Annotated Bibliography

Primary Sources

- Aldridge, Martha. Lawrence 'China' Slaughter Reading Park. 2018, Liberty, Missouri. This work of visual art is a memorial to Lawrence 'China' Slaughter, influential crossing guard, custodian, and member of the Liberty community. It is the first statue of an African-American in Clay County. I used this source by observing it, taking pictures of it for use in my website, and even gleaning quotes from it. For example, I got the title of my website, "Lead from Where You Are," from this memorial. This source gave me a greater understanding of the scope of Garrison's legacy; if Garrison could produce such a beloved and larger-than-life figure as China, then it must be a story worth telling.
- Anand, Bernadette, et al. *Keeping the Struggle Alive Studying Desegregation in Our Town: A Guide to Doing Oral History*. Teachers College Press, 2002.

This book helped me understand the right ways to conduct my research in a more in-depth and personal way. *Keeping the Struggle Alive* includes oral histories of desegregation in a small town, which is exactly what I am studying. So, this book let me know how I should go about my research given that this is a local topic, and inspired to me to pursue community connections for my own advantage.

"Clarence Edward Gantt Obituary." *Kansas City Star* [Missouri], 12 Feb. 1968. *Newspapers.com*. Accessed 13 May 2019.

This is an obituary for Clarence Edward Gantt, former headmaster of Garrison School. It helped me understand his life and the impact he made on the community. I used sections of his obituary in my website.

"Colored School Graduates." Harry Maltby's Market [Liberty, MO], 1911.

This is a newspaper from early 18th century Liberty that lists graduates of the Garrison School. I found this newspaper during my visit to the Clay County Archives. It helped me learn how far back Garrison School reaches, and how many generations it has remained. As Shelton Ponder said, "The triumph of Garrison is that it's still here."

Davidson, Bruce. Time of Change. 1963. Howard Greenburg Gallery,

www.howardgreenberg.com/exhibitions/bruce-davidson-time-of-change?view=slider#32. Accessed 13 May 2019.

Time of Change is a collection of images taken by Bruce Davidson during the Civil Rights movement. These photographs powerfully illustrate the consequences and effects of such a tumultuous time period. I used one photo from the *Time of Change* collection in my website, and the rest I used to garner further background knowledge.

Diehl, Huston. *Dream Not of Other Worlds: Teaching in a Segregated Elementary School, 1970.* U of Iowa P, 2007.

Dream Not of Other Worlds is a first-person account of a young white school-teacher's experience teaching in a segregated elementary school. This story taught me how all-pervasive and utterly tragic segregation was. This book was heartbreaking, and spurred me on as I researched my Tragedy section.

Early Black Schoolhouse. 1916. Virginia Museum of History and Culture,

www.virginiahistory.org/collections-and-resources/virginia-history-explorer/civil-rightsmovement-virginia/beginnings-black. Accessed 13 May 2019.

This image of an early African-American schoolhouse gives a clear picture of the disparity in education that they faced. I displayed this image prominently on my Tragedy page to give a view of the tragedy the African-American community faced.

"Garrison School." CCAAL, ccaal-garrisonschool.org. Accessed 11 Feb. 2019.

This is the website of the Clay County African American Legacy, an organization dedicated to preserving the culture and history of African-American people in Liberty and the surrounding areas. This web page describes the entire history of Garrison School from the days where slave literacy was illegal to the building's current use as a community and cultural center. I found several images from this website that I used in the Legacy section to help emphasize Garrison's impact on the world today. This page also helped me in the construction of my mental timeline, allowing me to see events clearly and linearly.

Enumeration of Normal Children. Liberty 53 School District, 1946. "Colored History," Clay County Archives, Liberty, MO. Census.

