THE CAUSES AND HISTORY OF THE

NEGRO EXODUS INTO KANSAS, 1879-1880

Approved
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June 4, 1915
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THE NEGRO EXODUS.

Introduction.

I. Causes of discontent in South.
   A. Industrial conditions in South 1900-79
      Anti-labor system of labor
      Freedmen Bureau plan and failure. Result,
      Expectations of freedmen aroused by Bureau.
      Wage system
      Attempt at co-operation; failure
      Share system
   
   B. Educational advantages
      Anti-colium school system
      School system of reconstruction
      Cause of southern opposition to Teachers, tax
      and length of term
      Complaint of negro

   C. Social relation of the two races
      Change expected by freedmen
      Attitude of South toward freedmen
      Social relations between freedmen and northern
      whites
      Conflict of northern and southern ideals of social
      relations
      Influence of this conflict on social relations.

   D. Political conditions
      Under carpet-bag rule
      Under southern home rule
      Discrimination in law enforcement and privileges
      as being jurors, etc.
      Business treatment not a result of politics
      Reason for northern attitude
      Reason for southern attitude
II. History of the Exodus.

A. Influences leading to the movement
   1. Suggestions of colonization prior to war
   2. Desire for better things or conditions on the part of the more intelligent negroes, who know more of the possibilities.
   3. Speeches made in Congress, and investigation of conditions in South.
   4. Tactics of real estate firms and R. R.
   5. Invitations from north

B. Organization of Emigrant Societies in South.
   2. Political influence in exodus. Agents at work in South

C. The Exodus movement.
   Plan of those leaving
   Character of those leaving
   Destination--Why Kansas

D. Societies in North for aid of Exodusters.
   In Washington, D. C.
   In St. Louis, Mo.
   In Kansas

E. Reception of Exodusters in Kansas

F. Result of movement.
Negro Exodus.

Introduction.

The long and bloody years of the Civil War ended at Appomattox April 9, 1865. The end had been apparent for some time. In all the territory, not conquered by January 1865, the slaves had been declared free by the Emancipation Proclamation. With the surrender of Lee it was tacitly understood, that slavery was at an end. New conditions now existed. Peace reigned with a nation within a nation. During the suffering of that terrible war there had been separated out and brought into new conditions, millions of helpless, ignorant and dependent people, rejoicing in their freedom, but with no knowledge to guide them in taking up the new responsibilities and duties. There was at hand no competent leader who really understood the enormous problem, and could control these millions and organize them to some purposeful end. In fact, peace came with three groups of people within our borders: the destitute and aimless negroes, the subjected but unyielding south, and the triumphant north. The north by its superior resources had forced the south unwillingly to release the slave.

The dream of the abolitionist had finally been realized, but in the realization there were opened questions and problems the solution of which no one could
forsee:--questions and problems which North and South alike did not comprehend fully. Some of these questions now after a half century are little more than comprehended. Fifty years has scarcely been sufficient for the North to come to realize and acknowledge that it was far less prepared to lead the way to the solution of the problems, dealing with the liberated negro, than it was to lead armies to conquer their brothers of a common blood. The problems of peace are ever greater than those of war, and these problems were made doubly difficult because they had to be attempted when a war spirit still existed.

The real cause of the Civil war, at least as far as our purpose is concerned, was negro slavery. Even before the Emancipation Proclamation as the Union troops pushed south, the negroes flocked to the camps and it became a serious problem what to do with them. At first, some of the generals sent the colored people back home, others put them to work about the camps. This latter policy however required an increased supply of rations which was a drain upon the resources of the North.

In 1863, the War Department created a department of Negro Affairs, and negro refugees were given three-fourths rations and put to work, building barracks and raising corn, cotton, and sorghum. Soon an order was issued pro-
viding for the renting to negroes captured and abandoned lands: the proceeds of which were to be used to purchase supplies for the destitute blacks. This was the first attempt to make the negro self-supporting. This regulation also required the employment of freedmen wherever possible and fixed a scale of wages. Half the wages were to be paid at the end of each month, and the remaining half at the end of the contract. The planters who employed the heads of families were obliged to furnish a separate house and garden plot for each family, and care for and provide schools for the children. Food and clothing when sold to negroes must be at actual cost. The territory under the control of the army was divided into districts with a superintendent for each district. Wages constituted a first lien on crops which could not be moved until the superintendent certified that wages were paid. Ten hours was the length of a day required. In the fall of 1864 the army took absolute control of all relations between the races. This, in brief, is the industrial relation established by the government before the organization of the Freedmen's Bureau.

In February of 1865 the government stepped in and established a Bureau of relief. Food, fuel, shelter and employment were to be provided. This same act set apart for the use of the loyal refugees and freedmen the aband-
oned and confiscated tracts of land, which were divided up and assigned to male freedmen at forty acres per head of family. This forty acres might be bought from the government within three years. General O. O. Howard was made head of this Bureau. The spirit of this act was a magnanimous one. Here was a supply for the immediate necessities, a plan for earning future needs, and giving these freedmen the rudiments of an education. The report of General Howard in 1867 contained much to show that a large number of the freedmen were rapidly becoming self-sustaining. Had it not been for a complication of circumstances this plan might have yielded much greater results.

Before Lee surrendered the conquered whites in the southern states already overrun were accepting the Lincoln plan of reconstruction, and were beginning to act upon it. Steps towards reconstruction had been taken, when the guiding spirit was suddenly changed. In a few brief months a new plan of reconstruction was adopted. The management of the South was placed by Congress in the hands of a triple element that had but one qualification for the task: they were loyal to the North. Williams says, "This qualification was of no more use than piety in the pulpit when the preacher cannot repeat the Lord's prayer without biting his tongue." The whole congressional policy was one adapted to cause the people of the South, who had the ability to

1History of the Negro Race in America. Vol.II, p. 382
reorganize it successfully, to have nothing to do with the reconstruction. It is not however our purpose to point out the faults of this plan of reconstruction, but to study briefly the industrial, educational, social and political conditions that arose in the South following the Civil War and thus find some of the reasons, leading to the movement or migration known as "The Negro Exodus", which took place most largely in 1879-80.

Industrial Conditions.

In order to more clearly understand the conditions that led to the Exodus, we will state briefly the antebellum labor system in the black belts. Before the war each plantation was an industrial unit on which all supplies were raised making it almost independent of the outside world. The division of labor was minute, each servant being assigned the task best suited to him. A skillful laborer often completed his work before the required time and had these spare hours for himself. Such often hired out and earned during these spare hours, a little money. The most efficient management alone kept the planter from ruin. Slavery was an economic handicap. The negro children were trained in industry and sobriety by elderly negroes. Those too young to work were put under a competent "mammy" while their parents were at work in the field. Slavery gradually drove white labor to
the hills and mountain country. No matter how poor a white man was he was so excessively independent in spirit that he wished to work his own land. Consequently, there were no hired white laborers. Only in the white districts was there any renting of land by the poor whites, and this took the form now known as one-third and one-fourth: i.e., the tenant furnished everything and paid the landlord one-fourth of cotton and one-third of corn. Only on the borders of the black belts in the very busy season were seen numbers of poor whites working along side of the negro. The negro always looked with contempt on a white man that worked as he did. The whole industrial system tended to destroy initiative or independent action in the slave.

