Early History of William Jewell College and the Owning of Enslaved Persons (1848-1879)
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on Behalf of the William Jewell College Racial Reconciliation Commission

Introduction

In April 2021, Dr. Elizabeth MacLeod Walls, Jewell's President, established a Racial Reconciliation Commission for the College. In her announcement of the Commission to the campus, Dr. MacLeod Walls wrote, "The work of the Commission … is to tell Jewell's story deliberately and thoughtfully … with the aim of *finding and expressing both an historical and moral truth about the racial history of William Jewell College spanning the years of our founding until today*." This document is the first installment of the work of the Racial Reconciliation Commission.

Historical Context

William Jewell College was founded in 1849 by persons who were white, of the Baptist denomination and resided in central and western Missouri, from Columbia (Boone County) west to Kansas City (Jackson County). There were also influential persons from Hannibal and Palmyra (Marion County). Most of the persons who established the College moved to Missouri primarily from Kentucky and Virginia bringing with them their Baptist denominational identity and their practice of owning enslaved persons. The context of western Missouri at the founding of the College through the Civil War is the backdrop for the research on the early history of William Jewell College and its relationship to slaveholding. Commission member and alumnus, Mr. Mark Mathes, adds to this backdrop through his personal historical research, identifying four factors in the settlement of western Missouri and Clay County specifically: (1) land was free for settlers in Missouri; (2) settlers in Missouri faced a level of poverty; (3) there were great difficulties in clearing the land; and (4) the 1820 Missouri Compromise shaped the reality in western Missouri and how community developed.[1] Settlement occurred in several ways. In the early 1800s, land grants in Missouri were issued to U. S. soldiers. The high-quality and affordable land along the Missouri River attracted farmers (from Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee) who saw the opportunity for commercial agriculture. When supported by enslaved labor, some of these farmers gained significant wealth. With the passage of the Homestead Act in 1862, free land was available in Missouri with some conditions. The expansion into Missouri displaced Indians who were forced off tribal lands and further west.

Official College Histories[2]

There are two histories of William Jewell College both written by long-time Jewell faculty members - James G. Clark (1873-1924) and Hubert I. Hester (1926-1961).[3] Clark wrote the first history of the College in 1893 at the request of the Board of Trustees. The first part of Clark's book is a chronological history of the College. The second and longer part contains biographical sketches of key figures in the early years of the College. Clark made no mention that many of these key figures were owners of enslaved persons or that their material resources that benefited the College came from enslaved labor. Hester wrote the second history of the College in 1967. For the earliest years of the College, Hester was dependent on Clark's work. Hester, too, made no mention that early leaders of the

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[1] Mathes, Mark, "Early History of Clay County," Research presentation to the Racial Reconciliation Commission, October 5, 2021.
[2] A description of sources is found in Appendix A.
[3] This document makes frequent references to Clark's and Hester's histories.

College owned enslaved persons.[4] The history of William Jewell College pertaining to race, and so the full history of the College, remains untold.

I. Founders and Early Leaders of Jewell

The College was established by a Charter of the General Assembly of the State of Missouri dated February 1849. Of the 26 persons named in the Charter to be the corporation (Trustees), 22 are identified as owning enslaved persons in the 1850 and/or the 1860 census (84.6%) (Appendix B). The Charter states that the Trustees are a self-perpetuating body. The Charter was written by and presented to the Missouri Legislature by William Carson, Marion County, a Charter Jewell Trustee.

Key Individuals
Dr. William Jewell
Dr. William Jewell was the most important person in the early history of the College. He initiated the idea of a Baptist College in Missouri, gave more money to the College than any other individual in the early years,[5] and planned the College's first and most iconic building, Jewell Hall. Because he died in 1852, Dr. Jewell's direct involvement with the College was limited to its founding and the first three years of its existence. Dr. Jewell was present at the first Trustee meeting of which there is a record, August 28, 1851.

Judge North Todd Gentry gave a public address on Dr. William Jewell's life in Gano Chapel in 1932.[6] Through this address, we learn that Jewell was born on January 1, 1789, in Loudon County, VA. His family moved to Gallatin County, KY in 1799. After graduating from Transylvania University, Lexington KY, he read medicine in the office of a leading physician and graduated from medical college. In 1820, Dr. Jewell moved to Missouri, settling in Franklin (Howard County). In 1821 Dr. Jewell moved to Columbia (Boone County) where he practiced medicine, owned numerous farms and town properties, and was active in public matters.

Dr. Jewell served as Mayor of Columbia, State Legislator (1826, 1844) and State Senator (1830-34). He promoted many public projects: the construction of the Boone County Courthouse; construction of wide, safe, and accessible streets in Columbia; improvement of river passage in Missouri; construction of roads and bridges for travel and commerce; a public hospital for the mentally ill; and in 1836 Dr. Jewell led in the building of Union Church in Columbia, jointly occupied by Baptist and Methodist congregations for 16 years.

There are three events in the public life of Dr. Jewell that speak to his sense as a humanitarian.
1. As a State Legislator, he advocated and voted for the elimination of the whipping post and the pillory as public punishment for criminals, including slaves.[7]
2. He advocated for the construction of a new Boone County Jail and for the humane treatment of persons incarcerated in the jail, specifically the end of the practice of chaining/shackling of prisoners.[8]

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[4] Writing about the 1870s at the College, Hester made brief mention of the contribution that "Negro helpers" made to the staff and students (Hester, p. 46). See Section V. below.

[5] Dr. Jewell made a gift of land to establish an endowment fund for the College. The land gift was valued at $10,000. Records of the 1848 Subscription Campaign indicate that Dr. Jewell pledged five shares valued at $240. Hester and Clark mentioned additional gifts to the College for $6,000 to $7,000 dollars. Gentry wrote that Dr. Jewell's will included a bequest to the Trustees of William Jewell College for $3,000. "*Dr. William Jewell, An Address delivered in Gano Chapel of William Jewell College*, Liberty MO, Tuesday, December 6, 1932" by Judge North Todd Gentry, p. 23.

[6] Gentry, p. 1.

[7] Ibid., p. 6.

[8] Ibid., p. 24.

3. He authored a state statute for physician-patient confidentiality laws.[9]

The 1850 Missouri census of owners of enslaved persons for Boone County identifies Dr. William Jewell as owner of six enslaved persons. Gentry wrote, "Dr. Jewell … owned slaves, but he evidently did not approve of slavery …"[10] Four actions taken by Dr. Jewell give insight to his thinking about the enslaved persons he owned.

1. Commission member and Faculty Emerita, Dr. Cecelia Robinson, included in her research that "when two of his four enslaved persons were accused of stealing, Dr. Jewell hired a lawyer and they were acquitted."[11] Dr. Robinson's research showed that Dr. Jewell hired his enslaved as servants to care for the sick and hired out his enslaved blacksmith, Stephen, for servant hire to the House of Representatives to be paid out of monies appropriated for the pay of the General Assembly.[12]

2. In 1846, he worked through the legal process of Boone County at that time to free four of his enslaved persons. Gentry wrote, *"…in 1846 he [Dr. Jewell] executed deeds of emancipation to four of them, Mandy, Ralph, Emanuel and Phillis, as shown by the Boone County deed records. Then, as shown by the Boone County Court records, Dr. Jewell took his former slaves into the Boone County Court, had them to apply for a license to live in the state as free persons, made proof of their good character and signed the bond of each one for one hundred dollars for good behavior, as the law then required (R. S. Mo., pp. 1094-5)."*[13]

3. He led efforts to establish an African Colonization Society in Boone County. *"In 1843, a number of Boone County citizens became interested in and organized an African Colonization Society, and Dr. William Jewell was elected president, ... The members of this organization were dissatisfied with slavery, as it then existed in this country, but no definite plan was worked out, although meetings of the organization were held once a month for two years."*[14] Dr. Cecelia Robinson researched Colonization and specifically Dr. Jewell and Colonization as part of her presentation to the Commission:

> "The American Colonization Society was founded in the city of Washington in December 1816 for the purpose of colonizing the free people of color as an alternative to emancipation in the United States. From the start, colonization of free blacks in Africa was an issue on which both whites and blacks were divided. Some blacks supported emigration because they thought that black Americans would never receive justice in the United States. Other blacks believed African Americans should remain in the United States to fight against slavery and for full legal rights as American citizens. Some whites saw colonization as a way of ridding the nation of blacks. Other whites believed black Americans would be happier in Africa, where they could live free of racial discrimination. Still others believed black American colonists could play a central role in Christianizing and civilizing Africa. Dr. William Jewell established an African Colonization Society in Columbia Missouri in 1843. The society's desire … was to provide an alternative to abolition and redress the injustice to Blacks by returning them to Africa."[15]

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[9] Ibid., p. 7.

[10] Ibid., pp. 15-16.

[11] Dr. Cecelia Robinson, Professor Emerita of English, William Jewell College. Research presentation to the Racial Reconciliation Commission, September 9, 2021.

[12] William Jewell College Archives, Dr. William Jewell Box. Text of letter: "State of Missouri, City Jefferson 13th July 1833, I certify the sum of sixteen dollars 12 cents is due William Jewell for the use of his Slave Stephen, for servant hire and services for the House of Representatives, to be paid out of monies appropriated for the pay of the General Assembly. Th Reynolds, Speaker of the House of Rep, William Scott, Clerk H. of Rep." The reverse side notes: No. 262/W. Jewell/13 Feb/$16.12/[Signed] W. Jewell

[13] Gentry, p. 15-16.

[14] Ibid., p. 15.

[15] Dr. Robinson, Research Presentation.

4. Dr. Jewell's will provided for the future of his enslaved persons. Gentry wrote, "By his will, executed in February 1852, Dr. Jewell emancipated "Stephen, a blacksmith by trade," and gave him his blacksmith tools; and by his will he emancipated "Ellen, a faithful servant."[16] Jewell alumnus, Nathan Woodward, discussed Dr. Jewell's will in his Master's thesis:

> "William Jewell was one of the wealthier men on the Missouri frontier during the prewar years, as such, his will offers a glance into both his capital, his distribution thereof, and a Baptist insight into slavery. Upon his death in 1852 the Western Watchmen published Jewell's final wishes to satisfy the requests of its reading public. Out of eleven points, the first two dealt with Jewell's chattel slaves, though neither mentioned the word slave. Instead, they were called the "negro man," "negro woman," and "children." … The "negro man" was to be freed. He could earn a living as a blacksmith without the supervision of whites. The "negro woman," with no trade listed, became the property of Jewell's seven-year-old grandson. Jewell requested that his widowed daughter Angeline Wilson keep the slave woman and her children under her watch until his grandson turned twenty-one."[17]

Dr. Jewell's will specified that if his grandson died before reaching the age of twenty-one, Ellen was to be freed but not her children.[18]

Dr. William Jewell defies simple assessment. In civic matters and public policy, he was bold and progressive in thought and action. Jewell evidenced thoughtful compassion for his patients, criminals and the mentally ill. When he decided what he thought the best course of action, Jewell was determined. Through his involvement with the Colonization Society, Jewell seemed to be seeking societal solutions to the plight of free Blacks. His treatment of his own enslaved persons is enigmatic. There is no evidence that Jewell openly condemned enslaved labor or advocated its abolition. While he planned and worked for the freedom of his own enslaved persons, Jewell did not free Ellen's children but rather kept them to serve future Jewell family members ensuring Ellen's family was separated. Even though the current day person might wish for a better assessment of Dr. William Jewell in relation to enslaved laborers, it is notable that his thought and action set him apart from the vast majority of Missouri's citizens who owned enslaved persons.

Alexander W. Doniphan

Alexander Doniphan was born in Mason County, Kentucky in 1808. His father died when Doniphan was five years old. Doniphan's biographer comments that his father's "will provided adequately for his young son, bequeathing to him a slave boy named Steven and a part of the family farm, where his mother and the other children remained."[19] At age 19, Doniphan graduated from Bracken Methodist College in Augusta, Kentucky. He studied law and was admitted to practice in 1829. Doniphan moved to Missouri in 1830, first settling in Lexington where he was admitted to practice law and then moving to Liberty three years later. He practiced law in Liberty for 30 years. Doniphan gained distinction for service in the Missouri State Militia during the Mormon conflict of 1838 and the Mexican American War of 1846.

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[16] Gentry, p. 16.

[17] Woodward, Nathan *Baptists and Slavery in Frontier Missouri During the Antebellum Era*, A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of Master of Arts, Department of History, Colorado State University, 2011, p. 37. A synopsis of Dr. Jewell's Will was published in *The Western Watchman*, September 2, 1852.