This is a census document from 1946 listing every "colored" child that lived in Liberty at the time. I found this document at the Clay County Archives. I learned from this "Enumeration" that most African-American families lived on the same street, leading me to just how centralized the Garrison community was. Liberty's African-American community was a tight-knit place, with families reaching back for generations and generations. "George E. C. Hayes, Thurgood Marshall, and James M. Nabrit congratulating each other on the Brown decision," *Associated Press*, 17 May 1954. Courtesy of Library of Congress. **This picture displays the victorious lawyers of the Brown v. Board decision congratulating each other. It is an iconic image from the Civil Rights movement and seemed only fitting to use on the Brown v. Board section of my Triumph page.**

King, Martin Luther. "Transcript of Dr. Martin Luther King's Speech at SMU on March 17, 1966." Southern Methodist University, 17 Mar. 1966, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas. Speech.
This is a speech given by Martin Luther King Jr. at the Southern Methodist University in Dallas. I used a quote from this powerful speech in my website, "We have come a long, long way, but we still have a long, long way to go." Dr. King's speech illustrates that although we may have triumphed over our tragedies, there are still problems that it is up to the next generation to step up and face. The speech taught me that we have come so far since the days of slavery, but there is still so much change ahead of us.

- The Legacy of Brown v. Board. *Library of Congress*, www.loc.gov/. Accessed 13 May 2019. This is a collection of images from the Library of Congress pertaining to African-American education. They gave a good picture of the story of segregation to integration, as well as providing high-quality, trustworthy images for my website.
- Liberty High School's 1957 Yearbook, The Spectator. Liberty, MO, Liberty High School, 1957. The Spectator is Liberty High School's yearbook, which I was able to access at the Clay County Archives. 1957 is the first year African-American faces surface in the yearbook. From this source I learned that it took the Liberty School district three years to fully integrate the high school. These yearbooks also showed me that at first, African-Americans could not join as many clubs or take advantage of as many opportunities, but by 1958 there seems to have been a bit more acceptance.
- Liberty High School's 1958 Yearbook, The Spectator. Liberty, MO, Liberty High School, 1958. The 1958 Spectator is not very different from the previous year's. Something interesting is that the young woman who owned the yearbook, who was white, seems to have been friends with Shelton Ponder's brother. In this case, at least, black and white were able to interact freely. This yearbook shows African-Americans joining more clubs than last year, and integrating more into the school as a whole.
- McKinley, Edna. "The Changing Years--Or Liberty That Was: Number Twenty in Historical Series for Your Scrapbook." *The Liberty Chronicle* [Liberty, MO], 24 Dec. 1942.
 I used several quotes from this 1942 newspaper in my website. This source described how successful Garrison School was, and how renowned it was in the community.

Monchow, Helen Corbin. *The Use of Deed Restrictions in Subdivision Development*. PDF ed., Chicago, Illinois, The Institute for Research in Land Economics and Public Activities, 1928.

This 1928 book by Helen Monchow describes how J.C. Nichols restricted African-Americans from moving into his Kansas City neighborhood, Armour Hills. I used a chart from her book in the Becoming Garrison section of my website. The chart detailed the segregating deed restrictions found in wealthy neighborhoods.

"Negro Pupil's Education." Delta Democrat-Times [Greenville, Mississippi], 9 Feb. 1947.

Newspapers.com,

basic.newspapers.com/image/23595360/?terms=delta%2Bdemocrat-times. Accessed 13 May 2019.

This newspaper article from Mississippi in 1947 truly illustrates the tragedy of segregation. One quote from the article is, "We have not had official honesty in the matter of providing for Negro schools," which shows how dishonest the educational system could be when it came to African-American schools.

"Negro Pupils' Work." *Kansas City Journal* [Kansas City, Missouri], 6 June 1899. *Newspapers.com*, newscomwc.newspapers.com/image/68285019. Accessed 11 Feb. 2019.

This article from the Kansas City Journal gives a glimpse of Garrison School's curriculum. This newspaper showed the depth and quality of the education at Garrison School. Garrison School had such an intriguing curriculum that it was reported on even by white newspapers.

Ponder, Shelton. Collection of Images related to Garrison School and the Ponder Family. Although there are many extremely powerful images related to segregation and the Civil Rights movement as a whole, I wanted to include more local images in my website. There are very few images of historical Garrison available online, so I had to dig deeper. Mr. Ponder graciously allowed me to use his personal family photographs in the website for the sake of telling Garrison School's stories to the world. These photos give a glimpse into life in Liberty during the time of the Garrison School, and they also show what happened to some pupils when their education was finished. One example is the photo of Garrison graduate Clarence Parker, Mr. Ponder's uncle, and his award-winning jazz band. Clarence Parker was able to travel the world, something many Southern African-Americans were unable to do at that time.

