INTRODUCTION

3. For a typical rationale for disfranchisement, see John C. Wickliffe, "Negro Suffrage a Failure: Shall We Abolish It," *The Forum* 14 (September, 1892-February, 1893).
5. See, for example, George M. Frederickson, *The Black Image in the White Mind* (New York, 1971), xi-xii, 228.
8. E. Franklin Frazier argues that from its inception the education of the Negro was shaped by bourgeois ideals. The northern missionaries who established schools after the Civil War taught the Yankee virtues of thrift and industry. When the triumphant industrial capitalism of the North assumed support of Negro education in the South, bourgeois ideals were given greater support. E. Franklin Frazier, *Black Bourgeois* (Glencoe, Ill., 1957), 60.

CHAPTER 1

2. Resolution of Missouri House of Representatives to Secretary of State, May 1, 1895, Miscellaneous Letters,
RG 59, Department of State, National Archives (hereafter DOS); Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, Slave Schedule, New Madrid County, Missouri, Center for Research Libraries (hereafter CRL); “John L. Waller,” Topeka Capital-Commonwealth, March 7, 1889; and “John L. Waller,” New York Age, May 9, 1891.

3. Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, Free Schedule, New Madrid County, Missouri, CRL. See also New Madrid Southeast Missourian, February 28, 1896.

4. Seventh Census of the United States, 1850, Free Schedule, New Madrid County, Missouri, CRL; and Eighth Census of the United States, Slave Schedule, New Madrid County, Missouri, CRL.

5. Citizens of Buchanan County, Missouri, to Governor of Missouri, April 30, 1895, Miscellaneous Letters, RG 59, DOS; “The Next State Auditor,” Indianapolis Freeman, May 10, 1890; and “John L. Waller,” Topeka Capital-Commonwealth, March 7, 1889.

6. Citizens of Buchanan County, Missouri, to Governor of Missouri, April 30, 1895, Miscellaneous Letters, RG 59, DOS.


8. Citizens of Buchanan County, Missouri, to Governor of Missouri, April 30, 1895, Miscellaneous Letters, RG 59, DOS; and Cedar Rapids Evening Gazette, March 26, 1895.

9. Topeka Capital, September 3, 1890; American Citizen, September 4, 1896; and J. L. Waller to Laura Martin, Cedar Rapids Evening Gazette, July 9, 1895.


17. “Was a Rapids Man,” Cedar Rapids Evening Gazette, March 25, 1895. Waller may have had relatives or friends living in Cedar Rapids. During the massive movement of contrabands into Iowa following the Emancipation Proclamation, the largest number came from Missouri. The United States Census shows that in 1870 the majority of Negroes living in Iowa were born in Missouri. Leola Nelson Bergman, The Negro in Iowa (Iowa City, 1969), 32.


20. Charles A. Clark to W. Q. Gresham, April 15, 1895, Miscellaneous Letters, RG 59, DOS.
21. Topeka Capital, September 3, 1890.
22. G. R. Struble to Charles A. Clark, April 4, 1895, Miscellaneous Letters, RG 59, DOS.
23. For a brief description of some of Waller's personal characteristics, see "John L. Waller," Cedar Rapids Evening Gazette, July 31, 1895. See also the poignant description of Waller's return to his home in Iowa in 1896 in American Citizen, September 4, 1896.

CHAPTER 2

1. Leland Smith, "Early Negroes in Kansas," master's thesis (Wichita State University, 1932), 27.
2. See Leavenworth Times, January 1, 1879; and Topeka Capital, February 23, 1886.
3. Jennie M. Kemp to E. N. Morrill, September 23, 1895, Governor Morrill Letters Received, Women's Rights, Kansas State Historical Society (hereafter K.H.S.).
7. See, for example, Court Records, Court Calendars, and Trial Dockets, 1878, nos. 7466, 10123, and 2484; Leavenworth County District Court.
8. Topeka Colored Citizen, August 9, 1878.
9. Topeka Colored Citizen, November 9, 1878.
10. Leavenworth Advocate, August 17, 1889; and Topeka Colored Citizen, November 9, 1878.
13. See, for example, Western Recorder, February 1 and April 12, 1884; American Citizen, February 23 and March 1, 1888; and Leavenworth Advocate, August 16, 1890.
15. John Waller to Benjamin Harrison, August 14, 1888, Papers of Benjamin Harrison, Library of Congress.
16. Western Recorder, June 21, 1883.
22. Rashey B. Moton, "Negro Press of Kansas," master's thesis (University of Kansas, 1938), 56; Topeka Commercial, March 5, 1879; and Robert A. Swann, "The Ethnic Heritage of
Notes to Pages 18-27

Topeka, Kansas: Immigrant Beginnings” (n.p., Institute of Comparative Ethnic Studies, 1974), 49.

23. Topeka Colored Citizen, November 9, 1878. See also Topeka Colored Citizen, September 20, and October 4, 1878. Eagleson and Henderson boomed Waller for city marshal, city attorney, and several other local offices in 1879, but he chose not to run. Topeka Colored Citizen, March 8 and March 15, 1879.


CHAPTER 3


8. A. Neely to John P. St. John, September 17, 1879, Governor St. John Letters Received, Negro Exodus, K.H.S.


12. Black Historic Sites, 15. For a detailed description of St. Louis’ reaction to black refugees from the South in 1829, see Athearn, In Search of Canaan, 12-36. See also Leavenworth Times, March 12, 1879.


16. William Frank Zornow, Kansas: A History of the Jayhawk State (Norman, 1957), 186. Nell Painter points out that the sustained migration of some 9,500 blacks from Tennessee and Kentucky during the 1870s far exceeded the much-publicized migration of 1879, which netted no more than about 4,000 people from Louisiana and Mississippi. Painter, Exodusters, 146-147.

17. Topeka Colored Citizen, September 6, 1878.


20. Western Recorder, April 5, 1883.


23. John Waller to J. P. St. John, April 22, 1879, Governor St. John Letters Received, Negro Exodus, K.H.S.


25. W. M. Fortescue to J. P. St. John, May 2, 1879, and John Waller to J. P. St. John, April 22, 1879, Governor St. John Letters Received, Negro Exodus, K.H.S.; and *Leavenworth Times*, March 13, 1879.


33. Laura S. Haviland to Unknown Correspondent, 1879, in Negroes-Clippings, vol. 1–2, K.H.S.

34. J. P. St. John to H. C. Weeden, September 2, 1879, Governor St. John Letters Received, Negro Exodus, K.H.S.

35. *Topeka Commonwealth*, June 28, 1879, in Negroes-Clippings, vol. 3–4, K.H.S. There was apparently another reason for the inability of the K.F.R.A. to follow through with its colonization plan. On February 7, 1880, the ambitious and evidently unscrupulous John Brown was named general superintendent of the organization. This officer was to receive into the Topeka facility all destitute black refugees, provide for their physical wants while there, and arrange for their removal as rapidly as possible to colonies and other places where employment was available. Apparently, Brown preferred to use the moneys at his disposal to provide direct material aid to those under his care for as long as possible, rather than to purchase western lands or to aid those who had already removed. There was little effort at organized colonization by the K.F.R.A. after February, 1880, and western colonists would complain bitterly of being neglected by the association. Under Brown’s supervision the association appeared to be more interested in making “political capital,” E. P. McCabe of Nicodemus complained to St. John, than in furthering the long-term well-being of the colonists. *Herald of Kansas*, April 30, 1880, and E. P. McCabe to John P. St. John, Governor St. John Letters Received, Negro Exodus, K.H.S. Some would later charge that Brown profited financially as well as politically from his position as K.F.R.A. superintendent. *Leavenworth Herald*, August 4, 1894.