[18] "In the event of grandson's death previous to arriving at the age of twenty-one, Ellen (not her children) to be free." "Dr. Jewell's Will" in *Western Watchman*, September 2, 1852, p. 1.

[19] Launius, Roger D. <u>Alexander William Doniphan: Portrait of a Missouri Moderate</u> (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1977), p. 3.

Alexander Doniphan was the person most responsible for Clay County raising the largest subscription in the campaign to establish a Baptist college and for William Jewell College being in Liberty. In 1848 "the friends of learning and education at Liberty committed to Gen. Alexander Doniphan the task of arousing the people of the county to the importance of making an effort to secure the location of the school in their county town and of obtaining the necessary subscriptions of money for that purpose. … he visited every part of the county, traversed every community, and presented a masterly, convincing argument for the cause of the college … The effort was crowned with success and with a formidable subscription …"[20] A meeting was held in August 1849 in Booneville to decide on the name and location of the newly chartered College. Alexander Doniphan and James Turner Vance Thompson represented Clay County. Doniphan successfully argued and maneuvered so that Clay County was selected as the location for the new College and that the school would be named for Columbia physician, Dr. William Jewell. Doniphan's name is listed as a Trustee in the Charter. However, his name appears in only one College Catalog Trustee list, in 1853. Of the records that exist, Doniphan is listed as attending only two Trustee meetings, one in June 1854 and another in October 1855.[21]

Doniphan's perspective was threefold: (1) proslavery, (2) extension of slavery into the territories, and (3) preservation of the Union.

(1) Proslavery - "Doniphan had an intellectual, social, political, and probably even racial attachment to the institution [slave owning]; he accepted it as the norm and not something that need be overturned. However, the most important point for Doniphan … was that slavery was a legal institution and slaves were property. … From a legal perspective this position appeared fully justifiable, and Doniphan and his fellow southern constitutionalists made the argument repeatedly. In doing so, however, they failed to understand the moral outrage brought by the antislavery champions. Those opposed to slavery appealed to a higher law than the United States Constitution, the moral inequity of holding another human being in bondage."[22] Doniphan never challenged the institution of slavery in antebellum Missouri and owned slaves until the Civil War.[23] "Doniphan was also an eloquent spokesman for slavery as a social and economic institution. While serving in the state legislature between 1836 and 1838, for example, he actively upheld the rights of slaveholders to their property as opposed to other issues at stake like free speech and human rights."[24]

(2) Slavery in the Territories - "Doniphan embraced the constitutional rights of slaveholders to take their property into the territories … To deny owners the right to their property simply because someone dubbed a region 'free soil' seemed one of the worst violations of American liberty he could imagine."[25]

(3) Preserve the Union - "Doniphan showed his commitment to the Union, and to the subverting of the proslavery prerogative to the larger question of national unity. It did not mean that he opposed

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[20] Lawson, L. M., *Founding and Location of William Jewell College* Missouri Historical Society Volume 4 No. 3, 1914, pp. 3-4.

[21] Two of Doniphan's brothers-in-law Robert Donnell and Oliver P. Moss, served as Jewell trustees.

[22] Launius, p. 223.

[23] Ibid, p. 3. The 1850 census for Clay County includes Doniphan's wife, Elizabeth Thornton, as owner of 18 enslaved persons. The 1860 census for Clay County includes Alexander Doniphan owning 5 enslaved persons. Doniphan's biographer states that Alexander Doniphan "always accepted the basic arguments of racial inferiority of dark-skinned people.

[24] Ibid., p. 10. ""Most of the people living in Clay County, like Doniphan, were from the South, especially Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia, North Carolina, and Maryland. Although he may have been much better educated and more refined than most of the people on that frontier, Doniphan found that he had a great affinity for them. He understood, appreciated, and accepted the culture and institutions that they had transplanted from the older South. This included several ingredients, but the most outwardly apparent was chattel slavery" p. 9.

[25] Ibid., p. 241 and 223.

slavery – that never seems to have been the case – only that he would stand with the Union. In so doing, he also rejected efforts by antislavery leaders to keep slavery from the territories."[26]

        The 1850s and 1860s were difficult years, personally and publicly. Doniphan was grief-stricken by the deaths of his sons. John Thornton died of poisoning on May 9, 1853 (217) and Alexander William died from drowning, May 11, 1858.[27] After Lincoln was elected in the 1860 election, "Doniphan refused to give up hope that the Union could be preserved and threw himself into the creation of a last-ditch compromise effort between extremists of both sides."[28] Doniphan misjudged that southerners would choose secession rather than compromise. There was one victory for him in these years. In February and March 1861, Doniphan was a delegate to the State Constitutional Convention that voted to keep Missouri in the Union. Doniphan "urged a middle ground that did justice to the Union and the rights of all its citizens."[29] "At home in Clay County, Doniphan expressed dismay at the brutality taking place on the western border."[30] "Doniphan was more than fifty-five years old by the time the Civil War ended in the spring of 1865…. He knew that the war had destroyed the Missouri he had loved, causing the deaths of thousands of its inhabitants and setting slave-owning society at odds with postwar reality."[31] Doniphan came to the conclusion that gradual emancipation was the best option for Missouri as the political end of slavery was inevitable.[32] In his post-war speeches, Doniphan emphasized "patriotism to the Federal union and moderation and charity toward the fellow citizens of the nation who had rebelled against the national government."[33]

Persons with Significant Influence
J. T. V. Thompson

        Thompson, along with Alexander Doniphan represented Clay County at the 1849 meeting in Booneville. Thompson donated land east of Liberty as the location of the College. The gift became the land on which the first College building, Jewell Hall, was built. The 1850 Missouri census of owners of enslaved persons for Clay County identifies J. T. V. Thompson as owner of 39 enslaved persons. Clark's History of William Jewell College contained a biographical sketch of Thompson. "After the commencement of hostilities in 1861, being an ardent Southern man, he followed the fortunes of General Sterling Price in southwest MO. At the battle of Pea Ridge (or Elkhorn) Thompson was captured and taken to the Gratiot St. prison in St. Louis. After some weeks of imprisonment, he was released on parole and allowed to return to his home in Liberty where he resided during the remaining ten years of his life" (Clark, p. 119). In an autobiographical statement, Thompson wrote, "I am and always have been an old-fashioned states-rights Jackson Democrat. During my residence in Clay County I have been connected with every public enterprise in the county of any moment – the founding of William Jewell College and various schools … In 1849, I donated to the Trustees of William Jewell College the grounds whereon the College edifice is erected. I think that I have done my duty in the way of assisting in the development of the resources of Clay County." [http://genealogytrails.com/mo/clay/timeline.html]

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[26] Ibid, p. 215.

[27] Ibid, pp. 238-9.

[28] Ibid., pp. 244-5. "Most Missourians, like Doniphan, believed in conditional Unionism at the same time that they embraced slavery" p. 246.

[29] Ibid., 251.

[30] Ibid., 260.

[31] Ibid., 265.

[32] There was no gradual emancipation in Missouri. On January 11, 1865, the Constitutional Convention meeting in St. Louis passed an ordinance eliminating slavery in Missouri. Galusha Anderson, The Story of a Border City in the Civil War (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1908), p. 343.
https://www.sos.mo.gov/CMSImages/MDH/1865ConstitutionOrdinanceabolishingslaveryinMissouri.pdf

[33] Launius, 266.

On July 3, 1854, J. T. V. Thompson chaired a meeting in the Clay County Courthouse that passed resolutions calling for Kansas to be a "slave state." [https://www.kshs.org/p/bypaths-of-kansas-history-february-1937/12698] It is significant that the College's iconic and oldest building sits on land that was probably worked by enslaved persons and purchased with money gained through the labors of enslaved persons.

Roland Hughes - Howard County, is listed in the 1849 Charter. Hughes gave $1000 in the 1848 Subscription Campaign. He was President of the BOT (1851-1854). Hughes loaned the College $1,000 but converted the loan to a donation (See Section B below). Hughes died in 1855. The 1850 census for Howard County listed Hughes as owning twenty-five enslaved persons.

Oliver P. Moss - Jewell Trustee 1853-1880. Moss attended 70 of the 85 Trustee meetings during his years of service, served as Secretary of the BOT for many years, one of the five Trustees to transition from 1868 to 1869[34], and financially supported the College. Names for the 1848 Subscription Campaign from Clay County were omitted. Moss loaned the College $600 and the College repaid the loan (see Section B below). The 1860 census for Clay County listed Moss as owning ten enslaved persons.

John B. Wornall - Jewell Trustee 1859-1891. Wornall attended 45 of the 75 Trustee meetings during his years of service. He was President of BOT for more than 20 consecutive years, one of the five trustees to transition from 1868 to 1869, and financially supported the College. Wornall is named as buying 1 share in the 1848 Subscription Campaign. The 1860 census for Jackson County listed Wornall as owning four enslaved persons.

Lewis B. Ely - Jewell Trustee 1869-1896. Ely attended 35 of the 50 Trustee meetings during his years of service. One of the new Trustees elected in 1869, Ely's work as Financial Agent and Treasurer was instrumental to the survival of the College. The 1860 census for Carroll County listed Ely as owning eight enslaved persons.

Other persons with long tenures and significant service to the College: WS Garvey (owned one enslaved person), DC Allen (not listed), WA Morton (owned four enslaved persons), Madison Miller (owned seven enslaved persons), JE Bryant (not listed), XX Buckner (not listed), GL Black (not listed), Joseph Flood (owned seven enslaved persons), EM Samuel (owned seven enslaved persons), WL Watkins (owned four enslaved persons)

Charter Trustees with Limited Influence on the College

Five persons listed in the 1849 Charter never appear on a list of Trustees in the College Catalog: R. R. Craig, John Ellis, Thomas Hatcher, Robert James, and Jordan O'Bryan. Of these five, only R. R. Craig is not listed as owning enslaved persons. Also, Craig is listed on an early donor list as "doubtful" of paying his $96 pledge ($96 corresponded to two shares in the 1848 Subscription).

Four persons listed in the 1849 Charter appear in only two lists of Trustees: Thomas Lilbourne Anderson, Samuel Taylor Glover, William Jewell, and John M. Robinson. All four are listed as owners of enslaved persons. Tyre C. Harris appears on five lists of Trustees (1850-1854) and was a promising faculty member but died in 1855.

Composition of the Jewell BOT Regarding Slave Owning.

1. Of the 26 Charter Trustees, eight served 20 years. All eight of these Trustees ended their service in 1868 when the College reopened after the Civil War. Seven of the eight were owners of enslaved persons.

2. Between 1850 and 1859 (pre-Civil War), 26 individuals were elected to the BOT, and 15 are identified as owning enslaved persons on the 1850 and/or the 1860 census (58%).

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[34] The dramatic change in membership of the Jewell Board of Trustees is discussed below.

3. Between 1868 and 1892 (post-Civil War), 66 individuals were elected to the BOT, and 13 are identified as owning enslaved persons on the 1850 and/or the 1860 census (20%).

4. Between 1849 and 1900, 119 individuals were elected to the BOT, and 55 are identified as owning or previously owning enslaved persons on the 1850 and/or the 1860 census.

5. No individuals elected to the BOT after 1876 are identified as having previously owned enslaved persons on the 1850 and/or the 1860 census, however the individuals who had previously owned enslaved persons and were already member of the BOT continued to serve.

    a. In 1870, there were still 11 individuals on the BOT who had previously owned enslaved persons.

    b. In 1890, there were still 8 individuals on the BOT who had previously owned enslaved persons.

    c. The final two individuals on the BOT who had previously owned enslaved persons left the board in the early 1900s: Rev. W. M. Bell (Saline County) in 1900 and Elijah H. Norton (Platte County in 1905.

6. There were individuals who owned or had previously owned enslaved persons serving on the Jewell BOT continuously from 1849 to 1905.

There was a Significant Shift in the Membership of the Trustees from 1868/1869.

There were 25 members of the BOT in 1868. Of the 25 in 1868, 16 were owners of enslaved persons. There were 26 members of the BOT in 1869. Between 1868 and 1869, 20 Trustees left the BOT and 21 were added. The five members of the BOT listed in 1868 who were also listed in 1869 (Wornall, Watkins, Miller, Morton, and Moss) had all previously owned enslaved persons. Of the 21 new trustees in 1869, six had previously owned enslaved persons. Of the 26 in 1869, 11 had previously owned enslaved persons. In 1868, BOT officers all had previously owned enslaved persons. For one year, 1869, all BOT officers had not previously owned enslaved persons. However, in 1870, John B. Wornall, previous owner of enslaved persons, was elected President of the BOT and served as President for 22 years.

