Notes

CHAPTER 1

1. As quoted by *Topeka Capital*, August 29, 1937.

2. *Ibid.*, November 22, 1953; *Hill City Times*, February 1, 1968; Smith Center, *Pioneer*, March 21, 1879. Nicodemus was named after an African who was sold into slavery and purchased his freedom in the United States. See *Kansas City Star*, January 26, 1905.


4. Fesler, *Pioneers of Western Kansas*, 204; *Hill City Democrat*, February 16, 1888; *Congressional Record, Senate*, 88 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol. 110, Part IV, March 16, 1964, 5352; *Graham County [Gettysburg] Lever*, September 4, November 28, 1879. In 1886 Pomeroy built the Boston Cash Store in Hill City, heralded as the largest retail firm of its kind between Topeka and Denver. He later moved to Colorado Springs and invested in the “Lillie” and other gold mines near Cripple Creek. By 1900, his wealth was estimated at $4,000,000. Pomeroy continued his interest in Kansas, establishing an experimental farm near Hill City to test...


9. Kansas State Census, Graham County, 1885. Microfilm in KSHS.

cussion, Redding uses fictitious names for the following: River City (Mound Bayou), Calhoun Russ (Eugene P. Booze), Stewart Hall (Charles Banks), Joshua Brockery (Isaiah T. Montgomery), Ten Hamm (Benjamin T. Green), and Tennant Hamm (Benjamin A. Green).


14. Montgomery to John St. John, Hurricane, Mississippi, May 23, 1879, Papers of Governor John St. John, KSHS.

15. *Ibid*.


19. Montgomery to Edgerton, Mound Bayou, December 29,
Notes to Pages 15-19


21. As quoted in ibid., 22.

22. Green was shot and killed by a local customer in his store in January, 1896, following an altercation over merchandise.


24. Montgomery to Booker T. Washington, Mound Bayou, May 19, 1904, BTW.

25. Ibid.


27. As quoted by Blake, "Great Exodus," 81.


29. Abram T. Hall to Kathryne Henri, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, September 6, 1937, KSHS.

30. L. P. Boyd et al., to St. John, Gettysburg, Kansas, November 8, 1879, St. John Papers, KSHS. The residents of Gettysburg later changed the name of their town to Penokee.


32. John S. Henry to St. John, Topeka, November 8, 1879, St. John Papers, KSHS.


34. E. P. McCabe, March 1, 1880, Hall and McCabe, March 11, 1879, and John W. Niles et al., February 24, 1880, Nicodemus, to St. John, St. John Papers, KSHS; *Topeka Capital*, November 22, 1953.


37. Nicodemus Western Cyclone, July 15, 29, 1886.
38. Ibid., September 9, 1886; Nicodemus Cyclone, May 4, 1888.
42. For representative examples of the white attitude found in several newspapers, see Kay M. Teall (ed.), Black History in Oklahoma, A Resource Book (Oklahoma City: Oklahoma City Public Schools, 1971), 150–161.
44. Quotations from various newspapers as cited by Teall, Black History in Oklahoma, 152–156.
45. Norman Transcript, September 26, 1891.

47. *Langston City Herald*, November 17, 1892, June 15, 1893. Although McCabe sold his interest in the *Herald* sometime during its second year of publication, he continued to promote the town through long real estate advertisements in the newspaper.


49. *Edmond Sun-Democrat*, July 2, 1897; *Daily Oklahoma State Capitol*, February 21, March 19, July 9, 1894; *Daily Leader-Guthrie*, February 10, 1894. For years, the Oklahoma legislature continued this pattern of locating state institutions for black in or near black towns.


53. Quotations from Sameth, "Creek Negroes," 45, 54.

54. "Interview with Lemuel Jackson," June 24, 1937, Indian-Pioneer Papers, XXXI, 31–38, OHS.

55. Clearview, *Lincoln Tribune*, September 17, November 19, 1904; *Stillwater Advance*, November 20, 1902. Clearview was originally named Lincoln, but because a town by that name already existed in Oklahoma Territory, federal postal officials designated Clearview as the name of the new post
office there. At a mass meeting in August, 1904, residents voted to accept the new name.

