those on campus and in the community who were horrified that the school dropped its football program. Since the early days of the school's history, the Lincoln Tigers were considered one of its biggest drawing cards. It was fondly remembered by former alumni-athletes and by President Rayburn's predecessor. However, those who so adamantly supported the idea of football at Lincoln were not consistently supportive of the program financially. Ticket sales, concessions, and promotions were down considerably. The glaring deficit was too large to ignore and too embarrassing to allow to continue for old times sake.

Enrollment Woes

By the end of the year, enrollment of African American students had dropped. Seventy-three percent of the students were white and from mid-Missouri. They were commuter students for the most part, with only 25 living in the dorms. Although the school had an aggressive recruiting effort to get more African American students at Lincoln, so too did other state universities. The disparity was simply that of numbers. The growth in demographics had occurred in the white population, not the black. Dr. Rayburn had no concerns about the increase in white students, but thought the school should attract more African American students. The on-campus population was primarily black, so too were most members of the local alumni chapter and the curators. As

Lincoln's campus grew more diverse, Dr. Rayburn envisioned a larger African American student population of at least 30 percent.¹⁰⁷⁴ To that end, in 1988 the board voted to spend \$565,000 to renovate three dormitories to attract more black students since few were commuters. The project was progressing in 1990. Remodeling and repairs were centered around the structures of the building and included the mechanical systems and interiors but not computer installations. In keeping with mandates from the American Disabilities Act, Dawson Hall contained eight rooms designated handicap-accessible. After years of neglect, the renovations were changing the morale of the students and staff and hopefully would increase resident capacity.¹⁰⁷⁵

The 125th Anniversary

The focus of Lincoln University's 125th Anniversary celebration in 1991 was a fundraising campaign to increase the number and amount of student scholarships. Donations arrived from Jefferson City Central Bank for \$50,000 matched by The Coca-Cola Company in Atlanta, Georgia.¹⁰⁷⁶ Those funds were surely needed by some of the 3,619 students enrolled for the fall semester. The school's open admissions policy, which has no requisite test scores or high school class ranking, was instituted to bring in the widest diversity of students. Twenty-three percent of the student body were African American, a shift begun within four years after the 1954 U.S. Supreme Court decision that struck down segregation in higher education. As a result, African American students could attend predominately white institutions and their enrollment at Lincoln declined to the extent that nearly a third of the student body was white.¹⁰⁷⁷

Now that enrollment had reached the second highest level in the school's history, two new issues emerged to thwart that growth. The curators were slated to vote on a fee increase¹⁰⁷⁸ and the state's 1992 appropriation was due for drastic reduction from the \$12.8 million recommended by the Coordinating Board. The legislature and Governor John Ashcroft recommended \$10.5 million. The previous year's appropriation of \$10.8 million was further reduced by the Governor \$600,000. Dr. Rayburn cited the need for 14 additional full-time faculty, \$616,588 to raise salaries, and \$150,416 to improve the developmental studies program. Enrollment was expected to exceed 4,000 in 1992.¹⁰⁷⁹ Such proposed cuts would not allow these operations to proceed.

Growth and development were certainly part of the president's agenda. In tandem with the year-long anniversary celebration that provided a packed schedule of nationally-known speakers and special events,¹⁰⁸⁰ Dr. Rayburn had broad visions for the University's future. Noting that dwindling state revenue resulted in less and less appropriations to higher education institutions—somewhat offset at Lincoln by various grants that to date totaled \$9.5 million—the University was still forced to concentrate on the best use of state allocations since the grants were earmarked for special areas such as cooperative research and library computerization. The primary focal point of the new vision was distance learning, what the president described as a means to use technology to reach a wider population of potential students by offering nontraditional students a means to earn a bachelor's degree. He encouraged all faculty and staff to become computer literate and to prepare for the use of technology in the classroom via interactive video and local area networks. Since enrollment had reached 4,101, as reported for Fall 1991, student access to enhanced teaching and learning methods was another concern.¹⁰⁸¹

There was no doubt that University operations were tied to enrollment growth. The special emphasis to increase the number of African American students was now more elusive than ever since nationwide the number of black students attending higher education institutions was dropping.¹⁰⁸² During a three-day conference of Missouri educators called to the campus to discuss the issue, several causes were examined. Foremost was “discrimination against blacks because of their skin color continue[d] to be a major problem on many college and university campuses,” Dr. Rayburn stated. In addition, too many myths about African Americans prevailed as truths among the white public. Those myths included: black families did not value education, and blacks who attended historically black colleges and universities (HBCUs) received an inferior education. Participants countered these myths with personal and historical accounts to the contrary and current causes for the drop in college attendance. Following discrimination, poverty was cited as a major obstacle. Most black students were not able to financially afford college costs, and loans often made the situation discouraging by adding an additional burden. Noting the fact that 22-25 percent of all black students attended HBCUs, and that these institutions graduated over 40 percent of all bachelor degree holders, the proportion of students who succeeded was impressive.¹⁰⁸³

Not to make matters worse, but to offset a stagnant budget, curators announced in the spring of 1993 a tuition increase effective that fall semester. The 10 percent per credit hour increase was needed to offset \$300,000 in budget cuts required to keep operational. A full-time in-state student would pay a flat rate of \$900 for 12-15 credit hours at an hourly rate of \$75, while out-of-state students would pay double that. In-state graduate students would pay \$98 per credit hour, while out-of-state would pay double that.

Curators were counting on an increase in the fall enrollment and a three percent increase in state funds to ease the tight budget. There was still the need to increase faculty salaries to the statewide average at a cost of \$600-\$700,000.¹⁰⁸⁴

Students on campus were not without complaints concerning the adjusted 10.3 percent tuition increase. In fact, they had plenty of complaints given in April to administrators and later heard in a meeting with the president who discussed issues with about two dozen students at 7:25 a.m. on May 1. Unwilling to make an appointment with the president, the students called the media to come report the meeting at 7:00 a.m. Students wanted work-study hours and pay until the end of the year restored; they had problems with the financial aid office personnel, with limited access to student health services, with campus security, and dorm rooms not equipped with cable television, long-distance telephone service, and carpeting. They objected to spending \$26,000 to install exhaust fans for indoor designated smoking areas, and wanted modern equipment and new chemical supplies in the natural sciences department. They wanted an Afrocentric curriculum, faster collection of funds for the library, and larger department budgets. They also wanted two University administrators fired—a request the president flatly deemed out of their “purview to decide.” While agreeing to reshuffle his schedule that was filled until May 11, the president opted to meet with students individually to discuss these issues. He reminded them that he could not always meet whenever they demanded. For the time being, the president assessed that many of the students’ complaints dealt with decreased state funding which earmarked funds for facilities maintenance, renovation projects, and department budgets.¹⁰⁸⁵

Disparate forces were at work for the opening fall semester of 1994. While the University announced a new bachelor of Liberal Studies degree program targeted to the nontraditional working student age 25 and older and emphasizing an individualized curriculum for the working student,¹⁰⁸⁶ enrollment dropped to 3,512, down 600 from the record growth three years ago. This 3 percent drop, about the same as at other Missouri colleges and universities, was interpreted as a statewide trend. Dr. Rayburn suggested that several new programs such as the B.S. in Nursing, and the B.A. in Liberal Arts Studies, plus a new program in wildlife management might attract new enrollees.¹⁰⁸⁷

On the other hand, the curators were busy trying to reallocate current resources to shift \$1.6 million in spending by 1999. The University had long been criticized for spending less on instruction compared to other state universities. The average at other state public colleges and universities was 52 percent, while Lincoln spent less than 40 percent. The University was “overloaded on administrative costs.”¹⁰⁸⁸ Dr. Rayburn conceded that some programs and courses would be eliminated, others combined. Board president Don Wyss stated that some positions would be eliminated through retirement incentives and elimination of vacant posts. He would not go so far as to say no personnel would be fired. The \$200,000 already saved in utility costs would be earmarked for faculty salary increases in addition to a 3 percent increase for faculty and staff effective November 1.¹⁰⁸⁹

The board was steadfast in its commitment to tight fiscal management and focus on its reallocation plan had been discussed for some time. Priorities included upgrading the academic curriculum for traditional and nontraditional students, increasing the student retention rate, and raising faculty salaries. There were currently 174 faculty

members and 291 staff members. Marketing University insignia items, student recruitment, and fundraising were also key areas of planned action. Under careful scrutiny was the proposed new library. Governor Ashcroft prohibited lobbying the legislature for the \$500,000 earmarked for architectural plans. In 1994, Governor Mel Carnahan removed the constraint and included \$8.5 million for its construction in his budget to the General Assembly. The administration, alumni, and community could now impress the legislature how important the new facility was in meeting the growth demands of the school for the next several decades. The current library was over 40 years old, too small to accommodate collections and students, and too costly to rehabilitate. These constituents could now begin aggressive fundraising.¹⁰⁹⁰

By January 1995, funds for the library had climbed to \$280,000 in contributions and pledges—nearly half of the campaign goal of \$550,000.¹⁰⁹¹ Fee increases for changes in architectural plans added another \$16,000 to costs. To finance the library, legislators had been asked to approve procedures for selling \$250,000 in bonds in April. Part of that state building plan contained the library costs.¹⁰⁹² By February, fundraising had exceeded goals by 17 percent. Funds totaled \$593,514. The ground breaking ceremony was scheduled for May 3 for the new \$11 million (later adjusted to \$9 million) library to be built at the southeast corner of East Dunklin and Chestnut Streets. Construction over a period of two and a half years was scheduled to begin in late spring on the 80,000 sq. ft. facility.¹⁰⁹³

The 1995-96 budget proposed by the curators included \$18 million from the state, \$7 million more than allocated for 1994-95. The curator's wish list included \$1.49 million for technological improvements to connect with Internet providers; \$600,000 for salary

increases; \$780,000 for research and extension programs in aquaculture and family resources management; \$2.5 million to bring library inventory to American Library Association standards; \$185,367 for academic programs; \$357,100 for recruitment and retention of teachers in select classes; \$4.8 million for capital improvements, and \$12 million for the 1996-97 budget. Long range topics under scrutiny included a swimming pool for physical education classes, renovation of Inman E. Page Library for business classes, and renovation of Damel Hall for computer classes. Neither the curators nor the president expected the Coordinating Board to recommend allocations for all items, nor did they expect Governor Carnahan to do likewise, but the agenda for expenditures was at least projected two years ahead for proposed growth and operations.¹⁰⁹⁴

Curators had another reason to press their financial agenda before the General Assembly. The teacher education program won accreditation from the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE). This top approval, given to 260 other nationwide programs, and only partially or in full to 17 other state schools, placed Lincoln's program in the top-ranked teacher education programs by meeting rigorous criteria assessed during a five-day visit.¹⁰⁹⁵ In retrospect, Lincoln Institute's first class taught by Lt. Foster graduated one of the veterans in the 62nd U.S.C.I. who later became a teacher and a minister. It seems fitting that after 128 years of teaching others how to teach, the University as an institution should be recognized for its legacy.

With a balance of \$2.5 million in the general fund,¹⁰⁹⁶ President Rayburn and the board reorganized offices. The vice president for academic affairs and student affairs became a provost for academic and student affairs position. They created a new post, assistant vice president for student affairs, and eliminated the office of dean, graduate and

continuing education, and added the office of director, continuing education. Dr. Rayburn expected to add cost savings of \$1.6 million over the next five years. These savings would be reallocated to academic programs. The second phase of reallocations was due later.¹⁰⁹⁷

Surplus funds were not enough to generate another try at bringing football back to Lincoln University in spite of the earlier appointment of a new athletic director, Richard Cosby in 1991¹⁰⁹⁸, and his successor Ron Coleman in 1992. Dr. Rayburn estimated that the loss of nearly \$250,000 four years ago prompted the elimination of the sport. That, plus the need for capital in the range of \$800,000 and top facilities, would be minimum requirements to reinstate the sport. Harris-Stowe State College, St. Louis University, and the University of Chicago did not have intercollegiate football programs. Prairie View A. & M. University in Texas dropped its program, then reinstated it. Two losing seasons followed. Unless there was a large, consistent source of funding, football was not likely to return.¹⁰⁹⁹

The Coordinating Board recommended \$12.8 million for the 1995-96 year; the Governor recommended \$12.2 million. The previous year's appropriation was \$11.89 million.¹¹⁰⁰ To offset the anticipated lack of a 7 ½ percent increase to cover cost of inflation, curators approved a \$5 increase in the credit hour rate beginning with the fall 1995 semester. The credit hour rate increased to \$84. A new \$20 per semester fee would be charged to offset building maintenance costs. In addition, freshman and sophomore students who resided more than 60 miles from campus would be required to live in the dormitories. A \$53 drop charge was deleted and so was a \$25 charge for late payments under the deferred payment plan.¹¹⁰¹

Memorial to a Former President: Walter C. Daniel

On March 6, 1995, former Lincoln University president, Walter C. Daniel, died from a heart attack at age 75 in Columbia, Missouri. President at Lincoln from 1969 to 1973 before becoming vice chancellor at the University of Missouri-Columbia and later English professor, Dr. Daniel was honored in February during that university's Black History Month dedicated to him. Dr. Daniel was credited with developing the basic content for inclusion of African Americans in the University of Missouri's English Department curriculum.¹¹⁰²

Reallocation Plan

Curators convened in August 1995 to discuss reallocation. Dr. Rayburn's plan, submitted earlier in the year, was a consensus from various departments and units about how to reallocate resources. Citing the projection of a continued decline in enrollment as the impetus for further cuts to programs, the main goal of increasing instructional spending presented a challenge. Lincoln's instructional spending was only one-third the actual costs. Curators were already six weeks late in approving the budget, having postponed approval during their June meeting in order to approve the reallocation plan. That approval could not reach consensus. As a result, the budget was examined for any options to increase instructional costs. One forced expense was that of matching state ADA funds. Modest increases were made in fees Lincoln charge for administering the College Level Examination Program (CLEP) and American College Test (ACT) exams.

These national exams had increased costs to students, but Lincoln had not passed on those increases. Curators also questioned why transfers were made from the school's fund balance to augment operational expenses and auxiliary enterprises expenses (all nonacademic units such as the bookstore, residence halls, athletic programs, and food service). The latter had not been self-sustaining. Dr. Rayburn admitted that many internal procedures needed revamping, but his reallocation plan could alleviate some financial pressures. Also, the curators questioned the absence of specific targeted amounts to alleviate the low salary tradition. Board president George Brooks was embarrassed to discuss the low salaries and wondered why anyone would continue teaching at Lincoln.¹¹⁰³

Changes were also made in the general education requirements. No longer would male students be required to take a class in military science, and the physical education requirement was dropped to one hour. All new students would be required to take a cultural diversity course. Changes were made in matriculation requirements as well. No longer could students continue to enroll with a semester grade average below the minimum requirement of 2.0 on a 4.0 scale. Students now faced academic probation if the grade average for the semester dropped below the minimum.¹¹⁰⁴ Other changes included installation of an on-line computer service to connect the library computer users with collections world-wide. The athletic director, Ron Coleman, presented a plan to invigorate and finance the school's sports program. Coleman suggested fundraising rather than trying to pay for the sports program from University funds. He also advocated alumni support, corporate sponsorships, and the use of booster clubs to promote individual sports. Use of the Dwight T. Reed stadium for special events and entertainment could also generate income to upgrade athletic facilities. If these and other efforts proved

successful, the curators might consider instating the football program again. Finally, curators considered contracts to fine-tune the school's marketing strategy by testing certain campaigns for efficient results.^{1105 1106}

Enrollment for the fall semester dropped from 3,512 students in 1994 to 3,454 students in 1995, but actual figures for the prior year were misleading due to problems with the financial aid office. Some 200 students had not paid fees but were included in the census figure. Credit hour calculations resulted in freshman enrollment down 3 percent; sophomore, down 4 percent, but increased by 1 percent in the junior and senior count, and by 6 percent in the graduate count.¹¹⁰⁷

AmeriCorps at Lincoln University

Those students in the teacher training program now had the opportunity to participate in the national AmeriCorps program thanks to a one-year renewable \$10,000 grant to establish two tutoring sites and train students how to tutor. Ten Lincoln students were selected to participate having agreed to serve 900 hours of tutoring time.¹¹⁰⁸ This national program, begun in President Bill Clinton's first term, was a way for Lincoln students to serve the community by tutoring students in the public and private schools throughout Jefferson City. One site was moved to Jefferson City High School, located two blocks from the Lincoln campus, to aid students. Up until the AmeriCorps program, the high school had no formal tutoring program. Now students could meet with a tutor in a designated room after school.

President Muluzi of Malawi Visits Lincoln

A different type of assistance from Lincoln's U.S. Department of Agriculture programs located on campus brought the President of Malawi to see the school on his trip to New York to celebrate the 50th birthday of the United Nations. His small country, located in southeastern Africa, benefited from the three-year \$1.8 million Agriculture Sector Assistance Program through the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID). The project studied crops—which were most profitable to raise, which could benefit from maximum production, and which could improve market prices. Lincoln University also provided books, food, and health products to help families caught in drought conditions. President Bakili Muluzi was grateful for Lincoln's involvement in their efforts to democratize. Prior to becoming the new leader, Malawi was under the control of a dictatorship for 30 years following British colonial rule. The Cold War left the country to its own defenses and people suffered terribly as a result of a lack of aid from developed countries. President Muluzi was presented with an honorary doctorate of laws degree from Lincoln.¹¹⁰⁹

Students who graduated from the newly revised civil engineering technology program would be eligible for state certification as engineering technicians. Under the old program name, building engineering, students were not qualified for jobs in engineering work on roads, bridges, houses, and commercial structures. Within two years, the program was expected to be certified by the Accrediting Board for Engineering.¹¹¹⁰

Having received \$12.34 million for fiscal year 1995-96 appropriations, Lincoln's board requested \$19 million for 1996-97 which included \$952,000 for inflation. The brief

list of requisites cited by administrators included Internet access, salary parity, research augmentation, and funds to meet library inventory standards.¹¹¹¹

Memorial to Lincoln's 15th President

Lincoln's 15th president, Thomas Miller Jenkins, died December 24, 1995 in Blacksburg, Virginia at the age of 70. He was employed at Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University in Blacksburg. It was his administration at Lincoln University from February 1, 1984 to October 13, 1986 that was blamed for the \$1.8 million deficit that nearly bankrupted the school. There were no reserve funds to cover the deficit and in the wake of a state audit, he and several board members resigned. Jenkins contended that outdated computer reports from old equipment misinformed him and the board. He also pointed to the tradition of underfunding the school. However, before that crisis erupted, Jenkins was credited with efforts to raise faculty and staff salaries, and growth in enrollment for black and white students. A memorial service was held in Blacksburg.¹¹¹²

Board Member Voting Challenged

Curators were called to task by local newspaper reports for votes taken in both an open and closed session at a January 5, 1996 meeting. Robert Culler voted at that meeting. Officially, he had been replaced December 29, 1995 by newly appointed curator Daniel Williams Jr. According to the Missouri Constitution, Williams was not subject to Senate confirmation prior to his taking on the role and responsibilities of a curator. Culler

claimed his attorney advised him that he still had the seat until confirmation. Senate confirmation was not needed for an out-of-session appointee and thus reporters and others questioned the legality of the curator's votes in and out of executive closed session. The three-member executive committee conferred and decided to ask for a legal opinion from the school's attorney, Marilyn Harris. Board president Yvonne Wilson denied any attempt to violate the Constitution and offered the fact that board members were not notified of Williams' appointment or the specific ruling that allowed him to sit on the board immediately. Williams, from St. Louis, stated that he was not informed about the January 5 meeting until the last minute and could not change plans to attend. Five legal opinions on such cases appeared in 1977 and 1978 from then Attorney General John Ashcroft. Each cited Article IV, Section 51 of the Missouri Constitution which defined when a board member assumed his or her seat. Senate approval was required within 30 days of appointment, but the seat belonged to the new appointee when the Senate was not in session. Culler denied that his vote made any difference on policies to change teacher sabbaticals, or to approve an administrative reassignment. The board would not disclose the nature of the closed session vote.¹¹¹³

In a closed session vote taken during a September 14-15 1995 board meeting, curators decided against renewing President Rayburn's contract. Five votes held the majority, two in favor of renewal and two abstentions. For some unexplained reason, the news release on this decision did not appear until January 21. Board president Wilson had no formal statement regarding the matter nor offered any reasons for shortening Dr. Rayburns' contract which did not end until January 1996. Apparently, curators had a working list of concerns about the president's work as part of an ad hoc evaluation.¹¹¹⁴

Such clandestine operations by the board were also in effect in 1989 when it met October 27 and voted in closed session to renew Dr. Rayburn's contract for two additional years. Under the state's open meetings and records law (the "Sunshine Law"), public bodies were required to make personnel actions available to the public within 72 hours of the time the action occurred. Usually such information was disclosed in a news release, but in this instance, not even the school's information officer knew about the vote until informed by a local reporter who regularly covered the school's news. Even the president was surprised by the news. Board president Jerilyn Voss conceded that the board should have released the information but did not because most news releases were issued from the president's office; board members did not think to issue a news release. The president's contract was extended then to January 15, 1993.¹¹¹⁵

The September 1996 board meeting occurred one day after a local news article reported Lincoln's enrollment was down 10 percent, the fourth annual decline. That news was reported to the board during a committee meeting the day before. Preliminary enrollment figures showed a drop from 3,403 in 1995 to 3,055.¹¹¹⁶ Nevertheless, the board had to have considered this trend when discussing the president's evaluation. The loss of 348 students however, should not have impacted on renewing the president's contract since a new recruitment effort, and a new campaign to market the school were in force. None of the curators at the September meeting discussed an effort to determine why students were not enrolling at the school. Instead, they reported hiring a consulting firm to begin the search for another president.¹¹¹⁷

Recruiting and retaining students was discussed by the new interim vice president of student affairs, Keener Tippin, at the board meeting. His four-part plan included halting

the decrease in enrollment, developing a long-term plan for attracting and retaining students, improving parental perceptions about academic success in college, and reducing attrition. According to Tippin, part of the problem in effecting the latter goal involved instilling students with the need to have good study habits and a commitment to succeed in college as in the work world.¹¹¹⁸

Regardless of student shortcomings, the plan was a lofty goal to implement. When President Young sent teachers out across the state during summer break to recruit, both parents and students had a different perception about what it meant to be educated and what sacrifices were required to succeed. The school, parents, and students had the same vision: an education could erase future poverty by allowing entry into another socio-economic class through gainful employment. And with that upward mobility, i.e. racial uplift in Young's day, came a renewed sense of racial progress and individual accomplishment for the student and likely for the next generation. Given that Lincoln University was the only school for blacks in the state during Young's two administrations, it still provided a way out of poverty for the hundreds of black children who did not have even a common school to attend in their area because of the school formation law in Missouri. Now, Lincoln University had to compete with schools such as Missouri Western State College in St. Joseph which also had an open enrollment policy like Lincoln's and in 1995 revealed the lowest state funding record for regional four-year schools.¹¹¹⁹

In addition, top black students from outside the mid-Missouri area had other options as well. They could attend large private schools such as Washington University in St. Louis which offered large competitive scholarships for full fees to top students. They

could also attend Harris-Stowe State University, also in St. Louis, that offered a small school for commuters interested in specific programs. Most black students who came to Lincoln were forced to live in the dormitories, few were academically capable to qualify for large academic scholarships, and most were from low socio-economic backgrounds. There were certainly more obstacles to overcome than good study habits to implement Keener's plan with any degree of success. But, the plan sounded good, and so there were no challenges as to how he was going to make it work. Also, as an interim administrator, he was probably not going to be around long enough to see much evidence from recruitment and retention efforts.

The previous board never undertook the study of why over 4,000 students enrolled at Lincoln University during 1991-92. Nor did they bother to analyze how to guide these students through four years of a given program to graduation. They simply looked at the numbers of three years increased enrollment. They did not gauge the impact of dormitories in neglect, crowded classrooms, lack of parking, or hassles with financial aid and enrollment procedures to name just a few problems surrounding student matriculation. Neither did the board examine national or state trends in demographics concerning high school graduation rates and the battles high schools were having with their own drop-out rates, an issue raised in Dr. Frank's and Dr. Rayburn's administrations. From an institutional research stance, those would have been first-level areas to examine.

It was inevitable that enrollment would drop if for no other reason than the beginning of a new decade which produced another generation with a different mindset. Lincoln University curators should have been looking at the area of increased growth in enrollment: the graduate division. At 6 percent retention, that was the substance of their

marketing a newly accredited degree program in nursing. When the University of Missouri's program filled to capacity, little did Lincoln officials know to capitalize on the overflow of prospective nursing students who came anyway. These students were considered nontraditional and thus not the emphasis group that Lincoln University curators had targeted for so many years. Even the new degree program in Liberal Studies was overshadowed by nontraditional student growth in computer science and business programs. In short, Lincoln University ignored the very demographics of the mid-Missouri area from which the bulk of its nontraditional students derived. Aiming to procure undergraduates from across the state and merely absorb local area students was a scattering of resources.

Lincoln University still aimed to serve everyone but placed special emphasis on recruiting African American students when there were too few to go around. In the meantime, other local colleges and universities moved into Jefferson City, set up satellite campus stations to teach courses in graduate degree programs, and stole most of the graduate enrollment that Lincoln had on a gratis basis. No wonder enrollment decreased.