Ponder, Shelton. Interview. 9 Dec. 2018.

My first interview with Shelton Ponder took place before an event at the Garrison School. I spoke with him about stories from his childhood, as well as if segregation seemed to affect his education. I cannot emphasize more how important speaking to Mr. Ponder was in the course of creating my project. He gave me wisdom and knowledge I never would have found elsewhere. I also took several pictures of exhibits on display at the Garrison School. All in all, it was an extremely beneficial visit and interview.

Ponder, Shelton. Interview. 2 Feb. 2019.

My second interview with Mr. Ponder was even more incredible. I spoke with him for more than two hours, about everything from triumph to tragedy to Garrison's legacy today. The full interview was recorded and I selected some clips for use in my website. This conversation aided me immensely in the creation of my website. I learned more about the triumphs and tragedies of Garrison School than I ever could have by reading a book or visiting a website.

Rivera, A.M., Jr. "Differential between the Races Wider Now than It Was in 1900." *The Pittsburgh Courier* [Pennsylvania], 20 Dec. 1952. *Newspapers.com*, basic.newspapers.com/image/40007665/?terms=loud%2Bclever%2Blectures%2Bnegro% 2Beducation. Accessed 13 May 2019.

I used this article in the Tragedy section to show proof of the disparity between African-American and white education. The article shows how often, politicians would claim they had increased funding for African-American schools, without showing that they had increased funding for white schools alongside it, rendering it effectively the same situation as before. I thought this newspaper was very impactful and would fit well in my Tragedy section.

Robinson, Cecelia. James A. Gay.

This is a photograph of Garrison headmaster James Arthur Gay, who preceded Mr. Clarence Gantt. I was given this photograph by Garrison historian Dr. Cecelia Robinson. I used it on the Becoming Garrison page to illustrate who the distinguished educators of Garrison were. There was not much info about James Gay available online, so I had to inquire within the Garrison School.

- Robinson, Mildred Wigfall, and Richard J. Bonnie. Law Touched Our Hearts: A Generation Remembers Brown v. Board of Education. Vanderbilt University Press, 2009.
 This book contains oral histories told by people who were children during Brown v.
 Board of Education. It gave me background knowledge about the widespread impact of the Brown I case, and helped me create the Triumph and Tragedy pages on my website.
- School Board Records 1950-1960. Liberty Public Schools Archives, Liberty Public Schools. Manuscript.

On March 19th, 2019 I visited the Liberty Public School Board Archives for about four hours in order to further deepen my research. A few dates were in question, such as exactly when Liberty decided to fully integrate the schools, so I decided to straighten it out. My research found specifically when Liberty integrated the schools, as well as what the pay difference was between African-American and white teachers, when Clarence Gantt earned more funding for Garrison School, and many other dates I had previously been unsure about. I use several images from the records in my website.

 "School Segregation Banned." Topeka State Journal [Kansas], 11 May 1954. Newspapers.com. Accessed 13 May 2019.
 This was an extremely impactful headline from Topeka in the aftermath of Brown v. Board that I thought would fit well in the Triumph section of my website.

Seat, June. "Reunion at Garrison School 9-15-2018." Received by the author, Sept. 2018. Letter. This letter was sent to me by Mrs. June Seat, a former student teacher at the fourth grade at Garrison School in 1959. It consisted of her own personal notes added to a transcript of a speech she planned to make at a Garrison reunion. This letter helped me construct a mental timeline of the events of my topic, beginning with slave days and ending with integration. It also gave me a personal narrative to turn to as I pieced together the story.

Students at Garrison School. Black Archives of Kansas City,

www.blackarchives.org/category/featured-collection/education. Accessed 13 May 2019. This is an image from the Black Archives of Kansas City that shows many young students attending Garrison School. The exact date is unknown but is estimated to be around 1900-1910. I used as many local and specific images as possible and the Black Archives was a wonderful Kansas City resource.

"Supreme Court Rules out School Segregation." *Manhattan Mercury-Chronicle* [Manhattan, Kansas], 17 May 1954. *Newspapers.com*,

basic.newspapers.com/image/423645217/?terms=supreme%2Bcourt%2Brules%2Bout%2 Bschool%2Bsegregation%2Bmanhattan%2Bmercury-chronicle. Accessed 13 May 2019. This 1954 article from Manhattan, Kansas provided some valuable insight into the immediate impact of Brown v. Board of Education. I used it in my Triumph section.

