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NOTES

Unless otherwise indicated, all correspondence of Governor St. John is in the Papers of Governor John P. St. John at the Kansas State Historical Society in Topeka, either in “Correspondence Received, 1879–83,” or in “Correspondence Sent, 1879–83.” In these notes, such correspondence will indicate only the names of the correspondents and the date.

PROLOGUE

2. Ibid., p. 29.

CHAPTER 1

1. St. Louis Globe-Democrat, March 12, 1879. Although the newspaper contains the word “Democrat” in its title, it was Republican; on the question of the Negro, however, it was not “Radical,” as were some of the New England and eastern papers of the day. To further confuse matters, the Missouri Republican was Democratic.
2. Missouri Republican (St. Louis), February 21, 23, March 6, 1879.
3. Ibid., March 13, 1879.

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4. Ibid., April 17, 18, 1879.

6. *Missouri Republican* (St. Louis), April 18, 1879.


8. Ibid., April 30, 1879.

9. Testimony of John W. Wheeler, Voorhees Committee Report, pt. 3, p. 11. The Colored Refugee Relief Board, which succeeded the Committee of Twenty-five, published a pamphlet dated April 22, 1879, stating that by that date 4,004 persons had been transported westward by the group. It also stated that 50,000 rations had been issued and that $3,341.42 had been raised to aid the refugees. Pamphlet reprinted in Voorhees Committee Report, pt. 2, pp. 121-22.


12. Testimony of John H. Johnson, Voorhees Committee Report, pt. 2, pp. 121, 295, 296. J. Milton Turner's interests were primarily political. When he later visited President Hayes, presumably to make yet another plea for the Exodusters, he stressed the fact that while the black vote in Missouri totaled 40,000 and controlled two or three districts, no Negroes were given responsible appointive positions in that state. The president simply said that he was in favor of doing all he could for the race. *Omaha Daily Republican*, April 2, 1880.

13. *Missouri Republican* (St. Louis), April 10, 14, 17, 1879.


18. *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, June 11, 1879. At that time Johnson was secretary of the Relief Board, Moses Dickson its president.

19. Testimony of Charles Tandy, Voorhees Committee Report, pt. 3, p. 68. John H. Johnson, also testifying, estimated the figure to be between 15,000 and 20,000. See his testimony, ibid., pt. 2, p. 290.


21. Ibid., April 28, 1879.

22. Ibid., May 16, 1879.

23. Ibid., June 28, 1879.


25. *Weekly Clarion* (Jackson, Miss.), July 30, 1879. The Western Sanitary Commission was created by Gen. John Fremont, September 5, 1861, to
improve sanitary conditions among his troops. Women nurses, under the
direction of Dorothea L. Dix—then in St. Louis—assisted in the work.
It was a privately supported organization, assisted by the government,
which provided free transportation and a certain amount of supplies.
Another of its services was to lend aid to refugees in the Mississippi Valley.
New England, in particular, responded generously, supplying $500,000 in
contributions by 1864.

CHAPTER 3

3. The "African immigration" comment was by A. N. Moyer, of Wyandotte,
Kans., in a letter to Gov. John P. St. John, April 7, 1879. The "alm
house" comment was made by V. J. Lane in testimony before the Voorhees
Committee. See Voorhees Committee Report, pt. 3, pp. 325-29. See
also Wyandotte (Kans.) Gazette, April 4, 1879, and Schwendemann thesis
pp. 84, 87.
4. Stockton to St. John, April 12, 1879; Wyandotte (Kans.) Herald, April 3,
10, 1879; Atchison (Kans.) Daily Champion, April 10, 1879.
5. Missouri Republican (St. Louis), April 3, 1879; Omaha Daily Bee, April
10, 12, 1879; Wyandotte (Kans.) Herald, April 10, 1879. The burial con­
troversy is mentioned in Lee Ella Blake, "The Great Exodus of 1879 and
1880 to Kansas" (Master's thesis, Kansas State University, Manhattan,
1942), p. 25.
6. Commonwealth (Topeka), April 17, 1879, quoting Journal; Wyandotte
(Kans.) Herald, April 17, 1879.
7. St. Louis Globe-Democrat, April 17, 1879; St. Louis Post-Dispatch, April
17, 1879; Commonwealth (Topeka), April 18, 1879.
8. Commonwealth (Topeka), April 18, 1879; Daily Picayune (New
Orleans), April 22, 1879. Roy Garvin, "Benjamin, or 'Pap,' Singleton
and His Followers," Journal of Negro History, vol. 33, no. 1 (January,
1948), pp. 7-23, has a good description of the small Negro settlements
that grew around Kansas City.
9. Wyandotte (Kans.) Herald, April 24, May 1, 1879; Wyandotte (Kans.)
Gazette, April 25, 1879. See Commonwealth (Topeka) of April 25 for
further political accusations.
11. Kansas City Times, April 17, 1879; Leavenworth (Kans.) Times, April
19, 1879; St. Louis Post-Dispatch, April 17, 1879; St. Louis Globe-
Democrat, April 20, 1879; Daily Picayune (New Orleans), April 22, 1879.
12. New York Tribune, April 24, 1879; Daily Picayune (New Orleans), April
22, 1879; Weekly Clarion (Jackson, Miss.), April 23, 1879; Iowa State
Press (Iowa City), April 23, 1879.