For all the reorganization of administrative and academic units that every president had undertaken, none saw the need to sharply focus the entire mandate of the school's mission by completely eliminating programs that floundered outside those with the largest growth and employment market demand (See Appendix—Mission Statement, 1992, latest revision). Students often knew better than institutions which fields would yield long term career opportunities. Few institutions know how to maximize those cues. Lincoln had a mix of liberal arts, technical, terminal professional, and agricultural studies majors. All were competing for shrinking University appropriations. One significant fact should have

signaled a green flag from the institution's own Self Study Report prepared for the North Central Association review released in February 1993. Nursing Science graduated 63 with the A.A.S. degree. The year before that, the total was 61, and the year before that, the total was 50. Three consecutive years of growth in one program was the most for any program except the B.S. degree in Business Administration which had only 40 graduates in 1990-91, rebounded to 64 in 1991-92, and increased to 67 in 1992-93. Of the 201 majors and 9 various degrees, 10 majors had no graduates in three years, 33 had less than 10. The report tagged only one program, Radio/TV Broadcasting with 9 graduates in three years, for elimination.¹¹²⁰

Successful recruiting depended on more than good study habits indeed when resources were divided among nonproductive, nonmarketable majors. Successful recruiting depended more on identifying stellar programs with stellar faculty who could generate growth by tying academic success to job market opportunities. Former President Nathan B. Young refused to delete the college degree curriculum from the school's catalog in the 1920s because he chose to entice prospective students to pursue the degree at Lincoln University if they chose.¹¹²¹ He was hoping some enrollees would continue at Lincoln long enough to earn that degree. Eventually one did. But the 1990s was long past the era of hoping for students to enroll. Judicious editing of the curriculum would allow recruiters and marketers to emphasize major fields of expertise that had a successful track-record: from enrollment to graduation to job placement.

Tracking correct institutional data was certainly a priority if sound decisions about recruiting and retention were to be used with any credibility. The 1993 Self Study cited above identified 61 graduates for the 1991-92 academic year, but the commencement

program for that year listed 76 recipients of the Associate in Applied Science degree.¹¹²²

Such discrepancies underscored faulty administrative decisions. It is highly unlikely that in the span of four months 15 students met the degree requirements and graduated when others enrolled in course work for at least two years. Normally, an institution's residency requirement also prevented such speedy degree attainment. The Nursing Science program has continued as one of the most successful at Lincoln University and has had a waiting list every year since it began in 1968 with 20 students.

Another source of institutional data used in a hopeful manner was that generated for the Campus Master Plan prepared by Booker Associates and released May 15, 1991. This 1988-1991 study primarily focused on the regional area, site environment, and physical status of the University. It was prepared to serve as a guide to the physical growth of the school. Enrollment was projected to grow at a rate of 5.5 percent between 1990 and 1995 with total enrollment the latter year at 4,727. The report further declared that University projections looked for enrollment to reach an optimum population of 5,000 and a maximum of 6,000. Programs projected to show this growth included "nursing, business, computer science and technology¹¹²³, education, agriculture, and others."¹¹²⁴ By 1993 however, the Self Study report showed only 5 graduates with an A.A.S. degree in agriculture between 1990-1993, and only 34 graduates with the B.S. degree in the same time span.¹¹²⁵ While discrepancies with any data collection could occur, especially those based on hypothetical projections, it seemed imperative that Lincoln curators be able to use several sources of data to compare and reach consensus about enrollment and matriculation in order to realistically approach recruitment and retention goals.

Reallocation—Part I

With no specific information source disclosed, the curators rearranged the College of Agriculture at its February 23, 1996 telephone meeting. Details were not disclosed by curator president Yvonne Wilson, but President Rayburn stated that the changes would provide an opportunity to improve efficiency and some personnel would be reassigned.¹¹²⁶ Curators also formed committees among themselves to assess the president search process and to review the president's job performance via a checklist tied to the new president's contract. They also refused to disclose the vote results of the September meeting that closed Dr. Rayburn's tenure as President.¹¹²⁷

The faculty was not hesitant to disclose the vote of endorsement of President Rayburn at its Faculty Senate meeting held the next week. In a letter to the curators, faculty supported extending the president's contract to January 2000. The faculty knew no more than those who objected to the board that fired Dr. James Frank without explanation. The same board silence prevailed this time. The board never officially announced nonrenewal of Dr. Rayburn's contract. But in early February, the board voted to allow Dr. Rayburn a 6 1/2 month sabbatical leave to begin July 1 until expiration of his current contract January 15, 1997.¹¹²⁸ The faculty also voted on a resolution to seek input on the board's reallocation plan, different from the one submitted by Dr. Rayburn in June. This plan purported to increase faculty teaching loads by 3 credit hours per semester, and another resolution from the Faculty Senate who objected to the confusion and uncertainty that hung over the University regarding the president and reallocation.¹¹²⁹

By April, Lincoln employees were informed which of them were reallocated out of their current positions via the curator's plan to shift \$1.6 million in halved increments from other areas of the budget to instruction to raise faculty salaries. Those personnel in positions closed or merged would have an opportunity to transfer to another University division but not necessarily with the same job tasks or salary.¹¹³⁰ The board also hired a search firm via a telephone meeting but opted for closed session status and refused to reveal any information about Academic Search Consultation Service.¹¹³¹

Before Dr. Rayburn presided over his last commencement, May 12, 1996, the curators had invited Dr. Donald L. Mullett to visit the campus and meet administrators as a candidate for the interim position. Dr. Rayburn was neither informed about the arrival of this interim president, nor invited to meet him.¹¹³² Mullett was hired as interim to oversee declining enrollment. His salary, \$110,084 plus a comprehensive benefits package was added to those of Dr. Rayburn's salary of \$110,084 and his benefits via, "found money" according to Peggy Honore, vice president for business and finance. As a result of the board's reallocation plan, 8 people were removed from their positions, and 11 positions eliminated. The board again resorted to closed session to discuss implementation of phase two of their reallocation plan as they had done for phase one.¹¹³³ All but one of the former employees from the phase one cuts were immediately and promptly reassigned to other positions at the University.¹¹³⁴

Dr. Rayburn ended his sabbatical with the announcement of his new position as vice president of the American Association of State Colleges and Universities in Washington, D.C. effective February 3, 1997. The 400-member association of public colleges and universities in the U.S., the Virgin Islands, Guam and Puerto Rico promoted

public higher education policy and provided leadership and help to its members. Having served on the association's board for six years and having been its chairman in 1993, Dr. Rayburn brought Lincoln University into the group. He would serve as vice president for administration and finance, the association's chief operating officer.¹¹³⁵

Reallocation—Part II

Phase two eliminated four more positions—two vacant and two filled.

Administrative offices were merged, clerical positions cut, and one staff person reassigned to a teaching position. A contract for marketing services was not renewed, the athletic department budget was cut in the item of supplies, utility expenses for two buildings were reassigned to other accounts. The board neglected to make public the results of this meeting within 72 hours as required by state law. This negligence had occurred at previous meetings.¹¹³⁶

Lincoln's new strategic plan under interim president Mullett centered on not raising tuition, reallocating \$800,000 to faculty salaries, renovating and filling residence halls, and restoring the football program.¹¹³⁷ Board members also reassigned one administrator to develop a curriculum for a night program and a weekend program.¹¹³⁸

What emerged from the secretive nature of the board's redistribution of funds amounted to more mistrust than applause. Only two administrators were seen in conference with the board during formation of its own reallocation plan. The board never formally declared discontent with President Rayburn's plan. Instead, curators high-handedly took matters into its own hands and revamped the school as it saw fit. What it

did not see fit to do before snatching funds from other units was execute a closer examination of the instructional division, specifically the curriculum. In short, curators merely made a wholesale shift from administration to instruction--an area that needed reduction and restructuring before salary increments. Some of the major fields would have been hard-pressed to justify continuing if departments had been required to show evidence of successful enrollment growth and retention rates. Since these faculty raises were not merit-based, nor tied to retention and graduation rate formulas, the mistake arose in merely shifting funds. The effect was one of robbing Peter to pay Paul. The public reaction was one of disgust and withdrawal of confidence.

Before expanding to evening and weekend programs, lagging programs within insufficiently staffed and poorly equipped departments needed cutting as the Self Study showed. Enrollment procedures needed upgrading with computer technology (rather than purchasing a new red rope to separate long lines of students packed into the Student Center). Telephone, FAX, Internet Web Site, and a credit card have all replaced physical presence, two days of lost work time, and multiple signatures from multiple offices in the enrollment process at many schools. Efficient operations must proceed expansion and it must be in place prior to any success with retention. Service is key.¹¹³⁹

Recruitment via a home page with application available on line would eliminate the need for costly recruiting trips to predominantly black high schools in St. Louis and Kansas City. Recruitment could more beneficially begin in middle schools via mentoring and guiding potential students into college level courses and skill levels. As it was now, Lincoln's recruiter differed little in job task from that of the first fund-raiser, Rev. Beal, who arrived with Principal Inman Page to canvas the state seeking donations for the daily

operations of the school. The difference now was that the recruiter's capital was students, not donations.

Student complaints through the years listed the same items: enrollment, dormitory accommodations, parking, advisement, health service, security, financial aid, food service, telephone and cable television access, and high costs of bookstore merchandise. These are areas of service. Whatever else curators proposed to change, the academic climate on campus must be perceived as modern, efficient, and without fraud or abuse of authority.

At the End of Another Administration

President Rayburn's administration at Lincoln University was successful because he showed:

1. ability to articulate and implement a vision, mission and strategic direction that [were] clearly understood and supported by the various members of the University community and its many constituencies;
2. a deep understanding of the role of historically black colleges and universities, past, present and future;
3. a commitment to public service and the land grant mission;
4. strong administrative and managerial experience. . .in an academic setting;
5. a commitment to innovation and to enhancement and assessment of academic quality;

6. ability to serve as a strong advocate for the University to external constituencies including the state legislature;
7. experience in generating financial support from alumni and other private sources;
8. ability to manage change in an institution with limited resources as well as making difficult decisions through consultation;
9. experience in leading efforts to manage enrollments and improve student retention;
10. dedicated to cultural diversity and racial harmony in an atmosphere of civility and mutual respect;
11. talent for maintaining high visibility and open dialogue with students, faculty and staff, and externally with alumni, state and local officials, the media and civic organizations;
12. ability to work with governing boards;
13. experience in selecting and motivating administrators who can work effectively as a team; and
14. experience in improving student life and activities, including athletics¹¹⁴⁰

The evidence was obvious. President Rayburn's mission in 1987 was one of regeneration, his vision that of reaching out—to a larger student pool, to the mid-Missouri community, and speaking on several occasions to local civic, academic, professional, and public forums on plans to guide the school's future. He spoke passionately about the school's historical legacy during the national celebration of the 100th signing of the 1890 Morrill Act hosted at Lincoln, and at the 125th Anniversary of the school in 1991 recalling the founding of the

institution.

He refuted efforts by the Coordinating Board in the late 1980s to transfer Lincoln's land grant status to other state institutions. He showed management skills by realigning several positions, offices, and academic areas for better efficiency. He pushed for distance learning, Internet access, and ALA standards in the library. He relentlessly hammered the legislature for larger allocations especially for faculty salaries.

Dr. Rayburn reinvigorated the Alumni Association and followed through on erected a building to house its offices and school archives. He helped the Association generate more services to the school and larger donations for scholarships. His administrative leadership generated larger corporate and private donations for the 125th Anniversary celebration to be used for scholarships. He certainly steered the school's administrative and instructional forces out of the near bankruptcy conditions that lingered from the previous administration and board.

He championed recruitment efforts and more frequent occasions for high school students to know about Lincoln ranging from science fairs to track competitions. He advocated cultural diversity and racial harmony and called for a diverse student body and participation by all in student government. He was visible, vocal, and visionary.

In working with the Coordinating Board and three sets of curators, his first administration included capable people who helped him revitalize the school's mission while making uncomfortable sacrifices to alleviate financial limitations. He supported student academic achievement by encouraging a commitment to a personal goal, planning for a career path, and following a dream—all clear themes in his addresses to students.

Yet his administration was no less stellar than many of those in the past in terms of the commitment to serve. The above criterion for Dr. Rayburn's successes was the "new" list of "presidential characteristics" outlined by the board that chose not to renew his contract.¹¹⁴¹ It was not his vision that had wavered; it was the third board's lack of vision. They did not have the circumstantial evidence to see how he accomplished all the skill areas they claimed vital. And, notwithstanding the successes, was this "new" list of characteristics realistic? If any president had all traits as recognized qualities of accomplishment from all constituencies interacted with, would there be any need to hire anyone else? Presidential management styles is a curriculum unto itself, and it hardly befits a board—especially one constituted such as Lincoln's—to embark upon a highly-steered search without fine-tuning a realistic agenda for the leadership of the institution.

But this board was no less myopic than previous boards, perhaps moreso. While professing to steer the school's financial integrity and its administrative and instructional components into the twenty-first century, it followed the school's traditional Achilles heel and threw away one of the most valuable components of any plan: a viable president—one who was well-respected by Jefferson City community leaders and the public, one who was committed to outreach for program and technological growth, and one who was sought in presidential searches by three other institutions as a leader during his tenure at Lincoln.

Analogous to the last half-century's throw-away mentality of football team coaches, Lincoln University's board history is glutted with the phenomenal faux pas of luring highly intelligent and capable people to its doors, allowing them to restore the previous board's interference with administrative matters, and then dumping the president

at the height of implementing some major goal. In the case of Inman E. Page, it was the foundation of the school's instructional curriculum and structure of its administrative functions. In the case of President Nathan B. Young, it was the stellar achievement of full accreditation for all areas of instruction. In the case of President Benjamin F. Allen, it was grounding the institution as a well-respected college at the beginning of the twentieth century. In the case of President Earl Dawson, it was the great building campaign. And in the case of President Wendell Rayburn, it was the statewide rally and culminating joint effort to fund construction of a new multi-million dollar library. All the others were summarily dismissed without having served long enough to implement a major change, most often due to board interference. Only Presidents Sherman Scruggs and Walter C. Daniel escaped dismissal. During Scruggs' term, faculty salaries increased, and the school held a steady course through the turbulent periods of World War II and desegregation. During Daniel's term, the school's athletic programs were enhanced and held in high esteem. These men left legacies of achievement in spite of a litany of contradictory and seemingly insurmountable obstacles. These were the men who dared challenge the external and internal forces and win.

CONCLUSION

Lincoln University is not ready to assume the cliché “Poised to enter the twenty-first century.” It is not ready. From all indications, it has yet to come to terms with the major advances in educational leadership, board governance, student services, recruiting, retention, and placement, instructional technology, curriculum focus, and financial management standards commonly in use by other state colleges. As an institution, it has stubbornly clung to outmoded practices and policies that hamper its potential to upgrade the campus and deal with the entrenched and often politically sabotaging attitudes of many employees and faculty. It is slow to acknowledge the uselessness of much of its institutional data, yet makes major directional shifts based on decisions without accurate, or sometimes, any data. It has little regard for its public local reputation in light of the most recent president’s dismissal, and soon another will take his place to repeat the swindle.

The value of an academic institution’s history is not as an icon to the past, a glowing wash of those who have passed through its doors, or a litany of its struggles. The value is as a guide useful to the future, but more useful in the present. Those institutions, especially historically black colleges and universities, with the distinction of having been founded soon after the last battles of the Civil War, bear a unique position as lighthouses to the history of African American education in America. Through their records of achievements and failures, whether in the context of a particular geographical region or from their impact nationwide, comes a venue for the whole of higher education history in America. The more comprehensive the record, the more honest the revelations; the more

particular the identification of various constituents and the roles they played, the more accurate the value.

On the other hand, an academic institution's history, however truthful and glaring, should not remain a momento to dust off at special anniversaries like a Civil War gun mounted in a museum display. Far from it. The one great piece of data that all institutional governing board members need to read, know, and use regularly is its institution's history. The brief synopsis in the college catalog will not do. Nor is the president's welcoming address sufficient. It is the full requirement of every governing entity to know the past—the far past up to the most recent past. Only then can some recycling flaws in the institution's governance be recognized and slated for change to meet the needs of the present. Given that political incentive and money have been the two most powerful directors of an institution's growth or demise, it is apparent that those two motives not be overlooked in the continuity of management.

Lincoln University has a significantly debilitating set of conditions borne of the failure of members of its board, some of its presidents, administrators, staff, and most of its students to know its history. Much of that failure rests in the perpetuation of the first account published in 1936 and two pictorial updates published in 1966 and 1991 for commemorative purposes. Consequently, there has been no comprehensive documented account to study. The question is, How can an institution not have one? The answer is more complex than would be assumed. Initially, funding the research, writing, and publication costs are obvious considerations. Second, who should write the history? Should that person be someone on the payroll, or an outside contract, an academic or an alumnus? Third, how will the history be used? As long as the historical record is treated

as a relic, the expense of a new account would be nostalgic but not valuable. And fourth, what kind of new account should be written? One bereft of any particular details that could possibly offend the living? One with flowery charm to entice alumni into greater participation with their alma mater? Or, one with so little new information that it goes unread?

The future of academic histories will lie in more disclosure, not less. Given that such a compendium for certain HBCUs could produce more than one volume, the next category of ranking will surely and inevitably move to that revised, documented record of facts and details about an institution which has potential for the greatest impact. A new “social biography” category will be added to the profile. Just as colleges and universities demand more and more information from prospective students, in turn students and parents will demand greater accountability from institutions before committing their sons and daughters and income to longer terms of matriculation and higher and higher costs

Not to be discounted is the impact of the revolution in communication and access via computer technology. Many institutional histories, especially for large schools like Howard University, will go on the Internet as separate documents. Recruiters will be less burdened with the need to inform perspective students and parents; search firms will be less inclined to gloss over the important background details in the school’s treatment of faculty and board control affecting administrators.

Lincoln University’s history is a template for most small HBCUs founded shortly after the Civil War. Its struggles for equitable or even adequate allocations from the coffers of their respective state’s treasuries are repeated in the histories of their kindred institutions--likewise, their administration problems, shifting demographics, aging faculty,

and deadwood curriculum offerings. It is the refusal to take these similarities into account and refocus resources to meet needs that keep an institution stagnant and allow it to brush too close to the risk of being absorbed into major state university systems. For too long, the emphasis for HBCUs has centered on the dynamic postulate “to compete.” That dynamic is fraught with a host of discriminatory traditions from other state institutions and political entities to render it a clear path for the next century. What is far more likely to produce sustainability and prompt growth is perfection. The new mantra should be “to perfect.”

Only those institutions who pare down to what they do best and serve those who need their best will manage to remain strong enough to repel takeover attempts. They will position themselves to become singularly proficient in one or more programs and garner a high level of achievement and recognition. The new century will continue to host a variety of higher education institutions but not in the same manner as in the past. At a time when degree programs may be accessed and soon accredited via the Internet, the latent demands for full dormitories, upgraded classroom buildings, and bookstore inventory will diminish. Faculty will be paid by log-on time instead of classroom time. Aside from the aesthetic experience of college culture, the future may encompass a new type of computer-intelligent learner—one who can forego fees to maintain an athletic facility or a campus newspaper. Traditional appeals will fade to instructional expediency. This learner will not be stymied by set class schedules or trekking across campus in -25 degree wind chill readings. Perhaps younger than the traditional age of first-time entering freshmen, this student will tailor a program to fit a finely-prescribed niche—one not listed in the catalog, nor as yet titled by the Department of Labor. This pioneer will be followed by those who

require a new methodology to access learning via cyberspace.

HBCUs in general and Lincoln University in particular will need to meet the demands of such visionary growth and change in higher education. On campus culture shaped by demographics and regional mores will become less important than access to the future. Leadership will become even more paramount in the years ahead, and while looking forward has its own adventure, looking back can prove far more valuable in keeping these schools from going in circles.

NOTES

- ¹ William E. Foley, *A History of Missouri*. vol. 1. (Columbia: U Missouri P, 1971) 47.
- ² Foley 47.
- ³ Foley 47.
- ⁴ Foley 50.
- ⁵ Foley 73.
- ⁶ Foley 89.
- ⁷ Foley 196.
- ⁸ Foley 206.
- ⁹ Lorenzo Greene, Gary R. Kremer, and Antonio F. Holland, Missouri's Black Heritage Rev. ed. (Columbia: U Missouri P, 1993) 22.
- ¹⁰ Greene et al. 22.
- ¹¹ Greene et al. 22.
- ¹² Greene et al. 27-28.
- ¹³ Greene et al. 38-39.
- ¹⁴ Greene et al. 40.
- ¹⁵ Greene et al. 52.
- ¹⁶ Greene et al. 62.
- ¹⁷ Greene et al. 63.
- ¹⁸ Greene et al. 63.
- ¹⁹ Greene et al. 63.

²⁰ Greene et al. 64.

²¹ Greene et al. 64.

²² Greene et al. 65.

²³ Greene et al. 66.

²⁴ Greene et al. 67.

²⁵ Greene et al. 68.

²⁶ Greene et al. 68.

²⁷ Greene et al. 72.

²⁸ Greene et al. 75-76.

²⁹ Greene et al. 76.

³⁰ Greene et al. 77.

³¹ Greene et al. 77-78.

³² Greene et al. 78.

³³ James E. Ford, A History of Jefferson City, Missouri's State Capital and of Cole County. (Jefferson City, MO: The New Day Press, 1938) 150.

On October 15, 1864, the Cole County court ordered warrants for \$100 to be issued to 100 resident volunteers in the United States service.

³⁴ Greene et al. 79.

³⁵ Greene et al. 79.

³⁶ Greene et al. 79.

³⁷ Greene et al. 79.

³⁸ Greene et al. 79.

³⁹ Forty-six assistant provost marshals enrolled 3,700 blacks: 670 from St. Louis; 399, Jefferson City; 356, Louisiana; 343, Troy; 292, Macon; 272, Lexington; 267, Tipton; 213, Mexico; 206, Hannibal; 193, Glasgow; 172, Fayette; 169, Sedalia, and at least forty each

from Liberty, Potosi, Ironton, Kingston, St. Charles, Cape Girardeau, Springfield, Pilot Knob, and Washington. Howard County enlisted 600 of its 900 eligible recruits (Greene et al. 80).

⁴⁰ Greene et al. 81.

⁴¹ Greene et al. 81.

⁴² Greene et al. 82.

⁴³ James E. Ford, A History of Jefferson City, Missouri's State Capitol and of Cole County. (Jefferson City, MO: The New Day Press, 1933) 138.

Missouri's deposed Governor Calib Jackson, Lieutenant-Governor Reynolds and volunteers in their state militia established a seat of government at Marshall, Texas after General Lyon of the Federal forces took control of Boonville and the state on June 17, 1861. Jackson had stolen the state seal and taken it to Marshall shortly after he and Confederate sympathizers in the legislature met in Neosho and Cassville during the fall of 1861 and declared secession from the Union and allegiance with the Confederacy. A town of 2,000 in eastern Texas, Marshall was the locale where many Missourians, too old or unfit for military service, took their slaves and personal property.

⁴⁴ Greene et al. 85.

⁴⁵ Giffen 6.

⁴⁶ Giffen 6.

⁴⁷ Giffen 7.

⁴⁸ Giffen 7.

⁴⁹ Giffen 8.

⁵⁰ Giffen 8-9.

⁵¹ Giffen 10.

⁵² Giffen 11-12.

⁵³ Giffen 12.

⁵⁴ Giffen 13.

⁵⁵ Giffen 13.

- ⁵⁶ Giffen 13.
- ⁵⁷ Giffen 13-14.
- ⁵⁸ Giffen 14.
- ⁵⁹ Giffen 14-15.
- ⁶⁰ Giffen 16-17.
- ⁶¹ Giffen 18.
- ⁶² Giffen 18.
- ⁶³ Giffen 18.
- ⁶⁴ Giffen 19.
- ⁶⁵ Giffen 20.
- ⁶⁶ Giffen 20.
- ⁶⁷ Giffen 21.
- ⁶⁸ Giffen 22.
- ⁶⁹ Giffen 21.
- ⁷⁷ Giffen 23.
- ⁷⁰ Giffen 23.
- ⁷¹ Giffen 23.
- ⁷² Giffen 23.
- ⁷³ Giffen 24.
- ⁷⁴ Giffen 25.
- ⁷⁵ Giffen 25.
- ⁷⁶ Giffen 26.

⁷⁷ Giffen 26.

⁷⁸ Giffen 26.

⁷⁹ Giffen 27.

⁸⁰ Giffen 30.

⁸¹ Giffen 30-31.

⁸² Giffen 32.

⁸³ Giffen 32.

⁸⁴ Giffen 34.

⁸⁵ Giffen 34.

⁸⁶ Giffen 35.

⁸⁷ Giffen 35.

⁸⁸ Giffen 36.

⁸⁹ Giffen 37.

⁹⁰ Giffen 37.

⁹¹ Giffen 40.

⁹² Giffen 41.

⁹³ Giffen 41.

⁹⁴ Green et al 80.

⁹⁵ Charles R. Mink, "The War That Built a School: The Founding of Lincoln University," Lincoln University Journal of Ethnic Studies ^{1.1 (1982) 65.}

⁹⁶ Mink 65.

⁹⁷ Mink 65.

⁹⁸ Records of the 62nd U.S. Colored Infantry, 1863-66. The National Archives, Record Group 94. This record includes correspondence to and from R. B. Foster. See also the Company Muster Rolls for Co. A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, and I. No Co. J.

⁹⁹ Company Muster Rolls, 62nd U.S.C.I.

¹⁰⁰ Company Muster Rolls, 62nd U.S.C.I.