56. *Lincoln Tribune*, August 6, September 17, 1904.
57. Ibid., October 15, 1904; Sameth, “Creek Negroes,” 93.

60. *Clearview Patriarch*, January 26, 1911, January 18, April 4, 1912.
61. Ibid., January 26, 1911.
62. Ibid., August 1, 1912.
64. Ibid., September 20, 1907.
66. Ralph Tyler to Washington, Muskogee, November 19, 1913, Mound Bayou, December 13, 1913; Emmett Scott to Charles Anderson, Tuskegee, January 24, 1914, BTW.
67. Tyler to Washington, Washington, D.C., September 20, 1913; T. J. Elliott to Scott, Muskogee, November 5, 1913; Tyler to Scott, Guthrie, November 24, 1913, BTW.
68. Tyler to Washington, Boley, December 26, 1913, BTW.

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71. Jay C. Trimble, an early Boley resident, claimed that he established the town’s first newspaper, the *Boley Enterprise*, in 1904 and that ten thousand copies of a “booster edition” were published on May 11. No support for Trimble’s claim exists nor are there extant copies of the newspaper. See “Interview with Jay C. Trimble.”

72. *Boley Progress*, April 27, 1905. With the support of the Fort Smith and Western Railroad, Haynes also developed the town of Vernon, Oklahoma, in September, 1910. Haynes named the community after W. T. Vernon, register of the Treasury and later president of Campbell College, Jackson, Mississippi.

73. Ibid., June 29, 1905; McMahan, “Stories of Early Oklahoma.”


75. *Okemah Ledger*, March 26, 1908.

76. As quoted by McMahan, “Stories of Early Oklahoma.”

77. Ibid.

CHAPTER 2

1. *Nicodemus Cyclone*, March 9, 1888; *Langston City Herald*, November 17, 1892, August 10, 1895.


3. *Clearview Patriarch*, May 9, 1912.


7. *Nicodemus Western Cyclone*, March 10, June 2, 1887; *Clearview Patriarch*, May 2, 1912.


12. Ibid., 125, 156–157.


18. *Western Age*, July 24, 1908.


23. *Western Cyclone*, July 8, 1886.

24. Ibid., May 13, 1886.


Notes to Pages 56–64

29. *Western Age*, October 11, 1907.
30. Washington, “Law and Order and the Negro,” 553; Charles Banks, “A Negro Colony, Mound Bayou, Mississippi,” typescript copy in BTW. Reliable figures on black-town crime and violence are few, and even the extant records are highly questionable. Leaders seldom mentioned conflict inside their community, and the racial attitudes of some white officials in the county caused them either to exaggerate the extent of such activity there or to ignore it entirely.
31. For an example of this attitude, see *Boley Progress*, July 13, 1905.
34. Montgomery to Charles Banks, Mound Bayou, October 20, 1912, and Banks to Booker T. Washington, Mound Bayou, January 20, 1909, BTW.
41. *Boley Progress*, July 20, 1905.
42. *Clearview Patriarch*, July 4, 1912.
43. *Langston City Herald*, April 6, 1895.
45. *Western Age*, January 17, 1908.
47. *Western Age*, November 29, 1907.
52. As quoted by Hill, “All-Negro Society in Oklahoma,” 39.
54. Ibid., 58.
56. As quoted by Hill, “All-Negro Society in Oklahoma,” 73–74.
57. *Lincoln Tribune*, October 8, 1904.
60. *Clearview Patriarch*, April 20, 29, 1911, July 11, November 21, 1912, November 15, 1913, February 14, 1914; *Western Age*, July 10, 1908; *Boley Progress*, December 9, 1909.
61. As quoted by Tong, “Pioneers of Mound Bayou,” 398; *Nicodemus Cyclone*, June 15, 1888.
Notes to Pages 71–76