Jewell was a Baptist College

The founders, early Trustees, administrators, and faculty of the College were almost exclusively Baptist. All three early histories of Baptists in Missouri include the founding of the College. Significant leaders included in Clark and Hester's histories of the College are also named as significant Baptist leaders in the histories of Baptists in Missouri. The Missouri Baptist General Association (MBGA) had 15 Moderators in its first 50 years (1834-1884). Eight of the 15 were also Jewell Trustees. The MBGA had 15 Corresponding Secretaries 1834-1884. Eight of the 15 were Jewell Trustees. The MBGA had 16 Recording Secretaries 1834-1884. Nine of the 16 were Jewell Trustees. In the Trustee Minutes 1868 – 1879, there is a process for selecting trustees that included the Baptist General Association in the process.[35]

Most Jewell Trustees who owned enslaved persons and who were Baptist found affinity with Baptists of the south/Southern Baptists. Baptists of the south/Southern Baptists developed a culture and theology accepting of the practice of slavery.

There was an ongoing relationship between William Jewell College and The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary (Greenville SC and Louisville KY). Trustee John Wornall wrote that Rev. Thomas

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[35] The process was as follows: 1) The BOT would meet in the same location as the Baptist General Association. 2) A committee from each entity would meet jointly to consider persons as Trustees. 3) The Jewell committee would report to the full BOT on nominees. 4) The BOT would then elect its Trustees.

Rambaut, Jewell's President from 1867-1873, was recommended to the College by SBTS professors John A. Broadus and James P. Boyce. Jewell Trustee Rev. John T. Williams was a long-time Trustee of both Jewell and SBTS. Jewell President John Priest Greene (1892-1920) was educated at SBTS, served as a Trustee for SBTS, and in 1898 was elected President of SBTS though he turned down the Seminary presidency and remained Jewell's President.

Some Missouri Baptists found affinity with Baptists of the north and the American Baptist Home Mission Society. The St. Louis area was a center of Baptist anti-slavery sentiment.

Other Characteristics of Jewell Trustees, 1849 – 1879

Family/friend connection played a role in the selection of Jewell Trustees: OP Moss and Robert Donnell were brothers-in-law to Alexander Doniphan; there were Wornall, Ely, Allen, Moss, Hughes, and Waddell families on the BOT; D. C. Allen and A. W. Doniphan were law partners and life-long friends; Rev. William M. Bell was R. E. McDaniel's son-in-law; Rev. T. C. Harris was Dr. William Jewell's pastor; Rev. William C. Ligon was Lewis B. Ely's pastor; Charles H. Hardin was Dr. Jewell's nephew.

Jewell Trustees who had served in the Confederate Army included: J .T. V. Thompson (soldier), George W. Rogers (Chaplain), John T. Chandler (soldier)[36], G. W. Hyde (Chaplain), Henry Talbird (officer), and John M. Allen (regimental surgeon).

Trustee Abijah Withers and the "Sheely Girl"

Mr. Abijah Withers was a Trustee of William Jewell College 1850-1851. He is not listed as ever having attended a Board of Trustees' meeting. The census for Clay County in 1850 identifies Abijah Withers as the owner of nine enslaved persons and the 1860 census as the owner of 20 enslaved persons. A descendent of Withers included the following story in a family memoir.

> "Once we had a negro boy named Timothy. He was a mighty good dependable boy and we thought a great deal of him. Tim was smitten with a girl who belonged to Wm. Sheely. My grandfather was one of the original trustees of Wm. Jewell College and when he was trying to raise money enough to build the school he asked his neighbor Sheely for a subscription. Mr. Sheely had no boys, but several daughters and he said to my grandfather, 'Now, Mr. Withers, I haven't any money and I haven't any boys but I want to help this endeavor the best that I'm able so I'll tell you what I'll do. I'll give you a negro girl towards the establishment of this school and you can just put her up on the block and sell her.' 'No,' my grandfather said, 'I'll just buy her myself and add her price to my subscription. I have a boy, Timothy, that asked me to buy her some time ago and I've been thinking about it anyhow.' So he bought this girl and she and Timothy were married.

There are two references in early College documents of Abijah Withers making a contribution to Jewell. In the early financial records, there is a handwritten, undated list of persons making contributions to the College. The list includes Abijah Withers paying the College $74. In the 1852 Scholarship Campaign, Abijah Withers signed a pledge for $50 on June 7, 1852.

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[36] John T. Chandler joined the Jewell faculty in 1859. When the Civil War began and the College closed, Chandler returned to Cooper County and joined the Confederate Army 2nd Missouri Cavalry. He transferred to Beauregard's Army in Corinth, MS and then Forrest's Tennessee Division in 1864. After returning to Liberty in 1867, Chandler joined a law practice and joined Jewell's BOT in 1877 serving as Treasurer (Clark, 93-9). Jewell faculty member, Dr. Gary Armstrong, cites a source that Chandler was present at the Ft. Pillow Massacre in April 1864 and was an adjutant in Black Bob McCullough's Missouri Mongrels. Andrew Ward, River Runs Red: The Fort Pillow Massacre in the American Civil War (Penguin Publishing Group, 2005), pp. 20-1.

The Robert Thomas Letter and The *Dollar Journal* Article

Early documents of the College include a hand-written letter from President R. S. Thomas to the Board of Trustees. The following is a transcript of the letter. While the letter is not dated, Thomas was President from 1853 – 1855. Thomas' letter refers to a newspaper article published in the *Dollar Journal*, a paper published in Columbia, MO from 1853-1855. The letter gives insight to the perspective of the BOT in the mid 1850s.

Honorable Board of Wm Jewell College

Gentlemen

When in Columbia a few days ago my attention was called to the article in the Dollar Journal to which you refer and it was at once my purpose, at an early day, to disabuse the mind of its readers upon the subject. As yet however I have not had a leisure moment for that purpose.

It is true that when in Boston many enquiries were made of me with reference to Kansas and the contiguity of our College to that Territory – what number of young men in the institution were studying for the ministry, and was there a probability of their locating in Kansas or Nebraska – what was our textbook in Moral Science. These questions I answered truthfully with an explanation of opinion that some of our young ministers would probably locate in one or the other of those territories.

It is not true that I intimated to any in Boston or elsewhere that William Jewell College favored abolitionism or that such sentiments were countenanced by any of it students, officers or friends. Hoping that this is a satisfactory answer to your communication on the subject. I remain

Respectfully yours

R. S. Thomas

The State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia, preserves some issues of the newspaper, *Dollar Journal*, on microfilm.[37] The article referencing Jewell was not in any of the issues of the paper preserved at SHSMO. Comparing the contents of Thomas' letter to issues of the paper provide some context for the article. The *Dollar Journal* article probably dealt with the Kansas Nebraska Act of 1854. This Act was passed by Congress May 30, 1854. Issues of the newspaper for June and July 1854 contained numerous follow-up articles about the Kansas Nebraska Act. It can be assumed that there were also articles before the Congressional vote. The article that mentioned Jewell may have appeared in the time leading up to the Congressional vote on the Act or sometime between January and May 1854. President Thomas' letter to the Jewell Board of Trustees mentions Jewell ministerial students going into Kansas and Nebraska. Most Jewell Trustees were pro-slavery and wanted Kansas to be a slave state.

Summary

As noted above, over 80% of the College's Charter Trustees owned enslaved persons. Through the 1850s, the Trustees of William Jewell College continued to elect and re-elect members to the Board who owned enslaved persons. Given that not all new members elected to the Board owned enslaved persons, it can be said that owning enslaved persons was neither a qualification nor disqualification for being elected to the Board. It is reasonable to conclude that if a Trustee brought resources to the College, the Board saw no problem if the resources came from enslaved labor. It is notable that the dramatic shift in membership of the Board from 1868-1869 did not signal any change in mindset. For eight years after the Civil War, the Board continued to elect members with a history of owning enslaved persons. Further, the Board allowed persons with a history of owning enslaved persons to continue their service on the Board. From 1871 to 1876, the Board elected five persons as Trustees who served in

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[37] The earliest issue of *Dollar Journal* preserved at SHSMO is June, 1854.

the Confederate Army. There is no evidence in their records that the Board ever made a moral judgement on enslaved labor. In fact, the Board's own behavior demonstrates that the moral/theological perspective of the antebellum period that condoned enslaved labor continued into the 20th century.

II. The Early Finances of the College

Documents dating to the late 1840s and 1850s explain the financial reality of the founding of the College and fiscal challenges of the years up to the Civil War.[38]

Land Gifts

There were two gifts of land used to establish the College. Both gifts came from persons who were white, lived in central and western Missouri, and owned enslaved persons. The first gift, quite well known, came from Dr. William Jewell of Columbia. Dr. Jewell, a physician, offered the Baptists of Missouri $10,000 (based on the value of land that would be sold) as the initial gift for the endowment of the College. Hester identified the Missouri counties of Mercer, Grundy, and Sullivan where this land was located.[39]

The second gift came from James T. V. Thompson of Liberty. Thompson, along with Col. Alexander Doniphan represented Clay County at the 1849 meeting in Booneville. Thompson donated land east of Liberty as the location of the College. The gift became the land on which the first College building, Jewell Hall, was built. The 1850 Missouri census of owners of enslaved persons for Clay County identifies J. T. V. Thompson as owner of 39 enslaved persons. As mentioned previously, the College's most iconic and oldest building sits on land that was probably worked by enslaved persons and purchased with money gained through the labors of enslaved persons. Further, J. T. V. Thompson fought as a soldier in the Confederate Army.

The 1848 Subscription Campaign

1. At the 1847 meeting of the General Association (Baptist), a committee was formed to work toward establishing an educational institution (Committee members: Roland Hughes, William Carson, Wade M. Jackson, R. E. McDaniel and David Perkins all of whom became Charter Trustees, all are listed as owners of enslaved persons except Perkins). The committee proposed a Subscription Campaign to sell shares at $48. Lawson wrote, "Great interest in the enterprise had developed and was manifest in other parts of the state. Lively competition sprang to life, and there was active and determined rivalry in the emulous contest."[40]

2. Early records of the College contain lists of the 1848 Subscribers by Missouri County. These records show that subscriptions came from hundreds of persons. The table on the following page shows that not quite half (44.2%) of the known Subscribers to the 1848 Campaign owned enslaved persons according to the 1850 census. However, 218 subscribers from Clay County are unnamed and this

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[38] See Appendix A, A. Trustee Records.

[39] Dr. Jewell also bequeathed a legacy to the College in his will. "Full-sized portrait, taken by Mr. Bingham in 1849 to William Jewell College. Also (in addition to $10,000 subscribed in his lifetime to same institution) $3,000 to College, to be paid eighteen months after his death, provided said college has a President in the fullest sense; one half of said $3,000 to be expended by the President in the purchase of suitable books for College Library, and the other half for chemical and philosophical apparatus. If at the expiration of said eighteen months there be no President, payment of legacy to be deferred till there is one." "Dr. Jewell's Will" in *Western Watchman*, September 3, 1852, p.1.

[40] Lawson, L. M., *Founding and Location of William Jewell College* Missouri Historical Society Volume 4 No. 3, 1914, p. 4.

represents more than a third of all subscribers. In 7 the 14 counties included in the table, the percentage of subscribers who owned enslaved persons was 50% or greater and in another 4 counties, the percentage was above 40%. If the unknown subscribers from Clay County are reflective of the other counties, and there is no reason to think they are not, then the percentage of subscribers who owned enslaved persons is near 50%. The persons who promoted the 1848 Subscription Campaign in these counties solicited and accepted funds without discriminating if the funds came from enslaved labor. A significant portion of the funds pledged in this Campaign came from enslaved labor.

County	# of Subscribers	# of Subscribers/Owners of Enslaved Persons
Boone	6	3 (50%)
Callaway	14	9 (64.3%)
Cass	5	0 (0%)
Clay	15/218*	10 (66.6%)
Clinton	7	0 (0%)
Cooper	58	24 (41.4%)
Howard	69	28 (40.6%)
Jackson	24	12 (50%)
Johnson	3	1 (33.3%)
Lafayette	3	3 (100%)
Marion	65	37 (56.9%)
Platte	47	11 (23.4%)
Randolph	12	8 (66.6%)
Saline	41	17 (41.5%)
	369/587*	163 (44.2%)

*The list for Clay County includes 218 entries identified as "Name Omitted."

