The Ernest Calloway papers contain correspondence, speeches, public statements, reports, campaign materials, newspapers, and photographs documenting Calloway's activities as president of the St. Louis NAACP, political analyst for Teamsters' Local 688, and as a political activist in St. Louis and a lecturer on urban problems for St. Louis University. The papers include reports and memoranda developed by the NAACP on employment issues concerning blacks, including a study of hiring discrimination by the St. Louis Police Department and a boycott of the St. Louis Lever Brothers plant for discriminatory hiring practices. Included in the collection are materials from significant St. Louis black political campaigns, including the Reverend John J. Hicks' election as the first black on the St. Louis Board of Education and Theodore McNeal's election as the first black in the Missouri Senate. Other campaigns documented include aldermanic committee races in the predominantly black 25th ward from 1960 to 1964 and the Tucker-Cervantes mayoral race in 1965. Statistics on black voting behavior and employment compiled by Calloway are also included.

Ernest Calloway was born in Heberton, West Virginia, in 1909. His family moved to the coalfields of Letcher County, Kentucky in 1913 as one of the first black families in the coal mining communities of Eastern Kentucky. His father helped organize the first local United Mine Workers' union in Letcher County. Calloway attended high school in Lynchburg, Virginia. He quit school and ran away to Harlem in 1925, during the time of the New Negro Renaissance. He worked as a dishwasher in Harlem until his mother fell ill when he returned to Kentucky at age 17. Calloway worked in the mines of Consolidated Coal Company until 1930. During the early 1930s, he traveled around the United States and Mexico as a drifter. After a frightening hallucinatory experience in the mountains of Baja, California, in 1933, he returned to the coal mines of Kentucky.

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

From 1935 to 1936, Calloway worked in Virginia and helped organize the Virginia Workers' Alliance, a union of unemployed W.P.A. workers. In 1937 he moved to Chicago and organized railway station porters (redcaps) and other railroad employees into the United Transport Employees Union. Calloway helped write the resolution...
creating the 1942 Committee Against Discrimination in the CIO. When the first peacetime draft law came into effect in 1939, Calloway was the first African American to refuse military service because of race discrimination. The case received national publicity but was never officially settled. Calloway never served in the Jim Crow Army. Calloway joined the National CIO News editorial staff in 1944.

In 1946 he married DeVerne Lee, a teacher who had led a protest against racial segregation in the Red Cross in India during World War II (see collection S0012). The following year he received a scholarship from the British Trade Union Congress to attend Ruskin College at Oxford, England, but by the time it was granted, Calloway had returned to the United States and begun working with the CIO Southern Organizing Drive in North Carolina. Because of a dispute over organizing tactics in an attempt to unionize workers at R.G. Reynolds Tobacco Company, Calloway left the CIO in 1950 and returned to Chicago. There he was enlisted by Harold Gibbons of the St. Louis Teamsters union to established a research department for the Teamsters in St. Louis.

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

In 1955 Calloway was elected president of the St. Louis NAACP. Within the first two years of his presidency, membership grew from 2,000 to 8,000 members. He led successful efforts to gain substantial increases in the number of blacks employed by St. Louis taxi services, department stores, the Coca Cola Company, and Southwestern Bell. The NAACP opposed a proposed city charter in 1957 because it did not include civil service reforms, public accommodations sections, or support for civil rights. The charter was defeated.

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

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

In 1969 Calloway lectured part-time for St. Louis University's Center for Urban Programs. He became an assistant professor when he retired as a research director for the Teamsters in June 1973. He later became Professor Emeritus of Urban Studies at St. Louis University. Calloway suffered a disabling stroke in 1982 and died in 1989.

Donor Information
The papers were donated to the University of Missouri by Ernest Calloway on September 9, 1971 (Accession No. SA0057). An addition was made on June 26, 1980 by Ernest Calloway (Accession No. SA2304). An addition was made on February 23, 1984 by Ernest Calloway (Accession No. SA2597). An addition was made on June 1, 1992 by DeVerne Calloway (Accession No. SA3060).

