

**S0011 Calloway, Ernest (1909-1989)**  
**Papers, 1937-1983**  
**78 Folders, 2 Tapes , 1 Bound Volume**

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Related collections:

S0540 Calloway, Ernest (1909-1989), Addenda, 1932-1989

S0550 Calloway, Ernest (1909-1989), Addenda, 1948-1984

S0012 Calloway, Deverne (1916-1993), Papers, 1956-1983

S0551 Calloway, Deverne (1916-1993), Addenda, 1929-1989

Ernest Calloway donated his papers to the Western Historical Manuscript Collection in increments on September 9, 1971 and June 26, 1980.

Calloway was born in Heberton, West Virginia. His family moved to the coal fields of Letcher County, Kentucky in 1913 as one of the first black families in the coal mining communities of Eastern Kentucky. His father helped organize the first local United Mine Workers' union in Letcher County. Calloway attended high school in Lynchburg, Virginia. He quit school and ran away to Harlem in 1925, during the time of the New Negro Renaissance. He worked as a dishwasher in Harlem until his mother fell ill, when he returned to Kentucky at age 17. Calloway worked in the mines of Consolidated Coal Company until 1930. During the early 1930s he traveled around the United States and Mexico as a drifter. After a frightening hallucinatory experience in the mountains of Baja, California in 1933, he returned to the coal mines of Kentucky.

That same year Calloway submitted an article on marijuana use to *Opportunity* the magazine of the National Urban League. Opportunity rejected Calloway's manuscript but asked him to write another article on the working conditions of blacks in the Kentucky coal fields. Calloway submitted the second article "The Negro in the Kentucky Coal Fields", and *Opportunity* published it in March 1934. The article resulted in a scholarship to Brookwood Labor College in New York, a training facility for labor organizers headed by the radical pacifist, A.J. Muste.

From 1935 to 1936 Calloway worked in Virginia and helped organize the Virginia Workers' Alliance, a union of unemployed W.P.A. workers. In 1937 he moved to Chicago and organized railway station porters (redcaps) and other railroad employees into the United Transport Employees Union. Calloway helped write the resolution creating the 1942 Committee Against Discrimination in the CIO. When the first peacetime draft law came into effect in 1939, Calloway was the first African American to refuse military service because of race discrimination. The case received national publicity but was never officially settled. Calloway never served in the Jim Crow Army.

Calloway joined the *National CIO News* editorial staff in 1944.

In 1946 he married DeVerne Lee, a teacher who had led a protest against racial segregation

in the Red Cross in India during World War II (see collection S0012). The following year he received a scholarship from the British Trade Union Congress to attend Ruskin College at Oxford, England, but by the time it was granted, Calloway had returned to the United States and begun working with the CIO Southern Organizing Drive in North Carolina. Because of a dispute over organizing tactics in an attempt to unionize workers at R.G. Reynolds Tobacco Company, Calloway left the CIO in 1950 and returned to Chicago. There he was enlisted by Harold Gibbons of the St. Louis Teamsters union to establish a research department for the Teamsters in St. Louis.

Calloway canceled his Fulbright scholarship. He had discovered that Local 688 was creating programs for health, housing and recreation for its members, contributing as much to the social environment of workers as it did to adequate working conditions. In 1951 Calloway advised the rank and file union committee that developed a plan to integrate public schools in St. Louis. The Teamsters presented it to the St. Louis Board of Education three years prior to the Supreme Court decision on integration. The Board rejected the proposal.

In 1955 Calloway was elected president of the St. Louis NAACP.

Within the first two years of his presidency, membership grew from 2,000 to 8,000 members. He led successful efforts to gain substantial increases in the number of blacks employed by St. Louis taxi services, department stores, the Cocoa Cola Company and Southwestern Bell. The NAACP opposed a proposed city charter in 1957 because it did not include civil service reforms, public accommodations sections or support for civil rights. The charter was defeated.

Calloway served as campaign director for the Reverend John J. Hicks in 1959. Hicks became the first black elected to the St. Louis Board of Education. Calloway also directed the campaign for Theodore McNeal's 1960 senatorial race. McNeal won by a large margin, becoming the first black elected to the Missouri Senate. The following year Ernest and DeVerne Calloway began publishing *Citizen Crusader* (later named *New Citizen*), a newspaper covering black politics and civil rights in St. Louis. Also in 1961 he was the technical advisor for James Hurt, Jr.'s successful campaign as the second black to be elected to the St. Louis School Board. DeVerne Calloway became the first black woman elected to the Missouri Legislature in 1962 when she won a seat on the House of Representatives on her first bid for public office.