"The Supreme Court's Decision: A Full Statement of the Reasons for the Opinion." *Richmond Planet* [Richmond, Virginia], 17 Nov. 1017. *Newspapers.com*, newscomwc.newspapers.com/image/466149640. Accessed 11 Feb. 2019.
This is a newspaper article from the *Richmond Planet*, which republished the majority opinion from Brown v. Board of Education. This was an interesting article to read because it helped me understand the reasons behind the Supreme Court ruling. I also used a section of it in my website.

"Upon a Proposition to Issue Bonds of the School District of Kansas City, Jackson County, Missouri." *Kansas City Journal* [Missouri], 2 June 1899. *Newspapers.com*, basic.newspapers.com/image/68283680/?terms=kansas%2Bcity%2Bjournal. Accessed 13 May 2019.

This is an 1899 newspaper article that helped me to understand the true educational disparities that made "separate but equal" not equal at all. I used one quote from the article on the tragedy page.

Secondary Sources

Bacon, Su. "Crossing guard who impacted generations in Liberty honored with park, statue." *The Kansas City Star* [Kansas City, Missouri], 10 Oct. 2017,

infoweb-newsbank-com.kclibrary.idm.oclc.org/resources/doc/nb/news/1677463117CEF8 80?p=NewsBank. Accessed 14 Dec. 2018.

This news article helped me learn about the dedication of Lawrence 'China' Slaughter's statue. Reading this, I learned more about China's life and legacy.

"Plessy v. Ferguson." Newspapers.com. Accessed 11 Feb. 2019.

This is an article from Newspapers.com about the Plessy v. Ferguson case. I used this website to find specific regional newspapers. I also found an image from here of Supreme Court Justice John Marshall Harlan.

"The Civil Rights Movement in Photos." CNN, 8 Apr. 2014,

www.cnn.com/2014/04/07/us/gallery/iconic-civil-rights/index.html. Accessed 11 Feb. 2019.

This is a photo gallery that displays several iconic images from the Civil Rights movement. These powerful photos were interspersed throughout my website. The images gave me a greater understanding of the courage and humanity of people during this time. Haunting and beautiful, these photos are unforgettable, and I spent many hours selecting the right ones for my project. This source held the best images in one place, and therefore was very useful to me.

Delpit, Lisa. "Multiplication is for White People": Raising Expectations for Other People's Children. New Press, New York, 2012.

This book describes the tragedy of the racial achievement gap, which persists to this day. I used this book for background reading in order to understand how the segregation era still affects modern African-American students.

"Garrison School leaves opportunities, legacy in Liberty." *Liberty Tribune* [Liberty, MO], 3 Apr. 2003.

This article from the Liberty Tribune details the legacy of Garrison School, even diving into specific careers Garrison graduates have pursued. It is from this article that I learned Garrison has produced doctors, lawyers, reverends, teachers, bankers, poets and more. The wide span of successful careers found in Garrison graduates proves that the school, ultimately, was a triumph. The legacy of Garrison, says this article, was widespread, and impacted generation upon generation.

Gotham, Kevin Fox. Missed Opportunities, Enduring Legacies: School Segregation and Desegregation in Kansas City, Missouri. NPR,

mediad.publicbroadcasting.net/p/kcur/files/Kevin_Fox_Gothom.pdf?__utma=91726592. 806404577.1375215456.1395857114.1395860924.745&__utmb=91726592.112.6.13958 64969006&__utmc=91726592&__utmx=-&__utmz=91726592.1394636491.697.30.utmc sr=google|utmccn=(organic)|utmcmd=organic|utmctr=(not%20provided)&__utmv=-&__ utmk=121600576. Accessed 14 Dec. 2018.

This is a paper by Kevin Fox Gotham that illustrates the ugly realities of segregation and integration in the Kansas City area. This paper showed me how disparate the funding was between white and African-American schools. African-American schools were never given the money nor the chance to succeed. I used information, photos and quotes from this paper throughout my website, especially in the Tragedy section.