62. For examples, see Western Age, July 10, 1908, Boley Progress, November 18, 1909–March 3, 1910.
63. As quoted by Tong, "Pioneers of Mound Bayou," 396.
64. Banks to C. C. Buel, Mound Bayou, August 28, 1909, BTW.
66. As quoted by Hill, "All Negro Society in Oklahoma," 75.
68. Redding, No Day of Triumph, 302.
70. Redding, No Day of Triumph, 302.
71. Lincoln Tribune, September 17, 1904.
72. As quoted by Mozell C. Hill and Thelma D. Ackiss, "The 'Insight Interview' Approach to Race Relations," Journal of Social Psychology 21 (February, 1945), 202. For a more detailed discussion, see Mozell C. Hill, "Basic Racial Attitudes Toward Whites in the Oklahoma All-Negro Community," American Journal of Sociology 49 (May, 1944), 519–523. Hill argues that the black-town attitude toward whites, at least in Oklahoma, depended upon class position and length of residence. Furthermore, people living there did not disapprove of whites quite as strongly as did blacks living in mixed communities.
73. Boley Progress, April 19, 1906, July 13, 1905.
74. Tong, "Pioneers of Mound Bayou," 395–396; unidentified newspaper in Clipping Scrapbooks on all-black towns, Hampton Institute, Hampton, Virginia; "Nicodemus," KSHS.
75. Boley Progress, November 18, 1909.
77. Lincoln Tribune, September 24, 1904.
78. Ibid., September 24, 1904; Boley Progress, November 18, 1909; Western Age, June 9, 1905.
79. Western Age, April 9, 1909. For another example of the black-town attitude toward Jews, see Clearview Patriarch, December 21, 1911.
80. Western Cyclone, September 30, 1886.
82. Ibid., November 23, 1911; Nicodemus Cyclone, December 2, 1887; Western Age, August 1, 1907.
84. Clearview Patriarch, February 28, 1914. For a few examples of the reaction of the black-town press toward Africa, see: Langston City Herald, April 20, 1895; Western Cyclone, October 28, 1887; Nicodemus Cyclone, February 3, 1888; Boley Beacon, February 20, 1908.
86. Ibid., 83.
87. Ibid., 79.

CHAPTER 3

2. Clearview, Lincoln Tribune, August 6, 1904; Hiram Tong.
Notes to Pages 82–88


10. *Boley Progress*, September 28, 1905. Councilmen in Boley received $4.15 per month for their services, the town marshal $10.00 per month plus 2 percent of all the money collected by him; Larrie L. Elahi, "A History of Boley, Oklahoma to 1915" (M. A. thesis, University of Chicago, 1968), 43–56.


13. For examples, see: *Lexington Leader*, November 28, 1891; *Edmond Sun-Democrat*, June 28, 1895; *Kingsfisher Press*, September 24, 1896; *Stillwater Gazette*, May 27, 1897; *Vinita Indian Chieftain*, August 29, 1901, July 31, 1902; *Kreb’s Eagle*, December 29, 1899; *Beaver Journal*, April 4, 1903; and *Alva Review*, April 10, 1902.


15. Ibid., August 12, 1887.


19. Ibid., August 31, October 8, 1887.

20. Ibid., October 8, 26, 1887.


26. Ibid., 256; *Weleetka American*, February 1, 1907.


28. Ibid., September 13, 1907.

29. Ibid.


32. Ibid., October 18, 1907; *Okemah Ledger*, December 26, 1907.


34. Ibid., May 14, 28, June 4, 1908.


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40. Ibid., 206-211.
44. Of the five institutions, three were located in Taft, a black town ten miles west of Muskogee. Boley received the State Training School for Boys, and Langston the Colored Agricultural and Normal University.
46. Lexington Leader, November 28, 1891.
47. As quoted by Sigmund Sameh, “Creek Negroes: A Study in Race Relations” (M. A. thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1940), 37.
48. Ibid., 49.
49. Lincoln Tribune, September 17, 1904.
50. Western Age, December 13, 1907.
51. Weleetka American, July 21, 1905.
52. Graham County Lever, December 12, 1879.
55. Coyle Cimarron Valley Clipper, January 16, 1908; Western Age, October 6, 1905, January 23, 1908.
56. Western Age, June 9, 1905.
57. Charles Banks, Negro Town and Colony, Mound Bayou,
Notes to Pages 104–111

_Bolivar Co., Miss., Opportunities Open to Farmers and Settlers_ (Mound Bayou: Demonstrator Print, n. d.), 11.