16. *Wyandotte* (Kans.) *Gazette*, April 25, 1879. The *Memphis Weekly Appeal* (April 30, 1879) was quick to publish the rumor that Wyandotte's Rifle Club was ready to prevent the landing of any more of the black plague, “and threats are made that they will sink any boat with a cargo of Negroes which attempts to land.”


20. *Missouri Republican* (St. Louis), May 1, 1879, quoting *Leavenworth Times*.


22. W. M. Fortescue to Governor St. John, May 2, 16, 1879; *Leavenworth* (Kans.) *Times*, April 26, 1879; *Wyandotte* (Kans.) *Herald*, May 1, 8, 1879.


24. *Atchison* (Kans.) *Daily Champion*, March 11, 21, 22, April 1, 2, 20, 24, 26, 29, 1879.


26. *Inter-Ocean* (Chicago), May 16, 1879.


CHAPTER 4


3. Isaac O. Pickering, “The Administrations of John P. St. John,” in *Trans-
5. Testimony of F. M. Stringfield, Voorhees Committee Report, pt. 3, p. 329; Commonwealth (Topeka), April 24, 1879. See also St. Louis Globe-Democrat, April 22, 1879. Reference to Susan Anthony's contribution is found in Susan B. Anthony to John P. St. John, April 2, 1879.
7. Commonwealth (Topeka), April 19, 1879.
10. Commonwealth (Topeka), May 1, 1879.
12. Commonwealth (Topeka), April 24, 1879.
16. Commonwealth (Topeka), May 7, 1879, and New York Times, May 7, 1879, both gave May 6 as the date of incorporation. The organization's stationery, however, as of 1881, used the date of May 8 on its heading to indicate time or origin. See also the Testimony of J. C. Hebbard, Voorhees Committee Report, pt. 3, pp. 216-19, and the Testimony of M. Bosworth, ibid., pp. 287-90. In addition to his clerkship in the Kansas legislature, Hebbard was something of a local historian. The Topekan was one of the contributors to the monumental Andreas history of Kansas that appeared in 1883. He ran for secretary of state in 1884 and came in a poor third.
17. Commonwealth (Topeka), May 8, 1879.
18. Ibid., May 14, 15, 1879.
20. Cook's lecture is mentioned in Missouri Republican (St. Louis), May 29, 1879. For comments on Brown see Commonwealth (Topeka), May 17, 1879, and the Testimony of John Milton Brown, Voorhees Committee Report, pt. 2, p. 359.
22. Missouri Republican (St. Louis), May 24, 1879.
23. Commonwealth (Topeka), May 10, 1879.
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25. Wyandotte (Kans.) Gazette, May 9, 1879.


31. Missouri Republican (St. Louis), July 22, 1879.

32. Quoted in Weekly Clarion (Jackson, Miss.), July 30, 1879.

33. Commonwealth (Topeka), July 20, 22, 30, 1879; Wichita City Eagle, July 17, 24, 1879.

34. Commonwealth (Topeka), July 30, 1879.


36. Missouri Republican (St. Louis), April 20, 1879; Kansas City Times, April 17, 1879; Mirror and News Letter (Olathe, Kans.), May 8, 1879.


38. John P. St. John to H. C. Weeden of Louisville, Kentucky, September 12, 1879.

CHAPTER 5


2. Missouri Republican (St. Louis), April 1, July 15, 1879; St. Louis Post-Dispatch, April 25, 1879.

3. See also St. Louis Globe-Democrat, February 21, 1879.


5. Kansas City Times, April 11, 1879.


7. Emporia (Kans.) Ledger, September 5, 1879.


11. Memphis Weekly Appeal, April 2, 1879; see also Missouri Republican (St. Louis), March 27, 1879.

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15. T. C. Henry to Governor St. John, May 14, 1879; Junction City (Kans.) Union, April 2, 1881.
16. Wendell H. Stephenson, The Political Career of General James H. Lane, Publications of the Kansas State Historical Society, vol. 3 (1930), p. 132. Lane was one of the first United States senators elected from Kansas. He served from 1861 until he died by his own hand in 1866.
21. Thomas Nickerson to Governor St. John, September 10, 1879. Also see reference to this in Inter-Ocean (Chicago), May 6, 1879.
24. Quoted in Weekly Clarion (Jackson, Miss.), February 4, 1880.
29. Testimony of Benjamin Singleton, Voorhees Committee Report, pt. 3, pp. 379-80; Colored Patriot (Topeka), May 4, 1882, clipping in Singleton Scrapbook, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka (hereafter referred to as KSHS). Schwendemann (“Nicodemus: Negro Haven on the Solomon,” p. 11 n) mentions 1873 and 1876 as possible dates for the founding of the Baxter Springs Colony. I have used Singleton’s testimony before the Voorhees Committee and a reference in a Negro newspaper published in Topeka as my evidence concerning the founding date. See also Nell Blythe
Waldron, "Colonization in Kansas from 1861 to 1890" (Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, 1932), p. 127. Reference to the denial of white cemeteries to the blacks is found in *Junction City* (Kans.) *Union*, March 6, 1880.