3. At a meeting in Booneville in August 1849, Clark said that 884 shares of stock were represented at $48 per share or a total of $49,432. Lawson observed, "Marion County, Callaway County, Boone County, Howard County, and Cooper County were represented by delegates composed of influential Baptists, and they bore with them important contributions to the capital fund for the foundation of the college."[41] Lawson noted that Clay County had the largest subscription of all the counties.[42]

4. Because the subscribers were spread across 14 Missouri counties and were allowed eight years to pay their subscriptions, the BOT expended significant effort and cost to collect the subscriptions. In fact, the College never realized the full value of the pledged subscriptions. Included among the early documents is a list of subscribers with a left-hand column "Doubtful" and a right-hand column "Good." Some of the names on this list appear on the County lists and some do not. There are 16 names noted as doubtful out of 120 on the list. Of the 16 noted as doubtful, one is identified as deceased. The total amount ascribed to "Doubtful" is $643.55 and the total amount ascribed to "Good" is $4,437.73. There is not a date visible on this list nor is there indication who compiled the list. There is one name on the "Doubtful" list that is notable, R. R. Craig, a Charter Trustee. In this document, he is listed as doubtful for $96 (two shares). This may explain why R. R. Craig is not listed as a Trustee after 1849.

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[41] Ibid. pp. 4-5.
[42] Ibid, p. 10.

5. The money raised in the 1848 Subscription was managed by the College Trustees. They were loaning the money with interest. The Trustees were responsible to collect the principal and interest on these loans. There were costs involved for collections.

The 1852 Scholarship Campaign

In 1852, just four years after the original Subscription Campaign, the BOT conducted a Scholarship Campaign.

1. There are copies of 85 "Scholarship Pledges."

2. The wording on the "Scholarship Pledge" is as follows:

*Whenever the Agent of William Jewell College shall certify, by publication in the Liberty Tribune and Western Watchman, that the sum of Fifty Thousand Dollars has been secured by the sale of Scholarships, I promise to pay to E. M. Samuel, Treasurer of said College, or his successor in office, the sum of $ _____, to bear interest from the date of said publication if not paid promptly. Given under my hand this _ __ day of _____ 185_*

3. The Scholarship Pledges are all dated June, July or August 1852.

4. The Scholarship Pledges are from Clay (60), Platte (16), Buchanan (6), Jackson (1), Clinton (1), and one pledge did not have a County listed. These Counties are close to Liberty.

5. The sum of the 85 Scholarship pledges was $4,750. There is a three-page summary that accompanies the individual pledges. That summary report totals $4970.

6. In a letter to the BOT, then College President R. S. Thomas refers to an effort he made to visit Baptist Associations in northwest Missouri to collect funds due to the College. Thomas may be referring to this Scholarship effort.

7. While there is no direct indication that the Scholarship Campaign reached the goal of $50,000, there is a note in the minutes for the September 1, 1857 BOT meeting, "Wade Jackson and OP Moss certify that a $50,000 endowment fund was raised for WJC." This could be the 1852 result of Scholarship Campaign.

Personal Gifts

In order to stabilize the College (1) to avert more closings and (2) to pacify MO Baptists who wanted to relocate the College, four Trustees committed to meet annual financial shortfalls.   Clark, on pages 31-32, identified the four persons: Captain Oliver P. Moss, Roland Hughes, Wade M. Jackson, and R. E. McDaniel. All four of these persons are identified as owners of enslaved persons. Clark wrote, "For three or four years at the close of each session there was a deficit. These men quietly paid the deficit and when a mechanics' lien threatened to close the College, Capt. Moss paid off the debt." At this time, there is no documentary evidence to support this claim.

Personal Loans

There is clear evidence in early documents of the College from the 1850s regarding personal loans to the College to keep the College functioning. The BOT was borrowing large sums of money from individuals, mostly Jewell Trustees and the wife of a Jewell Trustee. All these persons who loaned money to the BOT were owners of enslaved persons except E. B. Allen.

1. EM Samuel (Jewell Trustee and owner of enslaved persons)

Voucher No. 1, "On the first day of March next we promise to pay Edward M. Samuel six hundred and twenty two dollars for value received November 1, 1854" followed by a list of signatures each in a different hand: "Edward M. Samuel, R. Hughes, Wm. C. Ligon, Terry Bradley, M. H. Price, O. P. Moss, J. T. V. Thompson, R. E. McDaniel, A. Doniphan, Wm. Hubbell, Spencer Anderson, W. A. Morton, John T. Hughes, Waltus L. Watkins." Then there is a handwritten note, "I gave my individual note to () for this money for benefit of W J College Nov 1854, EMS." (Bills of the College, page 30-2)

2. Elizabeth Thornton (wife of Alexander Doniphan and owner of enslaved persons)
Voucher No. 2, "$300 One day after date we promise to pay Elizabeth Thornton three hundred dollars, value received with ten per cent interest from date till paid. Hereby our hands October 30 1854. Edward M. Samuel, R. Hughes, Wm. C. Ligon, Terry Bradley, M. H. Price, O. P. Moss, J. T. V. Thompson, R. E. McDaniel, A. Doniphan, Wm. Hubbell, Spencer Anderson, W. A. Morton, John T. Hughes, Waltus L. Watkins. On the reverse side of the page, there is a note that Voucher No. 2 was paid in full (Bills of the College, page 32).

3. Roland Hughes (Jewell Trustee and owner of enslaved persons)
"$1,000, Liberty October 9, 1852, On or before the first day of February 1855, the Board of Trustees of Wm. Jewell College hereby bonds itself to pay Roland Hughes, () of Howard County, one thousand dollars without defalcation or discount subject to interest at the rate of six per cent per anum from the first day of May last. Attest M. F. Price, President pro tem, Wm. C. Ligon, Secretary. (Bills of the College, page 45) On the reverse side of this page is the following, "I donate the within note/principle *[sic]* and interest to William Jewell College on this 27th day of January 1855, [signature] Roland B. Hughes

4. EB Allen (Jewell Trustee)
"December 31, 1854, Sixty days after the date I promise to pay E. B. Allen Six hundred dollars value received and without defalcation or discount negotiable and payable at the office of the Liberty Insurance Company at Liberty MO. E.M. Samuel (Bills of the College, page 51)

5. OP Moss (Jewell Trustee and owner of enslaved persons)
"Liberty Mo Dec 31, 1853, Sixty days after the date I promise to pay Oliver P. Moss Six hundred dollars for value received negotiable and payable at the office of the Liberty Insurance Company in Liberty MO without defalcation or discount. EM Samuel
On page 58, there is the following, "paid note No. 4 of Trustees to O. P. Moss due 2 Oct for $350 to meet O P Moss – EMS and WJ College () to pay JW Hunters (Bills of the College, page 52)

6. Spencer Anderson (Jewell Trustee and owner of enslaved persons)
"$750 Three months after date we promise to pay Spencer Anderson Seven hundred and fifty dollars for value received, negotiable and payable at the office of the Liberty Insurance Company in Liberty without defalcation or discount (Borrow for use William Jewell College) given under our hands August 26, 1853, Edward M. Samuel, OP Moss (Bills of the College, page 57)

Summary

At the time of the founding of the College and in the decade following, Trustees accepted funds in support of the College derived from enslaved labor and the College benefited from those resources.

(1) The College never collected the full value of the 1848 Subscription and 1852 Scholarship Campaigns.

(2) Trustees paid Financial Agents who collected subscription pledges and principal/interest on loans made by the Trustees. Trustee records show that Financial Agents were authorized to negotiate with those who owed the College money. These costs and negotiations reduced the funds received by the College.

(3) The cost to build Jewell Hall was greater than anticipated. Individuals who were citizens of Clay County committed $7,000 for a building. The cost for constructing Jewell Hall was about five times that amount. In addition to raising additional funds for the building, the College borrowed $13,000.

(4) The Trustees closed the College twice in the 1850s because of financial crises (Fall 1852-Spring 1853 and June 1855-September 1857).

(5) Records show that even to the late 1850s, the Trustees were working with the Executor of Dr. Jewell's estate to receive funds from the sale of the land and to receive other funds provided in Dr. Jewell's bequest.

(6) Trustee records show that, from 1849-1861, Trustees were focused on year-to-year operational costs because income (tuition and fees and endowment earnings) were not sufficient to meet yearly expenses. The Trustees may have received donations toward these annual shortfalls, but they also incurred loans that had to be repaid with interest.

(7) In the years leading up to the Civil War, the endowment did not compound future wealth for the College.

III. Jewell Hall's Construction Included the Labor of Enslaved Persons

At the urging of Dr. William Jewell, Mr. B. McAlister of Rocheport was hired as Commissioner for the construction/completion of Jewell Hall. Among the early documents, there is a group of pages in which McAlister itemizes costs of materials and construction. In these invoices, McAlister instructs the Treasurer of WJC to pay certain persons for materials and/or labor.

a. On one bill, McAlister wrote, "EM Samuel will pay to John H. Field one hundred & twenty dollars the balance due him on hire for his boy William after deducting expenses incurred by the College on a/c of said boy this 2nd July 1853" (Bills of the College).

b. With the bill, there is a note "Columbia July 2/53, Dear Sir, You will see by the above that I have a claim of $120 against the Jewell College. Please send me a draft on any of our (?) if they are they (?) the College () St. Louis for the amt and you will much oblige me. John H. Field" (Bills of the College).

c. There is a bill dated 1853 that W. B. McAlister spent $11.94 at a store, Miller & Bud. Included in the purchase was "1 pair of boots for Field's boy, $3.00." (Bills of the College).

d. April 16, "washing for Field's Boy, $12.60." (Ledger and Financial Reports).

e. April 30, "Maxfield $24 – Field's boy 80 cents" (Ledger and Financial Reports).

f. March 19, "box pills for Field's boy, $10" (Ledger and Financial Reports).

g. June 15, "Board for Field's boy with Mr. Stone, $25.00" (Ledger and Financial Reports).

h. May 2, "Board for Field's boy, $1.50" (Ledger and Financial Reports).

B. McAlister used the phrase "Field's boy" to describe the relationship between John H. Field and William. There are five other entries for itemized costs where McAlister uses the descriptor "boy."

a. April 13, "Arthur's Boy for work, $4.50" (Ledger and Financial Reports).

b. April 15, "Mr. Evans for hire of boy, $7.50" (Ledger and Financial Reports).

c. April 23, "Mr. Morton's boy for work, $1.75" (Ledger and Financial Reports).

d. April 26, "Evans boy for work, $1.75" (Ledger and Financial Reports).

e. June 1, "Hunter & Alford for hire of boy, $16.00" (Ledger and Financial Reports).

There are two bills that are not directly related to the Jewell Hall construction that use the descriptor "boy."

a. "Liberty, May 16, 1853. Treasurer of Wm. Jewell College pay Boy Lewis two dollars 50 cents. Jesse E. Bryant, Sup (Bills of the College).

b. "May 10, 1853, EM Samuel Treasurer of Wm. Jewell College pay Boy Jess fifty cents, J. E. Bryant, Com" (Bills of the College, page 55).

There is a note in the Trustee Minutes (1849-1879) page 31, "Patron's Report: College paid $69.00 for Negro hire."

Summary: A Listing of Enslaved Persons Identified as Related to WJC

(1) A male named William, referred to as "Field's boy"

John H. Field of Columbia MO, probably known to B. McAlister, William was likely a skilled worker because Field is paid $120 for his work and other expenses are referenced to him such as room/board, boots, and pills.

(2) A male referred to as "Morton's boy" possibly W. A. Morton of Liberty and Jewell Trustee.

(3) A male referred to as "Arthur's boy" - possibly John Arthur of Clay County but only a guess.

(4) A male referred to as "Evans' boy" – reference to a Mr. Evans but no other information.

(5) A male referred to as related to "Hunter & Alford" – This company supplied bricks for Jewell Hall.

Persons referenced in bills paid by the College

(6) There is a bill dated May 16, 1853 that refers to a persons as "boy Lewis" (page 48).

(7) There is a bill dated May 10, 1853 that refers to a person as "boy Jess" (page 55).

IV. The College Closed During the Civil War (1861-1867)

The College Closed

Trustee minutes for August 12, 1861, state: "It is ordered by the Board, that, owing to the condition of the country, the Board deems it best to suspend the College and to declare the seats of the faculty (including the President) therein vacant."

On page 33 of his history, Clark wrote, "… as the town of Liberty was in the center of a region of country which bade fair to be overrun by contending armies, it was deemed the part of prudence to suspend the operation of the College … in August 1861 the presidency and all professorships were declared vacant by the Trustees …"

The Trustees continued to meet during this time. Records exist of meetings on the following dates: May 1863; October 1863; July 1865; August 1865; June 1866; and August 1866.