58. As quoted by Tong, "Pioneers of Mound Bayou," 398.
61. _Western Age_, October 11, 1907.
62. Ibid., April 26, May 10, 17, 31, June 24, 1907. Contrary to the Federal Enabling Act, Oklahoma's proposed constitution offered no guarantee against discrimination. In early drafts, the Oklahoma constitution contained a Jim Crow article, but Democrats pushing it were persuaded to drop the provision.

63. Ibid., September 26, 1907.
64. Ibid.; Oklahoma City, _Times-Journal_, August 31, 1907.
65. _Boley Beacon_, February 20, 1908.
67. _Western Age_, February 21, December 4, 1908.
68. Banks to Washington, Mound Bayou, July 9, 1914, BTW.
69. _Western Age_, May 3, 1907, June 5, 1908.
71. For examples of this attitude, see _Western Age_, August 15, 1907, May 15, 1908, May 28, 1909; _Boley Beacon_, February 20, 1908; _Clearview Patriarch_, May 15, 1911, September 5, 1912.
72. _Clearview Patriarch_, October 17, 1912.
73. _Western Age_, November 22, 29, 1907, April 3, 1908, January 15, 29, 1909.
74. Ibid., January 15, 1909; _Lexington Leader_, September 24, 1909.
75. _Western Age_, October 2, 1908, March 19, 26, 1909; _Topeka Daily Capital_, November 30, December 1, 1911.
76. As quoted by Hill, "All-Negro Society in Oklahoma," 103.
77. Van B. Shaw, "Nicodemus, Kansas, A Study in Isolation" (Ph. D. dissertation, University of Missouri, 1951), 284.
79. As quoted by Hill, "All-Negro Society in Oklahoma," 103.
80. _Nicodemus Enterprise_, September 21, 1887.
Notes to Pages 111–116

81. For examples, see Western Age, October 9, 30, 1908, April 9, 23, 1909.
83. Western Age, January 26, 1906; Okemah Ledger, December 14, 1911.
84. Langston City Herald, October 19, 1895.
86. Clearview Patriarch, May 16, August 15, October 31, 1912.
87. Western Age, October 11, 1907.

CHAPTER 4

1. Langston City Herald, September 29, 1895.
3. Langston City Herald, November 9, 1895; Clearview Patriarch, February 6, 13, 1913, January 11, 18, May 9, October 24, 1912.
4. Langston City Herald, September 28, 1895; Boley Progress, August 3, 1905.
5. Clearview Patriarch, May 18, 1911. “Third and fourth” was a common sharecropping arrangement, meaning the landlord was to receive one-third of the cotton and one-fourth of the corn for the use of the land. Frequently, the landlord was also the furnishing merchant, in which case the tenant paid one-third of the cotton and one-fourth of the corn, plus what was owed the landlord for furnishing supplies from his store. If the furnishing merchant did not own the land, the tenant had two bills to pay—one for supplies and the other for the use of the land. For a discussion of the furnishing merchants, see Harold D. Woodward, King Cotton and His Retainers (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1968), 295–314.
6. Clearview Patriarch, July 6, 1911.

8. *Langston City Herald*, November 17, 1892; *Western Age*, June 19, 1908.


14. Banks to Dear Sir, August 18, 1909, Attention Farmers, January 12, 1910, and Negro Farmers of the Delta, October, 1911, Mound Bayou, BTW.