39. Lawrence D. Rice, *The Negro in Texas: 1874–1900* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1971), p. 200. Rice believes that the story was intentionally exaggerated to defeat the purpose of the hegira, but when laid against other evidence of this sort, as revealed by the Voorhees Committee, I am not inclined to agree with him. Another explanation as to why a paper would print such a letter four times lies in the theory that many southern community leaders believed that the movement would drain off the dissident and therefore “no good” Negroes; thus they encouraged it.


41. *New Orleans Times*, May 16, 1879; *Evening Standard* (Lawrence, Kans.), July 18, 1879. See also *New Orleans Daily Democrat*, May 28, 1879.


44. *Missouri Republican* (St. Louis), May 7, 1879.
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45. Quoted by a correspondent of Boston Herald, from Topeka, June 1, 1879. Reprinted in Weekly Clarion (Jackson, Miss.), June 25, 1879.

46. Louisiana Capitolian (Baton Rouge), May 1, 1880, quoted in Morgan Dewey Peoples, "Negro Migration from the Lower Mississippi Valley to Kansas, 1879–1880" (Master's thesis, Louisiana State University, 1950), p. 82.

47. St. Louis Globe-Democrat, April 9, 1879.


51. Missouri Republican (St. Louis), May 6, 1879; Citizens of Nicodemus to Governor St. John, March 22, 1880.


53. Washington, D.C., correspondent to St. Louis Globe, quoted in Weekly Clarion (Jackson, Miss.), August 20, 1879; Evening Standard (Lawrence, Kans.), December 2, 1879.

54. Commonwealth (Topeka), April 5, June 26, 1879; Evening Standard (Lawrence, Kans.), July 18, 1879; Missouri Republican (St. Louis), May 4, 1879.

55. Commonwealth (Topeka), August 29, 1879.

56. The story of sight-restoring Kansas is found in the New Orleans Daily Democrat, May 28, 1879. The account of the Negro who preferred to die in Kansas is found in the St. Louis Globe-Democrat, May 7, 1879.

57. Weekly Clarion (Jackson, Miss.), June 2, 1880.


CHAPTER 6


2. Mobile Register, quoted by New York Times, March 27, 1879; Weekly Clarion (Jackson, Miss.), April 30, 1879; State Guard (Austin, Tex.), April 26, 1879; Galveston Weekly News, July 31, 1879.


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5. *Weekly Clarion* (Jackson, Miss.), February 12, 1879. This comment actually preceded the migration; it was written in connection with a prediction that a black exodus was in the offing.


7. *Weekly Clarion* (Jackson, Miss.), April 16, July 2, 1879. See also *New Orleans Times*, June 27, 1879.


9. Ibid., August 28, 1879.


18. *Weekly Clarion* (Jackson, Miss.), April 23, 1879.


21. *Missouri Republican* (St. Louis), May 14, 1879.


23. Quotation from *Daily Picayune* (New Orleans), May 6, 1879.


26. *Daily Picayune* (New Orleans), March 27, 1879; *Missouri Republican* (St. Louis), April 1, 1879.


28. Letter of W. W. Mangum of Refuge, Miss., April 11, 1879; *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, April 17, 1879.


33. *Weekly Clarion* (Jackson, Miss.), April 23, May 7, 1879.

34. “The Proceedings of a Mississippi Migration Convention in 1879,” *Journal*
Notes to Pages 97–102


35. Weekly Clarion (Jackson, Miss.), May 14, 1879.

36. New York Times, September 23, 1879. William Murrell, a participant in the convention, at first thought that its work had been effective, because during the summer of 1879 the movement tended to diminish, but by early 1880 he decided that since political bulldozing had not ceased in Louisiana, for example, the movement was bound to continue. Testimony of William Murrell, Voorhees Committee Report, pt. 2, pp. 513–14.


38. Missouri Republican (St. Louis), June 4, 1879; St. Louis Globe-Democrat, June 10, 1879; Daily Picayune (New Orleans), June 12, 1879.


44. Commonwealth (Topeka), May 16, 1879.


47. Omaha Daily Republican, August 15, 1879.


49. Louisiana Democrat (Alexandria), May 21, 1879.
53. Ibid., quoted by *Weekly Clarion* (Jackson, Miss.), June 4, 1879.
54. The Colyer letter, written May 21, is found in *Daily Picayune* (New Orleans), July 6, 1879. See also the issues of July 31 and August 21. Other evidence is found in *Weekly Clarion* (Jackson, Miss.), April 30, 1879, and *New Orleans Democrat*, May 8, 1879.
55. *Daily Picayune* (New Orleans), August 16, 1879, and March 6, 1880.
57. *Weekly Clarion* (Jackson, Miss.), April 2, 1879.
60. Ibid., pp. 348–49; *New Orleans Times*, August 21, 1879.
61. *Daily Morning Chronicle* (San Francisco), June 20, July 2, 1869.
62. *Natchez* (Miss.) *Democrat*, quoted by *Weekly Clarion* (Jackson, Miss.), April 30, 1879.
63. Ibid., August 13, 1879.
64. Ibid., March 11, 1880.
67. *Daily Picayune* (New Orleans), July 1, November 1, 1879.
69. Ibid., July 1, 1879, and March 25, 1880.