¹⁰¹ According to R. B. Foster's June 1st Appendix in the Annual Circular, No. 4. Sixty Second Regiment U.S.C.I., 1870, one of six briefs started by Foster in 1867 and circulated to the officers and enlisted men of that regiment, the skirmish at Palmetto Ranch received negative publicity via publication of an article, "Last Battle of the War," that appeared in the November 1870 issue of Brooklyn Monthly. It was reprinted in the November 1870 issue of Soldier's Friend. The article by Lt. Col. Bliss of the 87th insinuated that Col. Theodore H. Barrett, head of the Union regiments, acted with cowardice during that battle. Foster reprinted an essay by Col. Branson refuting that allegation. Branson stated that Bliss was not at the battle and that no one who was there accused Barrett of cowardice. Both Foster and Branson were there. Branson led the detachment, while Foster had charge of the rear guard. The situation developed over Col. Barrett's desire to stop complaints from officers and enlisted men who wanted fresh beef, lumber to build barracks on their "barren, sand island camp ground" (Padre Island, Texas) and horses (particularly the detachment of the 2nd Texas cavalry who wanted to scout for supplies).

The nearest supply of cattle was at White's Ranch, not many miles up the Rio Grande, and at another camp between Brownsville and Point Isabel. The nearest lumber supply was across the harbor at this last camp. Barrett feared a return of scurvy which caused much suffering in Louisiana. To allay the criticism from the tired, hungry men, Barrett planned to send Branson and a detachment to cross the harbor by steamer to Point Isabel, get lumber, then march to the Rio Grande and by night surprise camps and take horses and cattle.

The steamer's machinery broke and the plan changed to cross at Boca Chica, march at night to camp on Rio Grande and return through Point Isabel for lumber. On May 11, a terrible storm delayed the night crossing. After surrounding White's Ranch, the men found out that the enemy had moved up the Rio Grande to Palmetto Ranch. It was too late to reach that point before dawn. Unfortunately, the men were spotted from across the river by the Imperial Mexican troops around nine o'clock that morning. They were forced to attack the Ranch during daylight which rendered the effect less than desired. Without mounted calvary, the men of the 62nd couldn't confiscate the cattle which were driven off by the enemy troops on horseback.

An Austrian deserter from Maximilian's army informed Branson that the enemy had artillery and many soldiers. Branson saw the enemy's large calvary, their English-made ammunition (superior to the guns held by the 62nd men now damaged by salt water). Under his command, the 37 men of Co. D and other companies of the 62nd had no choice but to wait until night in a secure position. Branson sent word to Barrett, who

arrived with a detachment of 300 white veteran volunteer infantry and took charge. He didn't believe the deserter's report about the enemy's superior artillery.

Two days of heavy fighting followed. Confederates on the Mexican side of the Rio Grande fired on the Union detachments under the watchful eyes of the Imperial troops. Weeks later, their commander told Branson and others, they thought the Union wanted their cotton supplies at Brownsville. With six pieces of artillery and superior mounted calvary, they drove the Union fighters back to within two miles of the mouth of the Rio Grande. The battle ended at sunset, May 13, 1865.

Branson explained that "Col. Barrett had great difficulties to contend with."

The official reports by Col. Barrett and Lt. Col. Branson appear in The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies. Series I, Vol. 48, Part I. Washington, D. C.: GPO, 1896. 265-269. These reports are listed under the heading: May 11-14, 1865.--Expedition from Brazos Santiago, Tex., with skirmishes (12th and 13th) at Palmetto Ranch and (13th) at White's Ranch.

¹⁰² Mink 65; Records of the 65th U. S. Colored Infantry, 1863-4. The National Archives. This record includes Company Muster Rolls for Co. A and I.

¹⁰³ Company Muster Rolls, 65th U.S.C.I.

¹⁰⁴ Company Muster Rolls, 65th U.S.C.I.

¹⁰⁵ Company Muster Roll, Company I, 65th U.S.C.I.

¹⁰⁶ Company Muster Roll, Company I, 62nd U.S.C.I.

¹⁰⁷ The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies. Series I, Vol. 48, Part I. Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1896. 265-269. Colonel Theodore H. Barrett filed his report on August 10, 1865 at camp near Brownsville, Texas, headquarters of the Third Brigade, First Division, 25th Army Corps, having already sent a full report to New Orleans. Lieutenant Colonel David Branson filed his report on May 18, 1865 from Brazos Santiago, Texas, headquarters of the Sixty-Second Regiment, U. S. Colored Infantry. These reports have been merged to reproduce the narrative of events at Palmetto and White Ranches.

¹⁰⁸ Company Muster Roll, Company I, 62nd U.S.C.I. This report includes Foster's final report as First Lieutenant filed with the war department.

¹⁰⁹ Company Muster Rolls. Company I, 62nd U.S.C.I.

¹¹⁰ Richard B. Foster, "Historical Sketch of Lincoln Institute," address, Lincoln Institute, July 4, 1871. The occasion for this speech was the dedication ceremony for the first building to house Lincoln Institute. Foster spoke to veterans of the 62nd and 65th, black and white members of the community, and guests.

¹¹¹ William E. Parrish, Missouri Under Radical Rule 1865-1870. (Columbia: U Missouri P, 1965) 128.

¹¹² James E. Ford, A History of Jefferson City, Missouri's State Capitol and of Cole County. (Jefferson City, MO: The New Day Press, 1933) 274.

When Ford was writing his history of Jefferson City published in 1938, he requested Lincoln's president, then Sherman D. Scruggs, to forward an article about Lincoln University for inclusion. It is highly probable that President Scruggs requested history professor W. Sherman Savage to write the article for Ford. Several rhetorical clues point to Savage as the author. As early as 1932 Scruggs requested Savage to write the school's history. It was started in 1934. Savage is the author of the single documented text of the school's history published in 1939.

¹¹³ Foster 2.

¹¹⁴ Foster 2.

¹¹⁵ Foster 3.

¹¹⁶ Foster 3.

¹¹⁷ Foster 4.

¹¹⁸ Foster 4.

¹¹⁹ Foster 4.

¹²⁰ Savage History 3.

¹²¹ According to the Lincoln University Quarterly (1922), General Clinton B. Fisk was especially instrumental in supporting education for the freedmen. Joe M. Richardson states in A History of Fisk University, 1865-1946 that in an effort to found a normal school for freedmen rather than an elementary school in Nashville, John Ogden, Erastus M. Cravath, and Edward P. Smith were aided in purchasing land by the American Missionary Association and the Western Freedmen's Aid Commission. The almost twenty buildings in this former government run hospital complex were purchased for the school from the government by General Fisk while assistant commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau for Tennessee and Kentucky. He gave the school almost \$30,000 and thus the school was named for him (2-4).

Fisk University, located in Nashville, Tennessee, was founded in 1866 as a private, nonsectarian, liberal arts institution affiliated with the American Missionary Association of the United Congregational Church. It was established as a college for African Americans

but it has always accepted students regardless of race "Fisk University," Barrons Profiles of American Colleges, 20th ed. 1399.

¹²² Foster 2.

¹²³ Foster 3.

¹²⁴ According to Foster's annual Circulars, officers in the 62nd were promoted to higher rank sometime prior to January 10, 1868 when the second circular was dated. Foster apologized to his comrades if he had failed to give "proper brevet rank" to any of them.

¹²⁵ Foster 2.

¹²⁶ Savage History 2.

¹²⁷ Foster 5.

¹²⁸ Foster 2.

¹²⁹ Holland 3.

¹³⁰ Foster 2.

¹³¹ Greene et al. 85.

¹³² In Jefferson City, Mrs. L. A. Montague, the American Missionary Association's agent, was labeled the "nigger teacher." Local whites destroyed school books, and furniture and stoned black students traveling to school. Although other white citizens encouraged Mrs. Montague not to succumb to such violence and abuse, most of her moral and financial support came from the black community (as was the case for other teachers from the American Missionary Association in Carondelet, Warrensburg, St. Louis and other locales). In Jefferson City and elsewhere, blacks pooled funds for the teachers' board, rent on school buildings, and when possible, teachers' salaries (Greene et al. 86.).

¹³³ Giffen 210.

¹³⁴ W. R. Parsons is listed in Savage's History, and Holland's A Soldier's Dream Continues. It is highly likely that the name W. R. Parsons should be H. R. Parsons, the H. for Henry who was an officer in the 62nd U.S.C.I.

¹³⁵ Sherman W. Savage, "The Workers of Lincoln University, Part I. Boards of Control," ms. Jefferson City, Missouri: Lincoln University, 1951. 1.

¹³⁶ Greene et al. 94.

¹³⁷ David A. March, The History of Missouri vol. 1. (New York: Historical Publishing Society, 1967) 687.

¹³⁸ Henry Brown, alias Henry Green, was listed on the records of the 62nd U.S.C.I. for Company D (the unit that took part in the Palmetto Ranch skirmish at the end of the war) and also Company I (under the command of Lt. Foster and Col. Branson).

¹³⁹ Savage Workers Part I 1-25. Foster also related his contacts with Henry Brown in each of the six Circulars mailed to veterans of the 62nd. His first mention of Brown was in the Appendix to Circular, No.1, January 1, 1867. Along with soldiers from different regiments, Brown was a student at Lincoln Institute along with John Jeffreys, another veteran of the 62nd. Brown was one of the first two students (the other, Cornelius Chappelle) who opened the school. By 1867, its second year, he was joined by over 100 regular students. In the second circular, 1868, Foster said Brown was teaching a large school and preaching at Marshall, Missouri. By 1869 in the third circular Foster reported that Brown and four other veterans were "honored and useful ministers." In January 1870, Brown visited Foster in his home in preparation to attend the educational convention to make Lincoln Institute a normal school and to lobby the legislature to give Lincoln a share of the 1862 Morrill land grant funds. Foster said Brown was stationed at Marshall, Missouri in Saline County. By the fifth circular dated July 25, 1871, Foster stated that Brown had resumed the use of his original name, W.H.H. Brown and gave his address as Lexington, Missouri. By 1872, in the sixth circular under the editorship of Col. Branson (Foster had left Lincoln Institute), Brown gives his address in Little Rock, Arkansas and said that he was in one of the best homes he had had since the war. He was teaching and preaching. He said all the private soldiers he knew were farmers and laborers and related information about First Sergeant Young, and Sergeant Shields both from Brown's former Company I. One was a shoemaker; the other, a deputy constable.

¹⁴⁰ Savage Workers Part I 13-15.

¹⁴¹ Foster said in Circular No.4, February 25, 1870, that Rev. Moses Dickson was appointed agent after the legislature denied Foster's request for Lincoln Institute to receive a share of the Agricultural College land grant. Those who favored an agricultural department at the state university at Columbia bargained with those who wanted to take one-fourth of the fund to endow a School of Mines in Southeast Missouri. The legislators rejected that part of the bill which would have given Lincoln ten percent of the fund. The second goal of the public convention held in January in Jefferson City was to make Lincoln Institute a state normal school for training colored teachers. That became law when the House passed the measure 99 to 3; the Senate, unanimously; and the Governor signed it immediately. Before Lincoln could qualify for the biennial payment of \$5,000 per year, it had to raise \$15,000. Foster asked the veteran readers of the circular to send donations to Col. F. A. Seeley, St. Louis. Foster expected to go east to raise funds and decided to leave the school under the care of Mr. and Mrs. Turner. Could this be James

Milton Turner and wife, since Turner was president of the convention to get Lincoln state aid and normal school status? Henry Brown, Jonathan Jeffries, and Reuben Jackson were three veterans from the 62nd at the convention.

¹⁴² Barnes was interviewed in an article in the Missouri State Tribune July 13, 1901. This article was also the reference for James Ford's sketch "Uncle Howard Barnes" in The History of Jefferson City (111-12). *****

¹⁴³ J. Ed Belch was partner in the law firm Lay & Belch which advertised in the March 30, 1870 issue of The People's Tribune, the second daily newspaper in Jefferson City (Ford 159). He was also mentioned in the memoirs of Frank B. Miller who lived in Jefferson City in the late sixties and early seventies as a child. He remembered only one house of the few between Water Street and the railroad track from Monroe to Lafayette. It was the home of J. Ed Belch on the bluff overlooking the river as did Miller's house (177). As city auditor in 1861, Belch reported \$8,500 city revenue for 1860 (128).

¹⁴⁴ J. Milton Turner was president of the convention to aid Lincoln Institute.

¹⁴⁵ Savage Workers Part I 19-24.

¹⁴⁶ Ford 261.

¹⁴⁷ Foster said Governors served as presidents of the Board of Trustees until 1879 when the school came under the control of a Board of Regents as a state normal school (Foster "Historical Sketch" 7).

¹⁴⁸ March 2:971, 978.

¹⁴⁹ Savage Workers Part I 15-17.

¹⁵⁰ Ford 287.

¹⁵¹ Foster 7.

¹⁵² Statutes of 1865 (Missouri) Chapter 70.

¹⁵³ The People's Tribune began publication just eight months prior to the appearance of the article about Lincoln's incorporation. The first issue appeared October 4, 1865 under publisher C. J. Corwin, the third publisher of The Metropolitan, an anti-Benton paper in the 1850s changed to The Examiner. This paper continued publication during the Civil War until 1862 when it was sold to supporters of the provisional government and later handled by W. A. Curry, public printer. It was renamed State Times. Its political persuasion changed from radical Democrat to radical Republican. Emory S. Foster and Cooper succeeded Curry. Foster, state printer under Republican Governor Thomas C.

Fletcher, was a signatory of the incorporation articles of Lincoln Institute as was the Governor. He was also a member of the first Board of Trustees.

C. J. Corwin's The People's Tribune was an eight-column weekly that supported Andrew Johnson. It existed to fuse conservative Democrats and liberal Republicans to defeat the radical Republican regime and restore voting rights to Missouri's Confederate supporters (banned from voting by the provisional government's test oath, written into the first state constitution in 1865). Corwin and later Joseph F. Regan, his partner, shaped public opinion in Jefferson City and surrounding counties. They argued against citizenship and voting rights for Missouri's freedmen, educating blacks in general and Lincoln Institute in particular, tax-supported common schools in each county, and a host of other reforms put forth by the radical Republican government. Regan, as sole owner, acquired James E. Carter as a new partner who when Regan died in 1877, sold the paper in 1880 to a corporation, the Tribune Printing Company. (Ford 290-291).

¹⁵⁴ Mink 69.

¹⁵⁵ Mink 65.

¹⁵⁶ Giffen 35.

¹⁵⁷ Mink 69. The Times referred to was the State Times published by state printer Emory S. Foster, one of Lincoln Institute's incorporators and first board members.

¹⁵⁸ "Snapshots of Old Lincoln." Lincoln University Quarterly 1.2 (1922): 4.

¹⁵⁹ Foster 8.

¹⁶⁰ Foster 8.

¹⁶¹ Foster 9.

¹⁶² Giffen 14.

¹⁶³ Giffen 14.

¹⁶⁴ Giffen 31.

¹⁶⁵ Giffen 30.

¹⁶⁶ Savage History 7.

¹⁶⁷ Foster 9.

¹⁶⁸ Schools for Freedmen 62.

¹⁶⁹ Schools for Freedmen 62.

¹⁷⁰ Schools for Freedmen 62.

¹⁷¹ Foster 9. Savage's History does not mention Reed teaching for five months without pay.

¹⁷² Foster 9. Foster said his father-in-law was hired to teach. He implied that there were no funds to pay him. Holland, et al, says Reed volunteered his services and after the year ended, the board paid him \$200 (27). The board probably did not have any funds to pay Reed until donations were in hand.

¹⁷³ Schools for Freedmen 62.

¹⁷⁴ Schools for Freedmen 62.

¹⁷⁵ Schools for Freedmen 62.

¹⁷⁶ Foster's Circular No. 4, February 25, 1870, asked the veterans of the 62nd to send contributions for a \$15,000 endowment required by the state legislature before the biennial payment of \$5000 could be awarded as a condition of state support for a normal school department at Lincoln Institute to the school's treasurer, Col. F. A. Seeley, St. Louis, Missouri. The Bureau's report listed Seeley's middle initial as E. It was more likely that Foster knew Seeley well enough to know this veteran's correct name as F. A. Seeley.

¹⁷⁷ Schools for Freedmen 61.

¹⁷⁸ Schools for Freedmen 61.

¹⁷⁹ Schools for Freedmen 61.

¹⁸⁰ Schools for Freedmen 61.

¹⁸¹ Schools for Freedmen 61. The amount of \$20,000 is incorrect according to other sources and the state statute. It should be \$15,000.

¹⁸² Savage History 8.

¹⁸³ Adrian College, founded in 1845, was probably a prototype to Berea College and Lincoln University in Pennsylvania, schools that admitted free blacks before the war. It is cited in Barrons Profiles of American Colleges and Universities 1995 ed. as a private, coed, liberal arts and sciences school affiliated with the United Methodist Church. It has

an enrollment of a little over 1,000 students almost equally divided between male and female students (779).

¹⁸⁴ Savage History 8.

¹⁸⁵ Savage History 17.

¹⁸⁶ Charlestine R. Farley, "A History of Claflin College, 1869-1987," *DAI* 51/05A (1990): AAC9029173. U. South Carolina.

¹⁸⁷ Savage History 8.

¹⁸⁸ Savage History 8.

¹⁸⁹ Savage History 9.

¹⁹⁰ "Snapshots" 4.

¹⁹¹ "Snapshots" 4.

¹⁹² "Snapshots" 5.

¹⁹³ "Snapshots 4-5; Jonas Viles, The University of Missouri: A Centennial History (Columbia: University of Missouri, 1939). Viles recounted the events leading up to the distribution of the Morrill Act funds to the University of Missouri. The initial Senate bill contained an amendment to allot ten percent of the funds to Lincoln Institute, but as the measure dragged from one session to the next, it was saddled with an amendment providing for a School of Mines and Metallurgy. Viles stated, "The leaders and friends of the negroes insisted very sensibly that what they needed was not a Morrill Act college, but a normal school. This was provided for in a separate act." Governor McClurg signed the bill February 24, 1870 (125). Refer to Foster's account of this bill.

¹⁹⁴ Savage History 20.

¹⁹⁵ "Snapshots" 6.

¹⁹⁶ "Snapshots" 6.

¹⁹⁷ "Snapshots" 6.

¹⁹⁸ "Snapshots" 6.

¹⁹⁹ Greene et al. 99.

²⁰⁰ Greene et al. 100.

²⁰¹ Viles 109.

²⁰² Leedell W. Neyland, Historically Black Land-Grant Institutions and the Development of Agriculture and Home Economics 1890-1990. ERIC, 1990. ED 330 503. See also, A People and a Spirit Serving the Nations of the World: 1890 Land Grant Colleges and Universities (1990). 24-25.

²⁰³ Neyland 25.

²⁰⁴ Savage History 14.

²⁰⁵ Savage History 14.

²⁰⁶ Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Missouri Twenty-Fifth General Assembly. (Jefferson City, Missouri: Horace Wilcox, 1970). 137-455.

²⁰⁷ Savage History 15.

²⁰⁸ Greene et al 98.

²⁰⁹ Shaw University, Raleigh, North Carolina was also established in 1865 by a Union officer, Dr. H. M. Tupper, D. D., "who conceived the desire for school work among the colored people while serving as a soldier." His first school, which has grown into the present-day university, was started in a ten by twenty feet cabin (Richings 30).

²¹⁰ R. B. Foster, Circular No. 1 January 1, 1867.

²¹¹ Savage History 19.

²¹² The creek Foster refers to is most likely Wear's Creek, also cited as Weir's in early sources. Foster may have arrived by steamboat which docked at Lohman's Landing on Jefferson Street or he may have arrived by the Missouri Pacific Railroad whose tracks parallel the river. The railroad depot was at the foot of Monroe Street, two blocks east of Lohman's Landing.

²¹³ Ford 157.

²¹⁴ Ford 174-202; "Cotton stone" was native white limestone (Ford 63).

²¹⁵ Ford 174.

²¹⁶ Ford 157.

²¹⁷ Gerlach, Russel L. Settlement Patterns in Missouri. (Columbia: U Missouri P, 1986). 1-78.

²¹⁸ Richard Foster. Company I and B. Company Muster Rolls. 62nd U. S. Colored Infantry. National Archives, Record Group 94.

²¹⁹ Lincoln University historian Sherman Savage placed Foster's ancestor in Dorchester. The genealogical records do not agree.

²²⁰ Family Group Record. Logan, Utah: The Everton Publishers, n.d.

James R. Couch requested this genealogical record. He is presumed to be one of the three sons of Eunice Foster and William Couch. She was one of four daughters of Guy Foster who was the sixth son of Richard Baxter Foster. Floyd and Geraldean E. Schmid of Raytown, Missouri compiled the record. See also Franklin Hawes, Foster Record. Boston Public Library.

The record presents an ancestral chart of seven generations of the Foster Record and five appendices of heirs. It begins with all citations of early comers to New England with the name Foster. Richard Baxter Foster's European ancestor is cited as one of two William Fosters in Ipswich. The lineage of R. B. Foster's family is fully discernible through these two documents.

²²¹ Two of R. B. Foster's grandsons died in WWI (Savage History 10).

²²² Savage History 10.

²²³ Record Book 1A, Birth Certification, City of Hanover, The State of New Hampshire; Radway, Patricia H. Letter to Antonio F. Holland. 27 November 1973. Radway was the city clerk for Hanover, New Hampshire.

²²⁴ Family Record Group.

²²⁵ Savage History 10.

²²⁶ R. B. Foster, Historical Sketch of Lincoln Institute. July 4, 1871. 3.

²²⁷ R. B. Foster, Circular No. 2. January 10, 1868.

²²⁸ Foster Circular No 2.

²²⁹ Giffen 42-43.

²³⁰ Giffen 44-45.

²³¹ Foster contracted with the Jefferson City Board of Education in 1868 to teach the black children in the district for \$75 per month plus a supplemental salary of \$15 and money for fuel from Lincoln Institute. White students were taught in a rented little brick schoolhouse located opposite the Catholic Church near the Armory on present-day Capitol grounds. White children were taught by Ella Peabody. Foster taught the black students in the dilapidated school known as Hobo Hill. Black students were forced to continue using this facility until 1874 even though Foster was no longer their teacher (Giffen 30-37).

Foster is listed as a teacher (called an Assistant) in the Negro school in Jefferson City on the 1868-69 roster of faculty for a city-wide total of 500 pupils. This was the first term under the new graded system. The school for whites had been moved to a two-story brick school at 216-222 West McCarty purchased by the school board from the German and English School Association. There was a faculty of three for the white school and one for the black school. Each was paid \$100 per month. School was in session for a little more than five months. At the end of the first year however, Jefferson City taxpayers chafed at paying the school tax and many deduced that amount from their tax bill after being goaded by an article in the pro-Southern People's Tribune. As a result, the board had to delay payments to the teachers at the end of the first term in 1868 (40-41).

²³² Foster's Circular No. 3, March 10, 1869, told the veteran officers about Payne and his sister and about the repair of the school and how much the Jefferson City School board was paying him.

²³³ Foster Circular No. 3 March 10, 1869.

²³⁴ Foster Circular No. 4 February 25, 1870.

²³⁵ Foster Circular No. 4 February 25, 1870.

²³⁶ Before the Civil War slaves had to attend church with their masters. They sat on benches in the back of the church. They were not allowed to worship on their own for fear that congregating would instigate escape plans. Emanuel Cartwright, a black minister, was allowed to fill an urgent request to preach the funeral services of Julia Brock in January 1859. That was the first formal service ever held in Jefferson City for blacks. Later, Cartwright was allowed to hold a series of meetings. Over fifty slaves were converted. With the begrudging consent of their masters, slaves organized the Second Baptist Church with a black minister. The first services were held in a small frame building near the corner of Jefferson and Main. Then services were held in the Presbyterian Church until that group refused use of the building (Ford 288-89). The frame building was the second site of Lincoln Institute; the Church is now located on Monroe and Miller Streets.

²³⁷ Savage History 16-17.

²³⁸ Savage History 17.

²³⁹ Savage History 17.

²⁴⁰ Ford 287-288.

²⁴¹ Correspondence during the 1920s between Nathan B. Young and W. H. Payne is the source for the accusations against Foster (Savage History 17).

²⁴² Savage History 17.

²⁴³ Information about Payne and Foster comes from undated letters from W.H. Payne to the president in 1923, Nathan B. Young, titled Bits of History by Savage. Unfortunately, these letters are not available and feared to have been accidentally discarded by a custodian along with Savages' original manuscript and documents covering 1866 to the 1880s according to Savage in the Preface to his History (Savage History 17).

²⁴⁴ Foster declared in the 1872 Circular No. 6 that he declined to be a candidate for the principal of Lincoln Institute for "my health and other reasons." He was appointed General Financial Agent for the school and claimed success at fundraising before the Chicago fire but little after that catastrophe. After leaving Lincoln he was home for two months in Jefferson City; his wife delivered twin girls. He now had a total of 10 children--eight boys preceded the twins. He was writing for the Missouri State Times. He ended his circular with a suggested reunion of the 62nd regiment July 4, 1873 at Jefferson City.

²⁴⁵ Giffen 44-45.

²⁴⁶ Savage History 19.

²⁴⁷ Giffen 38-42.

²⁴⁸ "Address of Wm. H. Johnes, '76." The Lincoln University Record. April 1924. 7-8.

²⁴⁹ Frederick A. McGinnis, The Education of Negroes in Ohio. (Wilberforce, Ohio: Curless Printing Company, 1962). All of the various reform movements operating in America prior to the Civil War converged in Ohio and produced college boards who were pro-, anti- or neutral toward slavery. Oberlin Collegiate Institute began in 1833 in response to anti-slavery proponents at Western Reserve University (founded in 1826, now Case Western Reserve). It welcomed black slave children in the primary department through the collegiate department. Opening in 1835, some of the country's most outstanding black educators graduated from Oberlin College.

When Smith attended in the late 1840s, he likely knew William Howard Day, class of 1847, who became a famous educator in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, and John Mercer Langston, class of 1849, who became an outstanding lawyer, public servant, general inspector of freedmen's schools, minister resident and consul general of Haiti, and dean of Howard University's Law School (76-87).