37. W. O. Lynch to J. P. St. John, March 31, 1880, Governor St. John Letters Received, Negro Exodus, K.H.S.

38. For the origins of the Quaker community in Kansas, see A. T. Andreas, *History of the State of Kansas*, vol. 1 (Chicago, 1883): 827. Also J. A. Ball to J. P. St. John, August 26, 1879, and Daniel Votaw to J. P. St. John, August 14, 1882, Governor St. John Letters Received, Negro Exodus, K.H.S.
39. Wilmer Walton to John P. St. John, March 26, 1880, Governor St. John Letters Received, Negro Exodus, K.H.S.
40. Wilmer Walton to John P. St. John, March 26, 1880, Governor St. John Letters Received, Negro Exodus, K.H.S. More than one freedman complained to St. John that Walton was doling out supplies in such a way that “some get all and some get none.” Glass Floyd to J. P. St. John, March 22, 1880, Governor St. John Letters Received, Negro Exodus, K.H.S.
41. Johnathan E. Pickering to J. P. St. John, January 31, 1881, and W. S. Newton to J. P. St. John, March 11, 1881, Governor St. John Letters Received, Negro Exodus, K.H.S.; Topeka Weekly Times, April 22, 1881, in Negroes-Clippings, vol. 5-6, K.H.S.; Minutes of Board of Directors of Kansas Freedman’s Relief Association (April 1, 1881), 77–78, K.H.S.
42. Several prominent Quakers, including Comstock and Haviland, were named to the Board of Trustees; the board in turn named Johnathan E. Pickering, a Quaker and an “old time abolitionist,” as president; S. W. Winn, “an educated and competent refugee from Mississippi,” secretary; and L. M. Pickering, son of the president and for three years head of the Sac and Fox Indian agency, superintendent. Votaw and other blacks later accused Pickering of selling donated goods to destitute exodusters and other missionary groups. Daniel Votaw to J. P. St. John, May 5, 1882, Governor St. John Letters Received, K.H.S.
43. Topeka Commonwealth, May 14, 1881, in Negroes-Clippings, vol. 5–6, K.H.S.; and Laura Haviland to J. P. St. John, April 11, 1881, Governor St. John Letters Received, Negro Exodus, K.H.S.
44. Daniel Votaw to J. P. St. John, November 25, 1880, and June 27 and September 12, 1881, Governor St. John Letters Received, K.H.S. See also Topeka Capital, June 15, 1881, in Negroes-Clippings, vol. 5–6, K.H.S.
45. Elizabeth Comstock to J. P. St. John, June 4, 1881, Governor St. John Letters Received, Negro Exodus, K.H.S. See also S. W. Winn to J. P. St. John, June 2 and June 7, 1881, and Daniel Votaw to J. P. St. John, June 27, 1881, Governor St. John Letters Received, Negro Exodus, K.H.S.
46. Daniel Votaw to J. P. St. John, April 19, 1882, Governor St. John Letters Received, Negro Exodus, K.H.S.; and Black Historic Sites, 21. The Quakers were not the only religious organization that interested itself in the welfare of the exodusters. In the spring of 1880 the Presbyterian Synod sent a missionary, Reverend John M. Snodgrass, to the Dunlap Colony. He established a free school for adults, which operated for seven months out of the year, and persuaded local whites, at first very hostile to establishment of a Negro colony, to admit children of the exodusters to the public schools. Under his auspices a racially mixed association was established to relieve the county of having to care for the needy, to assist blacks with land purchases, to acquire land to be sold to the refugees in small lots at no interest, and to establish a literary and business academy. Andrew Atchison to John P. St. John, August 22, 1881, Governor St. John Letters Received, Negro Exodus, K.H.S.
47. A. N. Moyer to John P. St. John, April 17, 1879, Governor St. John Letters Received, Negro Exodus, K.H.S.
48. Anonymous to John P. St. John, March 4, 1880, Governor St. John Letters Received, Negro Exodus, K.H.S.
49. N. W. Duffield to George W. Glick, June 18, 1883, Governor Glick Letters Received, box 1, K.H.S.; and Leavenworth Advocate, July 13, 1889. See also George M. Frederickson, The Black Image in the White Mind (New York, 1971), 254–255.
Notes to Pages 37–43

50. *Kansas Democrat,* quoted in *American Citizen,* September 27, 1889.
51. See, for example, *Atchison Globe,* July 21, 1882.
52. Nell Painter quotes from the diary of Sir George Campbell, M.P., who while on a visit to Kansas City, Missouri and Kansas, in 1878, found blacks very well treated: “On the Kansas side they form quite a large proportion of the population. They are certainly subject to no indignity or ill-usage. They ride quite free in the trains and railways along side the whites... and there seems to be no prejudice whatever against personal contact with them... Here the negroes seem to have quite taken to work at trades.” Quoted in Painter, *Exodusters,* 238. See also *Lawrence Journal,* quoted in *Topeka Capital,* April 25, 1879, in Negroes-Clippings, vol. 1-2, K.H.S.; and Kenneth Wiggins Porter, *The Negro on the American Frontier* (New York, 1971), 360-368.
54. See, for example, “The Indian Land Question,” *Topeka Capital,* January 7, 1886.
55. See, for example, M. M. Campbell to George W. Glick, August 13, 1883, Governor Glick Letters Received, box 1, K.H.S.; “Letter from L. C. Chase,” *Topeka Capital,* March 2, 1890; and Harrison Kelley to John A. Martin, January 24, 1885, Governor Martin Letters Received, box 1, K.H.S.
57. *Topeka Capital,* January 10, 1890.
61. “The rich men do not know or care anything for a poor colored man in Wakeeny and if I ask someone that will help me I may starve for what they care,” wrote a black exoduster to St. John in 1880. William Louis Brown to J. P. St. John, January 25, 1880, Governor St. John Letters Received, Negro Exodus, K.H.S. See also “A Rebus Solved,” *Topeka Capital,* April 28, 1889; and *Topeka Capital,* July 2, 1886.
62. *Western Recorder,* April 5, 1883.

CHAPTER 4

5. See, for example, “Speech Delivered by Mrs. J. L. Waller,” *American Citizen,* November 6, 1896. See also *American Citizen,* March 23, 1888; *Leavenworth Advocate,* March 8, 1890; and *Western Recorder,* April 5 and July 13, 1883, and September 5, 1884.

10. Waller began writing a “social column” for the Colored Citizen almost as soon as he arrived in Kansas. Topeka Colored Citizen, September 6, 1879. See also Lawrence D. Rice, The Negro in Texas, 1874–1900 (Baton Rouge, 1971), 171; “Churches and Booms,” Topeka Capital, March 20, 1887; Leavenworth Advocate, February 22, 1890; Kansas City Gazette, May 7, 1896; “Washing the Feet,” Topeka Capital, May 4, 1886; and John L. Waller to John P. St. John, November 19, 1880, Governor St. John Letters Received, Negro Exodus, K.H.S.

11. See, for example, “Larph,” Southern Argus, September 3, 1891; Interview between Edwin Uhl and E. G. Woodford, October 22, 1895, Waller Case Papers, Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States (hereinafter referred to as PRFRUS), 371; “Influence,” American Citizen, January 1, 1897; and John L. Waller to Laura Martin, August 7, 1895, Cedar Rapids Evening Gazette, September 11, 1895.


15. See, for example, Topeka Colored Citizen, July 1, 1897; Historic Times, October 7 and November 7, 1891; Allan H. Spear, Black Chicago: The Making of a Ghetto, 1890–1920 (Chicago, 1967), 51–90; Southern Argus, July 16, 1891, and August 13, 1894; American Citizen, May 25, 1888, and October 12, 1894; Leavenworth Herald, April 21 and December 22, 1894; Leavenworth Advocate, November 30, 1889, and March 15, 1890; Kansas City Gazette, November 18, 1897; and Western Recorder, December 21, 1883.

16. See, for example, Topeka Colored Citizen, March 15, 1879. Here Waller, after hearing of an eleven-year-old orphan girl being severely beaten by her brothers and sisters, writes a letter to the editor urging blacks to build a home for black orphans. He repeatedly reminds the more well-to-do members of the black community that they have a responsibility toward their less fortunate brethren.

17. Lawrence Journal, January 8 and 14, 1889; Mary E. Griffith to John P. St. John, April 20, 1880, Governor St. John Letters Received, Negro Exodus, K.H.S.; Lawrence Journal, January 14, 1880; Topeka Tribune, September 18, 1880; Herald of Kansas, April 30, 1880; and Western Recorder, April 5 and June 7, 1883.


19. Topeka Commonwealth, February 20, 1880; and Lawrence Journal, March 5, 1880.


25. Topeka Tribune, August 5, 1880.

26. See “Mr. Waller Has a Word to Say,” Lawrence Journal, March 24, 1880; Herald of Kansas, March 26, 1880; and Topeka Tribune, August 12, 1890.
Notes to Pages 50–56

27. Topeka Tribune, August 26, 1880.
28. Topeka Tribune, September 2 and 9, 1880; and “John L. Waller,” New York Age, May 9, 1891.
29. American Citizen, July 17, 1891; and Herald of Kansas, April 2, 1890.
31. John L. Waller to John P. St. John, September 3, 1880, Governor St. John Letters Received, Negro Exodus, K.H.S.
32. Topeka Tribune, July 15, 1880, and September 23, 1890.
33. Leavenworth Times, quoted in Topeka Tribune, July 29, 1880; and W. D. Matthews to John P. St. John, November 11, 1880, Governor St. John Letters Received, box 1, K.H.S.
34. “The Convention of Colored Men,” Topeka Colored Patriot, June 1, 1882; and J. H. McGill to John P. St. John, March 5, 1881, Governor St. John Letters Received, Negro Exodus, K.H.S.
35. W. B. Stone to J. P. St. John, August 11, 1882, and Wilmer Walton to J. P. St. John, November 6, 1882, Governor St. John Letters Received, Negro Exodus, K.H.S. See also Atchison Globe, July 8, 1882; Daniel Votaw to J. P. St. John, Governor St. John Letters Received, Negro Exodus, K.H.S.
37. Topeka Commonwealth, August 11, 1882, in Negroes-Clippings, vol. 5–6, K.H.S.
38. William Frank Zornow, Kansas: A History of the Jayhawk State (Norman, 1937). See also William J. Simmons, Men of Mark (Chicago, 1970), 761–762; Leavenworth Advocate, September 21, 1889; and Western Recorder, July 18, 1884; New York Age, September 2, 1891; and Leavenworth Advocate, July 5, 1890.
40. Leavenworth Advocate, May 4, 1889.
41. “Ought to be Moved,” Leavenworth Advocate, June 29, 1889.
42. Kansas City Gazette, January 14, 1897; Andreas, History of Kansas, 1: 545, 2: 226; Leavenworth Advocate, April 5, 1890, and May 11, 1889; and Parsons Weekly Blade, October 22, 1892.
43. Andreas, History of Kansas, 2: 1073, 1453; Western Recorder, August 29, 1884; Topeka Colored Citizen, November 8, 1879; and Leavenworth Herald, September 29, 1884. In a few communities a white backlash following the exodus of 1879–1882 led to segregation where integration had formerly existed. In Olathe, for example, whites and blacks attended the same school in the 1870s, but with the influx of several hundred Negroes during the 1879–1881 period the school board decided that it would be better if the black community had its own school with its own teachers. “Race Troubles,” Leavenworth Advocate, May 3, 1890. See also Leavenworth Advocate, December 21, 1889.
44. Andreas, History of Kansas, 2: 1225.
45. Leavenworth Herald, September 28, 1895, and June 5, 1897; Afro-American Advocate, November 25, 1892, and May 26, 1893; American Citizen, February 23 and June 15, 1888; Colored Patriot, May 18, 1882; Topeka Capital, May 3, 1895; Leavenworth Herald, September 28, 1895; “Debarred,” Topeka Colored Citizen, September 27, 1879, and October 12, 1898; and Times-Observer, September 26, 1891.
46. “Distinction with a Vengeance,” American Citizen, January 25, 1888, and March 15, 1889; “Prejudiced Teachers,” Historic Times, October 24, 1891; American Citizen, January 25, 1888; and Topeka Colored Citi-
zen, June 21, 1879. The attitude of white teachers toward their black students is exemplified by an interview T. Dwight Thacher of the Lawrence Journal conducted with two elementary school teachers in 1880. Asked about differences in learning abilities between the two races, she said "in writing, drawing, or anything which they could imitate, colored children were in advance of the whites. . . . In mathematics, reading, or any branch which requires invention on the part of the pupil, the colored children are behind the whites . . . ." The ladies did admit, however, that black pupils who had attended school as long and as regularly as whites matched them in overall performance. Lawrence Journal, April 2, 1880.