CHAPTER 7


4. Boston Evening Transcript, April 24, 1879.
8. Boston Evening Transcript, April 25, 1879; Times (London), April 23, 1879.
10. Quoted in a letter from Elizabeth Comstock to John P. St. John, August 10, 1881.
17. Abbie W. Johnson to John P. St. John, February 16, 1880.
20. Ibid., May 6, 1879.
21. Missouri Republican (St. Louis), April 19, 1879.
22. The source of this contribution was H. P. Kidder, who made it through the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad. He did so “on the strength of Mrs. Comstock’s letter received . . ., as to the suffering of the colored refugees.” Letter to Gov. John P. St. John, February 27, 1880. The source of the Emigrant Aid Society material is found in Testimony of A. M. Clapp, Voorhees Committee Report, pt. 1, p. 35.
26. Ann F. Jameson to John P. St. John, July 29, 1881. The letter refers to a previous action, taken sometime in 1880 or early 1881.
27. William Chase to Governor St. John, March 9, 1880.
30. Chicago Daily Tribune, May 14, 1879; Inter-Ocean (Chicago), May 14,
1879; *Omaha Daily Republican*, May 14, 1879; M. Van Horn to John P. St. John, March 6, 1880.


32. *Boston Evening Transcript*, May 1, 1879; *Wyandotte (Kans.) Gazette*, May 2, 1879.


43. *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, April 9, 1879.

44. *Bangor (Maine) Daily Whig and Courier*, April 28, 1879 (story of the elderly Quaker and $10,000); *Boston Evening Transcript*, May 3, 1879; *Omaha Daily Republican*, May 3, 1879; Thomas Elkinton to Governor St. John; Testimony of G. W. Carey, Voorhees Committee Report, pt. 3 p. 396.

45. *Missouri Republican* (St. Louis), April 22, 1879; *Memphis Daily Avalanche*, April 22, 1879.

46. William G. Deshler to St. John, May 1, 1879.


49. *Daily Inter-Ocean* (Chicago), April 18, 29, 30, 1879; letter from William Penn Nixon, of the *Inter-Ocean*, to St. John, April 28, 1879.
50. Daily Inter-Ocean (Chicago), April 10, 21, May 2, 1879; Commonwealth (Topeka), May 8, 1879; Missouri Republican (St. Louis), May 3, 1879.
52. Daily Inter-Ocean (Chicago), May 5, 1879.
53. Chicago Daily Tribune, various issues, spring, 1879; Missouri Republican (St. Louis), April 24, 1879, quoting the Chicago Tribune.
54. Horatio N. Rust to St. John, May 17, 1879.
55. Horatio N. Rust to St. John, September 3, 1879, and in the St. John correspondence for 1880.
56. Louis Nagel to St. John, April 26, 1880, and Richard Allen to St. John, March 9, 1881.
57. Letter of Selby from Chicago, Ill., May 6, 1879, in Daily Picayune (New Orleans), May 9, 1879.
58. Daily Eastern Argus (Portland, Maine), April 12, 1879, quoting the Advertiser; Boston Evening Transcript, June 14, 1879.
59. Daily Eastern Argus (Portland, Maine), April 12, 1879.
60. Chicago Daily Tribune, March 21, April 2, 8, 21, 1879.
61. Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, May 10, 1879.
62. Ibid.
63. Chicago Daily Tribune, April 7, 1879.
64. Washington Post, April 15, 1879.
70. Ibid., April 4, 1879.
71. Evening Telegram (Portland, Oreg.), July 5, 1889.
73. Boston Daily Globe, July 9, 1879; Boston Herald, quoted in Weekly Clarion (Jackson, Miss.), June 25, 1879; Washington Post, April 12, 21, 1879.

CHAPTER 8

ibid., pt. 2, pp. 1077–82. The Poland Committee Report that Windom referred to was dated February, 1872, and was called “Affairs in the Late Insurrectionary States.” *House Report*, no. 22, 42d Cong., 2d sess. (serials 1529 to 1541 inclusive).


4. *Weekly Clarion* (Jackson, Miss.), February 19, 1879, quoting *National Republican*.


14. *Missouri Republican* (St. Louis), April 17, 1879; *Weekly Clarion* (Jackson, Miss.), April 16, 1879.


16. *Congressional Record*, 46th Cong., 1st sess., April 21, 1879, vol. 9, pt. 1, p. 260; D. C. Haskell to John P. St. John, April 22, 1879; *Inter-Ocean* (Chicago), April 22, 1879. Haskell's response to St. John, dated April 28, 1879, is found in Lee Ella Blake, "The Great Exodus of 1879 and 1880 to Kansas" (Master's thesis, Kansas State University, Manhattan, 1942), p. 29. See also *Wyandotte* (Kans.) *Gazette*, May 9, 1879.