As a minister in the Congregational Church, M. Henry Smith attended a seminary of that denomination which was most likely Heidelberg College in Tiffin, Ohio, founded in 1850 and affiliated with the United Church of Christ/Congregational. Tiffin is located southwest of the town of Oberlin which is not far from the north central boarder of Lake Erie. Smith graduated from the seminary in 1853. Then he taught at Farmers College which could have been a misspelling for a presumed Farmer's College from the town named Farmer, Ohio on the extreme northwestern border of Ohio and Indiana. Having a legacy from the Puritans, the Congregationalists were involved with westward expansion in Ohio and particularly Oberlin College, where the denomination held a convention in 1871 ("Ohio" Barrons 1147-1204; "Ohio" World Book Atlas. (Chicago: World Book, 1981); "Congregationalism." Microsoft Incarta 96 Encyclopedia. CD-ROM. Microsoft, 1996).

²⁵⁰ Savage History 19.

²⁵¹ Savage History 22.

²⁵² Savage says 101 students; however, Giffen's account comes from records kept by the Jefferson City School Board's secretary. Foster actually did the count each summer beginning in 1868 and reported to the board's secretary.

²⁵³ Savage History 19.

²⁵⁴ "Address of Wm. H. Jones, '76." 7-11.

²⁵⁵ "Address of Wm. H. Jones, '76." 6-8.

²⁵⁶ "Address of Wm. H. Jones, '76." 6-8.

²⁵⁷ "Address of Wm. H. Jones, '76." 7.

²⁵⁸ Virginia McAlester, and Lee McAlester. A Field Guide to American Houses. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1984).

The Richardson Romanesque style created by Boston architect Henry H. Richardson first appeared in public buildings in 1879-80 on the east coast, particularly the Trinity Church in Boston. However, mid-nineteenth century European Romanesque models were often used for American public and business buildings, i.e., the Romanesque Revival style. Trained in the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris, and the second American to do so, Richardson opened an office in New York and then Boston after the Civil War. His style developed in the 1870s incorporating Romanesque forms for large public buildings. He borrowed from late Gothic Revival and Syrian styles and added unusual sculpted shapes (302). As sketched and photographed in early institute catalogues, the first main campus building matches the Richardson Romanesque styles and variations that

began to show up in residential property in St. Louis, Chicago, Louisville, St. Paul, Kerrville, Texas and Washington, D.C. in the late nineteenth century (306-307).

²⁵⁹ Savage History 16.

²⁶⁰ "Address of Wm. H. Jones, '76." 6.

²⁶¹ "Address of Wm. H. Jones, '76." 7.

²⁶² "Address of Wm. H. Jones, '76" 7.

²⁶³ "Address" 7.

²⁶⁴ Helen L. Horowitz, Alma Mater (Boston: Beacon Press, 1984). 9-27.

²⁶⁵ Giffen 25-26, 32.

²⁶⁶ "Address" 7.

²⁶⁷ Savage History 18.

²⁶⁸ Savage History 10.

²⁶⁹ Savage History 10.

²⁷⁰ Savage History 11.

²⁷¹ Savage Workers Part I 150.

²⁷² Foster Circular No. 6. May 13, 1872. Although Foster had the reports from the various officers to complete this last newsletter, he called upon Col. David Branson to compile and distribute the circular. It was printed by one of their regiment, Lt. Col. Stanton Weaver, co-owner with his brother Darwin of the weekly \$2 per year Minerva Commercial newspaper published in Minerva, Stark county, Ohio. Weaver had volunteered to print the Annual Circular and take all the back issues, set them in a uniform style, and bound them.

There is a major discrepancy in the dates which are cited in the circular for Stewart's suggestion of a reunion in 1872 and the second on that idea from Foster cited 1873. Corroboration for the July 4, 1871 reunion date comes from the July 14, 1871 issue of the Missouri State Times which reported on the "great event" held the previous week. It is the July 14 issue that reprinted Foster and Branson's speeches made when the building was dedicated during that event. The only other explanation for the discrepancy in dates is if the officers planned a second reunion in 1873. That explanation seems improbable because Foster's report in the circular specifically emphasizes "re-union" as though it were

the first time. Other officer reports in the circulars suggest seeing each other as they report on one another's whereabouts.

²⁷³ Savage History 21.

²⁷⁴ Foster Historical Sketch 13.

²⁷⁵ Foster Historical Sketch 13-14.

²⁷⁶ McGinnis 81. Considering the arbitrary policies regarding admission of blacks in the antebellum period in Ohio's institutions of higher education, it is remarkable that Ohio University founded in 1804 in Athens, Ohio "had no definite policy concerning the admission of Negroes and admitted individual Negroes without fanfare" (81). J. C. Corbin was one such individual.

²⁷⁷ Another graduate of the Normal School at Oswego, New York was Mrs. S. C. Bierce Scarborough who developed the Normal Department at Wilberforce into an outstanding division. She worked with Samuel T. Mitchell who would become one of Lincoln's principals in the late 1870s (Richings 123).

The Normal School at Oswego was founded in 1861 and developed into the State University of New York/College at Oswego, now a liberal arts school ("New York" Barrons 1079).

²⁷⁸ Savage History 19.

²⁷⁹ Savage History 10.

²⁸⁰ Gossie H. Hudson, "Two Vignettes on the Early Development and History of Lincoln University." The Crisis Aug-Sept 1977: 368.

²⁸¹ Hudson 368.

²⁸² Hudson 368.

²⁸³ Hudson 368.

²⁸⁴ Alton Hornsby, Chronology of African American History (Detroit: Gale Research, 1991) 45.

²⁸⁵ Hornsby 50.

²⁸⁶ Hornsby 43-45.

²⁸⁷ Hornsby 45.

²⁸⁸ Savage History 20.

²⁸⁹ "Address of Wm. H. Jones, '76." 8.

²⁹⁰ "Address of Wm. H. Jones, '76." 8.

²⁹¹ Savage History 22.

²⁹² "Address of Wm. H. Jones, '76." 8.

²⁹³ Savage History 23.

²⁹⁴ Savage History 23.

²⁹⁵ Savage History 24.

²⁹⁶ It seems very unethical that the board would question the scholarship of J. C. Corbin who graduated in 1853 from the predominantly white Ohio University at a time when blacks were admitted individually by merit. More likely, board members opposed to Corbin's replacing Principal Smith insisted on this maneuver in an effort to remove Smith's competition.

²⁹⁷ Savage History 25.

²⁹⁸ Savage History 25.

²⁹⁹ Savage History 25.

³⁰⁰ G. F. Richings, Evidences of Progress Among Colored People (Philadelphia: George S. Ferguson, 1886) 117-129.

³⁰¹ Savage History 25.

³⁰² Savage History 26.

³⁰³ Savage Workers Part II 149-50.

³⁰⁴ Savage Workers Part II 150-151.

³⁰⁵ Savage History 26.

³⁰⁶ Savage History 26.

- ³⁰⁷ Savage History 27.
- ³⁰⁸ Savage History 27-28.
- ³⁰⁹ Savage History 28.
- ³¹⁰ Savage History 29.
- ³¹¹ Savage History 29.
- ³¹² Savage History 30.
- ³¹³ Savage History 29-30.
- ³¹⁴ Elizabeth L. Ihle, Free Black Adult Education Before the Civil War. ERIC, 1990. ED 321 099. 1-18.
- ³¹⁵ Savage History 30.
- ³¹⁶ Savage History 32.
- ³¹⁷ Savage History 32.
- ³¹⁸ Savage History 32.
- ³¹⁹ Savage History 33.
- ³²⁰ Savage History 33.
- ³²¹ Savage History 34.
- ³²² Savage History 34.
- ³²³ Savage History 35.
- ³²⁴ Savage History 35-36.
- ³²⁵ Savage History 36.
- ³²⁶ Savage History 37.
- ³²⁷ Savage History 37.
- ³²⁸ Savage Workers Part II, 151.

³²⁹ Savage History 38.

³³⁰ Savage History 39.

³³¹ Savage History 39.

³³² C. G. Woodson, The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861 (Washington, D. C.: The Associated Publishers, 1919).

It is probable that Inman E. Page was one of Cook's early students according to his biography in The Journal of Negro History (April 1936). Savage gave the professor's name as F. R. Clark but there was no Clark in charge of a school in Washington D. C. before or during the Civil War. Page attended Cook's seminary prior to attending Vashon's Night School at Howard University which did not open before March 2, 1867 (130-138).

³³³ Walter Dyson, Howard University: The Capstone of Negro Education, A History: 1867-1940. (Washington, D. C.: The Graduate School Howard University, 1941).

George Boyer Vashon was the first black to teach at Howard University. He was appointed in the fall of 1867 to head the Night School, an ungraded elementary school, that met three or four nights a week. Students paid tuition which became Vashon's salary because the board refused to pay his request for \$25 per month. He taught for one year but was not reappointed because the principal of the Normal Department in charge of the Night School had no faith in the program (350). This was the night school Inman E. Page attended.

³³⁴ William J. Simmons, Men of Mark (Chicago: Johnson Publishing, 1970). 315.

³³⁵ Kaye M. Teall, ed. Black History in Oklahoma (Oklahoma City: Oklahoma City Public Schools, 1971). 188-189.

Teall's book contains a photostatic copy of the source Savage cited on page 40 of his History: "Inman Edward Page." Journal of Negro History 21.2 (1936): n.p.

Information on Page differs in minor points. Savage relied more on Page's daughter's recollection.

³³⁶ "Inman Edward Page" n.p.

³³⁷ Simmons 315.

³³⁸ "Inman Edward Page" n.p.

³³⁹ Simmons 315.

³⁴⁰ Savage History 42. At his Founder's Day Address in 1926, Page admitted that he did not intend to marry Zelia and bury her at the same time.

³⁴¹ Dyson 352.

³⁴² Savage History 42.

³⁴³ I. E. Page, Founder's Day Address. February 14, 1926.

³⁴⁴ Savage Workers Part II, 151.

³⁴⁵ Savage History 43.

³⁴⁶ Savage History 43-44.

³⁴⁷ Savage History 44.

³⁴⁸ Savage History 45.

³⁴⁹ Savage History 45.

³⁵⁰ Savage History 45-46.

³⁵¹ Savage History 46.

³⁵² Savage Workers Part II, 153.

³⁵³ Savage Workers Part II, 114.

³⁵⁴ Marshall 21. There may be a family relationship and an alma mater tie between E.L. Scruggs and Sherman D. Scruggs--perhaps father and son--since the elder Scruggs was located in Topeka, Kansas at the end of his career and the younger Scruggs received his Ph.D. from the University of Kansas. The younger Scruggs later became president of Lincoln University from 1938-56.

³⁵⁵ Savage Workers Part II, 194.

³⁵⁶ Savage History 46.

³⁵⁷ Savage History 47. The registrar position was not established at Lincoln Institute until the late 1930s.

³⁵⁸ Savage History 47.

³⁵⁹ Savage History 47.

³⁶⁰ Savage History 48.

³⁶¹ Savage History 48.

³⁶² Savage History 49.

³⁶³ Savage Workers Part II, 154.

³⁶⁴ Savage Workers Part II, 160.

³⁶⁵ Savage Workers Part II, 155.

³⁶⁶ Savage History 49.

³⁶⁷ Savage History 50.

³⁶⁸ Savage Workers Part II, 115-118.

³⁶⁹ Savage Workers Part II, 118.

³⁷⁰ Savage History 50; James D. Anderson, The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935 (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1988).

Lincoln Institute's connections with the Dalton Vocational School parallels the development of industrial education for blacks in the South and in the border states.

For further study, See J. E. MacBrady's A New Negro for a New Century, a composite history written by Prof. Booker T. Washington, N. B. Wood, and Fannie Barrier Williams. Washington writes an overview titled "Education--Industrial Schools, Colleges, Universities and their Relationship to the Race Problem." This work was likely written in 1895 and published in 1900 (no copyright date). It is similar in style to G. F. Richings' fifth edition Evidences of Progress Among Color People published in 1899.

Other studies of schools that modeled after Tuskegee include Snow Hill Institute founded in 1894 in Arnold Collier's Race, Ruralism, and Reformation: William J. Edwards and Snow Hill Institute 1894-1915. The impact of the DuBois and Washington debate is also examined as an influence in the curriculum at Johnson C. Smith. See Louis C. Dowdy's "The Impact of the Philosophies of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A. Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. DuBois on the Educational Program of Johnson C. Smith University." The subject of 19th century trends and major influences such as DuBois and Washington affecting blacks is well delineated in Jeremiah M. Wilson's The Golden Age of Black Nationalism 1850-1925.

³⁷¹ Savage History 51.

- ³⁷² Savage History 52.
- ³⁷³ Laws of Missouri Thirty-Third General Assembly. (Jefferson City, MO: Tribune Printing Company, 1885).
- ³⁷⁴ Laws of Missouri Thirty Third General Assembly.
- ³⁷⁵ Savage Workers Part II, 155.
- ³⁷⁶ Savage Workers Part II, 152-53.
- ³⁷⁷ Laws of Missouri, 1887. 6, 270.
- ³⁷⁸ Laws of Missouri, 1887. 270.
- ³⁷⁹ Savage History 54.
- ³⁸⁰ Savage History 55.
- ³⁸¹ Mary F. Armstrong and Helen W. Ludlow, Hampton and Its Students (New York: G. P. Putnam, 1874) 128-9.
- ³⁸² Richings 122-123.
- ³⁸³ Savage History 55.
- ³⁸⁴ Savage History 56.
- ³⁸⁵ Savage History 56.
- ³⁸⁶ Savage History 57.
- ³⁸⁷ Savage History 59.
- ³⁸⁸ Savage History 59.
- ³⁸⁹ Savage History 59.
- ³⁹⁰ Savage Workers Part II, 155-56.
- ³⁹¹ Savage History 68.
- ³⁹² Minutes of the Board. June 12, 1891. 196.

³⁹³ Journal of the House. 35th General Assembly, 1889. 230, 1008.

³⁹⁴ Laws of Missouri. 36th General Assembly, 1891. 22.

³⁹⁵ Laws of Missouri. 35th General Assembly, 1891. 22-23.

³⁹⁶ Savage History 62.

³⁹⁷ Savage History 62.

³⁹⁸ Savage History 63.

³⁹⁹ Savage History 63.

⁴⁰⁰ Laws of Missouri. 35th General Assembly, 1891. 22-23.

⁴⁰¹ Frank 5-8.

⁴⁰² Frank 6. President Charles Florence brought his new bride to the house August 1, 1931. That was the year the school bought furniture for the house because the Florences had none. Previous presidents used their own furnishings. The home served as a guest house for all campus visitors including such distinguished persons as Dr. George Washington Carver, Mrs. Mary McLeon Bethune, Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, and Dr. Carter G. Woodson. The last two presidents to reside in the home, Sherman D. Scruggs (1938-1956) and Earl E. Dawson (1952-54 Acting President) changed the original structure. Each added bathrooms to the original 17 rooms which included a large foyer, a sitting room, living room, dining room, kitchen, sun porch on the first floor. The second floor had two attic rooms, a bath, and storage rooms.

⁴⁰³ Frank 7-8.

⁴⁰⁴ Minutes of the Board of Regents. June 12, 1891.

⁴⁰⁵ Savage History 64.

⁴⁰⁶ Savage History 65.

⁴⁰⁷ Savage History 65.

⁴⁰⁸ Savage History 65.

⁴⁰⁹ Savage History 66.

⁴¹⁰ Savage History 66.

- ⁴¹¹ Savage History 67.
- ⁴¹² Savage History 67.
- ⁴¹³ Savage History 67.
- ⁴¹⁴ Savage History 68.
- ⁴¹⁵ Savage History 68. A new gymnasium and library were placed in College Hall in 1931.
- ⁴¹⁶ Twenty-Third Annual Catalogue. 1893-94. 2.
- ⁴¹⁷ Twenty-Third Annual Catalogue. 1893-94. 3.
- ⁴¹⁸ Twenty-Third Annual Catalogue. 1893-94. 4-19.
- ⁴¹⁹ Twenty-Third Annual Catalogue. 1893-94. 19-21.
- ⁴²⁰ Savage History 69.
- ⁴²¹ Savage History 70.
- ⁴²² Twenty-Third Annual Catalogue. 1893-94. 15-17.
- ⁴²³ Twenty-Third Annual Catalogue. 1893-94. 24-27.
- ⁴²⁴ Twenty-Third Annual Catalogue. 1893-94. 27.
- ⁴²⁵ Twenty-Third Annual Catalogue. 1893-94. 21-24.
- ⁴²⁶ Twenty-Third Annual Catalogue. 1893-94. 28-33.
- ⁴²⁷ Twenty-Third Annual Catalogue. 1893-94. 29-33; Hallie Q. Brown, Pen Pictures of Pioneers of Wilberforce (Xenia, Ohio: Aldine, 1937) 82-85. The seminary model of governance was also in effect at Wilberforce when it opened in 1856. It reopened July 1863 under Daniel Payne and a new A.M.E. board. By 1864 enrollment required another teacher to assist Professor John G. Mitchell, acting principal, and his assistant-wife Fanny. Miss Esther T. Malthy, and Oberlin graduate and experienced teacher in the American Missionary Society schools, Portsmouth, VA, was hired as lady principal and matron. Principal Daniel A. Payne praised her as “an excellent Greek and Latin scholar, a good mathematician, and superior as a disciplinarian . . . most zealous for the moral purity of the pupils. [She] labored incessantly to induce them to be Christians as well as scholars . . . [She held] extra prayer meetings in the morning, read the Holy Scriptures from her Greek

testament, exhorted, sang, and prayed. She succeeded in leading many from their vices to live an upright life.” Among them was the “playful and mischievous Thomas H. Jackson, who became a Christian,” an honor graduate from the Theological Department of Wilberforce University, and a noted professor at the institution. From 1898-1901 Jackson served as Lincoln Institute’s second president following I.E. Page.

Helen Horowitz traces the seminary system modeled after the asylum regime established in New England in the 1820s. Persons deemed insane were placed in a highly regimented ordered environment in an attempt to restore the mind to inner perfect order. The asylum model required separation from family, a “sylvan” setting, daily labor as therapy, silence during enforced private devotion, and regulation by the clock (14).

To perceive how blacks are viewed in terms of white Christian missionaries and ministers see Charles C. Jones, The Religious Instruction of the Negroes in the United States (Savannah: Thomas Purse, 1842). See also Jay S. Stowell, Methodist Adventures in Negro Education (New York: Methodist Book Concern, 1922) who chronicles the establishment of 21 schools for blacks by the Methodist Episcopal Church.

⁴²⁸ Ford 278.

⁴²⁹ Ford 278-289.

⁴³⁰ Twenty-Third Annual Catalogue. 1893-94. 30.

⁴³¹ Twenty-Third Annual Catalogue. 1893-94. 28-33.

⁴³² Twenty-Third Annual Catalogue. 1893-94. 31.

⁴³³ Twenty-Third Annual Catalogue, 1893-94. 31.

⁴³⁴ Giffen 40.

⁴³⁵ Twenty-Third Annual Catalogue. 1893-94. 26-31.

⁴³⁶ Twenty-Third Annual Catalogue. 1893-94. 32.

⁴³⁷ Savage History 73.

⁴³⁸ Savage History 73.

⁴³⁹ Savage History 74.

⁴⁴⁰ Laws of Missouri. 38th General Assembly. 1895. 20.

⁴⁴¹ Journal of the House. 38th General Assembly. 1895. 627, 639.

- ⁴⁴² Savage History 71.
- ⁴⁴³ Savage History 74.
- ⁴⁴⁴ Savage History 75.
- ⁴⁴⁵ Savage History 75-76.
- ⁴⁴⁶ Savage History 76.
- ⁴⁴⁷ Savage History 76.
- ⁴⁴⁸ Savage Workers Part II, 156.
- ⁴⁴⁹ Savage Workers Part II, 156-7.
- ⁴⁵⁰ Savage Workers Part II, 196-7.
- ⁴⁵¹ Savage Workers Part II, 197.
- ⁴⁵² Laws of Missouri. 39th General Assembly. 1898. n.p.
- ⁴⁵³ Minutes of the Board. June 22, 1896.
- ⁴⁵⁴ Teall 187-189.
- ⁴⁵⁵ Savage Workers Part II, 198. Zelia Breaux was a teacher known by this researcher's parents who also taught in the Oklahoma City public schools. Both are Langston alumni from the Page administration.
- ⁴⁵⁶ Savage Workers Part II, 157.
- ⁴⁵⁷ Savage Workers Part II, 157.
- ⁴⁵⁸ Savage Workers Part II, 157-58.
- ⁴⁵⁹ Savage History 79.
- ⁴⁶⁰ Savage History 90.
- ⁴⁶¹ Savage History 79-80.
- ⁴⁶² Minutes of the Board of Regents. June 20, 1898.

⁴⁶³ Minutes of the Board of Regents. June 20, 1898; The article on Lincoln Institute in Howard L. Conrad's Encyclopedia of the History of Missouri, (New York: Southern History, 1901) cited information collected in 1898. Enrollment that year was 236 pupils (69).

⁴⁶⁴ Minutes of the Faculty. January 4, 1898.

⁴⁶⁵ Savage History 82.

⁴⁶⁶ Savage History 82.

⁴⁶⁷ Savage History 83.

⁴⁶⁸ Savage History 84.

⁴⁶⁹ Savage History 85.

⁴⁷⁰ Savage History 86.

⁴⁷¹ Savage History 88-89.

⁴⁷² Savage History 86.

⁴⁷³ Savage History 87.

⁴⁷⁴ Minutes of the Board of Regents. April 2, 1900.

⁴⁷⁵ Savage History 88.

⁴⁷⁶ Savage History 89.

⁴⁷⁷ Savage History 89.

⁴⁷⁸ Savage History 89.

⁴⁷⁹ Savage History 89.

⁴⁸⁰ Minutes of the Board of Regents. June 14, 1901.

⁴⁸¹ Savage History 92.

⁴⁸² Minutes of the Board of Regents. June 14, 1901.

⁴⁸³ Savage History 92-93.

- ⁴⁸⁴ Savage History 93.
- ⁴⁸⁵ Neyland 13.
- ⁴⁸⁶ Savage History 90.
- ⁴⁸⁷ Neyland 13-14.
- ⁴⁸⁸ Neyland 67.
- ⁴⁸⁹ Neyland 68.
- ⁴⁹⁰ Laws of Missouri, 1901, 26.
- ⁴⁹¹ Laws of Missouri, 1901, 26.
- ⁴⁹² Frederick Rudolph, The American College and University. (Athens, Georgia: U of Georgia P, 1962). 11.
- ⁴⁹³ "Rev. R. B. Foster," The People Came. The Osborne County Genealogical and Historical Society, 1977. 370.
- ⁴⁹⁴ "Rev. R. B. Foster." 537.
- ⁴⁹⁵ Grace Foster Brown, A Tribute of Love. (Kansas City, Kansas: Central Congregational Press, 1926). 4.
- ⁴⁹⁶ Brown 6.
- ⁴⁹⁷ Brown 6.
- ⁴⁹⁸ Brown 12.
- ⁴⁹⁹ Brown 12.
- ⁵⁰⁰ Laws of Missouri. 41st General Assembly. 1901. 21.
- ⁵⁰¹ Minutes of the Board of Regents. January 27, 1902.
- ⁵⁰² Minutes of the Board of Regents. July 22, 1901.
- ⁵⁰³ Savage History 95.

- ⁵⁰⁴ Savage History 96.
- ⁵⁰⁵ John Bias would later become president of Elizabeth City State Normal School in North Carolina (Savage History 96).
- ⁵⁰⁶ Savage History 96.
- ⁵⁰⁷ Savage History 97.
- ⁵⁰⁸ Savage History 97.
- ⁵⁰⁹ Savage History 97, 99.
- ⁵¹⁰ Thirtieth Annual Catalogue. 1900-01. 2.
- ⁵¹¹ Savage History 99.
- ⁵¹² Thirtieth Annual Catalogue. 1900-01. 3.
- ⁵¹³ Thirtieth Annual Catalogue. 1900-01. 7-20.
- ⁵¹⁴ Thirtieth Annual Catalogue. 1900-01. 25.
- ⁵¹⁵ Thirtieth Annual Catalog. 1990-01. 26-27.
- ⁵¹⁶ Mary I. Haskell, "Clarke Hall: Hampton's New Y.M.C.A. Building," Southern Workman Mar. 1913: 160-161.
- ⁵¹⁷ Laura E. Titus, "A Negro Young Women's Christian Association," Southern Workman Dec. 1914: 700.
- ⁵¹⁸ Thirtieth Annual Catalogue. 1900-01. 28-29.
- ⁵¹⁹ Thirtieth Annual Catalogue. 1900-01. 30-43.
- ⁵²⁰ Savage History 99.
- ⁵²¹ Savage History 99-100.
- ⁵²² Savage History 100-102.
- ⁵²³ Savage History 100.
- ⁵²⁴ Savage History 102.