Hogan, Suzanne. "Exploring Lincoln Prep's Historic Past." *KCUR 8.93*, U of Missouri-Kansas City, 13 June 2014, www.kcur.org/post/exploring-lincoln-preps-historic-past#stream/0. Accessed 13 Dec. 2018.

This is an article from KCUR that shows the segregated history of a Kansas City prep school. It was interesting to learn about other schools in Clay County that faced the same path as Garrison, and dealt with it in different ways. Each school was incredibly different, as I have learned from my research into Garrison School, Lincoln Prep and Sumner School, another former segregated school in the Kansas City area. Although my website focused on the Garrison School, I did not neglect to research other schools and other stories in order to give Garrison some context.

Kantor, Harvey. "School Desegregation." *Encyclopedia of Children and Childhood: In History and Society*, edited by Paula S. Fass, vol. 3, New York, Macmillan Reference USA, 2004, pp. 729-31. *World History in Context*,

link.galegroup.com.mcpl.idm.oclc.org/apps/doc/CX3402800360/WHIC?u=inde80299&si d=WHIC&xid=f7305b6a. Accessed 25 Oct. 2018.

This encyclopedia article lead me from the beginnings of segregation to integration, as well as detailing segregation's ramifications today. The article gave context to segregation as well as the many responses to it. From this encyclopedia I learned about unknown (to me, at least) aspects of segregation such as bussing and school choice.

Kraske, Steve. "Steve Kraske: I'm Still Talking about J.C. Nichols, Racism, and Renaming the Fountain." *The Kansas City Star* [Kansas City, MO], 29 June 2017. *The Kansas City Star*, infoweb-newsbank-com.kclibrary.idm.oclc.org/resources/doc/nb/news/1655884F9DA831 90?p=NewsBank. Accessed 14 Dec. 2018.

This news article from the Kansas City Star speaks up about the controversy surrounding the J.C. Nichols fountain. J.C. Nichols was a real estate developer whose decisions shaped Kansas City as it is today. Nichols has been venerated as a KC hero for generations; however, recently a hidden story has emerged--Nichols' practice of racist housing policies. Due to this, many are calling for the J.C. Nichols memorial fountain to be renamed. This story told me a lot about Kansas City's segregated and biased past.

Lawrence, Dennis. *The Impact of Local, State, and Federal Government Decisions on the* Segregation and Subsequent Integration of Sumner High School in Kansas City, Kansas. 1997. U of Kansas, PhD dissertation.

This dissertation details the story of Sumner School in Kansas City, Kansas, which was formerly an African-American school, until Brown V. Board. Today, Sumner is an award-winning charter school. I learned from this that African-American schools, instead of being absorbed by white schools during integration, could also become important schools in their own right. The story of Sumner also aided in putting Garrison's story in context.

"Local playwright, historian brings Garrison School's history to life this weekend." *The Kansas City Star* [Kansas City, MO], 30 Nov. 2017.

This article told me the legacy of Mr. Clarence Gantt as well as the performance that Shelton Ponder put on in honor of him. I learned from this that Mr. Gantt's legacy endured in the lives of his students. This article was extremely beneficial in my research.

 McNeill, Leila. "How a Psychologist's Work on Race Identity Helped Overturn School Segregation in 1950s America." *Smithsonian.com*, Smithsonian Institute, 26 Oct. 2017, www.smithsonianmag.com/science-nature/psychologist-work-racial-identity-helped-over turn-school-segregation-180966934/. Accessed 11 Feb. 2019.
 This article is about the famous "Doll Test" that made clear the unfortunate impacts of segregation. I used several photos from this source in my website.

[&]quot;NAACP History: W.E.B. DuBois." *NAACP*, www.naacp.org/naacp-history-w-e-b-dubois/. Accessed 11 Feb. 2019.

This website is about W.E.B. DuBois, a leader of the NAACP. I used an image of W.E.B. DuBois from this source in my website.

O'Higgins, Briana. "How School and District Boundaries Shaped Education in Kansas City." *KCUR 8.93*, U of Missouri-Kansas City, 17 June 2014, www.kcur.org/post/how-school-and-district-boundaries-shaped-education-kansas-city#str eam/0. Accessed 13 Dec. 2018.

This online article gave me more historical context to place the story of Garrison in the greater timeline of Kansas City. It also showed how white superintendents would do anything to prevent integration, including redrawing school boundary lines along segregated lines. I used this article as background information for the creation of my site.