48. American Citizen, March 5, 1889. In the fall of 1888 the black citizenry of Fort Scott brought suit against the city school board for refusing to admit black children on account of their color. Blacks in Fort Scott resented not only segregation but the grossly inferior facilities their children had to suffer. The American Citizen, a black Topeka newspaper, solicited funds to finance the litigation. The issue at stake, editorialized the Citizen, was whether or not blacks were to remain "half slaves." On March 5, 1889, the Kansas Supreme Court ruled that the board had erred in not admitting the children when they applied. The point was now moot, however, for as of January 1, 1889, Fort Scott had become a city of the first class and hence could legally maintain a separate school system. "The Color Line Fight," Topeka Capital, December 18, 1887; Topeka Capital, March 15, 1888; and American Citizen, March 5, 1889.

49. Leavenworth Advocate, November 19, 1889. In 1889 the black citizens of Tonganoxie, a suburb of Leavenworth and a city of the third class, asked District Court Judge Robert Crozier for a writ of mandamus compelling the school board to admit black children. They had been debarred even though there were two vacant school rooms in the schoolhouse for whites. Crozier, citing Board of Education v. Tinnon and the 1874 Civil Rights Act, found for the plaintiffs. "Tonganoxie School Trouble," American Citizen, November 15, 1889; and Leavenworth Advocate, November 19, 1889, and January 4, 1890. In 1890 the parents of Luella Johnson, aged nine, sued for a writ of mandamus to force the Olathe School Board to admit her to a previously all-white primary school. In the summer of 1889 Olathe built two new ward schools. Although Luella lived but 600 yards from one of them, the board forced her to go to the all-black school over two miles from her home. District Judge John T. Burris found for the Johnsons and ordered their daughter admitted. Leavenworth Advocate, November 19, 1889, and January 4, 1890.

50. Topeka Colored Citizen, April 18, 1903.

51. Topeka Tribune, August 26, 1880.

52. Western Recorder, March 7, 1884; and "John L. Waller," New York Age, May 9, 1891.


54. American Citizen, January 25, 1888, and February 8 and March 8, 1889; and Leavenworth Advocate, February 14, 1891.

55. J. L. Waller to John P. St. John, June 14, 1880, Governor St. John Letters Received, box 4, K.H.S.

56. Western Recorder, May 24, 1883.

CHAPTER 5

2. *St. Louis Advance*, August 8, 1883.
4. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
9. See, for example, *American Citizen*, July 6 and August 7, 1888.
12. *Leavenworth Advocate*, November 8, 1890. See also *Afro-American Advocate*, May 20, 1892; *Historic Times*, September 26, 1891; *American Citizen*, November 22, 1889; and *Kansas State Ledger*, September 30, 1892.
16. “To people living outside Kansas this may seem strange, but it is nevertheless true,” reported the editor of the *American Citizen* in 1889. “There are homes and lots and additions in and near this city where no Negro can rent or buy at any price, let him be ever so talented, cultured, or refined, and there are others where if he rents or buys his life and property are in danger.” *American Citizen*, February 15, 1889. John R. Davis, a black minister of Topeka who had been warned by a note on his door to leave the white suburb of Oakland if he valued his health, complained that many of Topeka’s finest white citizens—teachers, lawyers, and doctors—moved into the worst white slums rather than live by a Negro. Those whites who dared stand up for the black man’s right to live where he wanted were denounced and boycotted. “Damnable Race Prejudice,” *American Citizen*, February 18, 1889.
17. Topeka Capital, September 25, 1889. See also Topeka Colored Citizen, September 20, 1887; and American Citizen, February 5, 1892.

18. Topeka Colored Citizen, May 31, 1879; Leavenworth Herald, October 13, 1894, and January 12, 1895; S. S. Peterson to L. U. Humphrey, August 16, 1890, Governor Humphrey Letters Received, box 5, K.H.S.; American Citizen, February 5, 1892; and B. D. Eastman to L. U. Humphrey, November 26, 1890, Governor Humphrey Letters Received, box 2, K.H.S.


20. Leavenworth Advocate, May 18, 1889; and Kansas Blackman, May 18, 1894.

21. "The Penitentiary," Leavenworth Times, February 5, 1888; and "Prison Life," Topeka Capital, November 23, 1890. See also Topeka Capital, January 9, 1885; and Leavenworth Herald, January 11, 1896. As was true in other urban areas, the incidence of interpersonal violence among city-dwelling Negroes in Kansas was high. See Kansas City Gazette, June 2, 1898, and May 31, 1900; Leavenworth Herald, April 25, 1896; and American Citizen, November 30, 1894. See, in addition, Herald of Kansas, March 19, 1880; "A Black Fiend," Topeka Capital, January 10, 1885, and May 4, 1890; Afro-American Citizen, March 25, 1892; "Negroes Sue Judge Pfost," Kansas City Gazette, September 23, 1897; Kansas City Gazette, January 12, 1899; American Citizen, December 13, 1899, and January 11, 1895; Leavenworth Advocate, May 31, 1890; Leavenworth Herald, April 4, 1896, and May 1, 1896; Kansas Blackman, May 18, 1894; and "The Same Old Thing," Kansas Herald, February 6, 1880.


25. There were no antimiscegenation laws on the books in Kansas. Newspapers around the state contained numerous reports of mixed marriages, most of which were tolerated. Editorial and private comment indicate that the lack of violent reaction to these cases by white Kansans was because whites believed that these relationships stemmed from aberrations limited to the dregs of society rather than from a growing commitment to racial amalgamation. See Leavenworth Times, May 1, 1878; American Citizen, January 25, 1895; Leavenworth Herald, December 7, 1895; and American Citizen, June 21, 1895. There were, however, isolated incidents in which whites reacted violently to interracial marriage. In 1878 in Parsons a white man married a black woman; a group of whites subsequently paid the couple a pre-dawn visit, dragged the man from his house, and brutally beat him. Leavenworth Times, May 1, 1878.

26. Leavenworth Advocate, March 14, 1891; "United Order of Immaculates," American Citizen, December 28, 1888; American Citizen, December 24, 1897; "Kansas Colored Pythians," Kansas City Gazette, July 30, 1896; and Topeka Tribune, July 22, 1880. See, in addition, Afro-American Advocate, July 29, 1892; American Citizen, September 7, 1888, and April 19, 1897; Afro-American Advocate, April 7, 1893; "The Negro Hospital," Kansas City Gazette, No-
Notes to Pages 72-79


31. *American Citizen*, August 17, 1888; “Colored People in Theaters,” *Topeka Capital*, February 7, 1889; and *Kansas State Ledger*, September 2 and 30, and October 7, 1892. In 1894 W. B. Townsend authored a comprehensive civil rights measure eliminating the contradictions that had led to invalidation of the 1874 statute. Townsend persuaded a group of Negrophiles in the legislature to introduce the measure, but it remained permanently bottled up in the judiciary committee. *Leavenworth Advocate*, February 23, 1895, and March 6, 1897.

32. *Afro-American Citizen*, March 25, 1892; and *American Citizen*, June 4, 1897.


35. *American Citizen*, February 3 and July 13, 1888. Black leaders such as Waller, Bruce, and Townsend also recognized that unemployment was a major cause of crime among Negroes. By providing jobs for young men and women, black capitalists could reduce crime and improve the race’s collective image. “The Issue,” *Leavenworth Herald*, June 24, 1894.


40. John L. Waller to J. A. Martin, April 12, 1886, Governor Martin Letters Received, General Correspondence, K.H.S.

41. John A. Martin to John L. Waller, April 15, 1886, Governor Martin Letter Press Books, vol. 6, K.H.S.; and John L. Waller to J. A. Martin, April 21, 1886, Governor Martin Letters Received, General Correspondence, K.H.S.

42. *American Citizen*, April 10, 1888.

43. *American Citizen*, March 19, 1887.

44. “Our Business Men,” *American Citizen*, July 20, 1888; *American Citizen*, December 13, 1889, and June 6, 1897; *Leavenworth Advocate*, March 29, 1890; *Black Historic Sites*, 31-32; and *Afro-American Advocate*, August 11, 1893.