Calloway worked with the Committee on Fair Representation in 1967 to develop a new plan for congressional district reapportionment. Supported by black representatives in the Missouri Legislature, and a coalition of white Republicans and Democrats, the plan created a First Congressional District more compatible to black interests. In 1968 Calloway filed as a candidate for Congress in the new district. He was defeated in the democratic primary by William Clay, who became the first black elected to Congress from Missouri.

In 1969 Calloway lectured part-time for St. Louis University's Center for Urban Programs. He became an assistant professor when he retired as research director for the Teamsters in June 1973. He later became Professor Emeritus of Urban Studies at St. Louis University. Calloway suffered a disabling stroke in 1982.

## **SCOPE AND CONTENT**

The Ernest Calloway papers of 1937 to 1980 document Calloway's activities as president of the St. Louis NAACP, political analyst for Teamsters' Local 688, political activist in St. Louis and a lecturer on urban problems for St. Louis University. The papers include reports and memoranda developed by the NAACP on employment issues concerning blacks, including a study of hiring discrimination by the St. Louis Police Department and a boycott of the St. Louis Lever Brothers plant for discriminatory hiring practices. The NAACP's opposition to the 1957 municipal charter is also documented. The papers contain material from significant St. Louis black political campaigns, including the Reverend John J. Hicks' election as the first black on the St. Louis Board of Education and Theodore McNeal's election as the first black in the Missouri Senate. Other campaigns documented include aldermanic committee races in the predominantly black 25th ward from 1960 to 1964 and the Tucker-Cervantes mayoral race in 1965. Statistics on black voting behavior and employment compiled by Calloway are also included. The papers also contain reports by Calloway on American authors, black politics in St. Louis and the trade union movement. The bulk of the material is from the 1960s. The papers contain correspondence, speeches, public statements, studies, reports, campaign materials, leaflets, literature, posters, sample ballots, newsclippings, political newspapers, statistics, photographs and tapes.

## **SERIES DESCRIPTION**

### **SERIES 1 - PERSONAL FILES, 1937-1976, FOLDERS 1-5**

The Personal Files series includes a biographical sketch, personal correspondence, a resolution on Ernest Calloway passed by the Missouri Senate, speeches and public statements by Ernest Calloway. Arranged alphabetically.

### **SERIES 2 - SUBJECT FILES, 1956-1965, FOLDERS 6-15**

Subjects include Anheuser-Busch hiring practices, a City-County merger, child welfare services, fire fighters and the NAACP. Arranged alphabetically.

### **SERIES 3 - CAMPAIGN FILES, 1934-1976, FOLDERS 16-25**

The Campaign series includes campaign leaflets, literature, posters, sample ballots and newsclippings from black political campaigns in St. Louis, primarily from the early 60s. Arranged alphabetically.

### **SERIES 4 - REPORTS, 1942-1980, FOLDERS 26-33**

The Reports series includes reports written by Calloway on American authors, black politics in St. Louis, school desegregation and the trade union movement. Arranged alphabetically.

### **SERIES 5 - STATISTICAL STUDIES, 1950-1968, FOLDERS 34-43**

The Statistical Studies series includes information compiled by Calloway on black voting behavior, employment, consumer expenditures and public office appointments held by blacks. Arranged alphabetically.

### **SERIES 6 - PHOTOGRAPHS, 1948-1968, FOLDER 44**

The Photographs series 11.1-11.46 includes photographs of Calloway, Harold Gibbons, Reverend John J. Hicks, the Teamsters March on Washington in 1963, President Lyndon B. Johnson, James Symington, DeVerne Calloway, Benjamin Goins, Fred Weathers and other black political leaders. Arranged chronologically.

### **SERIES 7 - NEWSPAPERS, 1961-1964, FOLDER 45, BOUND VOLUME**

The Newspapers series includes copies of political newspapers edited and published by Ernest and DeVerne Calloway. Copies of *New Citizen*, originally called *Citizen Crusader*, from 1961 to 1962 are contained in a bound volume.

### **SERIES 8 - TAPES, 1970, 1975, T-021 AND AT-17**

The tapes series includes an oral history interview conducted in 1970 and a speech given by Calloway at UMSL in 1975.

### **SERIES 9 - ADDENDA, 1960-1983**

The addenda contains articles written by Ernest Calloway for the *St. Louis American*, 1973-1981, on such topics as the black social and political renaissance in St. Louis, 1956-1963, the Iranian hostage crisis, the social conditions of coal miners in the Kentucky cumberlands, the Jim Crow army, and the North St. Louis ghetto. It also includes population and political statistical reports; charts and graphs concerning blacks in St. Louis used by Calloway in his Urban affairs class at St. Louis University, 1975-1979; lists of city government boards and commissions; correspondence documenting Calloway's involvement with neighborhood and community development organizations, including the meeting minutes of Governor Joseph Teasdale's Advisory Council Housing and Neighborhood Investment Study, 1977-1978; newsclippings and correspondence on the East St. Louis Airport, 1975-1979; personal and professional correspondence with St. Louis public officials; a report prepared for Teamster Local 688 by David Berman on occupational safety, 1973.