18. Thomas Ryan to St. John, June 20, 1879.


20. *New York Tribune*, April 2, 1879. Scottish-born Phillips came to the United States in 1838 and was admitted to the bar in 1855, after which he practiced law at Lawrence. He was a member of the first Kansas Supreme Court. In 1858 he founded the town of Salina. He entered Congress in 1873.
22. S. C. Pomeroy to St. John, June 27, 1879. Pomeroy had gone to the Senate in 1860 upon the admittance of Kansas to the Union. He served until March, 1873. Earlier he had been an organizer and financial agent of the New England Emigrant Aid Company. He arrived in Kansas in 1854, living first at Lawrence, then at Atchison, where he was mayor.
24. Missouri Republican (St. Louis), March 24, April 1, 2, 1879.
26. Chicago Daily Tribune, May 4, 5, 1879; Missouri Republican (St. Louis), April 9, 1879, quoting Tribune; St. Louis Globe-Democrat, June 27, 1879, quoting Tribune; Inter-Ocean (Chicago), March 13, 1880.
27. Inter-Ocean (Chicago), April 2, 1879; Chicago Daily Tribune, May 2, 1879.
31. Cincinnati Commercial, May 7, August 1, 1879.
34. Boston Daily Globe, April 24, July 10, 1879; Boston Herald, quoted by Weekly Clarion (Jackson, Miss.), June 25, 1879.
36. Memphis Weekly Appeal, April 9, 1879.
38. Daily Picayune (New Orleans), March 18, April 17, May 8, June 2, August 3, 1879.
39. Weekly Clarion (Jackson, Miss.), February 26, April 30, July 2, August 6, December 3, 1879.
40. People’s Vindicator (Natchitoches, La.), March 22, April 19, 1879; Fort Worth Democrat, quoted by Missouri Republican (St. Louis), April 22, 1879.
43. Missouri Republican (St. Louis), May 16, 1879.
44. Testimony of Thomas W. Conway, Voorhees Committee Report, pt. 3,
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45. *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, May 26, 1879; *Missouri Republican* (St. Louis), May 30, 1879.


50. *Missouri Republican* (St. Louis), May 6, 17, 1879.

51. *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, May 12, 20, 1879.

52. *Daily Picayune* (New Orleans), June 8, 14, 1879; *Weekly Clarion* (Jackson, Miss.), July 2, 1879. The Louisiana congressman was quoted by *Bangor* (Maine) *Daily Whig and Courier*, May 30, 1879.


55. *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, June 10, 1879; *Daily Picayune* (New Orleans), June 12, 1879.

56. *Missouri Republican* (St. Louis), May 17, 1879.

57. *New York Times*, September 21, 1879; *Bangor* (Maine) *Daily Whig and Courier*, September 22, 1879; *Weekly Clarion* (Jackson, Miss.), October 8, 1879; *Inter-Ocean* (Chicago), October 10, 1879.


60. Amanda M. Way to Governor St. John, June 30, 1879.


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4. These comments are found in the issues of April 3 and 9, 1879.

5. *Daily Nebraska State Journal* (Lincoln), July 11, 15, 16, 20, 1879. See also *Nebraska Herald* (Plattsmouth), July 10, 1879; *Kansas City Daily Times*, July 8, 1879.


7. *Nebraska Herald* (Plattsmouth), July 17, 24, 1879.

8. Ibid., July 24, 1879.


10. Ibid., July 23, 1879.


15. J. M. Snyder to Governor St. John, March 14, 1882.


17. *Commonwealth* (Topeka), May 9, 1879.

18. Ibid., April 8, 1880.


20. J. D. Lawson to St. John, May 3, 1880.


22. *Commonwealth* (Topeka), May 14, 1879; Frederick W. Pitkin to St. John, May 14, 1879.


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27. Commonwealth (Topeka), August 9, 1879, quoting Tribune.
30. George M. Jackson to St. John, January 1, 1881.
31. Commonwealth (Topeka), October 31, 1879.
34. Letter of Mrs. Comstock, submitted in testimony, April 14, 1880, Voorhees Committee Report, pt. 3, p. 292; Testimony of H. H. Stanton, in ibid., p. 96. Nell Painter, in Exodusters, agreed that it is very difficult to determine the number of migrants. She speaks of 6,000 blacks moving from Louisiana, Mississippi, and Texas “in the space of a few months” (p. 184), but also quotes Tandy as saying that 20,000 moved through St. Louis in 1879–80 (p. 184 n).
35. Commonwealth (Topeka), January 13, 1880.
37. Daily Inter-Ocean (Chicago), February 7, 1880.
40. Weekly Clarion (Jackson, Miss.), December 16, 1880.
41. Testimony of A. S. Johnson, Voorhees Committee Report, pt. 3, p. 120.
42. H. N. Rust to St. John, January 20, 1880; St. John to Rust, February 14, 1880; Daily Inter-Ocean (Chicago), February 28, 1880.
46. Elizabeth Comstock to W. P. Nixon, February 20, 1880; Daily Inter-Ocean (Chicago), February 28, 1880.
47. Elizabeth Comstock to St. John, March 8, 1880.
49. Daily Inter-Ocean (Chicago), March 16, 1880.
50. Quoted in Daily Capital (Topeka), March 13, 1880.

CHAPTER 10

1. Quoted by Norman B. Wood, The White Side of a Black Subject: A
Notes to Pages 174–183


2. _Wa-Keeney_ (Kans.) _Weekly World_, September 3, 1881.

3. _Kansas City Daily Times_, July 23, 27, 1879; _Evening Standard_ (Lawrence, Kans.), May 2, 10, 1879.