United States Army Occupied Jewell Hall

Commission member, Hayley Michael submitted the following research on the presence of U. S. Army troops on Jewell's campus. Ms. Michael writes, "although closed during the war, federal troops occupied Jewell's facilities on two occasions - first in September 1861 and again in August 1862. Immediately following the Union defeat at the Battle of Liberty in 1861 (also known as the Battle of Blue Mills Landing), just four miles south of Liberty near the Missouri River, Union soldiers retreated to William Jewell's campus where they transformed it into a camp. The soldiers stayed north of Jewell Hall, near where the President's House stands today. Jewell Hall's first floor held the army's horses while the second and third floors became a hospital for the eighty wounded Union soldiers. They buried their dead, eighteen in total, in the cemetery on campus. Not knowing Confederate Colonel Saunders and his men continued towards General Price at Lexington, Union troops prepared for another attack by digging trenches along the western edge of the hill overlooking the town. Jewell's campus again transformed into Union camps following the First Battle of Independence a year later. After another Confederate victory, Union troops retreated to Liberty where they reinforced the existing trenches and housed soldiers in Jewell Hall. William Jewell College received compensation from the government for quartering federal troops and for damages done to the college's property during their occupancy."[43]

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[43] Research by Commission Member, Ms. Hayley Michael. Clark, James. *History of William Jewell College*. St. Louis: Central Baptist Print, 1893, p. 33. *History of Clay and Platte Counties, Missouri. St. Louis: National Historical Co., 1885. Liberty Tribune* (Liberty, MO) Apr 19, 1861; Apr 26, 1861; Sept 20, 1861; Aug 28, 1863. Shoemaker, F. C. *Missouri, Day by Day*. Vol. I. Columbia: State Historical Society of Missouri, 1942. Sweetwood, Matthew, dir. *The Story of Liberty, Missouri: From Settlement to Suburb.* The Clay County Archives and Historical Library, 2004. *William Jewell College and Clay County, Missouri.* Liberty, MO: Clay County Missouri Historical Society, 1940.

The Board of Trustees made two responses to the U. S. Army's occupation of Jewell Hall. First, at an August 15, 1865 meeting, Trustees passed the following resolution, "It is ordered that in the future the college building shall not be used for any other purpose than that which is in connection with the school or for the purpose of protecting the building and taking care of the same."[44] Second, at a meeting in late 1867, Jewell Trustees passed the following motion, "On motion and second a committee consisting of OP Moss, Miller and Morton were appointed to confer with Col. James H. Moss in relation to recovering damages from the government incurred while the college was occupied by its troops and that they furnish him with all the information in their power to enable him to carry out this object."[45]

In his history of the College, Clark stated, In the year 1891, a bill was passed by the U. S. Congress granting the College the sum of $2,200 as rent for the occupancy of the buildings and grounds above mentioned."[46] This payment is confirmed in the Combined Statement of the Receipts and Disbursements (Apparent and Actual) of the United States for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1891 a line item in the War Department's Miscellaneous disbursements read as follows, ""Relief of William Jewell College, of Liberty, Clay Co, Mo $2,200."[47]

State Loyalty Oath of 1861

In October of 1861, the Missouri State Convention, meeting in St. Louis, adopted an ordinance entitled, "AN ORDINANCE PROVIDING FOR ABOLISHING CERTAIN OFFICES, REDUCING SALARIES, AND TESTING THE LOYALTY OF CIVIL OFFICERS IN THIS STATE." The oath required all civil officers in the State to swear and file an oath "to support the Constitution of the United States and this State;"[48] Two days later, the delegates amended the ordinance to include that ""Any person whatsoever who may take and subscribe the oath provided by this ordinance, … shall be exempt from arrest or punishment for offences previously committed by taking up arms against the Provisional Government of this State, or

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[44] Trustee Record Book, 1857-1879, page 92.

[45] Trustee Record Book, 1857-1879, page 118.

[46] Clark, p. 34.

[47] Combined Statement of the Receipts and Disbursements (Apparent and Actual) of the United States for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1891. Treasury Department Document No. 1446. Secretary, Division of Warrants, Estimates, and Appropriations. W. F. MacLennan, Chief of Division; Hon. Charles Foster, Secretary of the Treasury. https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/GOVPUB-T63-1a4a604732bec44ee15d70273de53355/pdf/GOVPUB-T63-1a4a604732bec44ee15d70273de53355.pdf

[48] Journal of the Missouri State Convention Held at the City of St. Louis, October 1861. (St. Louis: George Knapp & Co., Printers and Binders, 1861), p. 10. Text of Article 6: "That each civil officer in this State shall, within forty days after the passage of this ordinance, take and subscribe an oath to support the Constitution of the United States and this State; that he will not take up arms against the Government of the United States, nor the Provisional Government of this State, nor give aid or comfort to the enemies of either during the present civil war; that said oath, duly subscribed and sworn to, shall, within the forty days aforesaid, be filed by county officers in the Clerk's office of their respective counties; and all other officers shall, within the time aforesaid, file said oath, sworn to and subscribed as aforesaid, in the office of the Secretary of State. And the offices of all persons failing to file said oath, as herein provided, are hereby declared vacant; and the Secretary of State and respective County Clerks shall, immediately after the expiration of the forth days aforesaid, certify, under the seal of their respective offices, any vacancy that may exist under the operations of this ordinance, to the proper authorities under existing laws, and such authorities shall fill said offices by appointment for the residue of the term. And any civil officer who shall falsely take said oath, or willfully violate the same, shall be deemed and adjudged guilty of perjury, and punished accordingly." https://archive.org/details/journalofmissour00missrich/page/n3/mode/2up?view=theater

giving aid or comfort to its enemies in the present civil war …"[49] The ordinance was adopted October 16, 1861. All civil officers had until November 25, 1861 to file that they swore the oath.

On February 10, 1863, Luke W. Burris[50], State Representative from Clay County, introduced House Bill number 168 in the Missouri General Assembly entitled, "An Act for the Relief of William Jewell College." The wording of the Bill was as follows.

Whereas, the Trustees and other officers of William Jewell College, an institution of learning, situate in the City of Liberty, Clay county, Missouri, failed and neglected to take the oath required by the Ordinance of the Convention, whereby their offices respectively have become vacant; and whereas, the interest of said Institution demands the continuance of the members of said Board of Trustees in office; therefore

Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Missouri, as follows, to wit:
1. That all members of the Board of Trustees of said William Jewell College, who shall, within thirty days from the passage of this act, take and file the oath prescribed by said Convention Ordinance, according to the requirement of said Ordinance, be and the same are hereby continued in office and authorized and empowered to do and perform all acts and things in relation to their said offices, which they might or could do, had they taken the oath aforesaid and retained their offices.
2. That Edward M. Samuel, the Treasurer of said Board of Trustees, is hereby continued in office as such Treasurer, by taking and filing said Convention oath within thirty days from the passage of this act, in accordance with the requirements of said Convention Ordinance, and he is hereby authorized and empowered to do and perform any and all acts touching his said office, and the collection of the funds and claims due said College.
3. That if a majority of said Board of Trustees shall take and file said oath as herein prescribed, they shall have power to fill vacancies until the next regular election of said officers, and shall be a quorum for the transaction of business.
4. No member of the Faculty of such College shall exercise the function of his office, who shall not first take the oath prescribed for the Trustees of the College.
5. That this act shall take effect and be in force from and after its passage.[51]

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[49] Ibid, p. 14. Text of Article 8: "Any person whatsoever who may take and subscribe the oath provided by this ordinance, and file the same in the office of the Secretary of State, or any County Clerk's office in this State, within ten days after receiving notice of the passage of this ordinance, being within forty days of the passage thereof, shall be exempt from arrest or punishment for offences previously committed by taking up arms against the Provisional Government of this State, or giving aid or comfort to its enemies in the present civil war, subject to the penalties of perjury as provided in this ordinance; and it shall be the duty of the Secretary of State and respective County Clerks to make out and deliver to persons filing such oath a certificate of the fact under their respective seals of office, which certificate shall be *prima facie* evidence in all courts and to all persons that the person named therein has complied with and claims the benefit of this ordinance. And the Governor of this State is hereby directed to furnish a copy of this ordinance to the President of the United States immediately, and request of him in the name of the people of Missouri, by proclamation, to exempt all persons taking said oath under this ordinance from all penalties they may have incurred by taking up arms against the United States, or giving aid or comfort to its enemies in the present civil war."

[50] The 1860 census for Clay County lists L. W. Burris as owning nine enslaved persons.

[51] Laws of the State of Missouri Passed at the Regular Session of the Twenty-Second General Assembly, Begun and Held at the City of Jefferson on Monday, December 29, 1862 (Jefferson City: J. P. Ament, Public Printer, 1863), pp. 238-9. https://cdm16795.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/molaws/id/8638/rec/21

When the vote was taken in the House, 94 voted aye, 9 voted no, 15 were absent and 6 sick. The State Senate amended and approved the Bill. Governor H. R. Gamble signed the Bill on March 4, 1863. At some point within the allotted 30 days, at least seven Jewell Trustees, including Treasurer E. M. Samuel, swore and filed the oath. The minutes for May 23, 1863 BOT meeting include the following.

> *"The Board of Trustees of William Jewell College met in the back room of the Bank in the City of Liberty. Members present Rev. William Thompson, Jesse Bryant, WA Morton, John Wornall, EM Samuel, Robert Reardin and OP Moss. All of whom have taken the authorized oath required by an act of the Legislature passed February 1863." …. "It was ordered that the Secretary of the Board have the names of the Trustees acting for William Jewell College filed in the Circuit Court of Clay County for record."*

Why the Jewell Trustees did not initially comply with the ordinance of the State Convention remains an open question. No explanation is provided in the Trustee minutes. When the seats of the Trustees were considered vacant, the College could not conduct business and the process for electing Trustees as stated in the College's Charter was moot. The sole motive for these Trustees to swear and file the oath may therefore have been pragmatic, as it was necessary for there to be a college.

Loyalty Oath List
In the back of the 1849-1879 Trustee Record Book, on an unnumbered page, is the following.

A List of Trustees Who Have Filed the Oath of Loyalty with the County Clerk of Clay County

1	X. X. Buckner	Trustee and President	Board
2	E I Owen	Trustee and Secretary	Same
3	OP Moss	Trustee and Treasurer	"
4	JE Bryant	Trustee	"
5	WS Garvey	"	"
6	John Collins	"	
7	John Collier*	"	
8	John H. Wilhoite	"	
9	Doct. W. A. Morton	"	
10	Madison Miller	"	
11	R. S. Reardon	"	
12	B. R. Mitchell	"	
13	James H. Moss*	"	
14	EM Samuel*	"	
15	David H. Hickman*	Elected Lexington August 10, 1867	
16	LM Lawson	Elected Lexington August 10, 1867	
17	JS Tutt	Elected Lexington August 10, 1867	
18	George C. Bingham	Elected Lexington August 10, 1867	
19	WH	old trustee	

The list appears without context making it impossible to interpret. No dates are provided other than the election dates of the final four names. Does this list refer to the 1863 Loyalty Oath situation (noted above) or to the 1865 Test Oath? The U. S. Supreme Court ruled the 1865 Test Oath unconstitutional on December 1, 1866 so there was no required oath in Missouri in 1867. The Test Oath was removed from the State Constitution in 1870. There are internal problems with the list. In 1869, the only year that

Rev. X. X. Buckner was President of the Board of Trustees, D. L. Shouse was Treasurer. O. P. Moss, who is noted as Treasurer, served as Secretary from 1856 – 1861 but was never Treasurer. John Collier, elected to the Board of Trustees in 1865, was never listed in a College Catalog and never attended a Board meeting. James H. Moss left the Board of Trustees in 1865. E. M. Samuel left the Board of Trustees in 1868. David H. Hickman died in 1869.