With the war over there came the announcement that the negro was free. There was great rejoicing among the negroes. Those in the immediate vicinity of the army looked to their liberators for guidance. Some flocked to the camps and cities, but the majority stayed where they were. How to begin anew was the question. Neither master nor slave had a plan. Things were left to drift. The master was relieved of his responsibility for the welfare of his former slaves and in most cases felt a pity for them in the new condition. If one stops but a moment to consider, he will realize something of the situation.
The freedman had absolutely nothing. He had never known responsibility for self or made a plan for the future. The majority of masters had no confidence in free negro labor and no sympathy with it. Work was to be done. How easy, except in the vicinity of an army post or a city, it was to proceed much as before. The old patriarchal relations were preserved as far as possible, yet there was a new something that prevented the old relations and conditions. Things did not work well. Many plans were tried but no former master seemed to know how to work successfully the free negro—at least not successfully in the old way.

The negro, now free to go from place to place at will, gathered new ideas of freedom: new expectations were aroused, and worst of all wrong ideas obtained, not alone through the misrepresentation that comes when news is passed from mouth to mouth, but also by wilful misrepresentation that came because of the bitter feeling and lack of confidence on the part of the North in the ability and sincerity of the planter to deal with the problems at hand. The War Department took over the control of all problems dealing with both races.

A new bureau was created, the Freedman's Bureau. It had absolute control of all that concerned freedmen. There was no general appropriation to maintain it. It was to be supported the first year by taxes on salaries and on cotton
by fines, donations, rents of buildings and lands, sale of

crops and confiscated property. In short the policy of mak-
ing the South pay the bills was begun. The wholesale pardon
by the president soon caused most of the captured, abandon-
ed and confiscated property to be restored to the original
owners, but there was a good deal of state and county
property, used by the Confederacy as barns, storehouses,
hospitals, foundries, etc., that was turned over to this
Bureau. The sale of these furnished funds for the Bureau
and for educational purposes. The chapels erected by the
planters were used for church and school.

At the beginning of the Bureau, the army officers
acted as agents and most of them were disposed to persuade
the negroes to go home, and advised them that they could
not expect to live without work. The black troops were
usually a source of disorder. Their attitude was that their
former masters could not be trusted in anything, and were
the natural enemy of the blacks. The very fact, that the
government was doing so much toward caring for the freed-
men, led to a misunderstanding on the part of many. The
Bureau assumed the responsibility of providing work for the
negro. Many left their old homes to go to town to be more
under the care of the Bureau. Some began to wander about
the country, while others worked two or three days a week
and loafed the remainder. Negro women, desiring to be like free white ladies, refused to go to the field or perform menial tasks. The plan of labor adopted by the planters since freedom was surplanted by a northern free labor system and the old slave hiring system.

The different states were soon under control of the Bureau. Each had several districts. Labor was classified with a fixed wage. The plan was that adopted by the Treasury Department in 1864 with a lowered monthly wage. This was approximately what an able bodied negro got before the war. All labor was by contract, all contracts for one month or more in writing, and no contract for longer than to January 1866. Contracts were registered and a laborer could leave only by permission of the Bureau. Wages were secured by a lien on crops. A fee of fifty cents to one dollar and fifty cents was charged for each contract. If a negro was found working without a written contract, he and his employer were summoned before an agent of the Bureau. A violation of contract on part of laborer forfeited wages. An order was issued, giving negroes civil rights, thus securing the right to contract and testify in court. At first the planters thought that they saw in the contract system a means of holding the negro to work, and vigorously demanded contracts. These regulations gave no substantial aid in reorganizing labor, and were only a
source of confusion. The contracts caused trouble. No matter whether the negro had been paid or not if he made complaint the farmer's whole crop could be locked up until the case was settled by a magistrate. The negro was not backward in making complaint of violations of contract, or unpaid wages, and much litigation followed. The negro did not feel free until he had a lawsuit with some one. It was no trouble to him and a source of entertainment. The whites charged agents with inducing strikes in order to get the fee for returning negroes to work:--this was the case when the agent was not a local magistrate. By the spring of 1866 the whites were weary of the system of written contracts, and disposed to make oral or verbal agreements. The negroes were afraid of written contracts because they could be enforced. Then there were those who refused to give employment to the negroes, requiring an outlay of money, and freedmen were not uncommon who believed that work was no part of freedom.

By means of the Bureau courts the negro was completely removed from trial by civil government except where magistrates were also agents of Bureau. Negroes frequently broke their contract, reporting that they had been lashed. There was a strong disposition to make these complaints to the "office". "The bottom rail was on top." The Bureau took the word of the negro in preference to the word of the
white. The worst class of blacks were continually dragging their employers into court. A simple assertion by a negro was sufficient to prevent the sale of a crop, or cause the arrest of the master. Negros were taken from work by the Bureau and sent to places of refuge, home colonies where negroes were collected. Hundreds died in these places of neglect, want and unsanitation. Trials were made occasions for lectures on slavery, rebellion, political rights of negroes, and social equality. The negro was taught to distrust the white of the South and look to the Bureau for protection. The agent proceeded on the assumption that the negro was as good or better than the southern white and that the negro had always been mistreated by his master. The agents felt that one of their great responsibilities was to protect the negro from hostile whites. They did not understand the relation between slave and master, and assumed that there had always been hostility between them. A system of espionage or secret spies was established that became very galling. Wherever the Bureau had least influence the industries were least disorganized and demoralized.

A general belief grew up among the freedmen that there would be a confiscation and division of land at Christmas time 1865. Christmas or New Year's would be the millenium. Each would have a farm, plenty to eat and drink, nothing to do—"forty acres and a mule." This last idea was caused,
no doubt in part, by the distribution among the negroes of land on the south Atlantic coast. Many picked out their land, others provided themselves with pigs, chickens and cows that came within reach. This belief gave rise to a great deal of deceit and many negroes with implicit confidence were cheated. Documents as deeds, painted sticks, etc. were sold to negroes. The close of the year 1865 did not bring the anticipated change but the belief that it would come still remained. The speeches of Thaddeus Stevens on confiscation were widely distributed among negroes. His confiscation bill of March, 1867 aroused anew the expectations among negroes, who soon heard of the project.