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History of the Central Baptist Church, 80th Anniversary, no date
Historical Sketch, Program and Auxiliaries of St. Paul AME Church, 1935
Central Baptist Church, 117th Anniversary, 1953
Southern Mission Baptist Church, 22nd Annual Usher Day, April 25, 1954
Antioch Baptist Church, June 6, 1954
Antioch Baptist Church, 83rd Anniversary, 1955
Antioch Baptist Church, 10th Anniversary, September 16-17, 1956
Union Memorial Methodist Church, March 10, 1957
St. Paul AME Church, 117th Anniversary, July 13-20, 1958
Lane Tabernacle CME Church, January 26, 1958
Lively Stone Church of God, 24th Annual Convention, June 17-22, 1958
Prince of Peace Gospel Chorus, 18th Annual Day, November 16, 1958
Greater Mount Carmel Baptist Church, Directory, 1959
Prince of Peace Baptist Church, Pastor's 35th Anniversary, April 24, 1960
Prince of Peace Senior Usher Board, Annual Day, July 10, 1960
African Methodist Episcopal Church, May 4, 1960
Lively Stone Church of God, 26th Annual Conference, June 21-26, 1960
Antioch Day Nursery, Information Bulletin, August 1960
Truelight Baptist Church, Annual Men's Day, October 30, 1960
Central Baptist Church, 8th Annual King and Queen Coronation, July 20, 1961
Washington Tabernacle Baptist Church, 1962
African Methodist Episcopal Church, October 13-17, 1965
Central Baptist Church, 10th Annual Youth Conference, November 10-13, 1948
African Methodist Episcopal, 124th Session of Missouri Annual Conference, August 16-20, 1978

Box 45
St. Louis National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
How to Organize and Conduct a Successful NAACP Membership Campaign, no date
Correspondence, 1951-1958
Meeting minutes, 1956
Newspaper clippings, 1956
Handbook of St. Louis NAACP Registration Workers, by Ernest Calloway and Charles Oldham, July 15, 1956
Officers Report To the General Membership of the St. Louis NAACP, December 31, 1956
St. Louis NAACP's Fifth Annual Community and Freedom Fund Tea, November 9, 1958; Annual membership report, 1960
Remarks by Calloway, 1957-1963
Forward, 1960
Honor Guard, 1960
Fifty First Convention, June 21-26, 1960
Fifty Second Convention, July 10-16, 1961
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General Membership Campaign, 1963
Honor Guard, 1963
Chronology, January-June 1963
President's File, 1963-1964
Report of the Membership Committee, April 1, 1963
Membership Campaign Committee, April 15, 1963
Second Annual Freedom Fund Dinner, November 10, 1963
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The Evelyn Roberts-Pearlie Evans Contest for President, 1964-1965
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Fourth Annual Freedom Fund Dinner, 1965
Presidents and Officers (1914-1972,) 1972
Report of the Labor and Industry Committee, June 4, 1973
Twelfth Annual Freedom Fund Dinner, November 4, 1973
Honor Guard, September 1, 1965
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Twenty Second Annual Freedom Fund Dinner, November 10, 1983

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Gala Christmas Charity Dance, 18th and 19th Wards, Regular Democratic Organization, December 4, 1953
Benefit Farmers Dance for Christmas Charity Fund, 18th Ward, Regular Democratic Organization, December 26, 1954
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Subject files
Architects of An Unfinished American Dream, 1981
Area Districts In St. Louis Including Political Sub Divisions, 1971-1976; Automation, 1961
Bible notes, no date
Black Members of Commissions and Boards in St. Louis Municipal Government, 1972
Black Political Chronology, 1960
Black Trade Unionism, 1958-1963
Ernest Calloway, Sr.
Calloway's Urban Affairs Students, Press Stories, 1956-1963
Jimmy Carter, 1976-1977
Citizens Committee For Election of T. D. McNeal to Missouri Senate, no date
City of Hope Award Dinner, 1953
Civil Rights In Missouri, 1963

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Colonel Theodore N. McNeal Testimonial, June 16, 1977
Community Meetings, A New Approach To Trade Union Political Action,
   A Grass-Roots Experiment Conducted by Teamsters Local 688,
St. Louis, During November 192
Community Tea and Fashion Show for James Hurt, 3/19/61
Congress of Racial Equality, Norman Hill Resignation, 1964
Congress of Racial Equality, Statement of Position, White House Conference "To
   Fulfill These Rights," June 1966
Congressional Campaign, 1968
Congressional Re-Apportionment in Missouri, 1971
Construction Strike, Local 682, 1953
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"Free Blacks in St. Louis, 1845-1875," by Judy Day, August 1970
History of the Consolidation Coal Company, 1864-1934
History of Organized Health Work In The City of St. Louis, January 197
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Negro American Labor Council, National and St. Louis Branch,
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Negro American Labor Council, Second Annual Convention, 1961
The Network of Corporate Interlocks in the U. S.: An Overview, by Joel H.
   Levine, August 10, 1976
Notes, 1949-1960
Paper on Ruth Porter, late 1960s
People's Hospital, March 29, 1963
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Box 51
Poverty-Appalachia File, 1965
Poverty's Challenge To The States, 1966
Paul Preisler, 1968-1971
   Personalities, no date
Remarks of President at Howard University, June 4, 1965
Republican Blacks, 1966
St. Louis Bicentennial, Lyndon Johnson's visit, February 14, 1964
St. Louis Census Count Controversy and Court Action, 1978-1980
St. Louis City Child Welfare Advisory Committee, October 6, 1965
St. Louis Ward Boundaries, 1966-1981
Social Goals Committee, 1969-1970
Some Random Notes on St. Louis Politics, no date
Southwestern Bell Affirmative Action Program, 1974
Southwestern Bell, St. Louis Scorecard, September 1969
Speaking Engagements, 1968-1976 (3 folders)