22. Banks to Robert W. Taylor, Mound Bayou, June 22, 1908, BTW.
23. As quoted by *Clearview Patriarch*, November 16, 1911.
24. Ibid., December 7, 1911.
25. *Western Age*, June 19, 1908.
29. As quoted by ibid., 62.
31. Much of the information on Banks was taken from various Mound Bayou celebration booklets on deposit in MDAH.
33. Ibid., 209.
35. Banks to C. P. Mooney, Mound Bayou, September 23, 1908, BTW.
36. Washington to Banks, Tuskegee, June 27, 1910, BTW.
37. Banks to editor, *New York Sun*, Mound Bayou, December 19, 1910, BTW.
38. Banks to Emmett Scott, Mound Bayou, March 21, 1910, BTW.
39. As quoted in *Mound Bayou, Mississippi Anniversary Diamond Jubilee*.
40. Banks to Theodore Roosevelt, Mound Bayou, December 18, 1915, BTW. Following Washington's death, Banks wrote to Roosevelt to endorse Emmett Scott as the new head of Tuskegee Institute.
41. Washington to Banks, Tuskegee, February 3, 1910, BTW.
42. Banks to Fred R. Moore, Mound Bayou, May 18, 1910; Banks to Scott, Mound Bayou, January 2, 1909, BTW.
43. Banks to Washington, Mound Bayou, October 25, 1915, BTW.
44. Ibid., January 20, April 6, 1909; Scott to Banks, Tuskegee, February 1, 1909, November 21, 1913, BTW.
45. Scott to Banks, Tuskegee, March 17, May 3, November 28, 1910; Banks to Scott, Mound Bayou, January 13, March 23, 1910; Banks to Washington, Mound Bayou, February 27, 1914, BTW.
46. Banks to Scott, Mound Bayou, November 27, 1908, BTW.
47. Scott to Banks, Tuskegee, December 2, 1908, BTW.
48. Banks to Scott, Mound Bayou, February 10, 1910, BTW.
49. Banks to W. L. Park, Mound Bayou, February 9, 1911; Banks to Scott, Mound Bayou, January 13, 1911, BTW.
52. Washington to Banks, Tuskegee, September 5, 1912, BTW.
54. Isaiah T. Montgomery and A. A. Cosey to Investors in the
Mound Bayou Oil Mill and Manufacturing Company, Mound Bayou, copy in BTW.

55. Copy of "Part of the Address Delivered by Booker T. Washington at the Opening of the Cotton Oil Mill . . . ," BTW; Banks to Washington, Mound Bayou, November 2, 1912, BTW.


59. _Langston City Herald_, July 18, 1896; _Western Age_, November 17, 1905.

60. David J. Turner to Scott, Boley, September 8, 1914, BTW.

61. Washington to J. Harold Coleman, Tuskegee, December 12, 1914; T. J. Elliott to Scott, Muskogee, January 21, 1914, BTW. Black towns sometimes helped to defray the expenses of the national organization. In December, 1913, for example, the Masonic Grand Lodge of Mound Bayou donated a book of railroad tickets good for a thousand miles of travel to cover the transportation costs of Ralph Tyler, the league's national organizer, while Tyler was in Mississippi.

62. Washington to Scott, Castine, Maine, July 6, 1914, BTW.


65. _Boley Progress_, September 28, 1905. In regard to the poll tax, one early resident of Langston felt that "them poll taxes sure made a man feel like he belonged to the town." See Mozell C. Hill and Thelma D. Ackiss, _Culture of a_
Notes to Pages 137–143

Contemporary All-Negro Community (Langston, Oklahoma: Langston University, 1943), 24.


67. *Western Age*, June 9, 1905. For other examples, see ibid., July 6, 1905, and *Western Cyclone*, September 23, 1886.


69. *Western Cyclone*, June 6, 1886.

70. *Lincoln Tribune*, November 5, 19, 1904; *Western Age*, December 8, 1905.

71. *Western Cyclone*, August 12, 1887.


73. *Boley Progress*, November 30, 1905.

74. The money order business at the local post office, to which many black-town boosters pointed with pride as an indication of community prosperity, provided some indication of the amount of capital leaving the town each month. For example, money order sales at the Boley post office during November, 1905, amounted to $8,256.75.


77. *Boley Progress*, March 9, August 3, 1905.

78. Ibid., June 8, 1905; “Interview with Jay C. Trimble,” December 30, 1937, Indian-Pioneer Papers, XCII, 80–85, Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma, Norman.

79. *Clearview Patriarch*, February 1, 1912.