The addenda also contains correspondence on Calloway's promotion to Associate Professor Emeritus of Urban Affairs at St. Louis University, 1977 (f. 72); a report written by Calloway on cities with problems similar to St. Louis, 1975; a 1960 study of Human Rights in Missouri by the Missouri Commission on Human Rights and material used in Calloway's St. Louis University course on the Urban Black (f. 75-76.)

## **FOLDER LISTING**

### **BOX 1, FOLDERS 1-11**

#### **SERIES 1 - PERSONAL FILES, 1937-1976**

1. Biographical Sketch, 1976
2. Correspondence, 1961-1963
3. Resolution on Calloway by Missouri Senate, 1976
4. Speeches and Public Statements, 1937-1963
5. Speeches and Public Statements, 1963-1966

## **SERIES 2 - SUBJECT FILES, 1956-1965**

6. Anheuser-Busch Hiring Practices, 1962-1963
7. Borough Plan for City-County Merger, 1961-1962
8. Child Welfare Services, 1963-1965
9. Fire Fighters, nd.
10. NAACP Boycott of Lever Brothers, 1964
11. NAACP St. Louis Handbook, 1956

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12. NAACP Job Opportunities Council, "The A&P Story", nd.
13. NAACP Study of Hiring Discrimination at St. Louis Police Department, 1961-62
14. Negro American Labor Council, Press Releases, 1963
15. People's Art Center, 1962-1963

## **SERIES 3 - CAMPAIGN FILES, 1934-1966**

16. Board of Education Results, 1934-1957
17. Clay-Seay Committee Race, 1964
18. Democratic Primary, 1964
19. Elections, 1966
20. Hicks Campaign, Board of Education, 1959
21. Theodore D. McNeal's Senatorial Campaign, 1960

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22. Municipal Charter, 1957
23. Tucker-Cervantes Mayoral Race, 1965
24. Twenty-sixth Ward Committee Race, 1965
25. Weathers-Lavin Primary Race, 1962

## **SERIES 4 - REPORTS, 1942-1980**

26. Architects of An Unfinished Dream, 1981
27. Black Candidates for City-Wide Office, 1960-1970
28. Decline in Black Politics in St. Louis, 1979
29. History of the American Trade Union Movement, 1942
30. St. Louis: Its Political Arithmetic and Voting Behavior, 1970-1979
31. School Desegregation, 1980

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32. An Introduction To Black Politics, 1976; Some Random Notes on St. Louis Black Politics, 1979
33. Working Man's Guide to Collective Bargaining, 1968

## **SERIES 5 - STATISTICAL STUDIES, 1950-1979**

34. Aldermanic Seniority, 1979
35. Businesses in St. Louis, 1960-1963
36. Distribution of Membership in St. Louis Labor Council, 1965
37. Personal Income Levels and Consumer Expenditure Averages, 1950-1961
38. Public Offices, Commission and Board Appointments Held by Negroes in St. Louis, 1953-1967
39. Registered Voters and Negro Population Statistics in Other States, 1950-1960
40. Registered Voters in Negro Wards and Precincts, 1963
41. Registered Voters in Negro Wards and Precincts, 1968
42. Registered Voters in Negro Wards and Precincts with Summaries on Population and Voting Behavior, 1950-1979
43. Wage Rates, Race and Sex Distribution, 1962

#### **SERIES 6 - PHOTOGRAPHS, 1948-1968**

44. Photographs 11.1-11.46, 1948-1968

#### **SERIES 7 - NEWSPAPERS, 1961-1964**

45. Political Newspapers Edited by Ernest Calloway, 1964 Bound Volume. *New Citizen* (*Citizen Crusader*), 1961-1962

#### **SERIES 8 - TAPES, 1970, 1975**

T-021 Ernest Calloway interviewed by Dr. Richard Resh, July 31, 1970

AT-17 Campus Speakers Project, "The Future of St. Louis", by Ernest Calloway, January 31, 1975

#### **SERIES 9 - ADDENDA, 1960-1983**

46. Articles, 1973, 1974, 1980-1981
47. Black Leadership Roundtable, Pine Village, St. Louis, November 17, 1979
48. Black Metropolis, Urban Affairs, St. Louis University, 1977

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CD: Ernest Calloway, "The Future of St. Louis," 1/31/75  
(UMSL Campus Speakers series Archives tape #17)

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