Under these conditions the average planter found himself with much more land than he knew what to do with. There was no reliable labor. He had no cash capital. The matter was made worse owing to the almost religious regard of the negro for his northern deliverers. The industries were in a critical condition. Many white landlords thought that the northerner might be better able than the southerner to control negro labor. Northern energy and capital flowed in, and various industries of plantation life started anew. The northern settler had unlimited confidence in the negro, and gave him unlimited credit and supplies. A few years brought financial failure. In order to make a living, the northerner turned his attention to politics
and to exploiting the negro in that field. Both as employer and as manager the northern man failed to control negro labor. Little northern labor came south. There was an attempt to induce immigration of white labor but it failed. The black belts were compelled to fall back on free negro labor. The rural negro had a promising outlook for there was more work than he could do. The city negro found labor scarce even when he wanted it.

In 1865-1866 some attempts were made to work farms and plantations on a cooperative system, but it failed because the negro was not accustomed to independent labor. The average negro had no sense of the obligation of contracts. He would leave a growing crop at the most critical time and move to another county, or working his own crop on shares, would leave it in the grass and go to work for some one else in order to get a little money for tobacco and whiskey. When it was found that the wage system could not be maintained, a system of working on the shares was then tried. At the time of the Exodus the renting system was almost universal in the cotton districts. Under this system the cash rent in the hill country, where an acre will yield one-fourth bale of cotton or fifteen to twenty bushels of corn, was from one dollar to three dollars per acre. Among the hills one man with a mule can tend about twenty five acres, one-half in corn and one-half in cotton.
On the bottom, where the land yields one bale of cotton to the acre, the rent was from five dollars to fifteen dollars per acre or so many pounds lint cotton to acre. Here one man with a mule can tend ten acres, seven acres cotton, three acres corn. Where the land was rented for a share of the crop as follows: the owner of the plantation furnished house, wood etc. and got one-fourth of the crop. In case the planter furnished everything but the food for the laborers he got one-half the crop. In case the planter hired his laborers he furnished house, wood and rations for the laborers, but not for their families, and paid from $12 to $15 per month, one-half paid at the end of the month, and one-half when the crop was made. By the use of the rent plan it is evident that the negro, just emerging from slavery, did not have sufficient means to provide a living for the time during which the crop was maturing. This gave rise to a class of merchants called courtesy merchants, who furnished the negro his supplies and secured themselves by a mortgage on the growing crop. The great mass of negroes had to depend upon these merchants, and it was one great source of complaint. In rare instances the planter bought the supplies and furnished them to his labors, thus eliminating much of the complaint. The"courtesy merchants" having to wait for the maturing crop, and depending in some degree upon whether or not the negro was industrious, charged about double price for the things furnished, or even more.
Then very few of the negroes were able to keep their own accounts so had to depend on the honesty of the merchants. This furnished an opportunity for the un-scrupulous merchant to cheat the ignorant negro. Then there was a feeling that existed in the south among a large number that it was not the same to cheat a negro as it was a white man. The old feeling that the negro was nothing more than property which could be used to his own advantage, and of which he had been unjustly deprived gave this license rein. Then the negro was given to extravagance. In this new state of freedom his appetites and desires were allowed to control him very largely. One method the avaricious merchant had of getting the negro to buy was to get him partly drunk, then the poor fellow would buy anything the store keeper wanted him to. Just before cotton picking time, the merchant sent a man around to see how the crop was getting along, how large to make his bills. When the cotton crop was gathered it had to be taken to the gin. These were controlled by the plantation owners, and a toml was charged. The landlord then got his share if the contract called for a share, otherwise the whole crop was put in the hands of an agent to be sold and a commission paid. In all these transactions the negro or laborer in most cases must depend upon the honesty of the white man. When the crop was sold the rent if cash, the store bill, the gin fee, and the agent's commission must
be taken out before the laborer got anything for himself. In many cases, especially if the crop was light, or the laborer had not been industrious and frugal, the negro got nothing or was actually in debt. This naturally gave rise to discontent and bitter feeling between classes.

The patriarchal system failed in the black belt, the Bureau system of contract and prescribed wages failed, the planters own wage system failed, and finally all settled down to the share system. Labor conventions were held, demanding the return to that system. In this way the laborer would not be responsible for bad crops. Congress was asked to pass the Summer Civil Rights Bill, providing for the recognition of certain social rights for negroes, to exempt homesteads from tax action, and to increase the tax on property held by speculators; and the president was asked to supply bread and meat to the negro farmers. Skilled labor left the plantation. All labor became more or less migratory. The negro farmer wanted to change the location of his farm every year. Regular work was almost a thing of the past. In two or three days a week a negro could earn enough to live, and the remaining time he rested. He went to the field when it suited him, went often to the spring. The negro women refused to work in the fields, and yet did nothing to better home life. The style of living was from hand to mouth: extra money went for finery. The laborer would always stop to go to circus,
election, political meeting, revival. A great desolation seemed to rest on the black belt. Thus it is seen that the industrial conditions were not satisfactory.

Education

Let us now notice briefly the educational conditions. In the southern states, under slavery everything possible had been done to prevent the slave from receiving an education. It was a violation of law with a considerable penalty to teach a slave to read and write. Many of the negroes had an excellent memory, and accumulated much information, but were unable to read. As the federal troops occupied the southern states and numbers of negroes were gathered into colonies on confiscated plantations and were thrown upon the care of the government, there arose in the north a demand for their instruction. To meet this demand the Treasury Agents in charge of these plantations and colonies were instructed to establish schools for the children under twelve years of age. These schools were usually taught by the chaplain of the colored troops at that place. These colonies were naturally largest at places where there were colored troops.

The act of 1865, creating the Freedman's Bureau, made no provision for schools, but the work of instruction was continued and enlarged. General O.O. Howard, who was in charge of the Bureau, gave education special attention and appointed a general superintendent of schools. The act of
July, 1866 encouraged education by authorizing for school purposes the use of all money derived from the sale of buildings, lands and other property belonging to the Confederacy, or used for the support of the Confederates. In addition, more than one-half million dollars was appropriated for educational work among the freedmen. The Bureau was to co-operate with the Aid Societies, and furnish buildings wherever these societies sent teachers. The American Missionary Society of the northern churches was active, both in sending teachers, and furnishing money. Between 1866 and 1870 the Bureau furnished 654 buildings for school work. In most of these cases, the teachers were missionary teachers from the North and were partly paid by the Aid Society, and partly by the Bureau. There was need for all the assistance that could be had. The whole negro race seemed anxious to learn to read. The work had to be of the most elementary nature. All had to begin by learning the alphabet. There seemed to be a general thirst for education. No age limit was enforced for these schools. Negroes enrolled from six to eighty years old. There were day schools, night schools, Sunday schools. Negro preachers, who had proclaimed the gospel for half a century in slavery, came to learn to read the Word and to spell the apostles' names. Old mammies of four score came to learn to read the Lord's prayer before death overtook them. To many, to be educated meant to become
teachers, preachers, Congressmen, or politicians. Williams says, "Few educated colored men ever return to agricultural life."