- ⁵²⁵ Savage History 103.
- ⁵²⁶ Savage History 103.
- ⁵²⁷ Savage History 105.
- ⁵²⁸ "The Head of Lincoln Institute." The St. Louis Argus Aug. 1917: 1.
- ⁵²⁹ Savage History 107.; Missouri State Tribune. 14 July, 1902.
- ⁵³⁰ Savage History 108.
- ⁵³¹ Savage History 108.
- ⁵³² Savage History 108.; Jefferson City Tribune. 1 Sept. 1902: 1.
- ⁵³³ Savage History 109.; Missouri Report of Public Schools. 1902. 152.
- ⁵³⁴ Savage History 110.; Missouri State Tribune. 15 Oct., 1902; Missouri State Tribune. 16 Oct., 1902.
- ⁵³⁵ Laws of Missouri. 1903. 26.
- ⁵³⁶ Savage History 111.; Missouri State Tribune. May 10, 1903.
- ⁵³⁷ Savage History 111.; Missouri State Tribune. May 10, 1903.
- ⁵³⁸ Savage Workers Part II, 144.
- ⁵³⁹ Minutes of the Board of Regents. June 10, 1903.
- ⁵⁴⁰ Frances J. Wilson, "Josephine Silone-Yates: Early Years of the Black Women's Club Movement in Missouri," Research Journal 1.1 (1982): 116.
- ⁵⁴¹ Wilson 116.
- ⁵⁴² Gray R. Kremer and Cindy M. Mackey, "'Yours for the Race': The Life and Work of Josephine Silone-Yates," Missouri Historical Review 90.2 (1996): 207.
- ⁵⁴³ Thirty-First Annual Catalogue. 1902-1903. 2.
- ⁵⁴⁴ Fannie B. Williams chapters 17 and 18 on the black women's club movement in J. E. MacBrady's A New Negro for a New Century (Chicago: American Publishing House,

1898) most likely is the better source for information about the club movement. Frances J. Wilson's article cites this club president as Helen Abbot. Williams' Helene Abbott is probably the correct name since Williams was writing at the time these clubs were well known.

⁵⁴⁵ Williams 386, 390 in MacBrady.

⁵⁴⁶ Williams 392 in MacBrady.

⁵⁴⁷ F. Wilson 116.

⁵⁴⁸ Minutes of the Board of Regents. June 10, 1881; Kremer and Mackey 201 has the same information.

⁵⁴⁹ Kremer and Mackey 203.

⁵⁵⁰ Kremer and Mackey 205.

⁵⁵¹ Yates wrote articles published in Southern Workman, the publication started at Hampton Institute by Gen. S. Armstrong; The Voice of the Negro, Woman's Ear, Indianapolis Freeman, and the Kansas City Rising Sun (Kremer and Mackey 200).

⁵⁵² F. Wilson 117-121.

⁵⁵³ Twenty-Second Annual Catalogue. 1903-1904. 52.

⁵⁵⁴ Savage History 113.

⁵⁵⁵ Twenty-Third Annual Catalogue. 1903-1904. 52-53.

⁵⁵⁶ Savage History 113.

⁵⁵⁷ Thirty-Second Annual Catalogue. 1903-1904. 5.

⁵⁵⁸ Thirty-Second Annual Catalogue. 1903-1904. 5.

⁵⁵⁹ Savage History 114.

⁵⁶⁰ Savage History 114.

⁵⁶¹ Thirty-First Annual Catalogue. 1902-1903. 16-20.

⁵⁶² Thirty-First Annual Catalogue. 1902-1903. 16-20.

- ⁵⁶³ Savage History 116.
- ⁵⁶⁴ Savage History 117.
- ⁵⁶⁵ Minutes of the Board of Regents. June 16, 1904.
- ⁵⁶⁶ Minutes of the Board of Regents. June 21, 1906.
- ⁵⁶⁷ Savage History 118.; Missouri Report of Public Schools, 1905. 69.
- ⁵⁶⁸ Savage History 137.; Missouri State Tribune 19 Apr. 1904. See also Joel Schor, Agriculture in the Black Land-Grant System to 1930. (Tallahassee, FL.: Florida A. & M. University, 1982) 47-55.
- ⁵⁶⁹ Jesse Lawson, Letter to President Allen. 9 June 1904.
- ⁵⁷⁰ "The Head of Lincoln Institute." 1.
- ⁵⁷¹ Savage History 118.; Missouri Report of Public Schools, 1905, 69.
- ⁵⁷² Savage History 119.; Missouri Report of Public Schools, 1905, 70.
- ⁵⁷³ Savage History 119.
- ⁵⁷⁴ Savage History 120.
- ⁵⁷⁵ Savage History 120.
- ⁵⁷⁶ "The Head of Lincoln Institute." n.p.
- ⁵⁷⁷ Laws of Missouri. 1905. 28.
- ⁵⁷⁸ Minutes of the Board of Regents. May 16, 1905. At the June 14, 1907 meeting, the board changed the bookkeeping procedures to include collection of a \$2.00 incidental fee to be paid in advance by all students except pupils in the training school. Non-residents were also charged a \$2.00 fee for a total of \$5.00 each term. The board does not account for the additional \$.50 (Minutes of the Board of Regents. June 14, 1907).
- ⁵⁷⁹ Savage History 122-123.; Jefferson City Tribune, 14 Feb. 1907; Jefferson City Tribune, 12 June, 1907.
- ⁵⁸⁰ "The Head of Lincoln Institute." 1.
- ⁵⁸¹ First Annual Banquet. Lincoln Sorority. Lincoln Institute. Feb. 21, 1908.

- ⁵⁸² Annual Banquet. Senior Class. Lincoln Institute. June 1, 1909.
- ⁵⁸³ Savage History 123.; Jefferson City Tribune, 14 Jan. 1907.
- ⁵⁸⁴ Savage History 123.; Jefferson City Tribune. 7 June 1908.
- ⁵⁸⁵ Savage History 123-124.; Jefferson City Tribune. 5 June 1908.
- ⁵⁸⁶ Savage History 124.; Appendix House and Senate Journal. 45th General Assembly, 1909, Part 2.
- ⁵⁸⁷ Savage History 124.; Appendix House and Senate Journal. 45th General Assembly. 1909. Part 2.
- ⁵⁸⁸ Savage History 124.; Missouri Report of Public Schools. 1908. 217.
- ⁵⁸⁹ Savage History 125.; Missouri Report of Public Schools. 1908. 217.
- ⁵⁹⁰ Laws of Missouri. 1909. 53.
- ⁵⁹¹ Laws of Missouri. 1909. 53.
- ⁵⁹² Savage History 126.; Jefferson City Tribune. 23 Jan. 1908.
- ⁵⁹³ Minutes of the Board of Regents. June 30, 1908.
- ⁵⁹⁴ Minutes of the Board of Regents. June 30, 1908.
- ⁵⁹⁵ Savage History 126.; Jefferson City Daily News. 30 June 1909.
- ⁵⁹⁶ Savage History 127.; Missouri Report of Public Schools. 1910. 360.
- ⁵⁹⁷ Savage History 128.; Missouri Report of Public Schools. 1910. 360.
- ⁵⁹⁸ Savage History 128.; Missouri Report of Public Schools. 1910. 360.
- ⁵⁹⁹ Savage History 128-129.; Missouri Report of Public Schools. 1910. 360.
- ⁶⁰⁰ Minutes of the Board of Regents January 18, 1913.
- ⁶⁰¹ Minutes of the Board of Regents June 10, 1903.

⁶⁰² Savage History 16. Savage stated on page 130 that the University Farm was deeded to the board which contradicts what he stated on page 16 about the founding board purchasing this 362 acres that when sold by the board in 1913 became part of the then surrounding Wagner Addition.

⁶⁰³ Jefferson City Daily Democrat February 7, 1913.

⁶⁰⁴ Minutes of the Board of Regents January 18, 1913.

⁶⁰⁵ Warranty Deed Book 43, 35; March 27, 1913.

⁶⁰⁶ Missouri Report of Public Schools 1909. 257.

⁶⁰⁷ Minutes of the Board of Regents November 17, 1919.

⁶⁰⁸ Minutes of the Board of Regents June 10, 1913.

⁶⁰⁹ Annual Catalog of Lincoln Institute 1913-14. 41.

⁶¹⁰ Annual Catalogue of Lincoln Institute 1914-1915. 50.

⁶¹¹ Annual Catalogue of Lincoln Institute 1914-15. 49.

⁶¹² Minutes of the Board of Regents February 25, 1913.

⁶¹³ Minutes of the Board of Regents June 12, 1913.

⁶¹⁴ Forty-third Annual Catalogue of Lincoln Institute 1914-15. 49.

⁶¹⁵ Forty-third Annual Catalogue of Lincoln Institute 1914-15. 49.

⁶¹⁶ Forty-third Annual Catalogue of Lincoln Institute 1914-15.

⁶¹⁷ Forty-third Annual Catalogue of Lincoln Institute 1914-15. 49.

⁶¹⁸ Marshall 12.

⁶¹⁹ Forty-third Annual Catalogue of Lincoln Institute 1914-15. 48.

⁶²⁰ Forty-third Annual Catalogue of Lincoln Institute 1914-15. 10.

⁶²¹ Savage History 138.

⁶²² Forty-third Annual Catalogue of Lincoln Institute 1914-15. 10.

- ⁶²³ Forty-third Annual Catalogue of Lincoln Institute 1914-15. 10-15.
- ⁶²⁴ Forty-third Annual Catalogue of Lincoln Institute 1914-15. 50-51.
- ⁶²⁵ Forty-third Annual Catalogue of Lincoln Institute 1914-15. 50-51.
- ⁶²⁶ Forty-third Annual Catalogue of Lincoln Institute 1914-15. 53; Savage History 139.
- ⁶²⁷ Forty-third Annual Catalogue of Lincoln Institute 1914-15. 51.
- ⁶²⁸ Minutes of the Board of Regents July 12, 1913.
- ⁶²⁹ Laws of Missouri 1913. 62.
- ⁶³⁰ Minutes of the Board of Regents June 10, 1915.
- ⁶³¹ Minutes of the Board of Regents June 14, 1917.
- ⁶³² The Daily Democrat-Tribune February 15, 1915.
- ⁶³³ Minutes of the Board of Regents June 14, 1917.
- ⁶³⁴ Minutes of the Board of Regents June 14, 1917.
- ⁶³⁵ Appendix House of Senate II., Forty-eighth General Assembly. Biennial Report of Board of Regents.
- ⁶³⁶ Missouri Report of Public Schools 1915. 160.
- ⁶³⁷ Laws of Missouri 1915. 69.
- ⁶³⁸ Minutes of the Board of Regents. January 15, 1915.
- ⁶³⁹ Gossie H. Hudson, "James Milton Turner," from "Vignettes on the Early Development and History of Lincoln University." The Crisis Aug.-Sept. 1977: 367-368; Robinson 133-134; Teall 96-97, 133-135.
- ⁶⁴⁰ Hudson 367.
- ⁶⁴¹ Minutes of the Board of Regents January 15, 1915; Minutes of the Board of Regents June 11, 1914.
- ⁶⁴² The Democrat-Tribune April 4, 1910.

- ⁶⁴³ The Democrat-Tribune May 29, 1916.
- ⁶⁴⁴ The Democrat-Tribune June 5, 1916.
- ⁶⁴⁵ Appendix House of Senate Journal II., Forty-ninth General Assembly of Missouri, 1915-1916.
- ⁶⁴⁶ Laws of Missouri 1917. 78.
- ⁶⁴⁷ Laws of Missouri Section 14. 31.
- ⁶⁴⁸ Minutes of the Board of Regents June 29, 1917.
- ⁶⁴⁹ Minutes of the Board of Regents June 29, 1917.
- ⁶⁵⁰ Minutes of the Board of Regents March 18, 1918.
- ⁶⁵¹ "Richardson, Clement," Who's Who in Colored America. 1927 ed.
- ⁶⁵² Minutes of the Board of Regents August 8, 1918.
- ⁶⁵³ Minutes of the Board of Regents August 8, 1918.
- ⁶⁵⁴ Minutes of the Board of Regents August 8, 1918.
- ⁶⁵⁵ The Democrat-Tribune July 19, 1919.
- ⁶⁵⁶ Minutes of the Board July 11, 1919.
- ⁶⁵⁷ Savage History 153.
- ⁶⁵⁸ Savage History 153.
- ⁶⁵⁹ Minutes of the Board of Regents July 11, 1919.
- ⁶⁶⁰ President Richardson's personal review to Dr. Sherman Savage comprises the source for this information. President Richardson says that the field agent was not hired until 1922 although it is listed as filled by V. E. Williams in 1919.
- ⁶⁶¹ The Democrat-Tribune July 19, 1919.
- ⁶⁶² When President Richardson left Lincoln in 1922, he became President of Western Baptist Seminary, Kansas City, Missouri. Dr. Sherman Savage contacted him for a

personal review of his tenure at Lincoln. He presented first-hand knowledge of how the school proceeded after President Allen.

⁶⁶³ Appendix of Senate House Journal III, Fiftieth General Assembly.

⁶⁶⁴ Laws of Missouri 1919. 94.

⁶⁶⁵ Laws of Missouri 1919. 66.

⁶⁶⁶ Minutes of the Board of Regents February 22, 1919.

⁶⁶⁷ The Democrat-Tribune January 25, 1919.

⁶⁶⁸ Annual Catalogue of Lincoln Institute 1918-1919. 27.

⁶⁶⁹ Minutes of the Board of Regents June 6, 1919.

⁶⁷⁰ Minutes of the Board of Regents July 29, 1920.

⁶⁷¹ Minutes of the Board of Regents July 29, 1920.

⁶⁷² Minutes of the Board of Regents July 29, 1920.

⁶⁷³ Minutes of the Board of Regents July 29, 1920.

⁶⁷⁴ Savage History 165. Savage referred to two sets of Minutes of the Faculty. The first set discussed the need for a new dormitory. These undated Minutes were lost after he reported their contents. The second set referred to President Richardson's report to the board forwarded to the state's Tax Commission in preparation for school appropriations. That set of Minutes dated June 15, 1920 is not available now.

⁶⁷⁵ Minutes of the Board of Regents May 27, 1920.

⁶⁷⁶ Minutes of the Board of Regents June 24, 1920.

⁶⁷⁷ Minutes of the Board of Regents May 27, 1920.

⁶⁷⁸ Minutes of the Board of Regents April 29, 1921.

⁶⁷⁹ Revised Statutes of Missouri, 1929 Vol. II. Sections 9616-9617.

⁶⁸⁰ Savage History 169.

⁶⁸¹ Revised Statutes of Missouri, 1929 Vol. II. Sections 9616-9617.

⁶⁸² Savage History 170.

⁶⁸³ Savage History 170.

⁶⁸⁴ Savage History 172.

⁶⁸⁵ Savage History 173.

⁶⁸⁶ Savage History 173.

⁶⁸⁷ Savage History 173.

⁶⁸⁸ Savage History 174.

⁶⁸⁹ Minutes of the Board of Regents April 26, 192.

⁶⁹⁰ Minutes of the Board of Regents July 22, 1922; "Lincoln U. Closes Banner Year," The Call 4 June 1922: 1. President Richardson's last official act was to preside over the summer school commencement. Ninety students received diplomas and certificates. He was fired because "he had not been active in politics or as Governor Hyde is reported to have told a delegation of Negroes who protested Richardson's removal, 'Richardson has made a number of speeches over the state and I have never heard of him trying to further the interest of the Republican party among your people.'"

⁶⁹¹ Minutes of the Board of Regents July 25, 1922

⁶⁹² Minutes of the Board of Regents July 31, 1922

⁶⁹³ Savage History 177.

⁶⁹⁴ Minutes of the Board of Regents December 12, 1922.

⁶⁹⁵ Teall 188-189.

⁶⁹⁶ James D. Anderson, The Education of Blacks in the South, 1865-1935 (Chapel Hill: U North Carolina P, 1988). 238. See also J. Irving E. Scott's The Education of Black People in Florida (1974).

⁶⁹⁷ Anderson 238.

⁶⁹⁸ Two groups that favored simple agricultural and manual training for southern blacks included southern whites and northern white philanthropists who both wanted to keep blacks in a second-class system of education, employment, and society. The northern

group pressured private and public black academic institutions to adopt the Hampton-Tuskegee model or forfeit aid. Georgia State Industrial College, formerly Savannah State, resisted takeover attempts (Anderson 122-123). Richard R. Wright, Sr., a well-known black educator and honor student in the first graduating class of Atlanta University, was founder and president of Georgia State from 1891-1921. He strongly advocated the classical curriculum including Greek and Latin at the school. It was accepted by Savannah State's all white Board of Commissioners (Robinson 147-148). Nathan B. Young was a protege of Wright and taught English and Pedagogy at Georgia State for a year before coming to Lincoln.

His conflict with Booker T. Washington at Tuskegee, where he headed the academic department for six years, becomes clear when the major educational philosophies of his work at Oberlin and under Wright as a proponent of higher literary training clash with Washington's manual labor program as the central purpose at Tuskegee. See also: Booker T. Washington's Tuskegee & Its People (1905); Horace Bond's The Education of the Negro in American Social Order (1934); Joel Schor's Agriculture in the Black Land-Grant System to 1930 (1982); Donald Spivey's Schooling for the New Slavery (1978).

⁶⁹⁹ Savage History 179-182.

⁷⁰⁰ Savage History 183.

⁷⁰¹ Savage History 183.

⁷⁰² Savage History 183.

⁷⁰³ Savage History 184.

⁷⁰⁴ Savage History 184.

⁷⁰⁵ Savage History 185.

⁷⁰⁶ Savage History 185.

⁷⁰⁷ Frederick A. McGinnis, A History and Interpretation of Wilberforce University. (Wilberforce, Ohio: Brown Publishing, 1941). 172.

⁷⁰⁸ McGinnis 173.

⁷⁰⁹ Wilberforce students had plenty of organizations to choose from: Sword and Shield, Inter-Fraternal Council, Gamma Phi, Gamma Kappa Phi, The Royal Crescent Club, The Sphinx Club, the Scroller's Club, the Lampados Club, the Ivy Leaf Club, the Amarse Girls' Club, Builder's Club, the Cadets of Equity, and the Pyramid. Student-oriented clubs

included: the Commercial, LeCercle Francais, and El Circulo Literario Espanol (McGinnis 173).

⁷¹⁰ McGinnis 174.

⁷¹¹ Joe M. Richardson, A History of Fisk University, 1865-1946 (University, Alabama: U Alabama P 1980). 88.

⁷¹² Richardson 88.

⁷¹³ Savage History 185.

⁷¹⁴ Savage History 186.

⁷¹⁵ Savage History 199.

⁷¹⁶ Savage History 187.

⁷¹⁷ Savage History 198.

⁷¹⁸ "Lincoln University-Jefferson City." Missouri Manual 644-646.

⁷¹⁹ Savage History 186.

⁷²⁰ Savage History 186.

⁷²¹ Savage History 186.

⁷²² Savage History 187.

⁷²³ Savage History 187.

⁷²⁴ Savage History 188.

⁷²⁵ Savage History 188.

⁷²⁶ Savage History 188.

⁷²⁷ Savage History 189.

⁷²⁸ Savage History 189.

⁷²⁹ Savage History 190.

⁷³⁰ Savage History 190.

⁷³¹ Savage History 191.

⁷³² Savage History 193.

⁷³³ Savage History 193.

⁷³⁴ Savage History 193.

⁷³⁵ Savage History 194.

⁷³⁶ Savage History 194.

⁷³⁷ Savage History 194.

⁷³⁸ Savage History 195.

⁷³⁹ Savage History 195.

⁷⁴⁰ Savage History 196.

⁷⁴¹ Savage History 196-197.

⁷⁴² Savage History 197.

⁷⁴³ Savage History 197.

⁷⁴⁴ Anderson 136-137.

⁷⁴⁵ Savage History 197.

⁷⁴⁶ Anderson 136.

⁷⁴⁷ Savage History 191.

⁷⁴⁸ Savage History 201.

⁷⁴⁹ Savage's History states Payne's first name as William (198). The Alumni Records Office at the University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas has his name recorded as Walter H. Payne.

⁷⁵⁰ Savage History 12, 16-17.

⁷⁵¹ Alumni Records. National Alumni Office. University of Kansas. Telephone Interview. August 12, 1996.

⁷⁵² Savage History 260-261.

⁷⁵³ Savage History 197-198.

⁷⁵⁴ Savage History 200.

⁷⁵⁵ Savage History 204.

⁷⁵⁶ Savage History 201.

⁷⁵⁷ Savage History 205.

⁷⁵⁸ Savage History 205-206.

⁷⁵⁹ Savage History 207.

⁷⁶⁰ Hornsby 73-74.

⁷⁶¹ Savage History 207.

⁷⁶² Savage History 209.

⁷⁶³ Savage History 209.

⁷⁶⁴ Savage History 214.

⁷⁶⁵ Savage History 209.

⁷⁶⁶ Savage History 210.

⁷⁶⁷ Savage History 211.

⁷⁶⁸ Savage History 209.

⁷⁶⁹ Savage History 214.

⁷⁷⁰ Savage History 213.

⁷⁷¹ Savage History 213.

⁷⁷² Savage History 213.

- ⁷⁷³ Savage History 213.
- ⁷⁷⁴ Savage History 215.
- ⁷⁷⁵ Savage History 204.
- ⁷⁷⁶ Savage History 215.
- ⁷⁷⁷ Savage History 216.
- ⁷⁷⁸ Savage History 216.
- ⁷⁷⁹ Savage History 216.
- ⁷⁸⁰ Savage History 216.
- ⁷⁸¹ Savage History 217.
- ⁷⁸² Savage History 216-218.
- ⁷⁸³ Savage History 219.
- ⁷⁸⁴ Savage History 219-220.
- ⁷⁸⁵ Savage History 220-221.
- ⁷⁸⁶ The board voted in 1938 to rename College Hall Young Hall in honor of Nathan B. Young (Savage History 223).
- ⁷⁸⁷ Savage History 223-224.
- ⁷⁸⁸ Savage History 224.
- ⁷⁸⁹ Savage History 224-225.
- ⁷⁹⁰ Savage History 225-226.
- ⁷⁹¹ Savage History 226.
- ⁷⁹² Savage History 227.
- ⁷⁹³ Savage History 227-230.

- ⁷⁹⁴ Savage History 232.
- ⁷⁹⁵ Savage History 232.
- ⁷⁹⁶ Savage History 233.
- ⁷⁹⁷ Savage History 235.
- ⁷⁹⁸ Savage History 235.
- ⁷⁹⁹ Savage History 236.
- ⁸⁰⁰ Savage History 236.
- ⁸⁰¹ Savage History 237.
- ⁸⁰² Savage History 238.
- ⁸⁰³ Savage History 238.
- ⁸⁰⁴ Savage History 261-262.
- ⁸⁰⁵ Savage History 265.
- ⁸⁰⁶ Savage History 265.
- ⁸⁰⁷ Savage History 265-266.
- ⁸⁰⁸ Savage History 267.
- ⁸⁰⁹ Savage History 269.
- ⁸¹⁰ Savage History 271.
- ⁸¹¹ Savage History 239.
- ⁸¹² Robinson 263-264.
- ⁸¹³ Savage History 269.
- ⁸¹⁴ Savage History 239.
- ⁸¹⁵ Savage History 240.

- ⁸¹⁶ Savage History 234.
- ⁸¹⁷ Savage History 241.
- ⁸¹⁸ Savage History 241-242.
- ⁸¹⁹ Savage History 242.
- ⁸²⁰ Savage History 243.
- ⁸²¹ Savage History 244.
- ⁸²² Savage History 244-245.
- ⁸²³ Savage History 245-246.
- ⁸²⁴ Savage History 247.
- ⁸²⁵ Savage History 258-259.
- ⁸²⁶ Savage History 243.
- ⁸²⁷ Savage History 260.
- ⁸²⁸ Savage History 248.
- ⁸²⁹ Savage History 248.
- ⁸³⁰ Savage History 251.
- ⁸³¹ Savage History 257.
- ⁸³² Savage History 251.
- ⁸³³ Savage History 128.
- ⁸³⁴ Savage History 252.
- ⁸³⁵ Savage History 251.
- ⁸³⁶ Savage History 252.
- ⁸³⁷ Savage History 250.

- ⁸³⁸ Savage History 250.
- ⁸³⁹ Savage History 253.
- ⁸⁴⁰ Savage History 255.
- ⁸⁴¹ Savage History 253.
- ⁸⁴² Savage History 255.
- ⁸⁴³ Savage History 220.
- ⁸⁴⁴ Savage History 256.
- ⁸⁴⁵ Savage History 257.
- ⁸⁴⁶ Savage History 256.
- ⁸⁴⁷ V. E. Williams, "Alumni Notes," The Lincoln University Record Dec. 1923: 13.
- ⁸⁴⁸ Savage History 270-271.
- ⁸⁴⁹ Savage History 271.
- ⁸⁵⁰ Savage History 272.
- ⁸⁵¹ Savage History 272.
- ⁸⁵² Minutes Lincoln University Board of Curators. Aug. 3 1938. n.p.
- ⁸⁵³ Albert P. Marshall, Soldier's Dream: A Centennial History of Lincoln University (Jefferson City, MO: Lincoln University, 1966) 21.
- ⁸⁵⁴ Marshall 21.
- ⁸⁵⁵ Diane E. Loupe, Storming and Defending the Color Barrier at the University of Missouri School of Journalism: The Lucille Bluford Case, Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (72nd, Washington D.C. August 10-13 1989) ERIC, 1989. ED 308-532. 4.
- ⁸⁵⁶ Marshall 22.
- ⁸⁵⁷ "W.E.B. DuBois Delivers," 1.