---. "How Troost Became a Major Dividing Line in Kansas City." *KCUR 8.93*, U of Missouri-Kansas City, 27 Mar. 2014,

www.kcur.org/post/how-troost-became-major-divide-kansas-city#stream/0. Accessed 13 Dec. 2018.

This article is very similar to the one above in that it spoke of segregation in Kansas City neighborhoods. School boundary lines were drawn at Troost Avenue, separating the "white" area of town from the "black" area. This article I used as background reading to give my website context. It also showed that segregation still persists quietly today, a tragedy in its own right.

Powe Jr., Lucas A. "Brown V. Board of Education (Brown II), 349 U.S. 294 (1955)." Encyclopedia of the Supreme Court of the United States, edited by David S. Tanenhaus, vol. 1, Detroit, Macmillan Reference USA, 2008, pp. 215-17. U.S. History in Context, link.galegroup.com.mcpl.idm.oclc.org/apps/doc/CX3241200142/UHIC?u=inde80299&si d=UHIC&xid=41c6717d. Accessed 25 Oct. 2018.

This is an encyclopedia (U.S. History in Context) article about Brown V. Board of Education, also known as Brown I & II. I learned about Brown v. Board and its enduring legacy from this article, as well as the reasoning behind the one of the Supreme Court's most influential cases.

Rice, Glenn E. "Liberty play pays tribute to educator who overcame racism, segregation." *The Kansas City Star* [Kansas City, Missouri], 8 Feb. 2012. *America's News*, infoweb-newsbank-com.kclibrary.idm.oclc.org/resources/doc/nb/news/13CD3E45F1493 000?p=NewsBank. Accessed 14 Dec. 2018.
This online article is about Shelton Ponder's play, *Mr. Gantt, Modified.* I used this article to find out more about Mr. Ponder's play and the impact it has had on my community. As well, it told the story of Mr. Gantt's life, which was a great help for me. I also used a few images from this article in my site.

Ridder, Karen. "Murals are next move in Garrison School's vision to become a tourist destination." *The Kansas City Star* [Kansas City, Missouri], 2 Nov. 2017, infoweb-newsbank-com.kclibrary.idm.oclc.org/resources/doc/nb/news/167F0F9237B52B 60?p=NewsBank. Accessed 14 Dec. 2018.
This online news article had a wonderful gallery of images that I used in my website. I used this article for information about Garrison's legacy today.

- Roy, Beth. *Bitters in the Honey*. Fayetteville, Arkansas, University of Arkansas Press, 1999. *Bitters in the Honey* is a book about the Little Rock Nine. It provided me with interesting perspectives on the triumphs and tragedies of the journey to integration.
- Rury, John L., and Shirley A. Hill. The African American Struggle for Secondary Schooling 1940-1980: Closing the Graduation Gap. Teacher's College Press, 2012.
 This book taught me about the impact of segregation on students from the '40s to the '80s. I used it to cast Garrison's story in a new light, informing me of the tragedies that remain hidden in segregation's shadow today.

"Segregation." *Mississippi Encyclopedia*, U of Mississippi, mississippiencyclopedia.org/entries/segregation/. Accessed 11 Feb. 2019. **This is an encyclopedia article on segregation. I used a quote from it in my website.**

Stevens, Sara. "J.C. Nichols and the Country Club District: Suburban Aesthetics and Property Values." *The Pendergast Years*, The Kansas City Public Library, pendergastkc.org/article/jc-nichols-and-country-club-district-suburban-aesthetics-and-pro perty-values. Accessed 14 Dec. 2018.
This article was very beneficial for me in researching J.C. Nichols', whose life I briefly touched on in the Becoming Garrison section. This particular article allowed me to discover the Helen Corbin Monchow book.

Taylor, Andy. "The seed for desegregation was planted in Montgomery County." *Taylor News*, 2015. Originally published in *Montgomery County Chronicle* [Cherryvale, Kansas], 9 Jan. 2012.

This newspaper article is a saga of desegregation in Southeast Kansas that enriched my knowledge of the topic. Kansas and Missouri both had their own unique struggles with segregation, and in researching this topic I found incredible tales from many different places.