Immediately after emancipation, the southern churches began to favor educating the freedmen. In 1866 the southern religious organizations began to aid the Bureau by securing native white teachers for schools where no troops were located. This continued in many places for more than two years, or until politics alienated the races and the negro demanded northern or negro teachers. Thus for two years there was little or no opposition by the whites to the education of the negro. Mr. Buckley, Superintendent of the Education of Freedmen, reported in 1867 that the native whites were in favor of negro education.

But alas, in meeting the need of instruction which was entered into by North and South, there were rascals who were on the scene as soon or before the missionaries. This is ever the case, the emmisaries of evil are as active as those of the good. Unprincipled men took advantage of the desire for learning in order to fleece the ignorant people of their money. It was also impossible to prevent the antagonistic ideas of the North and South from creeping into this education. There were those among the teachers from the North, who considered it their duty to show the southern

1History of the Negro Race in America. Vol. II p. 397
people the error of their sinful ways. They were mere sentimental friends of the ex-slave, who did not understand the problem confronting them; yet taught the wildest of social, political and religious theories. These teachers taught the negro to distrust his former master. The negro was taken from his master's care and in alien schools taught the equality of the races and told not to say master or mistress, not to take off his hat when speaking to a white person. Thus in attempting to teach him not to be servile they unwittingly taught him to be insolent. Yet not all were "heralds of light" and it was some time before the results were plainly seen. The dislike of the northern teacher for the southerner was heartily reciprocated by the native white. The report of the Superintendent of Education in 1868 stated that there was a reaction against negro schools, and that this reaction was due to the teachers who hold the doctrine of social and political equality. In addition many northern teachers tried to utilize in the school room the inborn love of music in the negro, and used such songs as "John Brown's Body". This aroused particular opposition especially when under the public school system. There was an attempt to teach patriotism by the use of such songs.

Because of these doctrines and their effect, the southern people lost confidence in the education of the negro. The false ideas about education relieving of manual labor
caused many schools to be crowded with grown negroes, who
having passed the impressionable age, could not make the
progress they expected. Thus unwise teaching and effort
brought failure and disappointment to many. All elements
combining, a hostility between the races was created. The
southern church lost its opportunity to work among the freed-
men. The better element of the South that had worked for the
good of the negro was paralyzed; the worst element took
control. The undesirable teachers were socially ostracised
by the native whites, and were thus forced to be content
with negro society. This fact made them more bitter against
the southerner. The negro imbibed the spirit of his teacher
and became more insolent. Thus the opposition to negro edu-
cation grew and was especially strong among the ignorant
whites. Fleming says, "The results of the attempts by the
Bureau and mission societies to educate the negro were al-
most wholly bad." The report on education in 1869 indicated
the return north of many teachers, and this was probably due
to the treatment received. The Bureau made its last report
on Education in 1870. By this time the education in the
several states had been transferred to the new state govern-
ment.

The spirit of carpet-bag rule dominated the new school
system. In most cases the system was top heavy with officials.
Progress was not rapid because of the incompetency of the

1Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama. p. 466
officials. Many teachers received salaries where receipts were signed by a mark X. There was much opposition to the negro education. Fleming says, "This carpet bag rule was frightful. Misappropriation was the general rule. The system greatly improved under Democratic rule." During the carpet-bag period many times a competent man was compelled to surrender his office as Superintendent of Education to a negro. By 1879 the per cent of school children to school population varied widely and the efficiency of the schools depended largely on the competency of the officers. The reports show that the percent of colored population enrolled in schools in Virginia was eighteen and in Louisiana twenty-six. The percent of white school population enrolled in school in Virginia twenty-six and in Louisiana thirty-one. In Alabama, the average length of term under the carpet-bag rule was forty-nine days, under Democratic sixty-nine. The dream of what education would do for the freedman had not been realized.

Social Relations.

Under slavery the social relations of the two races was simply that of master and slave. The negro had no recognition in a social way. It is safe to say that the negro himself had no idea as to the social change that would be accorded him as a freedman. In other words, his expectation along this line was not great. The south had no different

social attitude toward the freedman than it had toward the slave. The social position accorded the freedman by the northerner varied widely but there were those who taught social equality, but without any definite idea as to what it meant. Here again it was the conflict of ideals that lead to much bitterness. The ideas of the North, being adopt-
ed by the negro led to treatment from the former master that would not otherwise have resulted. The teaching these ideas of social equality caused those who taught them to lose caste. The higher class in the South did not hate the negro. They believed he could not rise in the scale of civilization, nor did they wish him to rise. In their belief that he could not they were wrong, but possibly no less wrong than those who expected the freedmen to rise at once to the equal of the white. While the South opposed political and social equality, they had a feeling of kindness and gratitude for the conduct of the freedmen during the war. There seems to be no reason to doubt but that the South would have eventually and gradu-
ally conferred full civil right on the colored people. The people of the South were only human, and to have the poor ignorant freedman placed over them as director of the ship of state and society, was too much. It seems remarkable that so much was endured and without going to any greater excess in retaliation. This fact argues a high state of control among those who had been in control before. The instilling
of new social ideas and thus arousing expectations which were
were not realized, led to dissatisfaction on the part of the
colored people.

Political Reconstruction

While the labor system was slowly undergoing a revolut-
ion and an educational system was being evolved, the polit-
ical reconstruction was one endless ferment in which the
most bitter and vindictive passions overrode reason. Freedom
came to the negro without his having formulated any document
setting forth his rights. He rejoiced in that freedom with-
out a thought of what it had given him in privileges. He
was now a citizen, but with what standing. This was the pro-
blem of the white man, and was one of those concerning which
the clash of opinions of the north and south were most marked.
In a republic the will of the many prevails. It was quite
largely to have the opinions of the North prevail that caused
the freedman to be given full suffrage. The question of what
policy would obtain the best final results was not considered
in admitting the negro to full citizenship. The South had
gained a larger representation because of the slave, the
North now was to gain a larger voice in government by the
same people, no more intelligent, no better morally but just
relieved from bondage. A wrong principle may apply in free-
dom as well as in slavery. The element of the South, who had
born the responsibility of government, opposed the enfran-
chisement of the negro. Because they had been defeated on the
battle field and now their sincerity and integrity of judgment with reference to plans of reconstruction ignored, they refused to take any part in the political reconstruction. Opposition to the plan of reconstruction in the North was branded as disloyalty, and silenced by the cry of copperheadism. Williams says, "Congress seemed to be unequal to the task of perfecting a proper plan of reconstruction. To couple general amnesty to the rebels with suffrage to the Negroes was a most fatal policy." There was but one class of whites in the South friendly to reconstruction, the scalawag—numerically small and mentally weak. He was the "poor white trash" of the South, a "nigger driver" without schools, social position, or money. The reconstruction elevated the scalawag to a place of much more importance than he had ever known.