- ⁸⁵⁸ Antonio F. Holland, Timothy R. Roberts and Dennis White, The Soldier's Dream Continued (Jefferson City MO: Lincoln University, 1991) 26.
- ⁸⁵⁹ Marshall 22.
- ⁸⁶⁰ Marshall 24.
- ⁸⁶¹ Marshall 22, 24.
- ⁸⁶² Noel Heermance, "Midwest Journal" Black Journals of the United States Walter C. Daniel, ed. (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1982) 246.
- ⁸⁶³ Holland 26.
- ⁸⁶⁴ Heermance 246.
- ⁸⁶⁵ Richard Newman, Everybody Say Freedom (New York: Penguin, 1996) 173.
- ⁸⁶⁶ W.E.B. DuBois, "The Freedom to Learn," Midwest Journal 2.1(1949): 9-11.
- ⁸⁶⁷ "Ole Man" is an allusion to the Mississippi River from the song title "Ole Man River."
- ⁸⁶⁸ Sterling Brown, "Riverbank Blues," Midwest Journal 2.1(1949): 99.
- ⁸⁶⁹ "Lincoln's Noted Midwest Journal Preserves Century of Black History," Harambee 1.1 (1972): 1.
- ⁸⁷⁰ Marshall 25.
- ⁸⁷¹ "Additions at Lincoln," Alumni Bulletin Apr. 1953: 3.
- ⁸⁷² "Additions at Lincoln," 3.
- ⁸⁷³ "Richardson, Clement," Who's Who in Colored America, 1932 ed.; J. Delmas Escoc, "Early Educator," in "Outstanding Citizens of the Past," William Young and Nathan Young, eds. Your Kansas City and Mine. Kansas City: n.p., n.d. Located in archival files on Clement Richardson, Inman Page Library, Lincoln University.
- ⁸⁷⁴ "Editor Resigns." Alumni Bulletin Apr. 1953: 1. Mrs. Maupin resigned with the April 1953 issue. She was also secretary for the office of the Midwest Journal. Expecting a baby in November, she moved back to New York to be with her parents while her husband was in the service.

- ⁸⁷⁵ "Alumni Office," Alumni Bulletin Apr. 1953: 4.
- ⁸⁷⁶ "Alumni Office," 4.
- ⁸⁷⁷ "Alumni News," Alumni Bulletin Apr. 1953: 4-5.
- ⁸⁷⁸ "President Scruggs Welcomes new Students and Instructors," The Lincoln Clarion 25 Sept 1953: 1.
- ⁸⁷⁹ "Phy. Ed. Dept. Adds 3 to Staff," The Lincoln Clarion 25 Sept 1953: 3.
- ⁸⁸⁰ "Althea Gibson Advises Sports Beginners to Learn the 'Fundamentals,'" " The Lincoln Clarion 16 Oct. 1953: 4.
- ⁸⁸¹ Wilhelmena S. Robinson, ed. "Gibson, Althea," Historical Negro Biographies. International Library of Negro Life and History (New York: Publisher's Company, 1968) 194-195.
- ⁸⁸² Marshall 37.
- ⁸⁸³ Marshall 29.
- ⁸⁸⁴ Marshall 30.
- ⁸⁸⁵ "Ridgel Gets Whitney Award," Alumni Bulletin Oct. 1953: 1.
- ⁸⁸⁶ Marshall 30.
- ⁸⁸⁷ Marshall 30-31.
- ⁸⁸⁸ Marshall 30.
- ⁸⁸⁹ Marshall 31.
- ⁸⁹⁰ Marshall 25.
- ⁸⁹¹ Marshall 31.
- ⁸⁹² "Dr. Earl Edgar Dawson," Memorial Service Program. Inman E. Page Library. Lincoln University.
- ⁸⁹³ Marshall 34.

⁸⁹⁴ "Enrollment Tops Last Year's Final Tabulations Show," The Lincoln Clarion 9 Oct. 1953: 1.

⁸⁹⁵ "Korean Veterans Enrollment Shows Increase This Semester," The Lincoln Clarion 9 Oct 1953: 1.

⁸⁹⁶ Marshall 29, 43.

⁸⁹⁷ Marshall 34.

⁸⁹⁸ Marshall 41-42.

⁸⁹⁹ Marshall 43, 25, 45.

⁹⁰⁰ Jonas Viles, The University of Missouri (Columbia: U Missouri P, 1939) 428.

⁹⁰¹ Marshall 42.

⁹⁰² Marshall 34.

⁹⁰³ Marshall 32.

⁹⁰⁴ Marshall 32.

⁹⁰⁵ Marshall 33.

⁹⁰⁶ Marshall 33-34.

⁹⁰⁷ Marshall 35.

⁹⁰⁸ Marshall 43, 45.

⁹⁰⁹ Marshall 35-36.

⁹¹⁰ Marshall 34, 36.

⁹¹¹ Marshall 36.

⁹¹² Marshall 56.

⁹¹³ Marshall 37.

⁹¹⁴ Marshall 39.

- ⁹¹⁵ "The School That Was Too Good to Die," Ebony Mar. 1958: 17-24.
- ⁹¹⁶ Marshall 39.
- ⁹¹⁷ Marshall 40.
- ⁹¹⁸ "Guest Editorial," Alumni Bulletin Jan. 1959: 2.
- ⁹¹⁹ Marshall 29.
- ⁹²⁰ Marshall 41; "Dean Earl Dawson Discloses Plans to Discontinue Law, Reorganize J-Schools," Lincoln Clarion 19 Feb. 1955: n.p.
- ⁹²¹ Marshall 44.
- ⁹²² "Student Loans Available," Alumni Bulletin Jan. 1959: 2.
- ⁹²³ "Student Loans Available." 2.
- ⁹²⁴ "Summer Enrollment at All Time Peak," Alumni Bulletin July 1958: 1.
- ⁹²⁵ "Chapter Directory," Alumni Bulletin Jan. 1958: 2.
- ⁹²⁶ "New D.C. Alumni Chapter," Alumni Bulletin July 1958: 2.
- ⁹²⁷ "Students Vote Tax for Union Building," Alumni Bulletin Apr. 1959: 4.
- ⁹²⁸ "J.D. Elliff, 1863-1959," Alumni Bulletin July 1959: 2.
- ⁹²⁹ Savage History 218.
- ⁹³⁰ "J.D. Elliff" 2.
- ⁹³¹ Savage History 248.
- ⁹³² Savage History 262.
- ⁹³³ "J.D. Elliff" 2.
- ⁹³⁴ "Prexy Announces Fund Campaign," Alumni Bulletin Jan. 1960: 1.
- ⁹³⁵ "Drive for Funds to Begin Soon: Development Fund to Receive All Gifts," Alumni Bulletin July 1960: 1.

- ⁹³⁶ Marshall 34.
- ⁹³⁷ Marshall 37.
- ⁹³⁸ Marshall 46-47.
- ⁹³⁹ Marshall 47.
- ⁹⁴⁰ Robinson, "Greene, Lorenzo." 197.
- ⁹⁴¹ Marshall 47.
- ⁹⁴² "Sociology Professor Speaks to D.C. Group," Alumni Bulletin Jan. 1960: 2.
- ⁹⁴³ "Dr. Pride Now in Italy," Alumni Bulletin July 1960: 1.
- ⁹⁴⁴ Marshall 47-48.
- ⁹⁴⁵ Marshall 40.
- ⁹⁴⁶ Marshall 48.
- ⁹⁴⁷ Marshall 49.
- ⁹⁴⁸ Marshall 49.
- ⁹⁴⁹ Marshall 49-50.
- ⁹⁵⁰ Zelma Frank, A History of the Homes of Lincoln University Presidents (Jefferson City MO: Lincoln University Graphic Arts, 1981) 10.
- ⁹⁵¹ Frank 9-11.
- ⁹⁵² Marshall 51.
- ⁹⁵³ Marshall 51-53.
- ⁹⁵⁴ Marshall 54-55.
- ⁹⁵⁵ Marshall 54-56.
- ⁹⁵⁶ Marshall 56.
- ⁹⁵⁷ Marshall 56-57.

⁹⁵⁸ Marshall 58.

⁹⁵⁹ Marshall 58.

⁹⁶⁰ Marshall 58.

⁹⁶¹ Marshall 58.

⁹⁶² Marshall 58.

⁹⁶³ Marshall 58.

⁹⁶⁴ Marshall 62.

⁹⁶⁵ Marshall 59.

⁹⁶⁶ Marshall 59.

⁹⁶⁷ Marshall 60-62.

⁹⁶⁸ Marshall 60.

⁹⁶⁹ Marshall 60.

⁹⁷⁰ Marshall 61.

⁹⁷¹ Marshall 61.

⁹⁷² "Inauguration Schedule is Finalized;" "Lincoln University Installs New President in Formal Convocation April 19." News Releases. Lincoln University Archives. Inman E. Page Library. Lincoln University. April 1969.

⁹⁷³ "Walter C. Daniel." Vita. Lincoln University Archives. Inman E. Page Library. Lincoln University.

⁹⁷⁴ Marshall 63.

⁹⁷⁵ The new stadium was renamed Dwight T. Reed Stadium on May 4, 1985 (Marshall 63).

⁹⁷⁶ Tower Hall was renamed Dawson Hall (Marshall 63).

⁹⁷⁷ In 1985 the station was honored by Black College Radio, Inc. as the year's number one black college station in the country (Marshall 64).

⁹⁷⁸ Marshall 65.

⁹⁷⁹ Marshall 66.

⁹⁸⁰ Dale Amick, "Dr. Frank Inaugurated as Linclon's President," News and The Sunday Tribune 7 Apr. 1974: 1.

⁹⁸¹ Amick 2.

⁹⁸² "Campus Conduct," Letter to the Editor, Jefferson City Post Tribune 31 Dec. 1973: 2.

⁹⁸³ James Frank, "President's Reply." Letter to the Editor, Jefferson City Post Tribune 14 Jan. 1974: 2.

⁹⁸⁴ Ben Johnson "Powerful President Packs Positive Program," Lincoln Clarion 16 Mar. 1973: 2.

⁹⁸⁵ Bill Maurer "Frank Outlines Goals, Philosophy." Jefferson City Post Tribune 14 Apr. 1974: 1+.

⁹⁸⁶ Ted DeAdwyler, "Student Fees May Increase Again," Lincoln Clarion 29 Oct. 1975: 1+.

⁹⁸⁷ A.E. Miller, "Residents Doubt Productiveness of Frank's Visit," Lincoln Clarion 21 Nov. 1975: 2+.

⁹⁸⁸ Miller 2+.

⁹⁸⁹ Ted DeAdwyler, "L.U. Administration is Responsive to Needs Affirms Dr. Frank," Lincoln Clarion 21 Nov. 1975: 2.

⁹⁹⁰ DeAdwyler, "L.U. Administration" 2.

⁹⁹¹ "Dr. Frank Named New District VP," Jefferson City Post Tribune 12 Jan. 1975: n.p.

⁹⁹² "Dr. Frank Inducted into Hall of Fame," St. Louis Argus 11 Mar. 1976: 3.

⁹⁹³ "Dr. Frank Inducted" 3.

⁹⁹⁴ "Dr. Frank Inducted" 3.

- ⁹⁹⁵ "L.U.'s Frank on National Committee," Jefferson City Post Tribune 23 Mar. 1977: 3.
- ⁹⁹⁶ "Dr. Frank to Preside" 3.
- ⁹⁹⁷ "L.U. Curators Seek Ruling," Jefferson City Post Tribune 16 May 1976: 3.
- ⁹⁹⁸ "L.U. Curators" 3.
- ⁹⁹⁹ "Ray Wells Named Consultant," Jefferson City Post Tribune 1 Apr. 1976: 3.
- ¹⁰⁰⁰ "Abolishing Panel Talked," Jefferson City Post Tribune 4 Mar. 1977: 3.
- ¹⁰⁰¹ "Abolishing" 3.
- ¹⁰⁰² Venita Hawthorne, "Reorganization to Save Money, Increase Efficiency," The Clarion 27 Apr. 1977: 1.
- ¹⁰⁰³ Hawthorne 1.
- ¹⁰⁰⁴ Vicki Wankum, "Frank Outlines Plans to Keep Lincoln Moving Ahead," The Clarion 8 Feb. 1978: 1.
- ¹⁰⁰⁵ "L.U.: Major Economic Force," The Clarion n.d. Feb. 1978: 1.
- ¹⁰⁰⁶ "L.U.: A Major" 1.
- ¹⁰⁰⁷ Kristie Kraber, "'Handling' the Challenge," Jefferson City News and Sunday Tribune 10 Sept. 1978: 1.
- ¹⁰⁰⁸ Wankum 1.
- ¹⁰⁰⁹ "Dr. Frank Calls L. U. Appropriation Hike Inadequate," Jefferson City Post Tribune 27 Jan. 1980: 1.
- ¹⁰¹⁰ "Dr. Frank Calls" 1.
- ¹⁰¹¹ "Dr. Frank Calls" 1.
- ¹⁰¹² Christy Marx, "Lincoln's Frank Elected NCAA Secretary-Treasurer," Jefferson City News Tribune 14 Jan. 1979: 1.
- ¹⁰¹³ Marx 1.
- ¹⁰¹⁴ "Lincoln University," Epoch Sept./Oct. 1981: 45.

- ¹⁰¹⁵ "Lincoln University" 44-45.
- ¹⁰¹⁶ "Lincoln University" 44.
- ¹⁰¹⁷ "Lincoln University" 45.
- ¹⁰¹⁸ "Lincoln Curators Vote to Add Fees Surcharge," Jefferson City News and Sunday Tribune 24 Oct. 1982: 1+.
- ¹⁰¹⁹ "L. U. Curators Discuss Frank's Status," Jefferson City News and Sunday Tribune 24 Oct. 1982: 1+.
- ¹⁰²⁰ "L.U. Curators" 1.
- ¹⁰²¹ "Lincoln Curators Vote" 2.
- ¹⁰²² "Lincoln Curators Vote" 2.
- ¹⁰²³ "Lincoln Curators Vote" 1.
- ¹⁰²⁴ "Lincoln Curators Vote" 1.
- ¹⁰²⁵ "Lincoln Curators Vote" 1.
- ¹⁰²⁶ "Lincoln Curators Vote" 1.
- ¹⁰²⁷ "Lincoln Curators Vote" 6.
- ¹⁰²⁸ "Lincoln Curators Vote" 6.
- ¹⁰²⁹ "L. U. Students Concern Over Frank Firing," Jefferson City Post Tribune 27 Oct. 1982: 19.
- ¹⁰³⁰ "James Frank Fired; Rift with Curators," St. Louis Sentinel 28 Oct. 1982: 1.
- ¹⁰³¹ "Lincoln U. Chief Fired; Personality Clash Cited," St. Louis Globe-Democrat 26 Oct. 1982: 1+.
- ¹⁰³² "Lincoln U. Board Still Mum on President's Firing," St. Louis Globe-Democrat 2 Nov. 1982: 4A.
- ¹⁰³³ "Lincoln U. Board" 4A.

¹⁰³⁴ “Lincoln U. Board” 4A.

¹⁰³⁵ Farley Wilson, “Keep Your Eyes Pinned on Lincoln University,” St. Louis American 4 Nov. 1982: 7C+.

¹⁰³⁶ Wilson 7C.

¹⁰³⁷ Wilson 7C.

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¹¹²¹ The Phelps-Stokes Fund and the Bureau of Education joined to produce a study of Negro education published in 1916. Only 33 of 653 black colleges met the standards for a college curriculum set by the Carnegie Foundation and the North Central Association. Although Lincoln University was not mentioned specifically, it would have not met those criteria at the time (Department of the Interior 59).

¹¹²² Lincoln University Commencement Exercises Program. Lincoln University, Jefferson City MO. May 1992.

¹¹²³ In an interview with Ron Langley, former Director of Computer Services, Lincoln University, 21 Jan. 1997, a Title III grant provided the Business department with a computer laboratory equipped with Microsoft Office, a server, and Internet access. Business and computer science were the first departments connected to a microcomputer network. The Computer Science department upgraded all computers and software in laboratories providing new microcomputers to all faculty in those departments. Undergraduate growth increased but faculty upgrade remained 10-20 years behind. The current department chair Dr. Marshall Holman created an internship program with the state of Missouri. The state's computer system also needs upgrading from the UNIX now in place.

¹¹²⁴ Lincoln University Campus Master Plan 1991. 22-2, 22-3.

¹¹²⁵ "Basic Institutional Data" 23-23D.

¹¹²⁶ Bob Watson, "Curators Okay Changes in L.U. College of Agriculture," Jefferson City Post Tribune 23 Feb. 1996: 1+.

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¹¹²⁸ Bob Watson, "Rayburn's Leave Resembles Exit," Daily Capital News 7 Feb. 1996: 1.

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¹¹³⁰ Bob Watson, "L.U. Employees Will Learn Next Week If They Still Have Jobs," Jefferson City Post Tribune 25 Apr. 1996: 1+.

¹¹³¹ Bob Watson, "L.U. Hires Presidential Search Consultant," Jefferson City Post Tribune 30 Apr. 1996: 1.

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¹¹³⁴ The Director of the Physical Plant was deliberately not processed for a transfer to a position in another area. It took seven months, several meetings, and finally legal action to prompt the Personnel Director to act. The board ordered Dr. Mullett, the Acting President, to find this employee a position. The reassignment was further delayed by Personnel Director's refusal to forward employment forms to the employee's new department. Consequently, at less than half the previous salary, and after an inordinate amount of stalling, the employee was reassigned. It is interesting to note that all requisite signatures (including Dr. Rayburn's) for the initial transfer were in place, and the transfer submitted to the Director of Personnel prior to Dr. Rayburn's departure on sabbatical leave. The reassignment was not made to the initially requested position, and no reason was given for not reassigning. Subsequently, that position remained vacant until it was revised and advertised in the local newspaper several months later. The former position, that of Director of the Physical Plant, was filled by the Assistant Director.

¹¹³⁵ Nancy Vessell, "Rayburn Takes Association Vice Presidency in D.C.," Jefferson City Post Tribune 31 Dec. 1996: 1.

¹¹³⁶ Bob Watson, "L.U. Curators Announce Latest Cuts," Jefferson City Post Tribune 5 July 1996: 3.

¹¹³⁷ Steve Friedman, "Mullett Urges Development of L.U. Strategy," Jefferson City Post Tribune 15 Aug. 1996: 1+.

¹¹³⁸ Bob Watson, "Curators Appoint 3 at L.U.," Jefferson City Post Tribune 5 Aug. 1996: 1+.

¹¹³⁹ For further discussion and analysis of management in college and university operations tied to enrollment growth and student retention, see C. Eric Lincoln, "The Negro Colleges and Cultural Change," Daedalus 3 (Summer 1971): 603-629; Wendell G. Rayburn, Lincoln University State of the University Address August 15, 1991 Jefferson City, MO: Lincoln University, 1991; Thomas D. Snyder, "Higher Education, 120 Years of American Education: A Statistical Portrait Jan. 1993": 63-74; and Charles V. Willie and Ronald R.

Edmonds, eds. Black Colleges in America: Challenge, Development, Survival (New York: Teachers College Press, 1978).

¹¹⁴⁰ Bob Watson, "Lincoln Panel Starts Search for President," Jefferson City News Tribune 10 Nov. 1996: 15.

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WORKS CITED

Anderson, James D. The Education of Blacks in the South, 1865-1935. Chapel Hill: U North Carolina P, 1988.

Anderson's study is a comprehensive analysis at the external forces and internal motives that shaped education for blacks in the South. Anderson discusses the means and extent to which blacks sought literacy, the types of education that developed during Reconstruction, and the manner in which northern and southern groups pressured attempts at self-education. He credits freedmen with the initial efforts to construct common schools throughout the South, shows how northern industrial philanthropists pushed the Hampton-Tuskegee model as a sociological tool to train black teachers as promulgators of disenfranchisement for southern blacks, to keep blacks in low-skilled manual labor for life, and to keep blacks from participating in politics, seeking the right to vote, and aspiring for classical literary education. Anderson brings together the disparate forces at work in antebellum education discussed by Carter G. Woodson in The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861.

This study is particularly beneficial in my analysis of the impact of industrial education at Lincoln University and how various presidents implemented training in the trades, in the industrial curriculum, and in agriculture all affected by the Morrill Act of 1890. Anderson's text contains tables, figures, illustrations, notes, bibliography, and an index.

Armstrong, Mary F. and Helen W. Ludlow. Hampton and Its Students. New York: G. P. Putnam, 1874.

This archival text is the first history of Hampton Institute prepared by two of its teachers and published during the early growth of the school in Hampton, Virginia. The authors offer a nineteenth century view of the founding of the town and its first school for freedmen from the introduction of the first cargo of slaves not far from Hampton, to the ensuing Civil War and the efforts of the American Missionary Association to establish a permanent school for freedmen there. Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute was incorporated in June, 1870 after beginning in April, 1868. The history includes biographical details of the earliest students, an appendix of documents ranging from daily programs of instruction to a financial history of the school from 1868 to 1874. Also included are fifty cabin and plantation songs.

“Basic Institutional Data Form G,” Lincoln University: A Self -Study Report
Jefferson City, MO. Feb. 1993. 23-23D.

The generic quality of most self-study reports generated by higher education institutions tends to produce a compilation of data concerning the resources, facilities, populations, and programs at the institution. This report is no less generic in its attempt to present information without cogent interpretation, thus its value is reduced for even those evaluators from the North Central accrediting association for whom it was prepared. To be truly effective, all units and departments should be held accountable not only for the accuracy of the data collected and presented, but for the implications that data holds for

the mission of the institution. Lincoln's report was likely not reviewed in any systematic way by each unit and department head, nor shared with personnel and faculty.

Booker Associates. Campus Master Plan, May 15, 1991. St. Louis: Booker Associates, 1991.

The text of a consulting firms' assessment of Lincoln University in 1991. The components of the presentation include an introduction, data analysis, program formulation, the master plan, design guidelines and demonstration projects.

Cooler, Arnold. Race, Ruralism, and Reformation: William J. Edwards and Snow Hill Institute, 1894-1915. ERIC, 1989. ED 326 341.

This article examines the Snow Hill Institute, one of several 19th-century industrial schools founded for rural Southern black students, following the model of Booker T. Washington's Tuskegee Institute. This case study provides a sketch of William J. Edwards, an early Tuskegee alumnus and founder of the Snow Hill Institute in Wilcox County, Alabama. The document examines Edward's life, the circumstances surrounding the 1894 establishment of the school, and the political and racial contexts of the time. Edwards worked under discouraging conditions, including contemporary racial stress, the deficient education of the black community, church opposition, and lack of resources. In some areas, Snow Hill's development contrasts with that of Tuskegee, as illustrated by correspondence between Washington and Edwards. Snow Hill's early nature and course content were separatists and agrarian. The heart of the institute was its emphasis on agricultural and manual training. Each course had a definable community and vocational

component. The article concludes that the history and origin of Edwards' school demonstrates that political, economic, and cultural conditions of the time directly influenced educational policy development. The paper includes more than 50 notes that provide historical material on the subject. Parallels can be made between Edwards' Snow Hill and Foster's Lincoln Institute.

Culmer, Frederic A. A New History of Missouri. Mexico, Missouri: McIntyre, 1938.

Culmer presents much of the same historical context for the pre-statehood through post-statehood development of Missouri. This early history ends after the 1937 General Assembly doubled the state's one per cent sales tax to the lament of the historian. Culmer, moreso than other state historians, interjects an atmosphere of nostalgia into the narrative of the state's development.

Department of the Interior. Bureau of Education. Negro Education: A Study of the Private and Higher Schools for Colored People in the United States. Bulletin, 1916, No. 38. Vol I. Washington D.C.: GPO, 1917.

This 240-page book, one of two volumes, was prepared under the direction of the trustees of the Phelps-Stokes Fund on behalf of the estate of Caroline Phelps Stokes. Two committees, housing and education, were convened to study southern blacks. Both committees were to be financed by the Fund in preparation of these two reports. Volume I is a study of Negro Education prepared under the direction of Thomas Jesse Jones, specialist in the education of racial groups at the Bureau of Education. This study proposed to show to the public the status of Negro education in public and private

colleges as well as all other types of schools. While Lincoln University in Missouri is not specifically included (except in the section on 1890 Land-Grant schools), of the 653 southern colleges that are, only 33 met the standards set by the Carnegie Foundation and the North Central Association. Of the colleges located in the North, 66 reported 430 students of college or university grade. In the South, 1,643 were in college-level subjects, 994 in professional courses. The remaining 10,000 or more other students were in elementary and secondary courses in southern colleges.

The value of this extensive work is contained in the quantification and assessment charts of resources, programs, students, teachers, and facilities by state and type of institution. Also, the cogent, insightful history of education for blacks since 1619 is worthy of publication as a separate document. The history is classified by major entities (secular and denominational organizations, federal aid and legislation, philanthropic funds, churches, and significant individuals) that influenced and sustained various schools and major pedagogical and philosophical influences such as manual training and industrial education. This study is essential to general knowledge and specific data about educating blacks in America. Nathan B. Young, president of the National Association of Teachers in Public Schools is quoted. In an address to the Association, he advocated unified cooperation as an organization in preparing such studies to accurately inform foundation managers about the needs of all black institutions rather than soliciting assistance from them for individual schools.

The volume has a bibliography of sources used to prepare the data (charts, tables, graphs) and the historical information (original documents from major figures and organizations).

Dowdy, Lewis C. "The Impact of the Philosophies of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., Booker T. Washington, and W.E.B. Du Bois on the Educational Program of Johnson C. Smith University (North Carolina, Johnson C. Smith University). DAI 51/09A (1989): AAC9008002. Rutgers The State University of New Jersey.

This study was designed to provide a historical analysis of the impact of four different philosophies upon one historical black University, Johnson C. Smith University. More specifically, an attempt was made to ascertain the impact of the vestiges of philosophical influence on the University and to determine if there was a possible synthesis of the four philosophies. In addition, this study examined the social and practical aspects of the four philosophies and evaluated the merit of renewing and enhancing the emphases of the early mission colleges to determine if their approach to black needs may be worth implementing today.

Dyson, Walter. Howard University, The Capstone of Negro Education, A History: 1867-1940. Washington D. C.: The Graduate School Howard University, 1941.

This institutional history is remarkably more similar in style, layout and narration to texts written between 1900 and 1920. The language is both ornate in some places and simplistic in others, suggesting that the text was handled by others prior to Dyson.