47. See, for example, *Atchison Globe*, July 17, 1882.


49. *Leavenworth Herald*, January 25, 1896. See, in addition, Thomas H. Mitchell to L. U. Humphrey, February 11, 1892, Governor Humphrey Letters Received, General Correspondence, K.H.S. Relations between black and white miners were often strained. Frequently, blacks would refuse to strike or would agree to go to work for a lower wage. In the early 1890s hundreds of black strike-breakers were imported from Alabama to work the mines near Weir City. Despite threats from local whites to lynch, shoot, or tar and
feather Negroes, the Alabama blacks stayed. By 1894, however, most of the strikebreakers had either become union members or had decided to back the union in its confrontations with management. Kansas Blackman, June 1, 1894; Southern Argus, June 25, 1894; and Benevolent Banner, May 28, 1887. The convention of black men that met in Hutchinson in 1887 reported that black farmers in southwest Kansas owned 167,000 acres of land.

51. American Citizen, January 15, 1897.
52. While Negroes suffered discrimination and sometimes exclusion at the hands of management, the chief obstacle to their effort to find a secure means of livelihood was the hostility of white labor. In 1880, for example, one C. H. Peck, who was in the process of constructing a new packing house at Atchison, hired a number of laborers at $1.25 per day rather than at the usual $1.50. Among the new employees were three blacks. White workers blamed the Negroes for the cut in wages, an angry mob formed, and the three blacks fled. Unappeased, the crowd of laborers proceeded to the Seip and Company brickyard and forced more than a dozen black employees to flee for their lives. In 1878 six white laborers threw down their shovels and walked off a construction site when they were forced to work alongside a Negro. The black was retained. In 1894 in Leavenworth the management of the electric streetcar system promoted James Brown, a black, from shop foreman to motorman. A majority of the white employees voted to strike but changed their minds when management expressed indifference and publicized the fact that the waiting list for positions with the municipal transit system numbered more than 200. The hostility manifested by white workers toward their black counterparts created a marked distrust of unions, even the Knights of Labor, among black Kansans. "It is a well-known fact," editor George A. Dudley wrote in the American Citizen, July 15, 1894, "that the opposition to and oppression of the Negro in this country do not come from the wealthy and intelligent classes but from the laboring and less intelligent masses." If blacks joined with their natural enemies in trying to bring down the "money powers," they would find themselves totally isolated. See also Topeka Colored Citizen, April 14, 1898; Leavenworth Herald, June 2 and July 21, 1894; and "A Sample of Democracy," Topeka Tribune, July 29, 1880.

53. In 1894 the American Citizen praised the Barnes Coffee, Tea, and Spice Company of Kansas City for making one Fred Turner head of its shipping department. In 1879 the Colored Citizen of Topeka lauded a local banker, John D. Knox, for taking on a Negro as a teller in his bank. In addition black periodicals indicated that the W. L. Thomas Furniture Co. of Kansas City occasionally employed Negroes as clerks. "The Color Line Obliterated," American Citizen, October 16, 1894; and Topeka Colored Citizen, October 18, 1897.

CHAPTER 6

2. John L. Waller to John A. Martin, August 16, 1886, Governor Martin Letters Received, box 8, K.H.S., and Topeka Capital, October 15, 1886.
3. William Frank Zornow, Kansas: A History of the Jayhawk State (Norman, 1951), 194-196. See also John L. Waller to John A. Martin, April 27, 1885, Governor Martin Letters Received, box 8; and John A. Martin to John L. Waller, August 12, 1886, Governor Martin Letter Press Books, vol. 7, K.H.S.
4. See Leavenworth Times, February 18, 1886.
6. John L. Waller to John A. Martin, November 21, 1885, and August 10, 1886, Governor Martin Letters Received, box 8, K.H.S.; L. W. Pulies to John L. Waller, August 9, 1886, Governor Martin Letters Received, box 3, K.H.S.; and John A. Martin to John L. Waller, August 12, 1886, Governor Martin Letter Press Books, vol. 7, K.H.S.
7. See John H. Smith to John A. Martin, April 27, 1885, and John L. Waller to John A. Martin, May 14, 1885, and August 16, 1886, Governor Martin Letters Received, box 8; John A. Martin to John H. Smith, April 29, 1885, Governor Martin Letter Press Books, vol. 1, K.H.S.; Leavenworth Times, August 11, 1878; and Topeka Capital, October 15, 1886.
10. John L. Waller to P. I. Bonebrake, March 3, 1886, Governor Martin Letters Received, box 8, K.H.S.
12. "State Convention," Topeka Capital, July 6, 1886; "At Fever Heat," Topeka Capital, July 7, 1886; "No Third Term," Topeka Capital, July 9, 1886; and John H. Smith to John A. Martin, September 1, 1886, Governor Martin Letters Received, box 8, K.H.S.
15. Topeka Democrat, quoted in Topeka Capital, August 8, 1886.
16. Topeka Capital, August 7, 1886.
18. "Short-Sighted Colored Men," Topeka Capital, October 4, 1885. See also "Colored Men in Politics," Topeka Capital, November 1, 1885; and Leavenworth Times, March 6, 1886.
20. John A. Martin to P. I. Bonebrake, August 16, 1886, Governor Martin Letters Received, box 29, K.H.S.
21. John Waller to John A. Martin, September 11, 1886, Governor Martin Letters Received, box 29, K.H.S.
22. John L. Waller to John A. Martin, September 11 and 14, 1886; John L. Waller to Captain John H. Smith, no date, Governor Martin Letters Received, box 8, K.H.S.; John H. Smith to John A. Martin, September 1, 1886, Governor Martin Letters Received, box 8, K.H.S.; John A. Martin to John L. Waller, September 14, 1886, Governor Martin Letter Press Books, vol. 29, K.H.S.; American Citizen, February 23, 1888; and Topeka Capital, October 1, 1886.
25. Topeka Capital, November 21, 1886.
26. Adrian Reynolds to John A. Martin, November 5, 1886, Governor Martin Letters Received, box 4, K.H.S.
31. See Topeka Capital, January 6, 1886, and August 3, 1888.
32. Topeka Colored Citizen, November 29, 1879; "Our Businessmen," Amer-
ican Citizen, July 13, 1888; "The Anniversary," American Citizen, March 1, 1889; "Emancipation Day," Topeka Capital, August 2, 1890; and Leavenworth Advocate, January 4, 1890.

33. Benevolent Banner, September 3 and October 3, 1887.


35. American Citizen, July 6, 1888.


37. American Citizen, April 13, 1888.

38. "Political Speeches by Well-Known Republicans Last Night," Topeka Capital, April 17, 1888.


40. Topeka Capital, July 26 and 27, 1888.

41. "To Colored Men," Topeka Capital, November 6, 1888; American Citizen, June 15 and July 6, 1888; and Topeka Capital, August 26, September 1 and 29, 1888.

42. Humphrey had endeared himself to blacks when in 1887, as a state senator, he introduced in the upper chamber a resolution to strike the word "white" from the Kansas constitution. "John L. Waller," Topeka Capital-Commonwealth, March 7, 1889. See also Zornow, Kansas, 197.

43. Topeka Capital, November 11, 1888.


46. See, for example, "Letter from M. W. Twine," American Citizen, May 11, 1888; Washington Bee, March 19, 1887; and Cleveland Gazette, April 9, 1887.

47. American Citizen, December 28, 1888; and Topeka Capital-Commonwealth, April 19, 1889.


50. American Citizen, August 16, 1889.

51. August Meier, Negro Thought in America, 1880-1915 (Ann Arbor, 1963), 32; American Citizen, January 22, 1892; Nebraska Morning World Herald, August 14, 1891; Leavenworth Advocate, September 22, 1888; and Afro-American Advocate, February-December, 1891.

52. C. H. J. Taylor, "Every Colored Voter Should Read This Letter," Republican Party-Clippings, K.H.S.

53. "Colored Kickers," Topeka Capital, June 1, 1888. As of 1891, Bell was depicted as the leading black Democrat of Leavenworth by the Advocate. Leavenworth Advocate, March 20, 1891. See also "Taylor’s Convention," American Citizen, June 18, 1888.

54. American Citizen, April 2, 1897. For a brief history of the Citizen, see American Citizen, May 4, 1888.

55. Benevolent Banner, May 28, 1887.


58. Leavenworth Advocate, August 16, 1890. The Kansas Farmers’ Alliance was surprisingly a member of the Southern rather than the Northern Alliance. The constitution of the Southern Alliance barred Negroes from membership. When the two groups attempted to fuse in 1890 at St. Louis, the southern organizations did agree to state option. "An Anomaly in Politics," Topeka Capital, July 27, 1890; and "The National Alliance," Topeka Capital, September 13, 1890.