The ideas of a few radicals in Congress with reference to national reconstruction were to be carried into operation by a few scalawags, and carpet baggers in the South, who controlled the votes of the entire negro population. The scalawag managed the negro. The negro did the voting, the carpet bagger held the offices. When there were "more stalls than horses, the negro and scalawag got into office." Soon the negro learned the tricks of the trade and demanded and secured recognition.

By 1872 six of the southern states had negro represent-

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1History of the Negro Race in America. Vol. II p. 381
2Idem p. 392
atives in Congress, and both branches of the legislature in every southern state contained negroes. The corruption and extravagance of government under the carpet bag and negro domination were almost unbelievable. In South Carolina $125,000 was appropriated for a free lunch counter and bar for the members of the legislature and their friends. In four years the state debt rose from $5,000,000 to $18,000,000. In Louisiana from 1868 to 1872 the average annual expenditure of the state was nearly $6,000,000 as contrasted with $600,000 of previous times. The debt rose from between $6,000,000 and $7,000,000 to nearly $500,000,000. The counties and municipalities were managed equally scandalously. It would be impossible to estimate in any accurate way the amount made away with or stolen. Before all the Reconstruction Acts were passed, the South contained two hostile semi-secret organizations, the Union or Loyal League, and the Ku-Klux Klan. Both of these had been organized during 1866.

Whatever was the original purpose of each of these organizations, they soon assumed political importance. They first organized the negroes into secret bodies, sworn to obey the decision of the organization. The latter came to have at least as their chief purpose to terrorize the negro out of voting and office holding, and as the carpet-bag and negro domination became more dominant its method became more violent and lawless. This was especially true in the
regions where the negroes outnumbered the whites. The violence became so great that in 1871 the writ of Habeas Corpus was suspended in South Carolina. The terrible conditions that had arisen in the South since the close of the war, and culminated the "Ku-Klux Klan" Act began to make themselves felt. In 1872 there was a national revolt against the policy of the Washington Government with reference to the Reconstructed states. In the South 1"The hand of revenge reached for the shotgun and before its deadly presence white leaders were intimidated, driven out or destroyed." In 1874 part of the southern states were reclaimed from carpet bag rule, and 2"Before 1875 came, the white element in the republican party at the south was reduced to a mere shadow of its former self." Thus abandoned, the Negro needed the presence of the United States army while he voted, held office and drew his salary. But even the army lacked the power to inject life into the collapsed governments. In 1876 there was a complete overthrow of the negro rule, and the South went back to Democratic rule. Williams says, 3"The mistakes of reconstruction were twofold: on the part of the Federal Government in committing the destinies of the Southern states to hands so feeble; on the part of the South in that its best men, instead of taking a lively interest in rebuilding the government they had torn down, allowed to be reconstructed with untempered mortar. Neither the South nor the government could say: "Thou canst

1Williams p. 383
2Idem
3Idem
not say I did it, shake not thy gory locks at me." Both were culpable, both have suffered the pangs of remorse."

Burgess says, 1"From the point of view of sound political science the imposition of universal negro suffrage upon the Southern communities, in some of which the negroes were in large majority, was one of the blunder-crimes of the century. There is something natural in the subordination of an inferior race to a superior race, even to the point of enslavement of the inferior race, but there is nothing natural in the opposite. It is entirely unnatural, ruinous and utterly demoralizing and barbarous to both races. It is difficult to believe that the creation of such a relation between the blacks and whites in the South was at all within the intentions of the framers of Reconstruction. They were irritated because these communities would not accord civil equality to the freedmen, and had passed acts which created a new species of slavery or quasi-slavery. They thought they were placed between the alternative of continuing military government in the South indefinitely, or giving the negro the political power with which to maintain his civil rights." Thus these communities were given over to the rule of the ignorant and vicious part of their population, sustained by the military power of the Nation.

Burgess says with reference to this period, 2"A period of darkness now settled down upon these unhappy communities

1Reconstruction and the Constitution. p. 244
2Idem p. 245
blacker and more hopeless than the worst experiences of the war. The conduct of the men, who now appeared upon the scene as the creators of the new South, was so tyrannic, corrupt mean and vulgar as to repel the historian from attempting any detailed account of their doings, and incline him to the vaguest outline. Moreover it is most difficult to fix upon reliable facts in this period of confusion and political night, illuminated only by the lurid gleams of passion and hatred. It is best for the North, best for the South, best for the whole country, and best for the world that this terrible mistake of the North and this terrible degradation of the South should be dealt with briefly and impersonally, and that lessons of warning should be drawn from these experiences, instead of multiplying criminations and recriminations in regard to them."

In the presidential election of 1876 the old South again began to assert itself in politics. In Louisiana, South Carolina, and Mississippi the negroes outnumbered the whites; in two of these states, South Carolina and Louisiana, the results were in doubt. The electoral commission put Hayes in as President. This, on the face of it, seemed a political victory, but Hayes in his inaugural announced it as his purpose to restore local self government in the southern states. The troops were consequently immediately withdrawn from the three negro Republican states. The result of this policy was
at once apparent. It seemed as if a sigh of relief came from
the whites of the South. The impoverished South began to hope
and take courage. Was it any wonder, that there should be a
solid South to prevent the recurrence of what had taken
place during the last ten years. The dominant passion seemed
to be a hatred of the Republican party, which as they thou-
ght was responsible for all their woes; on the contrary the
negro looked upon the Republican party as the only source
of their freedom, prosperity and power. Even before 1876,
when the Republican rule, and negro domination had ended in
many districts, and the old masters had come into power, there
had been an exodus of negroes to districts still under
Republican rule, although in many cases the rule under south-
ern democrats was better. During the negro domination, ruin
and havoc was terrible but as far as the negro was concerned
there was an element still worse. The dominant political
power in the hands of the negro had led many to expect some-
thing for nothing. Idleness and dissipation grew apace. There
had grown up the negro political grafter. From slavery they
had gone to the throne of political power without care or re-
sponsibility: his domination had been a long holiday of
feasting and dress parade. The poor deluded confiding negro
politicians day now closed. No longer could he exist in idle-
ness and draw a salary. The stubborn realities were upon him
and with them the terrible hatred of the white that the mis-
rule of black domination had brought upon him. To understand fully what change in political rule meant to the negro, it is necessary to remember that the negro valued the privileges of voting more than freedom. Williams says that the Emancipation Proclamation did not call for such genuine widespread rejoicing as the proclamation of President Grant, declaring the XV amendment in force.

"During the entire period of the existence of Republican government in the South, the negro remained there in a state of blissful contentment. "This does not mean however that there were not negroes who visited many parts of the South and North. There were wanderers, political and financial adventurers. But as long as the Republican government was in power, and representatives of the negro race in office the great mass of laborers seemed generally content. There were those who were not satisfied with the conditions of the freedmen in the South, and had considered ways and means of reaching them. Such a desire is shown in a Labor Convention held in 1874 in Montgomery, Alabama, as reported in the Voorhees' investigation. The principal points considered in the convention were:

1. Protection to laboring masses of Alabama in their exercise of the rights of citizenship and personal security from the Ku Klux.