8. Quoted in _Weekly Clarion_ (Jackson, Miss.), November 25, 1880.


13. _Colored Citizen_ (Topeka), July 26, 1879.


15. _Omaha Daily Bee_, April 3, 1879.


18. _Graham County Lever_ (Gettysburg, Kans.), January 30, 1880.


20. _Hays City_ (Kans.) _Sentinel_, May 2, 1879.

21. _Saline County Journal_ (Salina, Kans.), April 17, 1879; _Salina_ (Kans.) _Herald_, July 5, August 2, 1879; _Hays City_ (Kans.) _Sentinel_, August 1, 1879.

22. _Ellsworth_ (Kans.) _Reporter_, April 24, May 8, 1879.

23. _Colored Citizen_ (Topeka), March 22, 29, April 5, 12, 19, May 3, June 28, July 12, 1879.

26. H. C. Moseley to St. John, May 1, 1880.
27. E. McCabe to St. John, February 26, 1880.
31. Ibid., p. 90; *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, February 22, 1879.
34. *Sun* (Parsons, Kans.), December 6, 13, 27, 1879.
35. For general comments about "many" coming, see, for example, *Emporia* (Kans.) *Ledger*, January 22, 1880, and *Junction City* (Kans.) *Union*, February 3, 1880. See also *Weekly Clarion* (Jackson, Miss.), February 11, 1880, with a story datelined Parsons, Kans., February 3. Rice, *The Negro in Texas*, p. 203, provides the 1,000–1,300 per week figure. For the lower figure see Testimony of Angell Mathewson, Voorhees Committee Report, pt. 3, p. 431. Both Lamb and Rockhold gave their figures in testimony before the Voorhees Committee. See pt. 3, pp. 267–73, 310.
36. Frank D. Vaughan, of Millican, Tex., to St. John, July 19, 1879, and N. A. Jackson, of Mt. Vernon, Tex., to St. John, July 2, 1882.
42. For one example of stories in Kansas newspapers about renewed migration see *Saline County Journal* (Salina), January 15, 1880; letter of M. W. Reynolds to William Penn Nixon, February 21, 1880; *Daily Inter-Ocean* (Chicago), February 28, 1880.
43. *Commonwealth* (Topeka), March 12, 1880.
44. Wilmer Walton to St. John, April 27, 1880.
45. Gloss Floyd to St. John, from Parsons, Kans., March 22, 1880.
47. *Junction City* (Kans.) Union, May 1, 1880; Testimony of John Davis, Voorhees Committee Report, pt. 3, p. 231.
49. Blake, "The Great Exodus of 1879 and 1880 to Kansas," p. 44.
50. *Colored Citizen* (Topeka), May 31, July 26, 1879; *Times* (Baxter Springs, Kans.), April 10, 1879, quoting *Colored Citizen*.
52. *New Orleans Times*, January 25, 1880, quoting a dispatch in *Kansas City Daily Times; Kansas City Daily Times*, July 9, 1879, quoting a dispatch to the Brooklyn Eagle.
53. The federal official was First Assistant Postmaster General Tyner. His comments were carried in *Cincinnati Commercial*, August 3, 1879. For comments about the possible resurgence of blacks to the North, see *Saline County Journal* (Salina, Kans.), December 25, 1879; *Emporia* (Kans.) Ledger, December 4, 11, 1879, and March 11, 25, 1880.
55. *Galveston Weekly News*, September 18, 1879; *Emporia* (Kans.) Ledger, December 18, 1879, and March 18, 1880; R. F. Beavers to Governor St. John, February 16, 1880.
56. Elizabeth Comstock to St. John, June 9, 1880.
57. Mrs. William Claffin to St. John, November 13, 1880. The post-card sender was Philena Lawrence, who wrote on August 9, 1880.
58. *Commonwealth* (Topeka), April 15, 1880.