59. According to historian Jack Abramowitz, "the potentialities awaiting the Populist movement should it seek to win the Negro vote and integrate the Negro into the party itself, were first discernible in Kansas where there was less a tradition of anti-Negro sentiment to hinder this develop-

61. Western Recorder, June 6, 1884.
63. Leavenworth Advocate, May 11, 1889.
64. Leavenworth Advocate, July 6 and September 7, 1889; John Waller to Harrison Kelley, February 28, 1889, Kelley Papers, K.H.S.; and American Citizen, February 8, 1889.
65. American Citizen, July 26, 1889.
67. See Topeka Capital, June 9, 1890; and American Citizen, April 18 and June 6, 1890. See also Allen Buckner to L. U. Humphrey, May 1 and December 3, 1889, Governor Humphrey Letters Received, box 1, K.H.S.; "Trouble at a Blind Asylum," Leavenworth Advocate, February 22, 1890; and Leavenworth Advocate, March 1, 1889.
68. Leavenworth Advocate, July 26, 1890.
69. Ibid.
70. "Must the Negro Go?—Answer by a Negro," Topeka Capital-Commonwealth, April 21, 1889; "A Combination," Topeka Capital, January 2, 1890; "Col. John M. Brown's Candidacy," Topeka Capital, October 27 and November 7, 1889; and American Citizen, November 15, 1889.
71. See, for example, Lawrence Record, quoted in Leavenworth Advocate, August 23, 1890; and Topeka Capital, August 12, 1890
72. Leavenworth Advocate, July 26, 1890.
73. See, for example, E. P. McCabe to A. N. Harper, American Citizen, December 14, 1888.
74. Leavenworth Advocate, August 16, 1890.
75. Ibid.
76. A portion of the South Carolina Farmers' Alliance platform passed in 1890 read: "We recognize the imperative necessity of Anglo-Saxon unity in our state and pledge ourselves to abide by the arbitraments of the democratic party, relying upon the sense of justice and enlightened self interest of a majority of our white fellow citizens to secure all needed reforms." Topeka Capital, August 1, 1890.
77. Topeka Capital, August 6, September 3 and 5, 1890; Zornow, Kansas, 198; Abilene Reflector, May 3, 1890; Salina Republican, quoted in Topeka Capital, August 16, 1890; "What It Means," American Citizen, September 12, 1890; Leavenworth Advocate, September 6, 1890; and "Kansas Republicans," Topeka Capital, September 3, 1890.
78. See, for example, "The Colored Man's Threats," Topeka Capital, May 7, 1889. See also Leavenworth Advocate, July 26, 1890.
79. See, for example, Kansas City Gazette, July 19, 1900.
80. Topeka Capital, August 12, 1890.
81. American Citizen, April 10, 1888.
82. American Citizen, August 7, 1888.

CHAPTER 7

1. See, for example, Earl E. Thorpe, The Mind of the Negro: An Intellectual History of Afro-Americans (Westport, Conn., 1961), 32; and August Meier, Negro Thought in America 1880-1915 (Ann Arbor, 1963), 66.
2. The most authoritative work on black America's interest in African colonization at the turn of the century is Edwin S. Redkey, Black Exodus: Black Nationalist and Back to Africa Movements, 1890-1910 (New Haven, 1969).
3. Meier says of the black community in the 1890s: “The passing of the Knights of Labor, the failure of southern agrarians to wipe out the color line, and a parallel decline of radical leanings among the few outstanding men who had subscribed to them, combined to give Negro thought an even more conservative cast than it otherwise would have had at this time. Both the decline in political fortunes and the failure to achieve unity with the white working classes forced Negroes to turn their greatest efforts toward achieving wealth and middle-class respectability by their own efforts.” Meier, *Negro Thought*, 47.


5. *New York Globe*, April 5, 1884; and Willard B. Gatewood, Jr., *Black Americans and the White Man’s Burden* (Urbana, 1974), 300. By 1890 there were in America a sizable number of Negro entrepreneurs, operating mostly in the fields of banking and insurance, with sufficient capital to invest in overseas enterprises. Thorpe, *Mind of the Negro*, 420.


12. Stewart, for example, after spending two years in Liberia and then returning to the United States in 1885, denied that he was a colonizationist but argued vigorously in behalf of black participation in informal empire. Convinced that Negroes would always remain within the American nation, though as a distinct people, he advised simply a voluntary movement of self-supporting people. Meier, *Negro Thought*, 66.


18. See, for example, “Resolutions by the Colored People,” *Topeka Capital*, April 14, 1886. See also *Topeka Capital*, October 12, 1886, in Negroes-Clippings, vol. 5–6, K.H.S.; Charles Charles to John A. Martin, December 1, 1887, Governor Martin Letters Received, box 4, K.H.S.; “The Liberian Movement,” *Topeka Capital*, January 30, 1887; and “The Exodus Movement—The Scheme to Colonize
Colored People in Brazil and the Argentine Republic,” *Topeka Capital,* February 3, 1888.


24. *Topeka Capital,* March 6, 1890.

25. “Mr. Waller Rejoins,” *Topeka Capital,* March 11, 1890. See also *Western Recorder,* May 31, 1883.

26. “To the Colored Citizens of Kansas,” *Topeka Capital,* September 28, 1890. See also October 18 and 23, and August 15, 1890.

27. *Leavenworth Advocate,* October 11, 1890.


29. B. W. Perkins to Benjamin Harrison, October 18, 1890, Waller Appointment File, RG 59, DOS.

30. Preston B. Plumb to James G. Blaine, June 18, 1890, Waller Appointment File, RG 59, DOS.

31. J. H. Robertson to Grover Cleveland, October 17, 1890, Waller Appointment File, RG 59, DOS.

32. *Leavenworth Advocate,* October 25, 1890; and *Afro-American Advocate,* September 29, 1892.


34. *Leavenworth Advocate,* February 21 and March 7, 1891; and *Leavenworth Times,* February 28, 1891.

35. *American Citizen,* June 19, 1891.

36. Ibid.


43. Ibid.


46. John Campbell to William Wharton, September 24, 1890, no. 89, Dispatches of the United States Consul at Tamatave (hereinafter referred to as DUSCT), RG 59, DOS.


48. “Excerpts from Prime Minister's Speech,” September 24, 1890, no. 89, DUSCT, RG 59, DOS.

49. The Madagascar Mail, January 12, 1892.


52. "Ranavalona and Waller," Cedar Rapids Evening Gazette, August 20, 1895.

53. American Citizen, September 18, 1891; and Prime Minister Rainilaiarivony to John Waller, April 12, 1893, no. 17, DUSCT, RG 59, DOS.

54. New York Age, February 18, 1892.

55. American Citizen, September 18, 1891; and Prime Minister Rainilaiarivony to John Waller, April 12, 1893, no. 17, DUSCT, RG 59, DOS; Queen Ranavalona to Grover Cleveland, June 6, 1893, no. 65, DUSCT, RG 59, DOS; Madagascar News, August 21, 1893, Petition to Edward Wetter, January, 1896, Waller Case Papers, PRFRUS, 396; and Robert Cornish to John Waller, October 31, 1891, no. 11, DUSCT, RG 59, DOS.

56. Heggoy, Hanotaux, 81.

57. Prime Minister to Secretary of State, August 27, 1887, no. 13, DUSCT, RG 59, DOS.

58. John Waller to William Wharton, August 10, 1891, no. 1, DUSCT, RG 59, DOS; and A. Ribot to M. Bompard, September 30, 1891, no. 14, Documents Diplomatique.

59. The United States concluded treaties of peace, friendship, and commerce with the Hova monarchy on February 14, 1867, and May 15, 1881. Richard Olney to James B. Eustis, March 30, 1896, No. 635, DUSMF, RG 59, DOS.

60. Manchester Guardian, August 28, 1895.

61. William R. Day, acting secretary of state under John Sherman, and later secretary in his own right, advised Congress that “the output of United States manufactures . . . has reached the point of large excess above the demands of home consumption.” Day urged a vigorous commercial expansion into the southern half of the Western Hemisphere and “the vast underdeveloped regions of Asia and Africa.” McCormick, China Market, 38.

62. Milton Plesur, American's Outward Thrust: Approaches to Foreign Affairs, 1865–1890 (DeKalb, Ill., 1971), 147–148. Even extreme racists within the white community could in good conscience support Waller because they saw in him a stimulus to black emigration. In an article penned in 1890, Alabama Senator John T. Morgan declared that it was the duty of the United States to return the descendants of the slaves to the land from which they had been brought. Africa should be opened up so Negroes could return and promote commerce among their own people. Plesur, Outward Thrust, 149.

63. Lagos Weekly Record, August 22, 1891.


65. Henry A. Sanford, “American Inter-
67. John Campbell to William Wharton, September 24, 1890, no. 89, DUSCT, RG 59, DOS.
70. Joseph Bradfield to Benjamin Harrison, July 22, 1889, Papers of Benjamin Harrison, Library of Congress.
71. Leavenworth Advocate, June 22, 1889.
74. LaFeber, New Empire, 127–130.
75. The two most recently published works on Liberian history are Richard West, Back to Africa: A History of Sierra Leone and Liberia (New York, 1971), and Charles Morrow Wilson, Liberia: Black Africa in Microcosm (New York, 1971).
76. In his first annual message to Congress in 1886, President Cleveland proclaimed that it “was the moral right and duty of the United States to assist in the maintenance of Liberia’s integrity.” Elizabeth Brett White, American Opinion of France (New York, 1927), 214–215.
78. John Waller to William Wharton, October 26, 1891, no. 11, DUSCT, RG 59, DOS. At one point Waller urged the State Department to empower him to go to Tananarive and mediate between the Hovas and the French. Protection of American interests, he argued, demanded it. Alvey Adee ruled out such a move, intimating to Josiah Quincy that in his opinion “the eventual supremacy of the French in Madagascar was inevitable.” By 1894, however, Adee was one of the most vociferous advocates within the State Department of American resistance to a French takeover. John Waller to William Wharton, April 25, 1893, no. 53, and Alvey Adee to Josiah Quincy, June 2, 1893, Interdepartmental Memo, DUSCT, RG 59, DOS.
79. Edward Wetter to Edwin Uhl, November 27, 1894, no. 64, DUSCT, RG 59, DOS.
80. Madagascar News, April 12, 1895; and William Rockhill to W. E. Faison, March 27, 1894, no. 64, DUSCT, RG 59, DOS.
81. Madagascar News, April 12, 1895.
82. John Waller to James R. Ruff, Afro-American Advocate, June 24, 1892. During his two years as consul in Madagascar, Waller and his stepson sent over 500 letters to blacks and influential whites extolling the economic opportunities and racial climate of east Africa. Parsons Weekly Blade, June 22, 1895.
83. Le Madagascar, March 29, 1894; and “Exonerates Eustis,” Cedar Rapids Evening Gazette, October 18, 1895.
84. Actually, Waller had begun negotiating with the Hovas for a concession as early as the spring of 1893. John
Waller to Forrest White, March 17, 1893, Miscellaneous Letters, RG 59, DOS.