2. Protection to laborers in securing payment of wages earned.

1 William's History of the Negro in America. Vol.II 529
2 Senate Report No. 693. Vol.II p. 349
3. The protection of labor against the inroads of capital. Honorable Robert H. Knox advised against migration for a time, until they could see whether relief would not come through the President and Congress. The convention memorialized the President and Congress to pass the bill to incorporate the Freedman's Homestead Company, a bill before Congress at that time. This bill was to create a company composed mostly of northern men, for the purpose of buying homesteads in southern states and to assist in the settlement thereon of persons, formerly slaves and their descendants, and to foster industrial pursuits, co-operative enterprises and the acquirement of useful trades among them. The principal office was to be in Washington, D.C. with branch offices. There was to be a board of trustees to manage affairs. The district courts of United States were to have exclusive jurisdiction over offences or violations of the act. The corporation might buy, inherit, hold and bequeath property. The convention further expressed itself as follows: "We think the convention ought to urge the colored people to get homesteads, if not found here, go where they are to be found. While we do not advise emigration in mass, we do recommend that steps be taken to send out a small number of families as an experiment." This convention discussed the labor condition, the educational conditions and the discussions showed a high degree of intelligence and a good grasp of the subject and not a great deal of partisan spirit.
In the foregoing, we have attempted to portray the economic, educational, social and political conditions of the freedmen up to 1876. The freedmen had experienced domination. The experience was a great education to him, even though it may have degraded many. With the loss of domination, the withdrawal of the army, it was only natural that conditions should change. Discontent sprang up. This discontent was almost entirely from those regions where the carpet-bag negro government had gone to the greatest extremes of extravagance and excess. It was only a repetition of facts in history that one extreme would be followed by another. Before 1876 many of the more thrifty negroes had come into possession of property. The taxes during the carpet-bag rule had been high in proportion to the extravagance. There were delinquent taxes. Some of this property now owned by negroes had been the estates of those who had put all into the Confederacy and lost. Thus was furnished an opportunity for the new government to take property on the plea of delinquent tax. The feeling of the South did not permit the negro to live in proximity to the white. It was considered a social crime to sell a negro property close to a white man. The southern white felt that the results of the government of the last ten years had been conclusive proof that the negro should not vote. Wherever the negro outnumbered the white, the negro was intimidated, even beaten to keep him from the polls.
The taste of domination that he had had led him to be more self assertive than formerly, and treatment once quietly suffered was now resented. This resentment and arrogance, as the South called it, only led to more handicaps and mistreatment economically and politically. There was need to keep these people in their place.

Under the Freedman's Bureau the negro had learned that complaints were investigated by the government through committees. This method of investigation was adopted by the negro as early as 1870, very soon after freedom. Negroes returning from the army or the north and finding that the freedmen were mistreated by being cheated of crops or wages, by being whipped by former owners or prevented from voting or holding public gatherings, which became loud and offensive, began to organize committees to collect evidence to present to the government. Such a one was Henry Adams of Louisiana. According to reports by such wanderers as Adams given in the Voorhees' Committee, the negroes were treated best in Virginia, Missouri, Kentucky, Tennessee and North Carolina. These were states where the carpet-bag government did not go to such extremes.

After 1876 and the Democrats were in power in the local government, these committees sent petitions and evidence to Congress and the President. Some petitions asked for protection of lives and property, and asked for laws that would
secure their rights. After the White League sprung up and declared that the colored man should hold no office and was fit for nothing but work in the field, then colonization committees were organized among the negroes. The idea of colonization, no doubt, had been gathered by the more intelligent from the suggestions of colonization made prior to the Civil War. In September, 1877 a meeting of colored people was held in Shreveport, Louisiana. This meeting sent a petition to Congress and President Hayes. They enumerated their grievances namely: not permitted to vote or hold office, not permitted to educate their children unmolested; oppressed, murdered. It further stated that twelve years had brought a worse condition than slavery, and asked for assistance in an exodus by the government, appropriating some territory for colonization, or appropriating means whereby they might colonize in Liberia or some other country. They asked the government to look back on the battle fields on which they bled, look back on cotton and sugar, they had raised. "We have defended and helped sustain, now we are unprotected. " They further stated that they would abstain from voting in national elections unless full protection was given. Two things seem characteristic of this petition: first, a dependence upon government for everything: second, if we do not get what we want, we will refuse to vote and Republican dominance will cease without our vote. Neither this petition nor any other, 1 Senate Report No. 693 Vol. II p. 156
as far as can be ascertained, brot any direct reply to the persons sending them, yet these petitions were the inspiration in Congress of many passionate speeches, also the source of many a newspaper account, so that the whole country knew of the conditions. The negro contributed to funds to circulate reports of the conditions. Exploring committees to find more suitable places were sent from every southern state. Agents were sent to many parts to create sentiment and get aid. Agents of the negroes to present their claims, in traveling were told that five or ten thousand negroes could be employed in various places in the North, especially Indiana. The New York Herald of September 19, 1874 contained the following: "The President today received a petition signed by one thousand negroes of Caddo Parish, Louisiana asking to be removed to a territory or to Liberia if no better place could be found." The Shreveport Times, a Democratic paper comments on this thus: "No doubt such a petition was presented, but we emphatically declare that it was a base forgery. Neither one thousand nor any number of negroes signed it. The petition no doubt was concocted by carpet-baggers who had access to the registration list." Yet this cry of distress from the cotton fields found sympathetic hearers in the north, and as a result invitations to the negro to come north were received from persons in nearly every northern state. According to the testimony given in Congress, the Voorhees' committee, there were
individual politicians in the North, especially in states
where there was danger of the Democrats gaining control, who
thought that these negroes might be brought north and used to
maintain Republican supremacy. In addition to the newspapers
and politician, the tracts of real estate firms had an in-
fluence. These fired the imagination of this credulous people
by portraying in glowing terms the merits of some far off
district.

The people of the South knew of the rumors of dissatisf-
action among the negroes and their desire to leave, but they
did not believe these were more than the temporary feelings
aroused by politicians or agitators. Some however recognized
the dangers resulting from the lawlessness and terrible out-
rages by a few desperate villians. Here and there meetings
of citizens of the southern states were held to discuss these
outrages. One of these citizens' meetings held in Amite Coun-
ty, Mississippi, December 2, 1877 stated in their resolutions
the following: "These well known desperadoes and their fol-
lowers must be regarded as highway men, robbers and murder-
ers and since the civil law has failed to reach them and the
absence of military law, the citizens organize a vigilance
committee with a fixed purpose to mete out justice to all
marauders." A second meeting was held December 8, 1877 and
the resolutions adopted were sent to three different papers
for publication.
A bill was introduced in Congress in 1878 providing that government land be set apart for the poor people, and money be loaned them. This loan to be paid on easy terms. The colored people heard of it and petitioned Congress to pass it, saying they would stay in the South if it passed. This bill did not pass, but by the fall of 1878 conditions had become so bad in the black regions of the Mississippi valley that the Colonization organization began to look for transportation of groups of negroes. The captain of the river boats refusing to carry the exoduster, a committee for transportation was selected and issued a circular which read as follows: "To the colored people desiring to migrate, The Migration and Relief Association at a meeting held April 28, 1879 decided that the wisest plan for our people to pursue is to remain quietly at home and at work until such a time as this committee shall be able to assist you by such means as will enable you to depart decently and in order.