CHAPTER 11

2. Testimony of Milton W. Reynolds, ibid., p. 300.
4. *Missouri Republican* (St. Louis), March 28, 1879.
5. *Kansas City Daily Times*, July 9, 13, 1879.
6. St. John to Laura Haviland, August 18, 1879; *Daily Inter-Ocean* (Chicago), August 18, 1879; *Omaha Daily Republican*, May 29, August 27, 1879.
8. *Weekly Clarion* (Jackson, Miss.), September 8, 1880.
11. D. Shelton to St. John, April 21, 1879.
14. *Missouri Republican* (St. Louis), April 10, May 2, July 8, 1879; *Evening Standard* (Lawrence, Kans.), May 15, 1879.
17. *Weekly Clarion* (Jackson, Miss.), April 30, 1879.
18. *Missouri Republican* (St. Louis), June 2, 1879.
19. Ibid., May 21, 1879; *Weekly Clarion* (Jackson, Miss.), June 4, 1879.
31. *Commonwealth* (Topeka), April 23, 1880. See also the issue for December 30 for another reference to the Voorhees Committee.
33. F. T. Ingalls to St. John, February 6, 1880.
34. William Windom to St. John, February 26, March 22, 1880.
35. C. Rockhold to John P. St. John, April 30, 1880.
36. Voorhees Committee Report, pt. 1, pp. iii–ix. Nell Painter, in *Exodusters*, decided that the Republican committee members were “accurate” in their findings while the Democrats were “wrong-headed” (p. 254).
37. Testimony of M. D. Manson, Voorhees Committee Report, pt. 1, p. 337. Manson was the Indiana state auditor.
38. Story datelined Shelbyville, Ind., December 13, 1879, in *Cincinnati Commercial*, December 14. See also *New York Tribune*, December 14, 1879. Leonard J. Hackney, a Shelbyville attorney, also described the arrival of the first black contingent, as well as the city council’s response. Testimony of Leonard J. Hackney, Voorhees Committee Report, pt. 1, p. 265.
41. *Inter-Ocean* (Chicago), December 8, 1879.
42. *Shelby Democrat* (Shelbyville, Ind.), January 1, February 19, 1880.
44. Ibid., pp. 296–97.
45. Testimony of J. W. Dodd, Voorhees Committee Report, pt. 1, p. 385. Dew made his deposition before Dodd, a former auditor for the state of Indiana, who in turn testified before the Voorhees Committee.
46. Testimony of John P. Dukehart, ibid., p. 76. See also *Philadelphia Record*, January 31, 1880.
49. *Shelby Democrat* (Shelbyville, Ind.), January 8, 15, 22, 1880.
50. Ibid., February 5, 1880.
52. Testimony of Thomas P. Mills, Voorhees Committee Report, pt. 1, p. 205; *Shelby Democrat* (Shelbyville, Ind.), February 26, 1880.
53. Rust to Nixon, February 27, 1880; *Daily Inter-Ocean* (Chicago), February 28, 1880.


58. Testimony of Leonard J. Hackney, ibid., p. 270; *Junction City* (Kans.) *Union*, February 9, 1880.


61. Testimony of Charles N. Otey, ibid., pt. 1, pp. 101-3; see also testimony of James O'Hara, ibid., p. 70.


64. *Shelby Democrat* (Shelbyville, Ind.), April 1, 1880.

65. Ibid., September 16, October 21, 28, November 11, 1880.


68. St. John to Horatio Rust, October 4, 1880, Horatio N. Rust Scrapbook, KSHS.

69. Mrs. Comstock’s remarks are found in *Commonwealth* (Topeka), June 6, 1880. For St. John’s comments on the outcome of the election see *Commonwealth*, December 23, 1880.

CHAPTER 12


3. *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, April 21, 1879; *Frank Leslie’s Illustrated Newspaper*, May 17, 1879.


5. Unidentified newspaper clipping of November 18, 1880, in Singleton Scrapbook, KSHS.


12. *Missouri Republican* (St. Louis), May 17, 1879.
16. From two unidentified and undated newspaper clippings in Benjamin Singleton Scrapbook, KSHS.
23. *New Orleans Times*, April 6, 1879; *Missouri Republican* (St. Louis), April 20, 1879; Lee Ella Blake, “The Great Exodus of 1879 and 1880 to Kansas” (Master’s thesis, Kansas State University, Manhattan, 1942), pp. 10, 11.
26. *Colored Citizen* (Topeka), September 6, 1879; Testimony of B. F. Watson,
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Voorhees Committee Report, pt. 2, p. 339; Malinda Harris to Mary Peercern, April 6, 1879, in *Weekly Clarion* (Jackson, Miss.), April 30, 1879.

27. *Chicago Daily Tribune*, May 9, 1879.
30. *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, April 9, 1879. Although the *Globe* was Republican, its readership and advertisers frequently had strong commercial connections with down-river firms, and generally speaking, the newspaper did not take a Radical Republican view of the exodus. By April 9, its earlier stand (for example, see issue of March 24) had been softened, possibly by pressure from St. Louis business interests.

CHAPTER 13

1. Wilmer Walton to St. John, November 22, 1880.
3. *New Orleans Democrat*, May 28, June 8, 1879; *Weekly Clarion* (Jackson, Miss.), July 2, 1879; *Louisiana Capitolian* (Baton Rouge), January 10, 1880.
5. Letter of April 11, 1879, by Thomas Sturges, in *Missouri Republican* (St. Louis), April 15, 1879.
9. Pork prices and rent figures were given in *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* for April 18, 1879, and were denied in *Weekly Clarion* (Jackson, Miss.), April 30, 1879. Complaints about the "store order" system are found in the Testimony of J. W. Cromwell, Voorhees Committee Report, pt. 1, p. 16; see *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* of November 21, 1879, for its quotation of *New York Tribune*’s opinion. *Chicago Daily Tribune*, May 2, 1879, also talked about high prices charged Negro sharecroppers.
17. S. A. Hackworth to St. John, July 31, 1879.
19. The flag story is related in *Weekly Clarion* (Jackson, Miss.), July 2, 1879;
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see also Weekly Advocate (Baton Rouge), May 2, 1879. Related stories appeared in Washington Post, June 23, 1879, and Missouri Republican (St. Louis), March 22, 1879.