85. "Agreement between John Waller and the Malagasy Government," March 15, 1894, no. 34, DUSCT, RG 59, DOS.

86. See Madagascar News, August 8, 1890, and April 8, 1895; Queen Ranavalona to Grover Cleveland, June 6, 1893, no. 5, DUSCT, RG 59, DOS; John Duder to E. L. Poupard, March 19, 1894, Telegram, DUSCT, RG 59, DOS; and John Waller and Paul Bray to John Mercer Langston, December 4, 1894, Papers of John Mercer Langston, Microfilm in Amistad Research Center, Dillard University (originals at Fisk University, Nashville).


88. M. Larrouy to M. Develle, July 22, 1893, no. 21; September 5, 1893, no. 23; and September 27, 1894, no. 24, Documents Diplomatique. See also Madagascar, April 14, 1893; and Le Myer de Vilers to Gabriel Hanotaux, November 2, 1894, no. 54, Documents Diplomatique.

89. M. Casmir-Perier to M. Larrouy, January 26, 1894, no. 31, Documents Diplomatique.

90. Heggoy, Hanotaux, 78-79; and E. G. Woodford to James B. Eustis, August 21, 1895, no. 362, DUSMF, RG 59, DOS.

91. Robert McLane to T. F. Bayard, February 3, 1886, Waller Case Papers, PRFRUS; and Madagascar News, August 8, 1890.

92. The French had obtained an 1891 memorandum from an American merchant in Madagascar to the Hova prime minister outlining "the whole policy of granting concessions on a very large scale to Americans." That some Frenchmen feared attempts at massive economic penetration of Madagascar by the U.S. is not surprising. Interview between Edwin Uhl and Ethelbert Woodford, October 22, 1895, Waller Case Papers, PRFRUS, 377.


94. Le Madagascar, March 29, 1894, and April 15, 1894.

95. G. R. Struble to Charles A. Clark, April 4, 1894, Miscellaneous Letters, RG 59, DOS.

96. John Waller to John Mercer Langston, May 12, 1894, Langston Papers.

97. American Citizen, March 16, 1888, and July 26, 1889; Topeka Plaindealer, July 5, 1901; and Leavenworth Advocate, November 16, 1889, and April 5, 1890.

98. John Waller to John Mercer Langston, March 30, 1894, Langston Papers; Madagascar News, May 3, 1894; and Agreement between John L. Waller and the Malagasy Government, March 15, 1894, no. 34, DUSCT, RG 59, DOS.


100. John Waller to John Mercer Langston, July, 1894, Langston Papers.

101. Cedar Rapids Evening Gazette, June 7, 1895.

102. John Waller to John Mercer Langston, August 20, 1894, Langston Papers.

103. John Waller to John Mercer Langston, May 12, 1894, Langston Papers.


108. John Waller to Susan Waller, November 2, 1894, Waller Case Papers, PRFRUS.


110. Aside from being racially and politi-
ically prejudiced against Waller, Wetter disliked Waller because he had attempted to help one Charles T. Lyons, the representative of a Boston commercial firm doing business in Madagascar. Lyons, who had arrived in Madagascar in September, 1894, had replaced a friend of Wetter's, and in retaliation the consul charged Lyons with tampering with official mail. Waller and Bray subsequently helped Lyons jump bail and escape. Upon his return to the United States, Lyons complained vigorously of his treatment at Wetter's hands. New York Sun, September 4, 1895.

111. Edwin Wetter to Edwin Uhl, October 26, 1894, no. 60, DUSCT, RG 59, DOS; and Richard Olney to Grover Cleveland, December, 1895, vol. 41, Olney Papers.

112. M. Le Myer de Vilers to Gabriel Hanotaux, November 2, 1894, no. 54, Documents Diplomatique.

113. M. Le Myer de Vilers to Gabriel Hanotaux, October 26, 1894, no. 52, and October 20, 1894, no. 49, Documents Diplomatique. See also Gabriel Hanotaux to M. Le Myer de Vilers, November 27, 1894, no. 57, and December 8, 1894, no. 58, Documents Diplomatique; and Heggoy, Hanotaux, 83.

114. "Waller's Acts in Madagascar," New York Times, February 23, 1895; Waller's Deposition, August 27, 1895, no. 362, DUSMF, RG 59, DOS; and Edward Wetter to Edwin Uhl, November 27, 1894, no. 64, DUSCT, RG 59, DOS. See also Edward Wetter to Edwin Uhl, November 7, 1894, no. 63, DUSCT, RG 59, DOS.

115. Edward Wetter to Edwin Uhl, April 20, 1895, no. 88, DUSCT, RG 59, DOS.

116. Record of First Permanent Court Martial Sitting at Tamatave, June 24, 1895, enclosure 4, no. 327, DUSMF, RG 59, DOS.

117. John Waller to Daniel W. Voorhees, June 14, 1895, Miscellaneous Letters, RG 59, DOS; and "John Waller's Story," Indianapolis Freeman, April 11, 1896.

118. John Waller to Edward Wetter, March 18, 1895, Waller Case Papers, PFRFRUS.

119. Edward Wetter to Edwin Uhl, March 11, 1895, no. 8, DUSCT, RG 59, DOS.

120. Edward Wetter to John Waller, March 20, 1895, Waller Case Papers, PFRFRUS, 322–323.

121. Captain Kiesel to Edward Wetter, March 22, 1895, Waller Case Papers, PFRFRUS, 324–325.

122. Statement of Paul H. Bray in re expulsion from Madagascar of Ex-Consul Waller, May 19, 1895, Waller Case Papers, PFRFRUS. For other accounts of Waller's arrest and trial, and Wetter's role, see J. O. Ryder to Alvey Adee, May 2, 1895, Miscellaneous Letters, RG 59, DOS; and Waller's Deposition, August 27, 1895, no. 362, DUSMF, RG 59, DOS.

CHAPTER 8

1. Interview between Edwin Uhl and Ethelbert G. Woodford, October 22, 1895, Waller Case Papers, PFRFRUS, 369–380.

2. There is no evidence that Booker T. Washington attempted to help Waller, but he was certainly aware of the Kansan's predicament. H. Walter Webb to Booker T. Washington, 1895, container 113, Papers of Booker T. Washington, Library of Congress.


4. "Waller's Still on Top," American Citizen, March 15, 1895. In the midst of the controversy created by Waller's imprisonment, on June 15, 1895, editor Monroe Dorsey of the Parsons Weekly Blade wrote an open letter to Waller in which he proclaimed that the entire race was proud to view the imprisoned Kansan as "a typical American Negro."

5. St. Louis American Eagle, January 25, 1896, as quoted in the Cleveland Gazette.
6. Salt Lake City Broad Ax, February 8, 1896.
9. St. Paul Broad Ax, February 8, 1896; Richmond Planet, December 21, 1895; Leavenworth Herald, December 21, 1895; and Omaha Enterprise, December 14, 1895.
11. Cleveland Gazette, August 31, 1895.

The Omaha Enterprise of January 4, 1896, argued that Waller’s incarceration posed a threat to the freedom and safety of every person in the United States. “Something more vital than the Monroe Doctrine is at stake,” warned editor G. F. Franklin, “when an American citizen is lawlessly imprisoned and despoiled of his property by a foreign power with which the United States is at peace.” In the ultimate attempt to shame the nation into defending its black representative abroad, the Wichita National Reflector, in its issue of February 8, 1896, made a provocative comparison: “There is no doubt of the fact that had John Waller been a subject of Great Britain he would have been released long ago.”

15. T. McCants Stewart to Grover Cleveland, March 28, 1895, Miscellaneous Letters, RG 59, DOS.
19. Cleveland World, August 3, 1895.
20. August Meier, “The Negro and the Democratic Party, 1875–1915,” Phylon 17 (Summer, 1956): 175. In his The Democratic Party and the Negro Lawrence Grossman argues that following the election of 1872 Democratic moderates seized control of the party and devised a clever long-range plan to regain power. During the two decades that followed, the Democratic leadership acquiesced in Reconstruction, accepting the Republican governments established in the South in 1867–68 and the Reconstruction Amendments, and at the same time called for local self-government in the South. Official acceptance of Reconstruction would renew Democratic respectability among northern voters, while a hands-off southern policy justified by states’ rights theory might allow Dixie Democrats to recapture control of the South. This stratagem became known as the “new departure.” Simultaneously, blacks and Democrats in the North began to explore the possibilities of political rapprochement above the Mason-Dixon line. On some occasions and in some places Negroes took the initiative by adopting an independent political stance in state and local elections. In other situations the Democrats made the first move with patronage or favorable state legislation. As governor and president, Grover Cleveland came to symbolize the positive northern Democratic attitude toward Negroes; he did not undermine the position of Negroes in the federal bureaucracy, and he rebuked outright violence against them in the South. Lawrence Grossman, The Democratic Party and the Negro: Northern and National Policies, 1868–1892 (Urbana, 1976), 15, 57, 65–66, 115.
24. In 1895 Astwood was pastor of the Bethel A.M.E. Church in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. H. C. C. Astwood to Grover Cleveland, November 11, 1895, Cleveland Papers. See also H. C. C. Astwood to Henry Turber, November 13 and August 29, 1895, and George T. Downing to Grover
Notes to Pages 148-152

Cleveland, April 8, 1888, Cleveland Papers; *Washington Bee*, October 4, 1890, and September 19, 1891; *New York Age*, August 29, 1891; C. H. J. Taylor to Henry Thurber, July 13, 1894, Cleveland Papers; and Meier, "Negro and Democratic Party," 177-190.