80. Ibid., October 3, 1912; *Nicodemus Cyclone*, March 9, 1888; *Boley Beacon*, March 19, 1908.


82. According to a magazine report, Benjamin A. Green, son of one of the founders of Mound Bayou, and E. P. Booze
83. Nicodemus Cyclone, June 8, 1888; Clearview Patriarch, December 7, 1911.
84. Clearview Patriarch, November 7, 1912.
85. Western Cyclone, October 7, 1887.
86. Ibid.
87. Langston City Herald, November 17, 1892.
88. Boley Progress, July 27, October 5, 1905; Boley Informer, May 18, 1911.
89. Western Age, February 14, May 1, 1908; Clearview Patriarch, August 1, 1912.
90. Clearview Patriarch, June 1, 1911.
91. Ibid., March 14, 1912.
93. Clearview Patriarch, June 15, 1911.
94. Western Age, July 5, 1907.
95. Clearview Patriarch, April 6, 1911.
96. Nicodemus Cyclone, March 16, 1888.
97. Langston City Herald, May 4, April 20, 1895; Clearview Patriarch, July 4, 11, 18, 1912; Boley Progress, March 9, 1905.
100. Langston City Herald, June 15, 1893; Boley Beacon, March 12, 1908.


104. Ibid., December 14, 1911.


107. A number of whites living in other states mistakenly thought that black towns even prohibited white visitors. For example, see Philadelphia *Christian Recorder*, November 18, 1909.

108. As quoted by New Orleans *State*, June 7, 1910.

CHAPTER 5


2. As quoted by *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, February 22, 1913.


6. *Langston City Herald*, September 21, 1895; Banks to Booker T. Washington, Mound Bayou, April 14, 1915, BTW.


the *Langston City Herald* suspended publication for several months during the spring of 1898.


10. Ibid., November 18, 1886.

11. Deed Record, Abstract of Titles, A, 1897–1939, Second District, Bolivar County Court House, Cleveland, Mississippi.

12. Banks to Washington, Mound Bayou, July 24, 1910, BTW.

13. Ibid., February 20, 1914, BTW.


15. Ibid., 399–400; Banks to Washington, Mound Bayou, March 11, 1915; telegram, Banks to Washington, Mound Bayou, August 22, 1914, BTW.


17. Banks to Washington, Mound Bayou, April 14, 1915; Banks to William Graves, Mound Bayou, February 4, 1915, BTW.


19. Banks to Fred Moore, Mound Bayou, July 14, 1915; Banks to Washington, Mound Bayou, September 30, 1915; Banks to *The Student* (Tuskegee Institute), Mound Bayou, October 23, 1915, BTW.

20. Emmett Scott to Banks, Tuskegee, October 20, 1915; Banks to Fred Moore, Mound Bayou, July 14, 1915; Banks to Washington, Mound Bayou, March 11, 1915; Banks to Dear Sir, Mound Bayou, December 30, 1914, BTW; Tuskegee Institute, *The Student*, March 6, 1920. Banks estimated his total worth at $100,000 in early 1915.


22. William E. Bittle and Gilbert Geis, “Racial Self-Fulfillment and the Rise of an All-Negro Community in Okla-
homology, "Phylon" 18 (Third Quarter, 1957), 258.

23. Souvenir Program of the 50th Anniversary of Mound Bayou, Mississippi, July 11–17, 1937, copy in Mississippi Department of Archives and History, Jackson (hereafter cited MDAH).


25. Clearview Patriarch, February 8, 1912.

26. Cleveland Enterprise, July 30, 1914; Montgomery to John P. St. John, Hurricane, Mississippi, May 23, 1879, Papers of Governor John St. John, Archives Division, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka (hereafter cited KSHS); Boley Progress, April 8, 1909.

27. Boley Progress, July 8, 1909.

28. H. R. Beale to C. R. Springer, South Bend, Indiana, April 8, 1909, BTW.

29. Banks to Beale, Mound Bayou, April 16, 1909, BTW.

30. As early as April 6, 1907, the editor of the Paden Times proposed that no lots inside that community be sold to blacks and that the Paden Townsite Company enforce the prohibition.

31. Okemah Ledger, August 31, 1911.

32. As quoted by Western Age, September 4, 1908.

33. Destitute, McCabe died in Chicago in February, 1920. Ashamed for her friends to know he died a pauper, McCabe's wife had his body secretly returned to Kansas for a private funeral in Topeka.


35. Boley Progress, January 20, 1910; Vinita Weekly Chieftain, March 31, 1911.

36. Clearview Patriarch, March 23, April 13, September 21, October 26, 1911.

and Race Consciousness in Africa," Phylon 32 (Second Quarter, 1971), 164–178, deals with the African side of Sam's movement.