Nevertheless, Dyson gives enough detailed information about early influential persons and circumstances affecting Howard University's founding, growth and development. For that reason its authenticity is never questioned. As with the history of Fisk University, this institution also has parallels with Lincoln University. Published close to the time of Savages's history of Lincoln, 1937, it is easy to trace generational and historical variables

that modern researchers may delete as inconsequential. Dyson spends discusses each subject in the curriculum and how students matriculated but he neglects a comprehensive overview of student culture.

This text has thirty-five chapters, illustrations, a bibliography and an index.

Farley, Charlestine R. "A History of Claflin College, 1869-1987." DAI 51/05A (1990): AAC9029173. University of South Carolina.

This study examines the history of Claflin College, a historically black college founded in 1869 by the South Carolina Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church and named in honor of Lee Claflin, a prominent Methodist layman of Boston, Massachusetts and his son, William Claflin, governor of Massachusetts.

The study focuses on the founding of the school and investigates the major obstacles that Claflin surmounted in order to become a fully-accredited liberal arts college. The study also addresses the origins, financial resources, development, and societal changes which affected the school.

Certain events have significantly affected the growth of Claflin College. The college has had consistent financial troubles, in spite of increasing endowments and enrollment. During the Civil Rights movement in the 1960s, students protested discrimination, but when colleges and universities became desegregated, a result of the Civil Rights legislation, detractors questioned the school's role as an historically black institution.

To produce leaders and serve the educationally and culturally deprived, Claflin should establish both a Center for Educational Opportunity and a Center for Leadership.

Foley, William E. A History of Missouri. Vol I. Columbia: U Missouri P, 1971. 5 vols.

Foley's first volume covers 1673 to 1820, the period prior to Missouri statehood. Of particular interest is the data concerning the introduction of African and Caribbean slaves into the region during the colonial eras of the French and Spanish.

Ford, James E. A History of Jefferson City, Missouri's State Capital and of Cole County.

Jefferson City, MO: The New Day Press, 1938.

Much of Ford's history is a compilation of news articles and editorials from local papers beginning in 1833 and files of Missouri Historical Review. He incorporates varied sources of documents from state statutes to personal memoirs into an informally documented text. The more unique parts of Ford's history is his inclusion of many notices of runaway slaves, newspaper ads soliciting the purchase or sale of slaves, biographical details on free blacks, accounts of buildings and homes constructed with slave labor, and news accounts of local hostility to blacks. He includes enough disparate data to form a clear picture of the life and times of mid-Missouri and its surroundings. The text is supplemented with black and white photographs and an index.

Frank, Zelma L. A History of the Homes of Lincoln University Presidents. Jefferson City,

MO: Lincoln University Graphic Arts, 1981.

In honor of her husband, Dr. James Frank, Lincoln University's eighteenth president, Mrs. Frank surveys the homes and occupants of the presidents of the school from the first house built in 1892 to the current home built in 1917. Mrs. Frank includes black and white photographs, notes and bibliography.

Greene, Lorenzo, Gray R. Kremer, Antonio F. Holland. Missouri's Black Heritage. Rev. ed. Columbia: U Missouri P, 1993.

Kremer and Holland were history students under Professor Greene at Lincoln University. The 1980 first edition was written under his direction while the revised edition was in progress when Professor Greene died in 1988. This text remains the only cogent history of blacks in Missouri to date. The history begins with the importation of slaves under the French colonial government in the eighteenth century and proceeds to the recognition of social, cultural, educational, economic, and political gains in the early 1990s. The text is enhanced by black and white photographs, an appendix, and index. Professor Holland, professor of history and chairman of the Department of Social and Behavior Sciences at Lincoln University retired in 1995. Professor Kremer, professor of history, teaches at William Woods College in Fulton, Missouri.

Holland, Antonio F., Timothy R. Roberts and Dennis White. The Soldiers' Dream Continued: A Pictorial History of Lincoln University of Missouri. Jefferson City, MO: Lincoln University, 1991.

In honor of Lincoln University's 125th Anniversary, Holland et al present the University's history in five chapters spanning 1866 to 1988. The black and white photographs from the institution's archives explain significant events occurring in the decades up to the anniversary. The books contains an Appendix listing the principals and presidents in chronological order of tenure, and a list of Professors Emeriti.

Horowitz, Helen L. Alma Mater. Boston: Beacon Press, 1984.

More than a combination of the institutional histories of Mount Holyoke, Vassar, Wellesley, Smith, Radcliffe, Bryn Mawr and Barnard, the seven sister schools, Horowitz, a Wellesley graduate, has employed her background of scholarship in American cultural history to determine the environmental, sociological, architectural, and aesthetic influences that shaped the founding, growth and development of these schools. She discusses post-war women's colleges Sarah Lawrence, Bennington, and Scripps as well.

She exams womens' relationships inside the communal arrangements of various forms of seminaries and how they contrast with mens' colleges of that era. She peers into dormitory life taking note of the floorplans, schedules, rituals, and rhetorical modes used at the schools.

Horowitz's study is important to a study of Lincoln University because of the influence of the seminary structure that dominated the early years of the institution. Many connections exist also between the religious denominations of early principals and the importation of the seminary structure for womens' schools rather than mens' prevalent in the East. This text has an epilogue to match the front matter, notes and an index.

Humphries, Frederick S. "A Short History of Blacks in Higher Education." The Journal of Blacks in Higher Education. Winter (1994/1995): 57.

Florida A&M University president, Frederick S. Humphries, presents a capsule view of the history of blacks in higher education during a convocation speech.

Ihle, Elizabeth L. Free Black Adult Education before the Civil War. ERIC, 1990. ED 321 099.

Although the first black organization chartered in the United States, the Free African Society, was chartered in 1787, education for free blacks was largely a 19th-century phenomenon. By the time the Civil War broke out, black adults outside the South had established social structures that offered them education in civic, intellectual, and spiritual forms. However, such education was accessible only to those who were economically secure enough to have the time and initiative to take advantage of it. From churches and other organizations such as clubs and societies, free black adults were able to improve their education, learn to take pride in their cultural heritage, enhance their confidence and self-image, and develop consensus on appropriate behavior and living standards. Many societies helped them develop self-protection as the groups provided a means for collective action against laws and acts of violence toward blacks. The history of free black adult education demonstrates steady growth and an increasing complexity of organization from the late 1700s to 1860. The organizations formed in this period offered a firm foundation for future development of black adult education in the latter half of the 19th century. The document includes 17 references.

Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Missouri Twenty-Fifth General Assembly. Jefferson City, MO: Horace Wilcox, 1970.

Creation of the Normal School Department of Lincoln Institute is discussed and voted on.

---. Twenty-Seventh General Assembly. Jefferson City, MO: Regan & Carter, 1874.

House Bill 1011 taken up to dispose of Lincoln Institute and create a State Normal School for the education and benefit of the colored people of the state of Missouri was defeated.

---. Thirty-Fifth General Assembly. Jefferson City, MO: Tribune Printing, 1889.

Introduction of HB 543 to establish a manual training school at Lincoln Institute, considered and not recommended to pass.

Authorization granted to appropriate the payment for Union military bonds held by Samuel J. Weir and R. L. McElhany and several bonds held by George D. Little.

---. Thirty-Eighth General Assembly. Jefferson City, MO: Tribune Printing, 1895.

Amendments to and repeal of several House Bills. At the January 2, 1895 regular session, introduction of HB 376, an act making Lincoln Institute the State University for the colored people of Missouri and providing for the government thereof.

---. Forty-Seventh General Assembly. Jefferson City, MO: Hugh Stephens Printing, 1913.

Introduction of HB 923, an act authorizing the board of regents of Lincoln Institute to sell and convey a tract of land in Cole county, Missouri and invest the proceeds to purchase other lands suitable for use in the agricultural and industrial departments of said institution.

---. Fifty-Fifth General Assembly. Vol. I. Jefferson City, MO: np, 1929.

Recommendation of do not pass for HB 677, an act establishing the demonstration farm and agricultural school for the negro race now at Dalton, Missouri, under the supervision of the board of curators of Lincoln University, making appropriations

therefore; providing who may attend; and repealing conflicting laws. The bill was referred to the Committee on Revision.

Journal of the Senate. Fifty-Fifth General Assembly. Vol II. Jefferson City, MO, 1929.

Revision of SB 803 regarding Lincoln

Kremer, Gary R. and Cindy M. Mackey. "'Yours for the Race': The Life and Work of Josephine Silone Yates." Missouri Historical Review 90.2 (1996): 199-215.

Kremer, a former Lincoln University bachelor's and master's degree graduate, now professor of history at William Woods University at Fulton, MO, and Mackey, an undergraduate student at William Woods, examine the life and contributions of Josephine Silone Yates (1859-1912) to Lincoln University, as a long-time teacher of English and drawing and advisor of women students. Yates was a prolific writer of racial uplift articles in local and national black periodicals. She served under one of Lincoln University's most progressive presidents, Benjamin F. Allen, who became president in 1902. Yates was a major figure in the black womens' club movement at the turn of the century, serving as president of the fifteen-thousand member, National Association of Colored Women in 1904. She was a contemporary and colleague of W.E.B. Dubois and supported all efforts to bring out the best in the black race in order to gain advantages for the less fortunate African Americans who were denied opportunities.

Laws of Missouri Thirtieth General Assembly. Jefferson City, MO: Carter & Regan, 1879.

Appropriation of \$15,000 to Lincoln Institute provided that five thousand be applied to the institution's debt.

---. Thirty-First General Assembly. Jefferson City, MO: Tribune Printing, 1881.

Appropriation of \$10,000 to Lincoln Institute, five thousand to build a dormitory, and one thousand to purchase school apparatus.

---. Thirty-Third General Assembly. Jefferson City, MO: Tribune Printing, 1885.

Introduction of HB 227 to appropriate money to build, equip and staff an industrial school for colored people adjacent to or near Lincoln Institute. Appropriations for the support of Lincoln Institute of \$16,000; two thousand dollars for completion of a dormitory basement; five hundred dollars for coal and wood shed; seven thousand dollars for men's dorm.

---. Thirty-Fourth General Assembly. Jefferson City, MO: Tribune Printing, 1887.

An act establishing Lincoln Institute Normal School academic department for the higher education of the negro race. Also, an act authorizing the board of regents of Lincoln Institute to sell the Institute farm and to purchase land adjoining said institute.

---. Thirty-Fifth General Assembly. Jefferson City, MO: Tribune Printing, 1889.

Appropriations to redeem Union military bonds owned by three citizens.

---. Thirty-Sixth General Assembly. Jefferson City, MO: Tribune Printing, 1891.

Appropriations, stipulations and conditions of an act to establish an industrial school at Lincoln Institute. Also, an act authorizing the Commissioner to convey to Lincoln Institute's board of regents, two out-lots for the use of the Institute.

---. Thirty-Eighth General Assembly. Jefferson City, MO: Tribune Printing, 1895.

Section 5 of the public school appropriations act authorizes payment of \$18,000 for the maintenance and support of Lincoln Institute, six thousand dollars for support of the industrial department, forty thousand dollars for a building, equipment, furniture, library and apparatus and other improvements, and one thousand dollars for the industrial farm--a total of sixty-five thousand dollars.

---. Fortieth General Assembly. Jefferson City, MO: Tribune Printing, 1899.

An appropriation of \$30,590 for the support, maintenance and improvement of Lincoln Institute itemized by category of expenditure.

---. Forty-Second General Assembly. Jefferson City, MO: Tribune Printing, 1903.

An appropriation of \$54,350 for the support, maintenance and improvement of Lincoln Institute itemized by category of expenditure.

---. Forty-Third General Assembly. Jefferson City, MO: Hugh Stephens, 1905.

An appropriation of \$77,400 for the support, maintenance and improvement of Lincoln Institute itemized by category of expenditure.

---. Forty-Eighth General Assembly. Jefferson City, MO: Cornelius Roach, Sec. of St., 1915.

An appropriation of \$116,600 for the support, maintenance and improvement of Lincoln Institute itemized by category of expenditure.

---. Forty-Ninth General Assembly. Jefferson City, MO: John L. Sullivan, Sec. of St., 1917.

An appropriation of \$101,500 for the support, maintenance and improvement of Lincoln Institute itemized by category of expenditure.

---. Fiftieth General Assembly. Jefferson City, MO: John L. Sullivan, Sec. of St., 1919.

An appropriation of \$136,700 for Lincoln Institute itemized by category of expenditure. Also, appropriation is made for \$1,618.37 for deficiency payments belonging to Lincoln Institute.

---. Fifty-Fourth General Assembly. Jefferson City, MO: Charles U. Becker, Sec. of St., 1927.

An appropriation of \$278,000 for Lincoln Institute itemized by category of expenditure.

---. Fifty-Fifth General Assembly. Jefferson City, MO: Charles U. Becker, Sec. of St., 1929.

An appropriations act, SB 815, establishing authority to allocate money for the erection of new buildings and equipment thereof; to pay for repairs and replacement of buildings; to purchase lands, and other purposes for the years 1929 and 1930. Section 14 designates Lincoln University. Also, the night session provides for extensive amendments to the 1921 Laws establishing Lincoln University including the name, purpose, control, the board members and their terms. The afternoon session is involved with HB 585 amending the 1921 regular session act revising the 1919 Laws pertaining to how the assembly will provide appropriations for the school and its purpose to educate blacks. SB 803 does the same as the foregoing HB 585 defining the purpose of the school and the composition of the board.

---. Fifty-Sixth General Assembly. Jefferson City, MO: Charles U. Becker, Sec. of St., 1930.

An appropriations act, HB 638, for Lincoln University in the amount of \$371,900 for the support, maintenance and improvements at the institution for the years 1931 and 1932.

---: Fifty-Seventh General Assembly. Jefferson City, MO: Dwight H. Brown, Sec. of St., 1935.

An appropriation of \$286,000 to Lincoln University itemized for staff and operations of the school.

---: Fifty-Eighth General Assembly. Jefferson City, MO: Dwight H. Brown, Sec. of St., 1935.

An appropriation of \$400,000 to Lincoln University itemized for staff, equipment, repairs, and operations of the school.

---: Fifty-Ninth General Assembly. Jefferson City, MO: Dwight H. Brown, Sec. of St., 1937.

An appropriation of \$540,000 to Lincoln University itemized for staff, repairs and operations of the school. State ex rel. Gaines v. Canada et al is the 1937 case decided by the Missouri Supreme court disallowing Earnest Gaines admission to the University of Missouri School of Law based on the premise that separate but equal afforded Gaines an opportunity to attend law school at Lincoln University (as soon as one could be established for that purpose) rather than allow the mixing of the races for the purpose of education which violated the state's constitution.

Lincoln, C. Eric. "The Negro Colleges and Cultural Change," Daedalus 3 (Summer 1971): 603-629.

This article presents an argument for the specific debilitating factors associated with the lack of growth and floundering status of historically black colleges and universities from their founding to the early 1970s. NOTE: The entire Summer 1971 issue of Daedalus is devoted to the study of HBCUs and the contents of this issue form a nucleus for the proposed study.

Loupe, Diane E. Storming and Defending the Color Barrier at the University of Missouri School of Journalism: The Lucile Bluford Case. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (72nd, Washington, D.C., August 10-13, 1989). ERIC, 1989. ED 308-532.

In the case of Lucile Bluford, a respected Black woman journalist applying for admission to the University of Missouri School of Journalism in 1939, an examination of the archives and records, newspaper and magazine articles, scholarly works on the case, and interview with Miss Bluford makes it clear that University of Missouri officials were preoccupied with maintaining the separation of the races. The dean of the School of Journalism and state legislators worked to establish a separate (but clearly unequal) School of Journalism at Lincoln University so that Black students would not have to be admitted to the University of Missouri. The color barrier was broken in 1950. Fifty years after being turned away, Lucile Bluford was awarded an honorary doctorate of the humanities. Ninety-seven notes are included. This paper directly addresses the level of involvement of Lincoln University in attempting to establish a separate facility for Miss Bluford to pursue a degree in journalism.

March, David D. The History of Missouri. Vol 1. New York: Lewis Historical Publishing, 1967. 2 vols.

March's two-volume history of the state of Missouri presents a chronological narrative from the beginning of the French arrivals to the territory to 1965. Each chapter is followed by bibliographical and content notes. The second volume contains an extensive Appendix and bibliography.

Marshall, Albert P. Soldier's Dream: A Centennial History of Lincoln University. Jefferson City, MO: Lincoln University, 1966.

Lincoln University librarian, Albert P. Marshall, produced this pictorial history of the University to honor its centennial in 1966. Using black and white photographs and sketches from archive collections, Marshall constructs a narrative of the institution's founding and proceeds through to the close of the centennial year. Major events in the institution's history are marked with subheadings.

Mink, Charles R. "The War That Built a School: The Founding of Lincoln University." The Lincoln University Journal of Ethnic Studies. 1.1 (1982): 63-74.

Mink traces familiar events leading to the founding of Lincoln University by black veterans of the 62nd and 65th Colored Infantry divisions. He adds emphasis on the level of racism facing the first principal, Richard B. Foster, a former lieutenant of the 62nd, who attempted to make the school a reality shortly after the close of the Civil War.

Office of Institutional Planning and Research. Selected Indicators of Institutional Productivity at Lincoln University, May 1990. Jefferson City, MO: Lincoln University, 1990.

This data consists of quantifications of class/laboratory sections and enrollment patterns, student demographics, credit hour distributions, graduate student academic areas, revenues and expenditures, federal appropriations for programs in Cooperative Research and Cooperative Extension, personnel, and graphs of area production by college. This information was prepared for the Board of Curators during the presidency of Dr. Wendell G. Rayburn.

---. Selected Indicators of Institutional Productivity at Lincoln University May, 1992. Jefferson City, MO: Lincoln University, 1992.

Same type of data collected for the 1990 report to the Board of Curators supplied for the year 1992.

---. Facts and Figures for Fall, 1992. Jefferson City, MO: Lincoln University, 1992.

An annual report of Lincoln University's data regarding student population and academic programs for Fall, 1992 and trend data on students, faculty, and academic programs.

Neyland, Leedell W. Historically Black Land-Grant Institutions and the Development of Agriculture and Home Economics, 1890-1990. ERIC, 1990. ED 330 503.

Since 1890, historically black land-grant colleges and universities have delivered quality teaching, research, and extension service primarily to black people in Southern and border states. The Second Morrill Act of 1890 required that all land-grant funds be equitably divided in states that maintained separate schools for races. Tuskegee University and 17 other institutions were directly affected by this act. Beginning primarily for training black teachers, these institutions evolved into land-grant colleges and universities providing opportunities to students across the nation and throughout the world. Known as the 1890 colleges and universities, these Southern institutions have developed research capabilities and an extensive extension service. The nine chapters of this book trace the development of the 1890 land grant colleges and universities between 1890 and 1990 and outline the challenges of the future. Appendices include the text of the 1890 Second Morrill Act, home economics-related classes at 1890 Colleges and universities, and profiles of 1890 land-grant institutions. An index is included and the bibliography contains over 250 references. Lincoln University, Jefferson City, MO is one of these 17 institutions.

Parrish, William E. Missouri Under Radical Rule 1865-1870. Columbia: U Missouri P, 1965.

In twelve chapters, plus notes and a bibliography, Parrish presents the comprehensive turmoil involving the state following the Civil War. Most important is Chapter VII, The Negro in Postwar Missouri, which discloses the nature of the various

debates surrounding the granting of rights to blacks.

A People and a Spirit Serving the Nations of the World: 1890 Land Grant Colleges and Universities. Centennial Accomplishments Report. Normal, Alabama: Alabama A&M U, 1990.

This study is a compilation of the status of seventeen historically black land grant colleges and universities from founding history to 1990. The contributions by the institutions include illustrations and commentary by various constituents of the respective institutions.

Rayburn, Wendell G. Lincoln University State of the University Address, August 15, 1991. Jefferson City, MO: Lincoln University, 1991.

The text of the president's account of the university. Survey of enrollment, 125th Anniversary celebration, capital improvements, programs, activities, student affairs, the university foundation, and a view ahead.

The Revised Statutes of the State of Missouri, 1929. Vol 2 Revised and Promulgated by the Fifty-Fifth General Assembly, Jefferson City, MO: The Revision Commission, 1929.

Article 19, Lincoln University--Agricultural School and Demonstration Farm for the Negro Race, provides in nine sections for the following reorganization mandates: change name to Lincoln University, control vested in board of curators who are authorized to reorganize, tenure dates established for board members, responsibilities of

board of curators, board has same powers as those of University of Missouri-Columbia board, arrangement for attendance at an adjacent state's university for tuition fees, control of agricultural school at Dalton, Missouri transferred to board, attendance at Lincoln.

---. Fifty-First General Assembly. Jefferson City, MO: Charles U. Becker, Sec. of St., 1921.

SB 435 provides for repeal of existing statutes regarding Lincoln University and provides for new sections mandating areas of control by board of curators. Also, appropriation of \$500,000 made to carry out purposes of act to the board for purposes of reorganizing the University.

HB 79 Lincoln University: Providing for Control of Lincoln University to be Composed of Six Members, includes Sec. 1., 2., vesting control of Lincoln University in a Board of Curators and repealing existing statutes concerning same, and Sec. 8., appropriating \$329,500 for the support, maintenance and improvement of Lincoln University.

Lincoln University v. Hackmann, State Auditor 23708 Missouri Supreme Court 1922, argues against using public school funds for a source of appropriations for Lincoln University. It was contended by the justices that Lincoln University was never a public school of the state and therefore was never entitled to receive general school funds. The case was one of clarifying the legislature's intent in 1921 Laws regarding reorganization of Lincoln Institute into Lincoln University.

Richardson, Joe M. A History of Fisk University, 1865-1946. University, AL: U

Alabama P, 1980.

Richardson's institutional history presents the founding, growth and development of Fisk University. In thirteen chapters, Richardson divides the time frame by the sociological forces that shaped the school. Of particular interest connected to the history of Lincoln University are the major parallels of founding, growth, and development between the two schools. Richardson's text includes illustrations, notes, bibliography and an index.

Richings, G.F. Evidences of Progress Among Colored People. Philadelphia: George S. Ferguson, 1896.

Richings charts the progress of blacks since emancipation. The information presented is primary source data collected during the author's extensive travels in all four directions over the United States. Richings reports on all the church-related schools, the normal schools, black writers, lawyers, businessmen, banks, insurance companies, patents and other business interests, editors and journalists, churches, hospitals and homes, prominent black women, sanatoriums, institutes, seminaries, various types of schools, state schools, manufacturing interests black soldiers and places such as Richmond, VA. This panoramic view of black progress at the turn of the century is invaluable as a research aid regarding the founding of many surviving historically black colleges and universities and their publicly-funded counterparts. Lincoln University is given high praise in Riching's historical account of the founding and growth of the school.

Robinson, Wilhelmena S. Historical Negro Biographies. International Library of Negro Life and History. New York: Publisher's Company, 1968.

In 1915 Carter G. Woodson founded the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, the governing group behind this series. This reference text is divided into three sections: the fourteenth through eighteenth centuries, the nineteenth century, and the twentieth century. Although not in alphabetical order, the biographies are beneficial in checking lesser known persons from around the world as well as famous blacks whose backgrounds are less well known. It includes a bibliography, illustrations, and an index.

Savage, Sherman W. The History of Lincoln University. Jefferson City, MO: Lincoln University, 1939.

Savage's text is the penultimate source for the history of Lincoln University, Jefferson City, MO. Two other brief histories of the institution duplicate much of Savage's initial search through archives, statutes, news articles, board minutes, documents in the University's library and his personal knowledge.

Savage presents a stolid view of the institution, rarely deigning to incriminate anyone or place cause and effect relationships in sharp focus in order to explain the founding of Lincoln University and its development from 1866 to 1938. It took Savage four years to write the text and complement it with an appendix, bibliography and index plus several black and white photographs of the institution and its founders.

---. "The Workers of Lincoln University, Part I. Boards of Control." ts. Jefferson City, MO: Lincoln University, 1951.

As an outgrowth of Savage's History of Lincoln University, this typescript presents a biography of three groups of people who exercised control over Lincoln University,

Jefferson City, MO. These groups include the Board of Trustees, the Board of Regents, and the Board of Curators--names given to the governing board of the institution during its growth and development. By

return questionnaire and through research, Savage was able to preserve some of the biographical details about early members of these boards.

---. "The Workers of Lincoln University, Part II. Faculty and Graduates. ts. Jefferson City, MO: Lincoln University, 1951.

This manuscript is a result of Savage's research into the history of Lincoln University in preparation of a text by that name. Savage pays homage to the many teachers and graduates who were part of the institution from its earliest founding to 1938. Savage provides an extensive biography on each faculty member and traces the careers of early graduates into three dominant fields: professional workers, government and business, and elementary, secondary and college teaching.

"Snapshots of Old Lincoln." The Lincoln University Quarterly. 1.2 (1922): 1-17.

This early document reprints the original documents central to the founding and development of Lincoln University, Jefferson City, MO. The issue begins with the minutes from the first meeting of the 62nd U.S.C.I. January 14, 1866, in Fort McIntosh, Texas and ends with the details for the bid on the school's first new building in 1922. This 25 cent issue prepared by five undergraduates, an alumni advisor, and two faculty sponsors, is devoted to informing the schools undergraduates, graduates, and faculty about the Missouri State School for Negroes.

Snyder, Thomas D. "Higher Education." 120 Years of American Education: A Statistical Portrait. Jan. 1993: 63-74.

Snyder presents the history of higher education in America beginning with a summary of the colonial period to the present. Subsections include overviews of enrollment, institutions and professional staff, degrees conferred, Master's degrees, Doctor's degrees, first-professional degrees, revenues for higher education, expenditures, endowment and physical plant. The text is supplemented with tables (not available) and notes.

Teall, Kaye M. ed. Black History in Oklahoma. Oklahoma City: Oklahoma City Public Schools, 1971.