V. Re-Opening the College

H. I. Hester, in his history of the College, included the following paragraph to illustrate the tense situation in 1868 when the College reopened. Evidently, this story was still being told in 1926.
"One of the stories often told in this connection was heard by this writer when he first came to the college in 1926. The story goes that the students were making good progress in their work [cleaning up the campus and Jewell Hall] until near noon. A boy with Confederate sympathies and who did not particularly relish the idea of cleaning up the mess left by Federal troops, grew tired and in an unthinking moment gave the "rebel yell." The response was immediate. The students, part southern and part northern, lined up against each other armed with hoes, rakes and shovels. Had it not been for the intervention of the faculty a little Civil War battle would have taken place on the campus." (Hester 39)

Thomas Rambaut
After the war, the situation in western Missouri between persons on both sides of the conflict was hostile and tense. Trustees hired a President who, though from Ireland, was significantly influenced by Baptists of the South (Southern Baptists). Rambaut lived in the Confederacy during the Civil War. This President hired a faculty dominated by Confederate veterans. Thomas Rambaut's Baptist network was in southern states, especially South Carolina, Georgia and Kentucky so it may be reasonable to assume that he drew on his network in hiring faculty for Jewell. Also, the new President planned to pattern Jewell's curriculum after the University of Virginia's. Three of the new faculty who were Confederate veterans were graduates of the University of Virginia.
Trustees hired Rev. Thomas Rambaut as President of the College. Rambaut served as President 1867-1872. Both Clark and Hester wrote about Thomas Rambaut's time as Jewell's President. A Jewell faculty member, Norman Fox, wrote a biographical sketch of Rambaut - Preacher and Teacher: A Sketch of the Life of Thomas Rambaut, DD,LLD (New York: Fords, Howard & Hurlbert, 1892). Fox departed from Jewell the same year as Rambaut, settled in New York as did Rambaut, and spoke at Rambaut's funeral service. Thomas Rambaut's lineage was French Huguenot (Protestant), born and raised in Ireland and educated at Trinity College, Dublin. He emigrated to the United States in 1841, settling in Savannah, Georgia. Rambaut was influenced by the culture and theology of Baptists of the south (the Southern Baptist Convention was founded in 1845). Rambaut came under the influence of noted pastor, Richard Fuller, at Beaufort, SC. Rambaut joined the membership of First Baptist Church, Augusta, GA (the church where the Southern Baptist Convention began). Rambaut bcame pastor of the Baptist church in Robertville SC. "His congregation consisted of aristocratic Hugenot planters and 300 Negro members" (Hester, 38).
How did Jewell's Trustees become aware of Thomas Rambaut? Immediately prior to becoming Jewell's President, Rambaut worked for Southern Baptist Convention entities, specifically the Home Mission Board. This work required him to travel in several states to encourage and assist churches. In his biographical sketch of Rambaut, Norman Fox quoted from a private letter from Jewell Trustee, John B. Wornall, "Dr. Rambaut was elected to the presidency [Wm Jewell College] on the recommendation of Drs. John A. Broadus and James P. Boyce" (Fox, 64). Broadus and Boyce were two of the four founding

professors of The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Greenville, South Carolina, and both were owners of enslaved persons as well as Chaplains in the Confederate Army.[52]

Fox wrote that Rambaut had the personality to navigate the contentious atmosphere in post-war western Missouri, "[Rambaut] threw himself with his whole heart into a noble movement which had already been inaugurated by certain earnest Christian men, an effort at pacification after the bitterness of war and at the unification of discordant elements" (37-38).

Clark commented about Dr. Rambaut, "The views of Dr. Rambaut were considerably in advance of any which had heretofore been held by the friends of the College" (Clark, pp 36-37). Rambaut was the first to promote Jewell as a place of academic rigor. Jewell's academic program was patterned after that of the University of Virginia, both in its organization and its rigor. Fox noted that Rambaut's vision was to distinguish Jewell from all the other schools founded by Baptists throughout Missouri. Jewell would be a college while the other schools were academies or high schools. (Fox pages 42ff) For Jewell to achieve these academic levels, the College needed financial resources. Rambaut challenged the Trustees to raise an endowment of $250,000, although this did not occur.

After leaving Jewell, Rambaut went to New York and served Northern Baptist churches as pastor (Brooklyn, Newark, Albany). Rambaut made one trip to the south 1889-1890, the year before he died. He died in Hamilton, NY in 1890.

Negro Helpers

Chapter Seven in Hester's history is entitled "The Administration of Dr. Thomas Rambaut." Hester closed this chapter with this paragraph.

Through the years the college has been fortunate in having a number of Negro helpers who have made a tremendous contribution to its staff and students. One of the most honored and beloved of these was the Negro cook at these cottages.* She was affectionately known to all the students as "Aunt Kitty." She was far more than a servant; she was a respected friend, a confidant, and a helper to all these young men. She was a radiant Christian who lived her religion day by day. Every student of that day has only the fondest memories of this humble and unselfish Christian woman. (Hester, 46)

*In 1890 … the Board of Trustees erected three cottages, just east of the present heating plant, which provided rooms for about fifty students.

VI. Financial Situation After the Civil War

James Clark wrote the following of the College at the close of the Civil War. "The College building was dilapidated; the library gone; the apparatus mutilated; the endowment of a very uncertain value, many of the subscribers being either dead or entirely broken up by the desolations of war. … the nominal endowment at that time consisted of notes aggregating $43,000, on which about $18,000 of interest was due, but that, owing to the deranged state of the country, it was impossible to estimate what proportion of the above assets could be considered good." (Clark, 35)

In 1867, Thomas Rambaut, new President of William Jewell College, challenged Trustees to raise an endowment of $250,000 (Clark, 31). See below.

In 1869, the College developed two Sources of Alternative Revenue

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[52] See "Report on Slavery and Racism in the History of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary" https://sbts-wordpress-uploads.s3.amazonaws.com/sbts/uploads/2018/12/Racism-and-the-Legacy-of-Slavery-Report-v4.pdf

a. Board of Ministerial Education (1869) From the report of this Board on Ministerial Education, made to the General Association at its meeting in Columbia, in August 1869, it is learned that during the preceding year an endowment fund of $40,000 had been raised, and that it was intended that the School of Theology should go into active operation at the beginning of the ensuing session. The subscribers to this fund were: D. H. Hickman, Boone County; John B. Wornall, Jackson County; John W. Waddell, of Lafayette Co; Lewis B. Ely, of Carroll Co; James Harris, Boone Co; Rev. G. W. Hyde, Cooper Co; Rev. W. H. Vardeman, St. Charles Co; and Rev. Thomas Rambaut, President of Jewell.[53] Each of these contributed $5,000. Clark later noted that Robert W. Donnell contributed $5,000 to the School of Theology (Clark, pp. 30-32). This endowment created annual income for the College. In 1868, the General Association passed a resolution calling for a "Ministers' Institute" for the benefit of the Black churches of Missouri. The Board of Ministerial Education was established by the General Association and the College o financially support ministerial students at the College. This opportunity was not available to Black ministerial students because Jewell did not admit Black American students until the 1940s.

b. Sherwood Chair (1869) "At the meeting of the General Association in Columbia, in August 1869, the endowment of the President's chair was proposed by the Rev. Adiel Sherwood, of St. Louis and the entire amount was pledged in a few minutes. The school was then named the Sherwood School of Philosophy in his honor (Clark, p 39). Clark noted on page 178 that Sherwood made a "liberal subscription for the purpose." Clark noted on page 180 that Sherwood's father owned slaves.

Trustee records after the Civil War contain constant references to financial crisis. Here are two examples.

a. March 9, 1869, "L B Ely offered the following resolution, and it was approved. Resolved that we will preserve intact the whole endowment fund and appropriate for the contingent and current expenses of the College, only the interest on funds designated by the donor for that purpose."

b. January 15, 1873, "The following resolution is introduced by Dr. Yeaman: Resolved, that it being a case of life or death for the College, the Finance Committee is instructed to borrow of the endowment funds, or elsewhere, for the use of the contingent fund, a sum of $6,000 and draw upon the treasury accordingly, and it is ordered that the first monies collected, not being the principal of endowments, be applied to the re-imbursement of the endowment funds; and that the professors be notified that for the future their salaries will only paid out of the earnings of the endowments, or such contingent fund as may be provided. And now, on motion, after careful consideration and due weighing, the said resolution is adopted – every member of the Board present voting for it."

The election of Lewis B. Ely as Financial Agent/Chief Financial Officer of the Corporation/Treasurer was intended to stabilize the College's financial condition.

a. July 10, 1877, "W. Pope Yeaman resigns as Chancellor, the BOT reestablishes the position of Financial Agent, and then elects Lewis B. Ely as Financial Agent. They used the term chief financial officer of the corporation. Also at this meeting, JL Peake resigned as Treasurer. The BOT elected LB Ely as treasurer."

b. January 23, 1878, "The Executive Committee meeting in January 23, 1878 at 10am cleaned up several financial matters. This was probably the work of Ely as Financial Agent. The Finance Committee met the same day at noon. Ely is authorized, as Financial Agent, to sell all lands belonging to the literary departments of the College."

Trustee Records: October 1879, "On motion, it is resolved by this Board that it will as practicable, raise the sum of $250,000 for purposes of general endowment of the College during the next five years."

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[53] At least five of the first nine donors owned enslaved persons.

Summary: When the College re-opened after the war, there was no endowment income. There was pressure to spend endowment principal and sell College assets.

VII. Jewell Faculty Prior to the Civil War

Name	Education	Jewell	County/1850 Slave Census	#
Rev. E. S. Dulin	Principal, Ancient Languages	1850-52	Clay / (21)	1
Rev. Thomas F. Lockett	Mathematics and Science	1850-52	Clay / (21)	3
James G. Smith	Preparatory Department	1851-52		
R. S. Thomas, D. D.	President and Moral Philosophy	1853-55	Boone Co / (43)	6
Rev. Terry Bradley	Ancient Languages	1853-55	Clay (Not Listed)	
James G. Love, A. B.	University of Missouri	1853-55	Boone?	
T. C. Harris, A. M.	English	1853-55	Boone / (5), Clay/ (27)	2, 4
Leonidas M. Lawson, A.B.	University of Missouri	1853-55	U. S. Army 1862-5	
William P. Lamb	Preparatory Department	1854-55		
Rev. William P. Thompson	President and Moral Philosophy	1857-61	Boone, Randolph, Clay (Not Listed)	
M. W. Robinson	Adjunct Professor	1857-60		
John T. Davis, A.M.	Chemistry and Natural History	1857-59		
J. B. Bradley, A.M.	Mathematics and Philosophy	1857-61		
Rev. E. S. Dulin	Philosophy and English	1857-60		
William C. Garnett, A.B.	Academic Department	1857-59		
Rev. E. I. Owen	Ancient Languages	1859-61	Platte, Clay	
J. F. Burger	Modern Languages	1859-60		
John T. Chandler, A.M.	Academic Department	1859-61	Clay (1860, 4)	4

There is little information on these early faculty members. These early faculty members were living in Missouri and active in Baptist church work. Because of closings, most of these faculty members were at the College a brief time. About one-third are identified as owning enslaved persons.

VIII. Jewell Faculty After the Civil War

Eight faculty were recruited during Thomas Rambaut's Presidency. Five of the eight were Confederate Army veterans. Another is recorded in Randolph County (MO) as owning an enslaved person. Rambaut's connections to Baptists in the south (slaveholding states) may explain his hiring of faculty. Also, Rambaut patterned Jewell's curriculum after the University of Virginia, so he hired three UVA graduates. Summary: The hiring of faculty with Confederate service/sympathies influenced Jewell's campus and students in the short term and in the long term.

Name	Education	Civil War	Jewell Faculty	Years
Robert Baylor Semple	University of Virginia	Confederate Veteran	1868-1909	41
Alexander F. Fleet	University of Virginia	Confederate Veteran	1868-1873	5
John Francis Lanneau	South Carolina Military Academy	Confederate Veteran	1868-1873	5
James R. Eaton	Madison University (now Colgate)	Worked in NYC Post Office	1869-1897	28

Norman Fox	University of Rochester NY	Union Veteran	1869-1873	5
William R. Rothwell*	State University, Columbia MO	Owner of enslaved person Randolph Co MO 1860 (20)	1871-1883	12
James G. Clark*	University of Virginia	Confederate Veteran	1873-1924	51
Rev. A. J. Emerson	Wake Forest College	Confederate Veteran	1873-1890	17
Rev. G. W. Hyde	Homilectics		1871	
C. A. Buchanan	History and English		1878	

* From the departure of President Rambaut (1873) to the hiring of John Priest Greene (1892), Jewell Trustees placed the leadership of the College in two "Chairs of the Faculty," William Rothwell (1873-1883) and James G. Clark (1883-1892).

Dr. Robert Baylor Semple (joined Jewell faculty 1868, stayed 41 years) Confederate Veteran
[Ancient Languages] Dr. Robert Baylor Semple was elected to the faculty in 1868 to teach Latin. Semple taught at Jewell for 40 years until his death in 1909. Robert Semple was orphaned and raised by his uncle, Rev. William F. Broaddus. He was converted under the ministry of Rev. John A. Broadus in 1859. Semple was a graduate of the University of Virginia. "Soon after leaving the University, he enlisted as a private of Artillery in the Confederate Army in which he served from April 22, 1861 until the surrender at Appomattox, C. H., in 1865" (Clark, 240). Hester noted, "He [Semple] too, served in the Confederate army from 1861 to Appomattox. While he was unswerving in his loyalty to the Confederacy, he accepted defeat of the cause as the will of God and hence he carried no bitterness in his heart." Hester noted that students at Jewell understood that three men, "Socrates, Paul, and Stonewall Jackson" were his [Semple's] ideals (Hester 41-42).