25. H. C. C. Astwood to Henry Thurber, November 13, 1893, and April 15, 1895, Cleveland Papers.


29. Charles H. Booth to Grover Cleveland, April 30, 1895, Miscellaneous Letters, RG 59, DOS.


31. See, for example, *Memphis Commercial Appeal*, August 22, 1895.

32. David Healy maintains that events of the 1890s, particularly the Venezuelan Affair, "forced the phenomenon of imperialism upon the attention of Americans, and led them to think more seriously about their foreign relations. One of the results of this development was "the growing advocacy of a sort of prescriptive imperialism, a conviction that the United States should seize desirable areas before a rival power got them." David Healy, *U.S. Expansionism: The Imperialist Urge in the 1890s* (Madison, 1970), 28.

33. W. C. Tetrick to Richard Olney, July 19, 1895, Miscellaneous Letters, RG 59, DOS. The issue at point, declared the *New York World*, February 22, 1896, was "the right of American citizens to live abroad without being subjected to execution and imprisonment."


39. Healy, *U.S. Expansionism*, 163. Ironically, Reid was a close friend and avid political supporter of Alexandre Ribot. Whitelaw Reid to Henry Vignaud, November 1, 1895, reel 68, Papers of Whitelaw Reid, Library of Congress.

40. "Indifferent to Waller's Fate," *New York Daily Tribune*, March 28, 1895. The *Journal of Commerce*, however, best summarized the views of those who saw the Waller affair primarily in economic terms. "We have no sympathy whatever with jingoism," declared the editors. "We recognize the subjection of our citizens and our ships to foreign jurisdiction when they are within the boundaries of foreign powers, but we certainly owe it to our citizens to protect them from violence and injustice." The United States must not waive this right simply because France was a great power. "France and the Waller Case," *Journal of Commerce* (New York), August 31, 1895.

41. *Cleveland Gazette*, October 12, 1895.


43. *Cleveland World*, August 3, 1895.


toward Madagascar. *The New Orleans Times-Picayune*, already angry with the Cleveland administration over its refusal to back Cuban independence, declared Waller "unjustly condemned" and pronounced the federal government's failure to secure his release as "one of the most extraordinary exhibitions of lack of national pride that could be imagined."

"The Case of Ex-Consul Waller," *New Orleans Times-Picayune*, August 23, 1895. Reflecting mounting fear within Democratic circles that inactivity in the Waller affair would cost the party dearly at the polls, the *Memphis Commercial Appeal* and the *Arkansas Gazette*, both of which were sound-money, antiannexationist, pro-Cleveland papers, alternately pleaded and demanded that the administration take a more aggressive stand in the matter. *Memphis Commercial Appeal*, September 11, 1895, and *Arkansas Gazette*, August 27, 1895.

**CHAPTER 9**


2. A number of Waller's defenders charged that the career foreign-service officers within the State Department deliberately mishandled the case because they were extreme Negrophobes. The charge appears to be unfounded, at least insofar as it applied to Alvey Adee, who headed the departmental bureaucracy. See, for example, Alvey Adee to Richard Olney, July 27, 1895, container 30, Olney Papers.

3. "Another Colored Causa Belli," *Washington Post*, March 26, 1895. See also Charles Curtis to Walter Gresham, March 30, 1895; Thomas Updegraft to Walter Gresham, March 30, 1895; and Citizens of Buchanan County, Missouri, to Walter Gresham, April 30, 1895, all Miscellaneous Letters, RG 59, DOS.


5. Ibid. Gresham was, however, "unalterably opposed to stealing territory, or of annexing people against their consent." Walter Gresham to John Overmeyer, July 25, 1894, vol. 43, Gresham Papers.

6. At the same time, American representatives in Madagascar were advising the State Department that the French protectorate was proving very harmful to United States-Malagasy trade. In collusion with the resident general, French firms had been avoiding Hova import duties through a system of false invoices. Edward Wetter to E. H. Stroble, January 26, 1894, no. 6, DUSCT, RG 59, DOS.

7. Walter Gresham to James B. Eustis, April 10, 1895, Waller Case Papers, PRFRUS, 260.


9. Edward Wetter to Edwin Uhl, April 20, 1895, no. 88, DUSCT, RG 59, DOS.


13. James Eustis to Walter Gresham, May 1 and April 25, 1895, no. 297, DUSMF, RG 59, DOS.

14. *Cleveland Gazette*, May 4, 1895; and Mora Claims, July 17, 1895, container 28, Olney Papers.

15. Langston and Kennedy's first task was to defend Waller against charges that he was no longer an American citizen. W. B. Townsend, still smarting at Waller's "defection" to C. H. J. Taylor, had started a rumor that the ex-consul had returned to the United States in 1894 and then gone abroad again without a passport. Certain white Negrophobes joined with Townsend in arguing that Waller had forfeited his citizenship by returning to Madagascar "illegally" and hence was not due protection...
from the United States government. Langston and Kennedy had no trouble, however, in proving that the Kansan had not been in the United States since 1891. "Without a Passport," Washington Post, March 28, 1895.


18. Commander Thomas Perry to Secretary of the Navy, May 15, 1895, container 33, Olney Papers.


21. James Eustis to Gabriel Hanotaux, May 31, 1895, no. 316, DUSMF, RG 59, DOS.

22. James Eustis to Richard Olney, June 21, 1895, no. 323, DUSMF, RG 59, DOS; James Eustis to Gabriel Hanotaux, June 22, 1895, no. 327, enclosure 5, DUSMF, RG 59, DOS; and Edwin Uhl (Acting Secretary) to James Eustis, July 3, 1895, Waller Case Papers, PRFRUS, 269. The administration was even besieged by pleas in Waller's behalf from foreign politicians. In late August, J. E. Gordon, a member of the House of Commons who had met Waller aboard ship in 1891, wrote to Olney asking Washington to protect him from "the cruel treatment of the French court." J. E. Gordon to Richard Olney, August 23, 1895, Miscellaneous Letters, RG 59, DOS.

23. The French distrusted Woodford almost as much as they did Waller, seeing in him an agent of United States economic expansion. Le Temps, May 16, 1895. E. G. Woodford to Grover Cleveland, March 5, 1893, Cleveland Papers, E. G. Woodford to James Eustis, August 21, 1895, no. 362, DUSMF, RG 59, DOS; John Campbell to Edwin Uhl, June 18, 1895, container 27, Olney Papers; and Susan Waller to John Waller, June 20, 1895, no. 358, DUSMF, RG 59, DOS.


26. John L. Waller to Laura Martin, August 1895, Cedar Rapids Evening Gazette, September 11, 1895.

27. J. H. Gallinger to Richard Olney, July 1, 1895, Miscellaneous Letters, RG 59, DOS.

28. J. Sims to Jacob Gallinger, July 2, 1895; John Waller to Daniel Voorhees, June 14, 1895; and Daniel Voorhees to Richard Olney, July 15, 1895; Charles Curtis to Richard Olney, July 11, 1895, all Miscellaneous Letters, RG 59, DOS. See also "In Behalf of Ex-Consul Waller," New York Daily Tribune, July 20, 1895. Olney proved remarkably sensitive to public opinion in the Waller case, always demanding that his subordinates keep him posted as to any new development or fresh criticism. See, for example, E. J. Penick (Chief
Clerk of State Department) to Richard Olney, March 5, 1895, container 28, Olney Papers.
31. Alvey Adee to James Eustis, July 5, 1895, Waller Case Papers, PRFRUS; Richard Olney to Alvey Adee, August 4, 1895, container 31, Olney Papers; Richard Olney to James B. Eustis, November 7, 1895, Telegram, DUSMF, RG 59, DOS; and Alvey Adee to Richard Olney, July 8, 1895, container 28, Olney Papers.
32. Alvey Adee to James Eustis, July 10, 1895, Waller Case Papers, PRFRUS.
33. Alvey Adee to Richard Olney, July 29, 1895, container 30, Olney Papers.
34. Alvey Adee to Richard Olney, July 31, 1895, container 30, Olney Papers.
35. Edward Wetter to Edwin Uhl, July 23, 1895, no. 103, DUSCT, RG 59, DOS. The "Siam adventure," of course, referred to France's colonial effort in Southeast Asia. See also Gabriel Hanotaux to James Eustis, August 5, 1895, no. 349, enclosure 4, DUSMF, RG 59, DOS.
37. Although a member of the Bourbon aristocracy, Eustis was hardly enlightened in his views on race. In an 1888 article in The Forum he observed that blacks had made absolutely no progress since emancipation, and he called for an end to all federal aid to the Negro. James B. Eustis, "Race Antagonism in the South," The Forum 6 (September, 1888-February, 1889): 144-154.
38. Paul Bray to H. C. Smith, Cleveland Gazette, August 10, 1895.
40. Chicago Tribune, August 28, 1895.
41. Chicago Times-Herald, August 21, 1895; and Richard Olney to Alvey Adee, August 16, 1895, and Alvey Adee to Richard Olney, August 17, 1895, container 32, Olney Papers.
42. Alvey Adee to James Eustis, August 23, 1895, container 33, Olney Papers.
43. Alvey Adee to Richard Olney, August 23, 1895, container 33, Olney Papers. During Cleveland's first administration, Eustis and Cleveland had warred over patronage in Louisiana. They "bowed the hatchet" in 1886, and Eustis was one of Cleveland's most ardent supporters in 1892. Eustis' appointment as minister to France was regarded by many as a personal one by the president. "Mr. Eustis and the Administration," Washington Post, August 26, 1895.
44. Alvey Adee to Richard Olney, September 6, 1895, container 34, Olney Papers. See also James Eustis to Richard Olney, September 6, 1895, no. 368, DUSMF, RG 59, DOS.
45. "Ex-Consul Waller's Case," Chicago Tribune, August 24, 1895.
48. Omaha Enterprise, August 24, 1895.
49. Crammond Kennedy to Alvey Adee, September 6, 1895, Miscellaneous Papers, RG 59, DOS.
50. "Ex-Consul Waller's Case," New York Sun, September 6, 1895.
51. James Eustis to Richard Olney (personal), August 30, 1895, container 33, Olney Papers.
52. James Eustis to Alvey Adee, August 30, 1895; and Richard Olney to Alvey Adee, August 16, 1895, and Alvey Adee to Richard Olney, August 17, 1895, container 32, Olney Papers.
30, 1895, Confidential Communique, DUSMF, RG 59, DOS.