Signed by Committee,
George H. Fayerweather
A. R. Blount
J. G. Lewis

There was still another influence tending to stimulate the negro to leave the south. When freedom came to all, many negroes who had escaped North to freedom returned to the South. Among these were at least a few like Benjamin Singleton.

1Senate Report No. 693 Vol. II p. 149
better known as "Pap". On returning from the North to his Tennessee home at the close of the War, "Pap" soon became convinced that political measures would not elevate his race. At first he advocated the idea that the negro should save his money and buy homes. He said 1"After the war my race willingly slipped a noose over their necks and knuckled to a bigger boss than the old ex-one. I said to 'em, "Hy'ar you is a potterin' round in politics and tryin' to get in offices that ain't fit and you can't see that these white tramps from the North is simply usin' you for to line their pockets, and when they git through they'll drop you and the rebels will come in power and then whar'll you be?" In order to assist the freedmen to secure homes, he and others organized the Tennessee Real Estate and Homestead Association. This organisation did not succeed well and Singleton finally became convinced that the negroes should be segregated from the whites, and would have to leave the South. He said, 2"I had studied it all over and it was clar as day to me. I dunno how it came to me, but I spec it was God's doin's. Anyhow I knewed my people couldn't live thar. The whites had the land and the sense an' the blacks had nothin' but their freedom, an' it was just like a dream to them."

"Pap" now turned his attention toward Kansas. A committee was sent out in 1871 to "spy out the land". This brought a favorable report but the following year a committee reported

1Singleton's Scrapbook p. 21
2Idem p. 16
that the negroes had better stay in Tennessee. In 1873 Singleton himself went to Kansas and was so favorably impressed that he returned and took a company of more than 200 negroes to Cherokee County Kansas. This seems to have been the first attempt to colonize the negroes. This colony in Cherokee County prospered and Singleton kept up his agitation. Soon the railroads made a special emigrant rate of from $8 to $10 a head from Nashville to Topeka. The Tennessee Real Estate and Homestead Association, of which Singleton was president, established an office in Topeka in 1877 with Columbus Johnson in charge. Nearly all negroes coming for colonizing purposes came thru Topeka. Singleton advertised widely by circular and in papers. He says that he spent $600 flooding the country with circulars. Here is a specimen:

Ho! for Sunny Kansas.

Friends and fellow citizens:

I have just returned from the Singleton settlement in Morris County, a new town just started on the Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railroad. The surrounding country is fine rolling prairie. Plenty of stone, water and wood on the streams. Plenty of coal within twenty-five miles. I have this to say to all: Now is the time to go to Kansas. Land is cheap, it is being taken up fast. There is plenty for all at present.

Benjamin Singleton—President.

In addition to these circulars he traveled around and held

1Senate Report No. 693. Vol. III p. 380 ff
meetings to arouse interest, and at these meetings he sang songs composed for the occasion. Singleton was deeply religious and used scripture reference in his songs. Kansas was the Promised Land, Canaan; he was the Moses to lead the people out of Egypt. Pamphlet copies of these were sold at ten cents each. By 1879, the Tennessee Real Estate and Homestead Association had planted colonies of from 100 to 300 each in Barton, Morris, Lyon, Cherokee and Graham Counties.

The Singleton circulars and songs penetrated into every part of the black South. The social, economic and political conditions in the South had made the minds of the negro peculiarly susceptible to the appeals of the songs and the circulars of Singleton and others. The disappointments of freedom were many. The forty acres and a mule delusion, the failure of the Freedmen's Bank, the expectation that education would relieve of manual labor had not been realized, the negro-republican government had fallen, the dream that freedom would immediately make the negro equal to the white had been changed into a nightmare in which even his civil and political rights were denied him. The effect of the exaggerated reports of the conditions to be found in Sunny Kansas, upon the super sensitive, over wrought feeling and imaginative mind could not be foretold. As a result of the desire for better conditions than those which were then enjoyed together with the vision of a "Promised Land", there began in February
1879 a heavy migration from the black districts along the Mississippi.

Unfortunately, what should have taken the form of a well considered emigration, with definite ideas of colonization and definite destination, took the form of a vast, unorganized, undirected, exodus. Within two weeks there came by steamboat up the Mississippi River, chiefly from the states of Mississippi, and Louisiana not less than two thousand colored people—men, women and children. By May this number had increased to 9,000. Of this number only 2400 had money to pay the fare to Kansas.

St. Louis was confronted with the task of caring for this army of refugees. Food, fuel and a place for these exodusters to stay must be had until transportation could be furnished. An Immigrant Relief Committee was at once organized. This Committee secured the use of the wharves of the Missouri River Packet Company, and citizens contributed food and fuel. The scene at the wharf was one never to be witnessed again, and never to be forgotten if seen. The refugees in groups built fires on the levee and cooked food. The groups had an animated appearance. These dusky people moved to and fro in the fire light singing or dancing or prophesying. When tired they would wrap themselves in their rags and lie down to sleep. The women were shown great respect by the men who allowed them to choose the best places for sleeping. This mul-
titude was eager to proceed to Kansas and with few exceptions refused all overtures or inducements to return south, even if their return passage was paid. The majority were poorly clad and in absolute poverty. The weather being unusually cold there was much suffering. The chief causes given for leaving the South were excessive rent and personal violence. The movement itself of destitute people proves conclusively that a great cause existed to account for it. It was evidently not alone the attractions of Kansas that appealed to them, but the terrors in the South. St. Louis sent a memorial to Congress, protesting against the dire necessity that impelled this exodus, and requesting aid in caring for these wanderers. The destitute condition of the Exodusers demanded aid. St. Louis made great effort to supply the immediate needs of these people, but as the numbers increased the demands became too great. A National Relief Committee was organized in the North to collect funds. Contributions were received from all over the country. As rapidly as funds were available these people were sent on. Special arrangements were made with the Missouri River Packet Company for transportation from St. Louis to Wyandotte as follows: fares, adult $3, from 12 to 21 years of age $1.50, under 12 no charge. Unsuccessful attempts were made to direct some of the migration to other states. By the first of April, 1879, 1300 refugees had arrived at Wyandotte, Kansas.
Wyandotte was as unprepared for the arrival of these people as was St. Louis. Wyandotte was a small place. These destitute people were quartered on the river bank, awaiting the raising of further funds to forward them on. At times the supplies for these exodusters was only one loaf of bread a day for each family. Mayor Stockton, of Wyandotte, protested against the plan adopted by St. Louis of sending them to Kansas City for distribution. He thought that the sudden and unexpected arrival of so extensive a pauper element made the people of Wyandotte want to get rid of them, even where sympathy for the movement existed. As a result of the protest the St. Louis Immigrant Relief Committee met Mayor Stockton and agreed in the future to confer with the Freedmen's State Central Company of Kansas. In May the St. Louis board made arrangements to co-operate with the Kansas Relief Committee, of which Governor St. John was chairman. By agreement agents were stationed at Kansas City to care for and oversee all refugees forwarded from St. Louis. April 18, 1879, Mayor Stockton warned steamboat companies that he would impose a penalty for bringing destitute persons to the city. Feeling ran so high, the Philadelphia Times of April 1879 says, that the people of Wyandotte had threatened to shoot the exodusters if they did not leave. Because of this opposition some of the exodusters were landed at other points or, were carried as far up the Missouri River as Atchison. The resident
colored people of Atchison at first refused to have anything to do with these refugees but finally opened the churches for their use, and necessary provisions were supplied by the city authorities. However, Atchison soon passed an ordinance making it an offense for anyone to bring a pauper into the city.