Box 52
Task Force On Crime and Delinquency, 1977
Teamsters Public Relations, 1954-1958
Toward Fairer Federal Labor Standards, Congress of Industrial Organizations,
   Washington, 1948
Transportation Service Employees, 1940-1945
The Truth About Unions by Leo Huberman, 1946
Tucker/Cervantes, Fred Weathers, 1966
Union Membership and Organizing, 1953-1970
United Transport Service Employees, Seventh Biennial Convention, June 19-21,
   1950
"The Unspeakable War," 1966
Urban League of St. Louis, Correspondence, 1952-1953
The Ville, 1986
Wages and Working Conditions During 1952, A Summary of Teamsters Local
   688 Contracts, January 18, 1953
Wage Rates, correspondence, 1954
Ward Vote on Candidates Or Issues, 1948-1979
Water Tower Group, 1977-1978
Why Your Union Needs A Dues Increase Now!, 1953
The Withdrawal of St. Louis City from St. Louis County and the Political Efforts at City-County Cooperation, 1876-1962

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White House Luncheon, June 25, 1964
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Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, November 28, 1978
Black Student Alliance, 1979-1980
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Meritious Service in Black Studies, 1981
St. Louis Council on Environmental Health and Safety, 1982
Black Faculty Administrators Council, For Dedicated Service To St. Louis University, May 1, 1982
The A. Philip Randolph Institute, St. Louis Area Chapter, January 26, 1986
Black Pearls of Humanity, Alpha Zeta Pelati, February 27, 1988

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Framed Certificate: Citation, Teamsters Local No. 688, Warehouse and Distribution Workers Union, January 31, 1954
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St. Louis Democratic City Central Committee, Harry S. Truman Award, March 25, 1983
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Vote For Weathers, Clerk of Criminal Corrections, Primary Election, August 7, 1962
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I Am A Booster For Stevens School, Annual Picnic, May 5, 1972
Jimmy Carter, Democrat on November 2nd
Jimmy Carter/Walter Mondale, Leaders, For a Change, 1976

Box 58
New Citizen Headlines
Ten Years of Trade Union Democracy In Action, Commemorating the Tenth
Anniversary of the Warehouse and Distribution Workers Union, 1941-1951,
published by Teamsters Local 688
The Voice of Father Dowling, An Early CANA Conference, 33 1/3 RPM 12 inch
LP, plus discussion outline
Labor Newscclippings Scrapbook, 1947-1950; Citizen Crusader/New Citizen
Itemized Income Reports and Individual Advertising Accounts, 1962-1963

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Lester B. Grouger
Donald Gunn
Frances W. Harper
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Charles Hawkins
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Andrew Hatcher
Mme. Felix Houphouet-Borgny
Perry Howard
Maj. John Harvey
Charlotte Hubbard
Laura B. Harris
Dr. Grace Hewell
Adelaide Cromwell Hill
Jack Hower
Diane Johnson
Dr. Mordecai Johnson
Raymond J. Jones
Ruth Jones
John F. Kennedy
Robert Kennedy
E. B. Koonce
Mrs. E. B. Koonce
Lawson, Marjorie
Jewel Livingston
Ester B. LaMarr
Arthur Martin
Miriam Makeba
Dr. E. W. Mazique
Dr. Arenia Mallory
Lawrence Nicholson
Mrs. Vera Nash
Richard Nixon
Dr. Jeanne Noble
Joseph Overton
Judge Parsons
William Patrick
Judge Samuel Pierce
Cecil F. Poole
William G. Porter
Adam Clayton Powell
H. Shaw Priest
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Carl Rowan  
Jerry Rhodes  
Dr. Bernard Randolph  
Walter Reuther  
Dr. Samuel Shepard  
John Shabazz  
Dr. William Sinkler  
Jean-Paul Sartre  
Mrs. Edith Sampson  
Mrs. Mattie B. Taylor  
Rev. Gardner Taylor  
Mrs. Sue Taylor  
Herbert Tucker  
Norman Thomas  
U. S. Cabinet  
Judge J. C. Waddy  
Robert Wagner  
Al Wallace  
Leon Wallace  
Dinah Washington  
Val Washington  
George Weaver  
Charles H. Wesley  
Clifton R. Wharton  
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