38. Katz, Black West, 252.

39. This interpretation disagrees with Edwin S. Redkey, Black Exodus, Black Nationalists and Back to Africa, 1890–1910 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969). Redkey argues that the migration of southern blacks to Oklahoma represented an early substitute for an African exodus. Extant records indicate that many Oklahoma blacks considered Africa only after the passage of a Jim Crow law in 1907 and the grandfather clause in 1910. At that point, a number of blacks in the state wrote to the American Colonization Society seeking information on Africa and expressing their desire to leave Oklahoma. For examples of such correspondence, see American Colonization Society Records, Library of Congress, Series 1A, Number 295, Volume 302, Reel 152.


42. Okemah Independent, August 28, 1913.

43. Clearview Patriarch, September 27, 1913.

44. Ibid.

45. Okemah Independent, September 4, 1913.

46. Clearview Patriarch, October 25, 1913.

47. Wewoka and Lima Courier, November 21, 1913.


50. Western Cyclone, February 10, 1887.

51. Nicodemus Cyclone, April 1, 1888.

52. Ibid., March 9, 1888.


56. Bogue Signal, November 29, 1888; Kansas City Times, May 28, 1959; Salina Journal, February 12, 1950; Roy
Garvin, "Benjamin or 'Pap' Singleton and His Followers," *Journal of Negro History* 33 (January, 1948), 16–18.

57. Russell became the head of a state institution in the black town of Taft, Oklahoma; Jones moved to Arizona; and Banks mysteriously dropped out of sight in 1918.

58. As quoted by Hill, "All-Negro Society in Oklahoma," 56.


60. As quoted by Hill, "All-Negro Society in Oklahoma, 156–157.

61. Population figures for Nicodemus and the other black towns represent approximations. Booster newspapers generally overestimated the number of residents, while state and federal census enumerators sometimes counted the number of people living in the township, the immediate area of the colony, or just those residing inside the town limits.


66. As quoted by Redding, *No Day of Triumph*, 292. From 1942 to the present, Mound Bayou citizens have attempted to revitalize the town through the formation of the Mound Bayou Development Corporation and the receipt of over $1,000,000 in grants from private foundations and state and federal governments. Much remains to be done. A report issued by the University of Mississippi Bureau of Government Research in 1973 described dusty streets, abandoned homes and dilapidated houses, inadequate mu-
municipal services, the relative absence of people with the managerial training necessary to attract industry, a communications gap between leaders and citizens, and a degree of hostility toward the community from a few state officials. A random sample of citizens taken in 1970 indicated that over three-fifths of those interviewed lived at or below the poverty level and that over 90 percent had an annual income of $5,000 or less. In November, 1974, it appeared that the loss of federal funds would close the Delta Community Hospital and Health Center, Inc., at Mound Bayou. See *Mound Bayou 1973*, *City in Transition*, passim, and "Mound Bayou's Crisis," *Time*, November 25, 1974, 107.

67. Ralph W. Tyler to Washington, Tulsa, November 23, 1913, BTW.


72. For two of many examples of this attitude, see Montgomery to Washington, Mound Bayou, May 28, 1908, and Banks to Emmett Scott, Mound Bayou, October 29, 1915, BTW.

73. Shaw, "Nicodemus," 105, 108, 123, 304. Perhaps because whites had played such an important role in the town and had later overwhelmed it, Shaw found little expressed concern regarding skin color among residents; Arna Bontemps and Jack Conroy, *Anyplace But Here* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1966), 67; Atchison *Weekly Champion*, July 23, 1881.

74. As quoted by *New Orleans State*, June 7, 1910.


76. Iles, "Boley," 234.
77. As quoted by Redding, *No Day of Triumph*, 300–301.
80. Wallace became the principal of a school in Enid, Oklahoma. After serving as Bolivar County sheriff for three years, Bruce was elected U. S. senator from Mississippi in 1875. Hall moved on to Pittsburg to become a reporter and columnist for a newspaper there.
81. Quotation from the transcript of "A Real Jane Pittman," *CBS 60 Minutes*, VI, Number 17, 9, as broadcast over the CBS Television Network, May 12, 1974.