Using photostatic copies of archival and newspaper sources, Teall constructs the history of blacks in Oklahoma beginning with the territorial days and ending in 1970. There are six sections and an index. This text is important to the history of Lincoln University because of the source of information about Inman E. Page, president 1880-1898, 1922-23.

The Unique Role and Mission of Historically Black Colleges and Universities. Hearing before the Subcommittee on Post-Secondary Education of the Committee on Education and Labor. House of Representatives, One Hundredth Congress, Second Session (Durham, North Carolina). ERIC, 1988. ED 304 955.

The Committee on Education and Labor oversight hearing on historically black colleges and universities focused on their unique role and mission in the United States. Colleges created to serve black Americans have existed for over 135 years, and during this time, they have demonstrated their ability to meet the special needs of black students. There are currently just over 100 such colleges, and they enroll nearly 20% of all black Americans attending college. Though funding problems have made several of these institutions close their doors, recently they have enjoyed a resurgence of strength and popularity. This hearing looks closely at the outcome of the nation's investment in black colleges and universities to better understand what is happening on their campuses today and to explore their future needs. Statements are presented from Congressmen Pat Williams, Tim Valentine, and Major Owens as well as several members of panels on Financial Assistance for Student and Faculty Development. It is recommended that a commission on black education rather than on higher education be considered. Prepared statements and supplementary materials from 14 representatives of black colleges are included.

Viles, Jonas. The University of Missouri. Columbia: U Missouri P, 1939.

Viles places the founding and development of the University of Missouri within the context of its time and place and also within the context of the history of higher education in America. This history is the latest of three in print; the first published at the end of the nineteenth century, the second, published at the beginning of the twentieth century. The text is divided into seven chapters on the old university and twelve chapters on the modern university. A few illustrations are included.

Ward, A.W., G.W. Prothero and Stanley Leathes, eds. The Cambridge Modern History. Vol. VII. New York: Macmillan, 1934.

This early volume is one of an undisclosed number of volumes which presents the comprehensive history of Canada, the French and English colonies from earliest records to 1934. Of particular interest is the detailed information about early slavery in the Northwest Territory.

Wilson, Frances J. "Josephine Silone-Yates: Early Years of the Black Women's Club Movement in Missouri." Research Journal 1.1 (1982): 115-123.

Josephine Silone-Yates taught at Lincoln University beginning in 1883 as an instructor of chemistry, elocution and English literature also serving under Dr. Inman Page, president, 1880-1889, during his first tenure in that office. She left in 1889 when she married. She was also instrumental in starting women's clubs in Missouri, the first state to organize a Black woman's club (in Kansas City under the founding guidance of Mrs Yates and Anna H. Jones and Helen Abbot). There was a local club in Jefferson City, The Harper Woman's Club, formed in 1890 discussed in J.E. MacBrady's A New Negro for a New Century in a section written by Fannie Barrier Williams on the black womens' club movement.

Mrs. Yates returned to teaching in Lincoln in 1906, remaining until the death of her husband in 1910 when she returned to Kansas City. She wrote publicity for and articles about the school. She has the distinction of being one faculty member who tried to resign in 1907 (due to illness), but the board refused to accept her resignation. By the

turn of the century, she had already achieved national fame as president of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs. She was a venerated leader of the entire movement, wife, mother and teacher.

Wilson, Jeremiah Moses. The Golden Age of Black Nationalism, 1850-1925. New York: Oxford U P, 1978.

Wilson analyzes the "golden age" of black nationalism from the Compromise of 1850 and the Fugitive Slave Act to the imprisonment of Marcus Garvey in 1925. He examines literature, and intellectual and institutional history of black Americans citing the work of Alexander Crummell, W.E.B. DuBois, Frederick Douglass, and Booker T. Washington and the National Association of Colored Women. He challenges the notion that Washington betrayed Douglass' vision. He provides close interpretation of the poetry of W.E.B. DuBois, the novels of Martin Delaney and Sutton Griggs to explore the tradition of genteel black nationalism in literature. He traces the decline of classical black nationalism concurrent with trends that gave rise to the Harlem Renaissance and the "New Negro Movement"--redefinitions of cultural and spiritual directions of African Americans.

Wilson's study is important in tracing the development of broad trends affecting black schools established in the nineteenth century. Lincoln's founding soldiers had some precedent in designing their resolutions to focus on a curriculum of study and labor, and integration. Both concepts were the focus of numerous positions taken by black leaders in the debate about civilizing emancipated blacks. Socialization, assimilation, and isolation are all concepts mingled into this time frame and this movement among educated and free blacks.

Woodson, Carter G. The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861. Washington, D. C.: The Associated Publishers, 1919.

Dr. Woodson's study is still an important study of education for blacks from the beginning of slavery to the Civil War. In many respects, his sources bear upon the validity of his assessment now more than when the study was conducted because of the ensuing scholarship from other black historians, sociologists, and educators who have based much of their work on his. In thirteen chapters, Dr. Woodson moves from individual efforts to attain literacy in spite of beatings and even death, to the efforts of blacks to learn in hidden schools, then schools established for blacks or those that admitted blacks. He discusses higher education, vocational training, and common schools.

In connection with the history of Lincoln University, a thorough and close reading of the text reveals several illustrations of individuals in Missouri who were recorded by others as having exceptional abilities or rare opportunities to learn during the antebellum period and earlier. Without theorizing, Dr. Woodson makes clear when and where attitudes and laws changed to redirect black initiatives to learn and advance.

This study covers the smallest of settlements or plantations where blacks existed; however, not all citings of places or persons are indexed. His text has an appendix, bibliography and an index.

APPENDIX—A

LINCOLN UNIVERSITY

STATEMENT OF MISSION, ROLE, SCOPE AND VISION

Mission

Lincoln University is an 1890 land-grant, comprehensive institution which is part of the Missouri state system of higher education. Founded in 1866 by the 62nd and 65th colored infantries, the institution was designed to meet the educational and social needs of freed African-Americans. While remaining committed to this purpose, the University will continue to offer comprehensive services to a diverse body of traditional and non-traditional students with a broad range of academic preparation and skills. This synthesis of historical mission with current and future needs and opportunities embodies the unique purpose that Lincoln University fulfills among the state colleges and universities.

In recognition of its statewide mission and its adherence to an open admissions policy, the University is committed to providing quality education and living/learning opportunities that are unique and beneficial to the citizens of Missouri, and to persons from other states and nations. To this end, the University is dedicated to offering a variety of undergraduate programs, grounded in the liberal arts and sciences, and graduate programs in selected disciplines that prepare students for success in careers and lifelong learning.

Consistent with its heritage and with the demands of an emerging global society, the University recognizes that effective education combines both curricular and extracurricular activities designed to foster the development of the total person. Accordingly, Lincoln University is committed to instill in its students the desire to learn; to increase the knowledge of their social and ethical responsibility; to develop an appreciation for and understanding of the arts and humanities; to cultivate their ability to think logically and critically; to prepare them to work effectively and confidently in their chosen careers; and to develop their respect for individual differences as a prerequisite for prospering in a pluralistic society.

Role and Scope

Lincoln University specializes in meeting the needs of a diverse student population in terms of age, ethnicity, gender, and socio-economic background. As an historically black institution, particular attention continues to be given to African-American students from both within and outside Missouri/. The University also provides academic, personal, and social programs and services that are commensurate with the needs of the diverse population which it serves. In this regard, an array of unique, as well as standard, educational and support services is provided. In addition, the University provides opportunities for non-traditional students to participate in educational activities held at on- and off-campus sites.

Lincoln University maintains that higher education is both a right and a privilege. In this context, all in-state students earning a high school diploma or its equivalent are considered to be eligible for admission as undergraduate students. Students who complete

at least the minimum high school core curriculum required for entry into the University will be admitted without any academic preconditions. All other students will be admitted on a conditional basis. Persons from out-of-state, those who transfer from other institutions of higher education or those who are seeking graduate status, will be required to meet additional admissions criteria. Several programs among the curriculum offerings of the University also have specific admissions criteria.

While the primary emphasis of Lincoln University is to provide quality education for its students, independent research efforts and scholarly activities are important and encouraged. Such research efforts reinforce and enhance this instructional emphasis as well as all other aspects of the University mission. Public service activities of the University and its faculty, staff and students also play an important role in the contributions that Lincoln University makes to the region and the state. In addition, the designation of Lincoln University as an 1890 land-grant institution adds a major dimension to the instructional, research and public service activities of the University. Numerous research activities are generated and supported through programs in Cooperative Research, while the Cooperative Extension program, a part of the statewide Extension system, makes outreach and service its primary function. Aspects of these activities are further advanced and coordinated through the Office of International Programs.

As a comprehensive University, Lincoln University offers a broad spectrum of undergraduate programs and graduate programs in selected disciplines. The liberal arts and sciences are emphasized in part through the general education curriculum that undergirds all undergraduate degree programs. The majority of credit hours generated and a significant number of degrees awarded by Lincoln University are currently in

Business, Computer Science, Engineering Technology, Nursing Science, and Teacher Education. Most of the graduate degrees are currently awarded in the Business and Education programs. Many of these disciplines also support international activities as part of their curricular offerings. The University also provides an array of student services, some of which are basic to the needs of all students and others that are unique to the needs of persons and groups within the population. However, all services are designed to contribute to the optimum college experience and foster a climate conducive to social development.

Vision

While preserving its history and heritage, Lincoln University continues to grow and develop and will remain in the forefront of providing educational opportunities through:

- advancing a sense of community while building upon the strengths and contributions of all individuals and groups. A diverse student, faculty, and staff population will be enhanced through the recruitment of minority students, faculty, and staff, the development of articulation agreements with two-year colleges, and other activities. The curriculum and support services for students at all levels of preparation will reflect this goal.
- developing a number of key academic areas into centers of excellence while remaining responsive to the educational needs of the service population. The areas designated as centers of excellence will be central to the mission of Lincoln University, will clearly meet the educational demands of the service population, and will have demonstrated academic excellence and integrity.

- continually assessing the General Education Program to ensure its relevance to current and future educational needs.
- increasingly reflecting the emerging global society. This will be accomplished through continued internationalization of the curriculum, through the active recruitment and increased support of international students, and through the expanding participation in international development projects.
- enhancing programs in continuing education through expansion of non-credit offerings.
- utilizing alternative modes of instructional delivery that include distance-learning and emerging technologies, such as telecommunications, multi-media options, and computer-assisted learning.
- using its land-grant resources to complement more of the instructional programs and to enhance the relevance of the land-grant mission to contemporary society.

Revised October 30, 1992

Mission Statement Revision Task Force

Linda S.Bickel, Chair

APPENDIX—B

SELECTED TEXTS

The following sources are beneficial to the study of historically black institutional histories:

An African-American Bibliography: History, Selected Sources from the

Collections of the New York State Library. ERIC, 1992. ED 346 015.

This bibliography lists selected resources of the New York State Library that document and comment on the experience of African Americans in the history of the United States. In addition to primary sources and significant historical works, the bibliography contains references to bibliographies and research aids. Although the bibliography covers the African-American experience from the colonial to the present, it emphasizes the post World War II period and civil rights movement.

Cowan, Tom and Jack Maquire. "History's Milestones of African American Higher

Education." The Journal of Blacks in Higher Education. Winter(1994/1995): 86-90.

Cowan and Maquire present a time line of blacks in higher education beginning in 1763 and spanning to 1993. What is odd about this survey is the omission of Lincoln University, Jefferson City, MO and the inclusion of Lincoln University (founded as Ashmun Institute, 1854) in Oxford, PA. The Missouri Lincoln University was founded in

1866, the same year as Rust College in Holly Springs, MS, Morgan State College in Baltimore, MD, and Fisk University in Nashville, TN which are all listed for that year.

Cross, Theodore and Robert Bruce Slater. "The Financial Footings of the Black Colleges." The Journal of Blacks in Higher Education Winter(1994/1995): 76-79.

Cross and Slater examine the endowment funds of all 41 private black colleges whose total funds are minuscule compared to the endowments of white colleges and universities. The authors examine the collective fund raising efforts of the United Negro College Fund and the endowments of the top ten largest endowments at white universities. The top six black college endowments are cited by amounts. The authors note that the 41 private black colleges represented by the United Negro College Fund (UNCF) is less than the endowment of 1,400-student Swarthmore College in Pennsylvania. One private New Hampshire boarding school's endowment is twice that of Howard University's \$125.1 million. Underfunding has been the nemesis of all black colleges and universities since their founding. Lincoln University does not have an endowment, nor does it regularly conduct fund raising events save the drive to collect over \$9 million dollars to build a new library.

Ford, Yvette. "Slaves, Soldiers, Dreamers: The History of Lincoln University." The Veteran's Voice 6.3 (1996): 1+.

Ford is in charge of the archives in the Ethnic Studies Center at Inman E. Page Library, Lincoln University, Jefferson City, MO. She contributed this article about the

founding of Lincoln to the Memorial Day Weekend issue of this state newspaper for veterans. Her major source of information was Sherman W. Savage's The History of Lincoln University.

Gill, Wanda. The History of Maryland's Historically Black Colleges. ERIC, 1992. ED 347 887.

This paper presents a history of four historically black colleges in Maryland: Bowie State University, Coppin State College, Morgan State University, and the University of Maryland, Eastern Shore. The history begins with a section on the education of blacks before 1800, a period in which there is little evidence of formal education for African Americans despite the presence of relatively large numbers of free blacks throughout the state. A section on the education of blacks from 1800 to 1900 describes the first formal education of blacks, the founding of the first black Catholic order of nuns, and the beginning of higher education in the state after the Civil War. Sections on each institution cover the founding and development, their responses to social changes in the 1950s and 1960s. Another chapter describes the development and manipulation of the out-of-state Scholarship Fund which was established to finance black students who wished to attend out-of-state institutions for courses offered at the College Park, Maryland campus and other campuses from which they were barred. A timeline of important events in higher education for blacks in Maryland precedes a bibliography of 35 references.

“Historically Black Colleges and Universities, 1976-1990.” Historically Black Colleges and Universities, 1976-1990. July 1992: 1-15.

This report, prepared by the staff of the Education Department presents a statistical overview of the development of historically black colleges and universities (HBCUs) over the past 15 years. The first section reviews the historical context of black colleges followed by an analysis of recent statistical trends. The goal of this report is to present data that provides current information about the role of HBCUs in the American higher education system. Included are summary enrollment, degree, staff, and finance tabulations for all HBCUs plus institutional-level tabulations for each school. Racial and ethnic data present analysis of the diversity of student; institutional and state-level statistics offer data for comparison with other HBCUs in each state. Trends in enrollment are tabulated for each institution to show important developments at specific black colleges and universities.

APPENDIX C

TIME LINE

The following list presents the chronological time span for each chapter. Events occurring within the time frame are both internal and external to the institution and refer to significant constituent groups or individuals connected to Lincoln University. Time sequences do vary according to the specific details discussed in each chapter. Please consult the subheadings in the Table of Contents.

Chapter I—1720-1868

Chapter II—1863-1867

Chapter III—1868-1870

Chapter IV—1866-1880

Chapter V—1879-1902

Chapter VI—1902-1922

Chapter VII—1923-1959

Chapter VIII—1960-1982

Chapter IX—1982—1996

APPENDIX D
INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL EVENTS
RELEVANT TO LINCOLN UNIVERSITY

The following time line presents a list of internal and external events relevant to the founding, growth, and development of Lincoln University.

INTERNAL EVENTS

Date	Event
1866	Black veterans of the 62 nd and 65 th United States Colored Infantry and some white officers from each contributed \$6, 379.50 to establish a school in Missouri.
1867	Richard B. Foster, a veteran officer of the 62 nd , started Lincoln Institute in a two-room log building (known as Hobo Hill) located on the outskirts of Jefferson City, Missouri.
1870	The Missouri legislature passed acts to allow Lincoln Institute to establish a normal department and to receive \$2,500 semi-annually from the state treasury.
1872	Lincoln Institute moved to a new three-story building. The campus also included a two-story farm house and several barracks.
1879	The Missouri legislature granted Lincoln Institute \$15,000 in aid to

- to establish a normal school in exchange for the school's property
- 1889 Black citizens and supporters of Lincoln Institute met in St. Louis to object to a bill that would appropriate \$10,000 to annex a school for the blind at Lincoln Institute. The bill was defeated.
- 1891 The Missouri legislature passed a bill to establish an agriculture and mechanic arts department at Lincoln Institute.
- 1903 Students from 48 counties in Missouri attended Lincoln Institute. The industrial program included new courses and the summer school program expanded.
- 1909 Wealthy residents in a local subdivision that also contained Lincoln Institute's farm succeeded in getting the school's board to sell the property and thus remove students and faculty from their area.
- 1913 Lincoln Institute's board suspended twelve students for contacting state legislators with complaints about the campus Ruskin Literary Society.
- 1918-19 During a winter freeze, food prices increased, certain foods were restricted; and coal supplies were sold away from Lincoln. Wood-burning stoves were purchased for heat. Students and faculty spread the flu throughout the school.
- 1919-22 Lincoln Glee Club received statewide acclaim during its spring tours.
- 1921 Lincoln sued the state auditor for release of promised \$500,000 appropriation from a state treasury fund. The judge determined that

- there were no funds earmarked for the school.
- 1922 Students conducted the first protest at Lincoln Institute. They complained about food and more social privileges.
- 1923 Students made their first request for Greek letter fraternities and sororities at Lincoln Institute.
- 1925 Supporters from St. Louis, Kansas City, and other cities in Missouri blocked Lincoln's board from firing President Nathan B. Young. This is the first and last such successful effort by alumni and friends.
- 1925 Lincoln Institute's teaching training division received full accreditation from the North Central Association.
- 1929 The Missouri legislature passed a bill to transfer the Dalton Vocational School from the University of Missouri-Columbia board to Lincoln University's board.
- 1930 Students' request to establish fraternities and sororities was accepted and the organizations began to recruit members.
- 1932 Lincoln's first student loan fund was established through a private donation.
- 1933 Lincoln's first High School Day began a tradition of inviting African American students from Missouri high schools to tour the university and the state capitol, Jefferson City.
- 1934 The North Central Association of Secondary Schools awarded Lincoln University full accreditation.

- 1934 Lincoln's board granted tenure for the first time to 14 professors.
- 1937 The Missouri State Supreme Court heard the suit brought by Lloyd W. Gaines against the University of Missouri-Columbia after he was denied admission to the Law School there. The court ruled that to admit Gaines would be contrary to public policy and thus directed Lincoln University to establish a law school for African American students. The U.S. Supreme Court later ruled that the University of Missouri-Columbia must admit Gaines or the state must establish a law school at Lincoln University.
- 1939 Lincoln University established a law school in St. Louis, Missouri.
- 1940 Lincoln University offered a new Master of Arts degree program.
- 1941 Lincoln University celebrated its 75th anniversary.
- 1947 The Midwest Journal's inaugural issue was published.
- 1950 Irving C. Tull Hall, a new men's dormitory, and Inman E. Page Library opened for students.
- 1953 Champion women's tennis player Althea Gibson coached the new tennis team at Lincoln University.
- 1953 During the inauguration of Governor Phil M. Donnelly, the parade marshall ordered Lincoln's R.O.T.C. unit to march at the end of the parade behind the artillery, a violation of standard military practice for which Governor Donnelly pressured the House of Representatives

- to vote an apology to the school.
- 1955 Five new honor societies opened to qualified students in science, music, general education, economics and business administration, and military science.
- 1958 The school newspaper, The Clarion, published an article about initiation abuses within the school's fraternities and sororities.
- 1958 Lincoln's enrollment increased to over 1,000 students due to the 1954 desegregation law that banned separate facilities for blacks and whites.
- 1960 Seventy percent of Lincoln's faculty held the doctorate degree.
- 1965 Lincoln University awarded three alumni with the Alumni Achievement Award for their contributions to the school. This event began an annual event held at each Commencement.
- 1966 Lincoln's board purchased an estate in Jefferson City to use as the President's residence. The former on-campus house for the president was demolished.
- 1967 Students rioted on campus to protest poor quality food, poor dormitory living conditions and lack of maintenance, an overly strict dress code, and excessively high prices at the campus bookstore.
- 1968 Students protested a negative editorial denouncing Rev. Martin

- Luther King, Jr. the day after his assassination. Students stormed the office of the Jefferson City Tribune.
- 1969 Students barricaded themselves inside the campus student center to protest the expulsion of several protesting students and President Dawson's refusal to negotiate with them on a list of grievances.
- 1972 Public education radio station KLUM-FM began broadcasting from Lincoln University.
- 1975 An economic impact study revealed that Lincoln University spent almost ten million dollars each year in Cole county.
- 1982 During a statewide financial crisis, Lincoln's board members ignored President James Frank to seek matching funds from the state's Coordination Board for Higher Education before firing Dr. Frank.
- 1984 Lincoln alumni and supporters successfully campaigned against passage of a bill to make Lincoln a regional university and to transfer its graduate programs to the University of Missouri-Columbia.
- 1986 The Commissioner of Education in Missouri publicly accused Lincoln University of spending \$600,000 more than had been appropriated to the school.
- 1986 Lincoln's board declared the school to be in a state of financial exigency.
- 1988 Lincoln's administration and board defeated efforts by the Commissioner of Education to make Lincoln University part of the Missouri State University system by combining it with Central Missouri State University.

- 1990 Lincoln University operated with a surplus of \$1.8 million in unallocated funds; enrollment increased to almost 4,000 students, and faculty and staff received between nine and thirteen percent salary increases.
- 1991 Lincoln University celebrated its 125th anniversary.
- 1993 Fees were increased to offset \$300,000 in budget cuts.
- 1995-96 Lincoln's teacher education program won accreditation from the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education.
- 1996 Lincoln's board deleted several administration positions to increase faculty salaries.

EXTERNAL EVENTS

- | Date | Event |
|------|---|
| 1821 | Missouri became a state. There were approximately 10,222 slaves and 56,016 white residents in Missouri. |
| 1836 | The first public school building in Jefferson City opened. The site was called Hobo Hill and was later used by Lincoln Institute. |
| 1882 | The state superintendent of public schools commended President Inman E. Page as a great educator and suggested changes in Lincoln's board member selection process. |
| 1885 | Missouri Governor Crittenden praised Lincoln's administration and faculty under President Page citing Page as the best educator in the state for black students. |

- 1900 Wilberforce University in Xenia, Ohio influenced some students at Lincoln University who were interested in secret societies and later Greek letter fraternities and sororities during the mid-1920s.
- 1904 Lincoln Institute participated in the 1904 World's Fair in St. Louis. The school's exhibits and Lincoln Institute Day Program achieved statewide acclaim.
- 1913 The Missouri legislature authorized the sale of the original 362 acres of land purchased with the veterans funds (called University Farm) and asked Lincoln's board to purchase another farm. This bill was not initiated by Lincoln University but instead by forces opposing the school.
- 1921 Walthall M. Moore, the first African American legislator elected in Missouri, introduced a bill to change Lincoln Institute to Lincoln University—a school to become equal to the state university.
- 1927 Commissioner of Education, John J. Tigert, urged presidents of Negro land grant colleges to send representatives to their own annual conference.
- 1927 Rep. Walthall M. Moore, one of two black legislators, presented a resolution from the Citizens Committee of One Thousand from St. Louis calling for investigation of board president Judge S.W. James' coercion of school faculty and staff to buy stocks in a certain Kansas City savings and loan company.

- 1928 Missouri Governor Henry S. Caulfield called for Lincoln University to be developed to the standards of the University of Missouri-Columbia in accord with the 1921 state law. He asked the state legislature to fund a survey of Lincoln to determine its needs.
- 1929 The U.S. Veteran's Bureau requested that Lincoln University educate and train disabled black veterans.
- 1930 The General Education Board of New York reported the results of their study of Lincoln University's needs to the board before contributing to the school.
- 1942 Lucille Bluford's suit against the University of Missouri-Columbia for failure to admit her to its School of Journalism rendered a decision mandating a School of Journalism be established at Lincoln University.
- 1947 Jefferson City's public school board charged Lincoln University \$50 to use its stadium for a homecoming football game, then refused to allow Lincoln's athletes use of the showers and locker room and also refused to return the fee.
- 1953 Due to a severe shortage of nurses in the mid-Missouri area, St. Mary's Hospital in Jefferson City was forced to hire three black registered nurses from Lincoln University's program to help alleviate the staffing shortage
- 1954 Missouri schools (and those across America) were legally mandated to end segregation as a result of a landmark Supreme Court decision.

- 1955 The Missouri Hotel in Jefferson City opened its facilities to blacks without pressure or negotiation following the 1954 Supreme Court's decision against segregation.
- 1955 Eighteen white female teachers enrolled in classes at Lincoln University to earn inservice credit.
- 1960 Recruiters from large corporations began coming to Lincoln University to interview and hire graduates.
- 1961 The Wesley Foundation, the Baptist Student Union, and the Newman Center expanded organization membership and moved to larger facilities near Lincoln University's campus.
- 1962 Roy Wilkins, President of the NAACP, met with President Dawson to discuss expulsion of several students who protested discriminatory policies at a Jefferson City bowling alley.
- 1981-82 The Missouri legislature withheld five percent of funds allocated to state institutions and agencies. Lincoln's board and administration raised fees and declared a moratorium on all state expenditures.
- 1991 Jefferson City's Central Bank contributed \$50,000 to Lincoln University for scholarships.
- 1991 The Coca-Cola Company in Atlanta, Georgia contributed \$50,000 to Lincoln University for scholarships.
- 1994 Governor Mel Carnahan removed constraints from the previous administration imposed against Lincoln University's campaign for a new library.

1996 Malawi's president visited Lincoln University to show gratitude for the agricultural projects conducted by the university to benefit his country.

VITA

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