Alexander Frederick Fleet LL.D. (joined Jewell faculty 1868, stayed 5 years) Confederate Veteran
[German and Greek] "Professor A. F. Fleet graduated from the University of Virginia. When the Civil War began, Fleet entered the military service of the Confederate States. He remained in this service during the entire period of the war, participating in all the campaigns of the Army of Northern Virginia" (Clark, Biographical Sketch, 222). "Fleet was elected to the faculty in 1868 to teach Greek and German, educated at University of VA. His college career was interrupted by the Civil War. He served in the Confederate Army with great distinction. … he was one of the veterans who surrendered with General Lee at Appomattox" (Hester, 39-40). Fleet resigned from Jewell in 1873 because of the College's financial problems. Fleet died in 1911.

John Francis Lanneau (joined Jewell faculty 1868, stayed 5 years) Confederate Veteran
[Mathematics] John F. Lanneau was a graduate of South Carolina Military Academy. After graduation Lanneau taught at Furman University. In the spring of 1861 he entered the Confederate Army as Captain of Cavalry in Hampton's Legion. In 1862 he was transferred to the Engineer Corps with the rank of Lieutenant, and in 1864 was promoted to the rank of Captain. While in the engineer service he was employed on the defenses of Richmond and Petersburg VA, Mobile AL, and Columbia SC; served on the staff of Generals Lee, Longstreet and others; and during the last campaign of the war, was Chief engineer of Hampton's Cavalry Corps. At the conclusion of the war, Professor Lanneau was called back to Furman University as Professor of Mathematics and Astronomy. He joined Jewell faculty 1868 and resigned in 1873. He began teaching at Wake Forest 1890 (Clark, Biographical Sketch). Hester noted that Lanneau resigned a teaching job at Furman University to "enter the Confederate Army where he

had a brilliant career." Lanneau resigned from Jewell in 1873 because of the College's financial problems (Hester, 40).

Dr. James R. Eaton (joined Jewell faculty 1869, stayed 28 years) Worked for NYC Post Office
[Natural Science] James Rodolphus Eaton – taught in Tennessee and Kentucky before Jewell. During the war he worked for the New York City Post Office. 1869 joined Jewell faculty (Clark, Biographical Sketch). Hester noted that Eaton was elected to the faculty in 1868 to teach natural science. He came to Jewell from teaching jobs at Union University and Bethel College (Tennessee). Eaton taught at Jewell for 27 years. He died in Cairo, Egypt in 1897.

Norman Fox (joined Jewell faculty 1869, stayed 5 years) U. S. Army Veteran
[History and English] Rev. Norman Fox graduated from the of University of Rochester New York and Rochester Theological Seminary. Fox served two years as Chaplain of the 77th Regiment New York Volunteers. He was a Jewell faculty member 1869-1873. Fox wrote a biography of Jewell President Thomas Rambaut (Clark, Biographical Sketch). Hester noted that Norman Fox joined the faculty in 1869. He wrote a brief biography of Rambaut and spoke at Rambaut's funeral.

William Renfro Rothwell (joined Jewell faculty 1871, stayed 12 years) owned an enslaved person
[Theology] William R. Rothwell joined Jewell's faculty in 1871. He was made Chairman of the Faculty in 1873. He resigned as Faculty Chair in 1883 because of ill health. Rothwell led the Vardeman School of Theology. Rothwell was also President and Treasurer of the Board of Ministerial Education (Clark, Biographical Sketch). Hester did not include other information about Rothwell. There is a lengthy entry about Rothwell in *Missouri Baptist Biographies* volume 1, pp 300-308. WR Rothwell was born in Garrard Co KY in 1831. That same year his parents, Dr. John Rothwell and China Renfro Rothwell moved to Callaway County, Missouri. Rothwell completed study at Missouri State University (Columbia) in 1853. Rothwell was valedictorian of his graduating class. During the war, he was living in Huntsville, MO (Randolph County) where he was President of Mount Pleasant College. The census record for Randolph County in 1860 includes a W. Rothwell as owning an enslaved person.

James G Clark (joined Jewell faculty 1873, stayed 51 years) Confederate Veteran
[Mathematics] Clark was on the Jewell faculty for 51 years and wrote the first authorized history of the College. Clark graduated from the University of Virginia. "At the outbreak of the war he resigned his position in the Columbian College, and entered the Confederate Army as a private in the Rockbridge Artillery, whose Captain was the Rev. Wm. N. Pendleton, DD of Lexington VA. From 1863 to the close of the war, he was Captain of Artillery, on ordnance duty, and in that capacity service as Ordnance Officer of Cheatham's Division of the Army of Tennessee, from the battle of Lookout Mountain to the surrender at Greensboro, NC. He participated in the first battle of Manassas (where his company was attached to the celebrated Stonewall Brigade), Jackson's Valley campaign, the Atlanta campaign, the expedition of Hood into Tennessee, and in the final operations of the army in NC. After the war he … was reappointed to his old position at Columbian College …" (217) Clark joined the Jewell faculty in 1873. He was appointed Chairman of the Faculty in 1883 and kept that position until the time JP Greene became President in 1892 (Clark, Biographical Sketch). Hester noted, "He [Clark] held this position [Professor of Mathematics in Columbian College, Washington, D. C.] only one year when he resigned to enter the Confederate Army. In the four years of military service, he rose to the rank of Captain, and later was attached to Stonewall Jackson's famous brigade (51).

Rev. A. J. Emerson (joined Jewell faculty 1873, stayed 17 years) Confederate Veteran
[History and English] Emerson was a graduate of Wake Forest College. He moved to Pettis County MO in 1871 and joined the Jewell faculty in 1873 as head of the Preparatory Department. Emerson was at Jewell until 1890. He served as President of the Board of Ministerial Education. He also helped found William Jewell Baptist Church, Kansas City, MO (Clark Biographical Sketch).

IX. Thoughts on Jewell's Origin Story, 1849-1879

Research by Dr. Donna Gardner, Professor and Chair, Department of Education, William Jewell College, demonstrates that Jewell's founding by persons involved in ownership of enslaved persons was not unique among the Colleges founded in Missouri in the nineteenth century.[54] Dr. Gardner identified 12 higher education institutions founded in the 19th century that are extant today.[55] Eleven of the twelve included owners of enslaved persons among their founders. Gardner concludes, "Missouri's extant pre-Civil War higher education institutions were founded in part by wealth generated by enslaved persons."

An origin story is the story a person or a group of people, or a college, tells itself in order to communicate its identity. The origin story that William Jewell College told for 172 years contained themes of relationship to Baptists, academic rigor, struggle with financial realities, and being on the frontier. The above historical accounting of the early history of William Jewell College identifies the College's early leadership as deeply involved in the morally repugnant practice of slave owning. The initial Trustees, administrators, faculty, and stakeholders of the College gained a portion of their resources from enslaved labor and the College benefited from those resources.

Dr. Gardner makes an important point in her conclusions, "The practice of slavery was enculturated in pre-Civil War Missouri and culture doesn't disappear after the war." William Jewell was established in a culture that accepted enslavement and all the cultural sickness that comes with enslavement – racism, the inferiority of people of color, and white supremacy enforced by violence and intimidation. Further, the cultural aftermath of the Civil War brought segregation, the cultural lie of the "Lost Cause" and Confederate memorialization. In a presentation to the Racial Reconciliation Commission, Mr. Mark Mathes posed a question, "How can something abhorrent be accepted?"[56] The Racial Reconciliation Commission is grappling with Mr. Mathes' question. A partial response is that enslaved labor was accepted by many Missourians, including people connected to William Jewell College, because the abhorrent (enslaved labor) was threaded into the culture from whence they came and the culture they created in western Missouri, the abhorrent was not questioned by their version of Baptist Christianity, and the abhorrent was the backbone of the economy in western Missouri. That said, it is clear, thanks to Dr. Robinson's research that Dr. William Jewell himself struggled with the abhorrent practice and took steps both publicly and personally to address the sickness of enslaved labor. We cannot know what the culture of the College would have been had Dr. Jewell not died during his active participation in the construction of Jewell Hall in 1852.

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[54] Gardner, Donna "How Slavery Supported the Founding of Higher Education in Missouri" Research presentation to the Racial Reconciliation Commission, December 2, 2021.
[55] Columbia College, Stephens College, University of Missouri (Boone Co); Westminster College (Callaway Co); William Jewell College (Clay Co); Central Methodist College (Howard Co); Culver-Stockton College (Lewis Co); Hannibal-LaGrange University (Marion/Rawls Cos); Harris-Stowe State University, Lindenwood University, Saint Louis University, Washington University (Saint Louis region)
[56] Mathes, Mark, "Early History of Clay County," Research presentation to the Racial Reconciliation Commission, October 5, 2021.

The task that faces the College's stakeholders is incorporating the history and culture of enslavement into our ongoing origin story. The Racial Reconciliation Commission is leading all the College's stakeholders in this journey of truth- telling and reconciliation. This first installment of the College's history has meant to be just that – an accounting of the facts we know, and some obvious inferences, relating to the College's founding. This document serves as the first of several installments telling the history of William Jewell College through a lens of racial reconciliation that will extend through the present day.

Appendices

Appendix A: Historical Sources for the Early History of William Jewell College
A. Trustee Records – the following books are kept in the Office of the President for safekeeping.
1. Trustee Records 2/1849 – 10/1879*
2. Trustee Records 6/1880 – 6/1896
3. Trustee Records 10/1903 – 3/1920
4. Early Documents 1848 – 1855*
*Early Documents: In the box containing the first Trustee Record book there is this note: *January 9,1987, In the fourth paragraph of the Trustee Minutes dated May 19, 1857, reference is made to the loss of the earliest minutes book. However, the secretary writes that "a copy of the amounts of the last notes and accounts" were in his possession. A box of notes, accounts, and memos which may be these described materials are kept in the Archives of the Baptist Studies Center in Curry Library.*
Located in the Jewell Archives, the box is titled "Early Development Documents." Inside the box are file folders containing a total of 256 photocopied pages. All these materials date to the period related to the lost Trustee Records (1851 – 1856).

B. College Catalogs
The College published an annual catalog beginning in 1850 and continuing through the 20th century except for the years the College was closed because of financial crises or the Civil War.

C. Histories of the College
Clark, James G. History of William Jewell College, Liberty, Clay County, Missouri. Compiled at the Request of the Board of Trustees. (St. Louis, MO: Central Baptist Print, 1893. The first history of William Jewell College. The first part of the book is a history of the College. The second and longer part contains biographical sketches of key figures in the early years of the College. While he provides biographical sketches on key figures in the early history of the College, including their involvement in the Confederacy and the Civil War, Clark made no mention that many of these key figures were owners of enslaved persons or that their material resources that benefited the College came from the labor of enslaved persons.

Hester, H. I. Jewell Is Her Name: A History of William Jewell College, Liberty: William Jewell College, 1967). Best known history of the College covering the years 1849 to 1967. Hester identified his sources: Curry Library, College Catalogs, College Year Books, Student Newspaper, College Bulletins, Church and College, Minutes of Faculty and Trustee Meetings, Minutes of the MBC, 3 histories of Baptists in Missouri (Duncan), The Central Baptist, Word and Way, KC Star, Liberty Tribune, Caroline Hester scrapbooks (1927-1967)

Hester, Hubert I, Jewell is Her Name: A History of William Jewell College 1967-1979, Liberty: William Jewell College, 1979.

There are two specialized histories written about the College. One focused on the story of women at Jewell and the other on athletics.

Bowman, Georgia B. On the Distaff Side: Women at William Jewell (1984).

Patterson, Norris A. William Jewell College: A Century of Cardinal Sports (St. Louis: River City Publishers Limited, 1989).

Cardinal Is Her Color: One Hundred Fifty Years of Achievement at William Jewell College (William Jewell College Publications, 1999).

D. Addresses and Essays
Davis, John Eustace, *My Memories of William Jewell College* December 1959, 90 pages. Author's typed manuscript
Gentry, Judge North Todd, *Dr. William Jewell, An Address delivered in Gano Chapel of William Jewell College*, Liberty MO, Tuesday, December 6, 1932."
Lawson, L. M., *Founding and Location of William Jewell College* Missouri Historical Society Volume 4 No. 3, 1914, pp. 1-15.

E. Theses and Dissertations
Woodward, Nathan *Baptists and Slavery in Frontier Missouri During the Antebellum Era*, A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of Master of Arts, Department of History, Colorado State University, 2011.