53. Treaty between France and Malagasy Government Signed October 1, 1895, January 16, 1896, no. 444, DUSMF, RG 59, DOS; and Chicago Tribune, October 9, 1895. See, in addition, Edward Wetter to Edwin Uhl, December 9, 1895, no. 120, DUSCT, RG 59, DOS; James Eustis to Richard Olney, October 5 and 17, 1895, Telegrams, and Gabriel Hanotaux to James Eustis, October 16, 1895, no. 391, DUSMF, RG 59, DOS.

54. James Eustis to Richard Olney, October 21, 1895, Telegram, DUSMF, RG 59, DOS.

55. Alvey Adee to W. E. Faison, September 13, 1895, Interdepartmental Memo, DUSCT, RG 59, DOS.

56. LaFeber, New Empire, 263.


58. James Eustis to Marcelin Berthelot, November 7, 1895, no. 401, DUSMF, RG 59, DOS.


62. John Waller to James Eustis, November 22, 1895, no. 413, DUSMF, RG 59, DOS.

63. James Eustis to Richard Olney, November 15, 1895, no. 404, DUSMF, RG 59, DOS.

64. New York Press, quoted in New York Age, November 30, 1895; “The Freeman Waller Fund,” Indianapolis Freeman, November 30, 1895; and Omaha Enterprise, November 30, 1895.


69. Richard Olney to James Eustis, December 4, 1895, no. 414, enclosure 5, DUSMF, RG 59, DOS.

70. James Eustis to Richard Olney, December 7, 1895, Telegram, DUSMF, RG 59, DOS.

71. “It was quite apparent to me from the first,” Woodford told Eustis, “that Waller had been outrageously treated . . . In no way had he acted otherwise than in accordance with his rights as a man and his treaty rights as an American citizen.” E. G. Woodford to James B. Eustis, August 21, 1895, no. 362, DUSMF, RG 59, DOS.


73. Olney apparently got the idea for the bribery angle from an old dispatch of Wetter’s. See Edward Wetter to Edwin Uhl, April 21, 1895, no. 89, DUSCT, RG 59, DOS.

74. Richard Olney to President, December, 1895, container 41, Olney Papers.
Notes to Pages 173–181


77. James Eustis to Richard Olney, February 6 and 21, 1896, Telegrams, DUSMF, RG 59, DOS.

78. Congress called for the relevant documents in the Waller case on December 9. The State Department immediately shipped its records to the White House, but they were held up there. The New York Times speculated that the administration wanted to be able to announce Waller’s impending release before Congress proceeded with its investigation. "Waller May Be Soon Released," New York Times, February 1, 1896.


80. LaFeber, New Empire, 267-270.


82. Indianapolis Journal, as quoted in Omaha Enterprise, February 29, 1896.


84. Cleveland Gazette, February 18, 1896.


89. Indianapolis Freeman, March 7, 1896.


CHAPTER 10


4. William Frank Zornow, Kansas: A History of the Jayhawk State (Norman, 1951), 199-201; American Citizen, November 6, 1891; Historic Times, November 7, 1891. Kansas State Ledger, November 18, 1892; and Leavenworth Advocate, November 15, 1890.

5. See, for example, M. W. Weeks to E. N. Morrill, April 20, 1895, Governor Morrill Letters Received, General Correspondence, K.H.S.; and "Brewers to Pay for It," Kansas City Gazette, January 2, 1896. See also Harrison Kelley to E. N. Morrill, February 3, 1895, and Young Men’s Colored Republican State League to E. N. Morrill, 1895, Governor Morrill Letters Received, General Correspondence, K.H.S.; American Citizen, August 7 and September 18, 1896; and Kansas City Gazette, March 26 and July 30, 1896.


13. *Kansas City Gazette*, March 5, 1895; January 9, June 25, July 27, and September 10, 1896; May 6, 1897; and January 6 and June 2, 1898.
14. *Kansas City Gazette*, April 16 and October 8, 1896, and November 23, 1899. See also *Leavenworth Advocate*, March 28, 1891; and *American Citizen*, May 7, 1897.
15. John L. Waller to William R. Day, July 5, 1897, Miscellaneous Letters, RG 59, DOS; *American Citizen*, July 27 and August 7, 1896, and January 8, April 23, and June 18, 1897; and "To Publish a Book," *Kansas City Gazette*, December 9, 1897.
26. *Topeka Colored Citizen*, February 8 and December 13, 1879; *Lawrence Journal*, January 15, 1880; *Benevolent Banner*, May 1, 1887; and *Leavenworth Advocate*, December 14, 1883. See also George W. Jackson to L. U. Humphrey, August 20, 1890, Governor Humphrey Letters Received, box 10, K.H.S.
27. John L. Waller to J. W. Leedy, April 26 and June 22, 1898, Governor Leedy Letters Received, Military Applications, K.H.S.
28. John L. Waller to J. W. Leedy, April 1, 1898, Governor Leedy Letters Received, Military Applications, K.H.S.
31. J. W. Roberts (Adjutant General) to L. U. Humphrey, February 4, 1892, and J. W. Roberts to L. U. Humphrey, May 13, 1892, Governor Humphrey Letters Received, box 1, K.H.S.
33. *Topeka Colored Citizen*, June 17, July 1, July 17, July 22, and October 12, 1898.
34. See E. D. Moore to John Leedy, March 1, 1898; George W. Jackson to J. W. Leedy, April 25, 1898; and Paul Jones to J. W. Leedy, April 25, 1898, all Governor Leedy Letters Received, Military-Applications, K.H.S.
35. William Beck to J. W. Leedy, April 24, 1898, Governor Leedy Letters Received, Military-Applications, K.H.S.
37. *Topeka Colored Citizen*, April 28 and May 12, 1898. See also Dennis
A. Jones to John Leedy, April 30, 1898, and A. M. Wilson to J. W. Leedy, May 26, 1898, Governor Leedy Letters Received, Military-Applications, K.H.S.


39. Gatewood, “Kansas Negroes,” 305-306; Topeka Colored Citizen, June 23, 1898; Charles Young to Col. Lindsay, June 30, 1898, Governor Leedy Letters Received, Military-General, K.H.S.; and “The Negro Populists' Venture,” Topeka Plaindealer, June 15, 1890.

40. John L. Waller to J. W. Leedy, April 26, 1898, Governor Leedy Letters Received, Military-General, K.H.S.

41. American Citizen, January 8 and 29, 1897.

42. John L. Waller to J. W. Leedy, April 26 and June 22, 1898, Governor Leedy Letters Received, Military-Applications, K.H.S.

43. American Citizen, June 24, 1898.

44. “The Colored Troops,” Kansas City Gazette, July 7, 1898; and Topeka Colored Citizen, July 14, 1898.

45. Kansas City Gazette, July 21, 1898.


47. “Captain Waller Writes,” Kansas City Gazette, September 22 and November 17, 1898. See also “They Bring Cuban Wives,” Kansas City Gazette, March 16, 1899; and Topeka Colored Citizen, November 11, 1898.

48. “Captain Waller Writes,” Kansas City Gazette, September 22, 1898.

49. “Conditions in Cuba,” Kansas City Gazette, October 20, 1898; and Topeka Plaindealer, January 27, 1899.

50. Kansas City Gazette, April 6, 1899; and Edward Everett Henry to John Leedy, Governor Leedy Letters Received, Military-General, K.H.S.

51. Topeka Plaindealer, March 27, 1899.

52. “Captain Waller and Cuba,” Kansas City Gazette, April 20, 1899.


55. Ibid.

56. Ibid.

57. Willard B. Gatewood, Jr., Black Americans and the White Man’s Burden (Urbana, 1974), 235; and Colored American, February 24, 1900.

58. Waller did become involved in one more overseas investment scheme. In 1907 he and a group of New York blacks attempted to establish a syndicate of Afro-Americans to purchase and develop lands in the Gold Coast, West Africa. Alfred C. Cowan to W. H. Sweat on, August 31, 1907; New York Age, September 12, 1907; and John L. Waller to T. Thomas Fortune, September 19, 1907, New York Age, September 19, 1907. See also Colored American, February 6, 1904; Official Register, 1907, vol. 1 (Washington, 1907): 604; and “Death of John L. Waller,” New York Age, October 24, 1907.


61. Ibid., 22-23.


63. By 1886, according to Painter, a small sample of exoduster heads of household in Wyandotte were earning an average of $262.75 annually,
while comparable white laborers were averaging $333.09 per year. Nearly all the exoduster wives worked, usually as washerwomen, and the combined incomes of husband and wife brought the yearly average to $363.28. About three-quarters of the families owned their own homes. Painter, *Exodusters*, 257.
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