20. Weekly Clarion (Jackson, Miss.), May 14, 1879.
22. Daily Picayune (New Orleans), March 24, 1879.
24. C. W. Porter to St. John, June 23, 1879; J. M. McCurd to St. John, July 23, 1879; C. P. Hicks to St. John, July 30, 1879.
29. For example, see John G. Van Deusen, “The Exodus of 1879,” Journal of Negro History, vol. 21, no. 2 (April, 1936), pp. 111-29; Truett King Grant, “The Negro Exodus of 1879-1880” (Master’s thesis, Baylor University, 1952); Rayford W. Logan and Irving S. Cohen, The American Negro: Old World Background and New World Experience (Boston, 1967), p. 142. See also Henderson H. Donald, “The Negro Migration of 1916-1918,” Journal of Negro History, vol. 6, no. 4 (October, 1921), pp. 394-95, where the author refers back to the movement of 1879. Arvarh E. Strickland, in his article “Toward the Promised Land: The Exodus to Kansas and Afterward,” Missouri Historical Review, vol. 69, no. 4 (July, 1975), pp. 376-412, laments the fact that writers and scholars “have not been able to move beyond a rather narrow economic interpretation” of the exodus (p. 377), and he goes on, not very convincingly, to show the importance of social causes. Nell Painter, in Exodusters, leans heavily upon political persecution as a cause.

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CHAPTER 14

1. Horatio N. Rust to St. John, February 12, 1880; Commonwealth (Topeka), April 1, 1880; Chicago Tribune, December 11, 1880; New York Tribune, December 8, 1880.

2. Horatio N. Rust Scrapbook, p. 81, KSHS; see also Commonwealth (Topeka), March 31, 1880.

3. Commonwealth (Topeka), June 19, 1880.

4. Quoted in Shelby Democrat (Shelbyville, Ind.), March 11, 1880.

5. A Kansas preacher named G. W. Benning later claimed that as many as 100,000 had entered the state, a figure that was hotly denied by the Burlingame (Kans.) Chronicle in its April 18, 1881, issue. For late 1879 and 1880 estimates see John P. St. John to Horatio N. Rust, January 16, 1880, Horatio N. Rust Scrapbook, KSHS; Commonwealth (Topeka), March 18, 23, 1880; a quotation from Inter-Ocean (Chicago), in Laura Haviland, A Woman's Life-Work: Labors and Experiences of Laura S. Haviland (Cincinnati, Ohio, 1881), p. 486. Carter G. Woodson, in his book A Century of Negro Migration (Washington, D.C., 1918), erroneously stated that by April, 1879, some 60,000 had arrived in Kansas. Almost certainly no such number came, even during the entire movement.

6. For comments about Mrs. Comstock’s figure of 50,000 see Shelby Democrat (Shelbyville, Ind.), November 25, 1880. St. John’s claim of 40,000 is found in the Chicago Tribune, December 11, 1880. The Kansan living in New York City was George A. Crawford. See George A. Crawford to St. John, November 11, 1880.


8. Votaw to St. John, November 25, 1880, and Elizabeth Comstock to St. John, November 20, 1880; Commonwealth (Topeka), April 14, 1880.


10. Topeka Weekly Times, May 13, 1881, quoting Advertiser. See also the issue of February 11, 1881, for a similar charge.


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15. Independence Kansas, August 3, 1881; W. S. Newlin to St. John, February 26, March 11, 1881.


17. Commonwealth (Topeka), March 23, 1881.


19. Laura Haviland to St. John, from Columbus, Kansas, September 7, 1881.

20. Commonwealth (Topeka), May 14, 1881.

21. Columbus (Kans.) Courier, n.d., found in vols. 5–6 of Negro Clippings, KSHS. The story refers to a June 30, 1881, report by Laura Haviland.

22. S. W. Winn to St. John, June 2, 1881, and Elizabeth Comstock to St. John, June 4, 1881, and September 11, 1882.

23. James B. Chase to St. John, September 2, 1881, and F. C. Stanley to St. John. See also Elizabeth Comstock to St. John, September 20, 1881.


25. Topeka Daily Capital, June 15, 1881; Elizabeth Comstock to St. John, June 16, 1881, from Portland, Maine.

26. Daniel Votaw to St. John, June 10, November 28, 1881, and May 5, 21, 1882. Winn’s letter is lated June 7, 1881. For complaints about cheating at the institute see also South Kansas Tribune (Independence), June 1, 1881.

27. Commonwealth (Topeka), February 20, April 3, 1880. See also Mary E. Griffith to St. John, April 20, 1880. Mrs. Griffith listed herself as superintendent of the Topeka office of the Freedmen’s Educational Society.


29. Wilmer Walton to St. John, October 6, 1882.


33. Wilmer Walton to St. John, February 20, 1882.

34. Kansas State Journal (Topeka), September 23, 1881.


36. G. S. Bascom to St. John, March 2, 1881. For St. John’s denial that blacks were starving see Topeka Daily Capital, September 23, 1882, quoting St. Louis Republican. See also Commonwealth (Topeka), August 22, 1882, for comments about the destitute in Kansas.
37. *Commonwealth* (Topeka), August 3, 1883, referred to the Emporia meeting; see also *Topeka Daily Capital*, August 5, 1883.

38. *Commonwealth* (Topeka), September 7, 1883.


**EPILOGUE**


13. *Mail and Breeze* (Topeka), February 2, 1900.

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