Research Note: Clark's and Hester's books contain the Charter and lists of significant leaders. Records of Missouri Slaveowners in 1850 and 1860 by county are available online. When these county records are searched based on the names of persons in Clark's and Hester's histories, it is established that the early leadership of the College was comprised of persons who owned enslaved persons.
https://s1.sos.mo.gov/records/archives/census/pages/slave

Appendix B: William Jewell College Trustees Named in 1848 Charter
1. Jewell Charter Trustees

Last Name	First Name	Missouri City/County		1850 Census	#	1860 Census	#
Anderson	Thomas Lilbourne	Palmyra	Marion Co	Yes (8)*	4		
Carson	William	Palmyra	Marion Co	Yes (1)	9		
Craig	R. R.			Not Listed			
Doniphan	A. W.	Liberty	Clay Co			Yes (20)	5
Ellis, Sr.	John	Palmyra	Marion Co	Yes (26-27)	20		
Glover	Samuel T	St. Louis	St. Louis Co			Yes (55)	4
Harris	Tyre C	Columbia	Boone Co	Yes? (5)	2		
Hatcher	T. E.	Palmyra	Marion Co	Yes (11)	2		
Hubble	W. D.	Liberty	Clay Co	Not Listed			
Hughes	Roland	Howard Co	Howard Co	Yes (41)	25		
Jackson	Wade M.	Howard Co	Howard Co	Yes (7)	19		
James	Robert	Clay Co	Clay Co	Yes (23)	6		

Jewell	William	Columbia	Boone Co	Yes (10)	5		
Ligon	W. C.	Carroll Co	Carroll Co	Yes (2)	6		
Lionberger	Isaac	Booneville	Cooper Co	Yes (10)	7	Yes (21-2)	9
McDaniel	Reuben E.	Saline Co	Saline Co	Yes (9)	27		
McPherson	W. M.	St. Louis	St. Louis Co	Not Listed			
O'Bryan	Jordan	Booneville	Cooper Co	Yes (12)	12		
Perkins	David	Howard Co	Howard Co	Not Listed			
Price	M. F.	Lexington	Lafayette Co	Yes (29)	6		
Richmond	R. T.	Marion Co	Marion Co	Yes (23)	1		
Robinson	John	Fulton	Callaway Co	Yes (1)	3		
Samuel	E. M.	Liberty	Clay Co	Yes (1)	7		
South	S. D.	Palmyra	Marion Co	Yes (8)	9		
Thomas	Robert S	Columbia	Boone Co	Yes (43)	6		
Thompson	Hon JTV	Liberty	Clay Co	Yes (17)	39		

*Yes - indicates the person is in the census of owners of enslaved persons. The number in parenthesis is the page number in the census where the name appears. # indicates the number of enslaved persons on the census.

2. Early Presidents

Last Name	First Name		Birth	Years at Jewell	Death	Census List	#
Dulin	E. S.	Principal	1821	1849-1852	1891	Lafayette 1850 (21)	1
Thomas	Robert S		1805	1853-1855	1859	Boone 1850 (43)	6
Thompson	William		c. 1820	1857-1861	1865	Not Listed	
Rambaut	Thomas		1819	1868-1873	1890	Not Listed	
Rothwell	William	Chair Faculty	1831	1872-1898	1898	Randolph 1860 (20)	1
Clark	James G	Chair Faculty	1837	1873-1924	1924	Confederate Veteran	
Greene	John Priest		1849	1892-1920	1933	Not Listed	

3. Early Trustees: 1850 and 1860 Slave Census - # denotes number of enslaved persons owned

Last	First	Date	City	County	1850 Census	#	1860 Census	#
Dulin	Rev E S	1850	Lexington	Lafayette Co	Yes (21)	1		
Shotwell	Hon Jabez	1850	Richmond	Ray Co	Yes (13)	2		
Thomas	Rev W H	1850	Platte Co	Platte Co	Yes	10		
Thompson	Hon JTV	1850	Liberty	Clay Co	Yes (17)	39		
Waddell	Rev Jas W	1850	Lexington	Lafayette Co	Yes (37)	26	Yes (46-7)	23
Watkins	W L	1850	Clay Co	Clay Co	Yes (8)	4		
Withers	Abijah	1850	Liberty	Clay Co		9	Yes (30)	20
Bradley	Rev T	1851	Liberty	Clay Co	Not listed			
Anderson	Spencer	1853	Clay Co	Clay Co			Yes (46)	18

Brooking	Hon Alva	1853	Jackson Co	Jackson Co	Not listed			
Hughes	John T	1853	Clinton Co	Clinton Co	Yes (3)	6		
Morton	Dr Wm A	1853	Liberty	Clay Co	Yes (2)	2	Yes(26)	4
Moss	Capt O P	1853	Liberty	Clay Co		10	Yes (26)	10
Allen	Eugene B	1857	St. Louis	St. Louis Co	Not listed			
Hickman	Hon D H	1857	Columbia	Boone Co	Yes (32-3)	24		
Hughes	S T	1857	Howard Co	Howard Co	Not listed			
Major	Rev John S	1857	Clay Co	Clay Co			Yes (35)	12
Moss	Ho James H	1857	Liberty	Clay Co	Not listed			
Thompson	Rev William	1857	Liberty	Clay Co	Not listed			
Bryant	Jesse E	1858	Liberty	Clay Co	Not listed			
Miller	Madison	1858	Liberty	Clay Co	Yes (19)	4	Yes (27)	7
Davis	J M	1859	Saline Co	Saline Co			Yes (27)	9
Link	Rev J B	1859	Liberty	Clay Co	Not listed			
Readron	Robert S	1859	Clay Co	Clay Co			Yes (29)	5
Wornall	John B	1859	Jackson Co	Jackson Co			Yes (36)	4
Chandler	Hon John T	1859	Liberty	Clay Co			Yes (4)	4
Donnell	Robert W	1860	St. Joseph	Buchanan	Not listed			
Adkins	James G	1863	Liberty	Clay Co	Yes (9)	3	Yes (10)	5
Wilhoite	J H	1863	Platte City	Platte Co	Not listed			
Collier	John N	1865	Platte Co	Platte Co	Yes (3)	1		
Ferguson	William	1865	Clinton Co	Clinton Co	Not listed			
Bell	Rev W M	1867	Miami	Saline Co			Yes (66)	26
Bingham	Hon G C	1867	Independence	Jackson Co	Not listed			
Black	Rev G L	1867	Liberty	Clay Co	Not listed			
Buckner	Rev X X	1867	Liberty	Clay Co/KCMO	Not listed			
Burlingham	Rev A H	1867	St. Louis	St. Louis Co	Not listed			
Collins	John	1867	Liberty	Clay Co	Not listed			
Ely	Lewis B	1867	Carrollton	Carroll Co			Yes (1)	8
Flood	Joseph	1867	Kearney	Callaway Co	Yes (3)	7		
Garvey	W S	1867	Liberty	Clay Co			Yes (18)	1
Lawson	Hon L M	1867	Liberty	Clay Co	Not listed			
Machett	Rev A	1867	Liberty	Clay Co	Not listed			
Mitchel	Dr. B R	1867	Clay Co	Clay Co	Not listed			
Rambaut	Thomas	1867	Liberty	Clay Co	Not listed			
Shouse	D L	1867	KCMO	Jackson Co	Not listed			
Tutt	Hon J S	1867	Lexington	Lafayette Co	Not listed			
Waddell	John W	1867	Lexington	Lafayette Co	Yes (39)	4	Yes (40-1)	8
Williams	Rev John T	1867	St. Louis	St. Louis Co	Not listed			

Pitts	Younger R	1867	Glasgow	Howard Co	Not listed			
Allen	Hon D C	1869	Liberty	Clay Co	Not listed			
Avery	A C	1869	Clinton	Henry Co	Yes (7)	3	Yes (1)	1
Major	S S	1869	Clay Co	Clay Co			Yes (35)	2
Morrill	Rev D T	1869	St. Louis	St. Louis Co	Not listed			
Smith	N J	1869	Miami	Saline Co		21	Yes (58)	21
Vardeman	Rev W H	1869	St. Charles Co	St Charles Co		8	Yes (6)	
Warden	Rev J W	1869	KCMO	Jackson Co	Not listed			
Withers	W W	1869	Lexington	Lafayette Co	Yes (55)	3	Yes (24)	4
Hickman	T H	1871	Columbia	Boone Co			Yes (8)	6
Litchfield	A T	1871	Liberty	Clay Co	Not listed			
Rogers	Rev G W	1871	Cooper Co	Cooper Co	Not listed			
Norton	Elijah H	1871	Platte City	Platte Co			Yes (32)	5
Applegate	J L	1872	Brunswick	Chariton Co	Not listed			
Blythe	A D	1872	Iatan	Platte Co			Yes (18-9)	10
Glover	W B, MD	1872	Malta Bend	Saline Co	Not listed			
Hardin	Hon C H	1872	Mexico	Callaway and Audrain Cos	Not listed			
Hyde	Rev G W	1872	Cooper Co	Cooper Co	Not listed			
Peak	John L	1872	KCMO	Jackson Co	Not listed			
Ward	Seth	1872	Westport	Jackson Co	Not listed			
Dougherty	O F	1873	Clay Co	Clay Co				
Murphy	Rev John D	1874	Mexico	Audrain Co	Not listed			
Senter	William N	1874	St. Louis	St. Louis Co	Not listed			
Southworth	Dr. J W	1874	Glasgow	Howard Co	Not listed			
Talbird	Rev H	1874	Lexington	Lafayette Co	Not listed			
Maple	Rev J C	1875	Cape Girardeau	Cape Girardeau Co	Not listed			
Allen	Dr. J M	1876	Liberty	Clay Co	Not listed			
Boyd	Rev W W	1876	St. Louis	St. Louis Co	Not listed			
Lofton	Rev G A	1876	St. Louis	St. Louis Co	Not listed			
Yeaman	W. Pope	1876	St. Louis	St. Louis and Clay Cos	Not listed			
Turner	R E	1878	St. Joseph	Buchanan Co	Not listed			
James	Thomas M	1879	KCMO	Jackson Co	Not listed			
Morrison	A W	1879	Fayette	Howard Co	Not listed			
Patrick	Rev Wiley J	1879	Curryville	Pike Co	Not listed			

4. The following chart identifies the Jewell Trustees who attended the most meetings during their time of service and in the years 1849-1879. Those who lived closer to Liberty had the opportunity to exert more influence.

Name	Mtgs	Location
Moss OP*	70/85	Liberty
Garvey WS*	48/60	Clay Co
Wornall JB*	45/75	Jackson Co
Allen DC	36/42	Liberty
Ely LB*	35/50	Carrollton
Morton WA*	31/37	Clay Co
Miller Madison*	29/42	Liberty
Bryant JE	27/36	Clay Co
Buckner XX	24/27	Clay Co
Black GL	23/54	Clay Co
Flood J*	20/47	Clay Co
Samuel EM*	20/27	Clay Co
Watkins WL*	20/63	Clay Co
Bell WM*	19/39	Saline Co
Litchfield AT	17/23	Clay Co
Yeaman WP	16/35	St. Louis
Hyde GW	15/28	Cooper Co
Mitchell BR	15/24	Clay Co
Williams JT	15/42	St. Louis
Shouse DL	14/20	Jackson Co
Thompson WM	14/16	Clay Co
Moss J	13/18	Clay Co
Waddell John*	12/47	Lafayette Co
Smith NJ*	11/35	Saline Co
Anderson S*	10/16	Clay Co
Avery AC*	10/40	Henry Co
Machett A	10/14	Clay Co
Peake JL	10/15	Jackson Co
Reardin R*	10/20	Clay Co
Ward Seth	10/25	Jackson Co
Warder JW	10/25	Jackson Co

*owner of enslaved persons

Appendix C: Understanding the Slave System in Missouri

For a description of the slave system in Missouri, see Diane Mutti Burke's "Slavery on the Western Border: Missouri's Slave System and Its Collapse during the Civil War" https://civilwaronthewesternborder.org/essay/slavery-western-border-missouri%E2%80%99s-slave-system-and-its-collapse-during-civil-war

Dr. Mutti Burke writes

"Missouri instead emerged as a magnet for small-scale slaveholders, who were interested in practicing the diversified agriculture found in their original homes in the Upper South. The small number of slaves

living on most Missouri slaveholdings altered the nature of the relationship between slaves and owners, as well as the family and community lives of enslaved people, but in the end these differences did not result in a more humane form of slavery. In fact, slavery in western Missouri was often just as brutal as elsewhere in the South. In the end, however, the many contradictions and tensions inherent in the small-scale system of slavery practiced in Missouri resulted in the institution's rapid collapse during the violent years of the Civil War."