It was in April 1879 that the van guard of the exodus reached Topeka. Governor St. John called a meeting to consider ways and means of caring for these exodites. Many citizens were opposed to making contributions for them, for fear it would encourage others to come. However, here were destitute human beings and the opinion prevailed that food and shelter should be provided, and some plans devised for distribution or colonization.

For this latter purpose the agency of Singleton and Columbus Johnson was too meagre. The first Topeka Relief Committee was soon re-organized, and enlarged and made permanent. Barracks for shelter was provided. This Kansas Relief Committee, as referred to above, became the central distributing agency for practically all refugees, and co-operated with the St. Louis Committee. A call for contributions was published widely in this country and Europe. Funds and clothing were collected and forwarded to Topeka. Express companies carried clothing for this purpose free. Horatio Rust and others did splendid service in getting contributions in Chicago and other financial centers of the North. Even lumber was sent to
build barracks for this continuous stream of destitute human beings.

The steamboat lines on the Mississippi River tried to check the movement by raising the rate of passage and then refused to carry the exodusters. This last brought a storm of protest from the North and was soon abandoned. The Mississippi River was declared to be a public highway, the steamboat lines public carriers, and the negroes free to leave if they chose. The opposition to the exodus was not limited to the South. Considerable excitement was aroused in Topeka by those who opposed the exodus, and because of the treatment the negro received on his arrival. S.N. Wood, Speaker of the House of Representatives, of Kansas Legislature said: "If a white man comes to Topeka, in destitute circumstances and asks for victuals they put him to work breaking stone on the streets, but if a black man comes, he is introduced to the governor and they give him three square meals." The barracks in Topeka were even destroyed. The Topeka Capital charged the Relief Committee of mismanagement. The movement was said to be instigated by Republican politicians. The United States Government held up for duty a lot of clothing sent from England.

The United States Senate named an investigation committee to find out the causes for the negroes leaving the South. The investigation cost the government $40,000. After having gone over the testimony presented to this Committee, one feels that
the results are incomplete, and the real cause of the Exodus was not to be found alone in conditions that then existed, but in a long line of changing conditions since the Civil War. In brief it was a result of an attitude of the North as well as the South.

Following the beginning of this exodus, conventions met to discuss the cause and methods of preventing a future increase in the movement. On April 17, 1879 a convention of colored people met in New Orleans. Of the more than two hundred present, at least one-third were colored ministers. This meeting developed the fact that there was in the black districts, among the negroes a tremendous secret organization which had for its purpose migration or colonization. This organization was entirely under control of plantation laborers. This organization claimed to furnish the people with a description of Kansas, how to get there, and figures showing the amount of money needed to reach Kansas. This organization seemed to be dominated by Henry Adams and George T. Ruby, who was editor of the New Orleans Observer, and who wrote the account of the convention.

In May another convention was held in Nashville, Tennessee. This meeting was called by a conference of colored men who had met at Washington, D. C. Ex-Governor Pinchback of Louisiana was the dominant spirit. There were delegates present from eighteen states and the District of Columbia. In

1 Senate Report No. 693 Vol. II p. 38 ff
2 Idem 243 ff
this convention the report of the committee on education and labor reported that separate schools were highly detrimental to the interests of both races. They memorialized Congress for $300,000, the amount of the unclaimed bounty of the colored soldiers and sailors of the Federal Army, to be used in establishing and maintaining industrial and technical schools for the colored youth. The migration committee recommended that the current migration be encouraged and kept in motion until those who remained were accorded their rights and privileges guaranteed by the Constitution. But that before starting, emigrants should know their destination, and have money enough to pay passage and enable them to begin life in their new homes. At the same time that the Nashville convention was in session, the Mississippi Valley Labor Convention met at Vicksburg, Mississippi. The object of this meeting was to stop the exodus, and it was called by planters. Colored delegates were invited to attend and present their grievances. The meeting was largely attended by representative colored people and planters. The following is a synopsis of the resolutions:

1. That the unrestricted credit system prevailing in all the states here represented based on liens or mortgage on stock and crops to be grown in the future, and all laws authorizing liens on crops for advance of articles other than those of prime necessity should be discontinued and repealed.

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1 Senate Report No. 693 Vol. II p. 518 ff
2. That the committee call upon the colored people here present to contradict the false reports, and to instruct the people that no lands or mules await them in Kansas or elsewhere without money or price. All persons disseminating such false reports to be reported to civil authorities.

3. That the negroes have a right to migrate where they please, but the committee urges them to proceed as reasonable human beings, and to provide in advance for transportation and settlement.

4. That the members of this convention pledge themselves to use whatever power and influence they possess to protect the colored race against all dangers in respect to the fair expression of their wills at the polls which they apprehend may result from fraud, intimidation or bulldozing on the part of the whites.

The influence of the convention helped to check the exodus for a while or until the fall election, when bulldozing was prevalent again, and the exodus increased.

Neither the investigation in Congress, nor the conferences held outside stopped the emigration. The differences of opinion in Topeka as to whether these people should come or not, or whether Governor St. John had encouraged this movement or not, in no way stemmed the tide or improved the condition of those coming. The Kansas Relief Association had come into existence to supply the needs of destitute people,
and aid in securing employment and homes. No definite record of arrivals was kept but it is estimated that they came at the rate of two hundred and fifty per week. The Relief Association was kept busy. The Association had received $68,000 for the relief of these refugees. By February 1880, 60,000 refugees had come to Kansas to live. About 40,000 of this number were in a destitute condition. Of these about 25,000 had been distributed in different towns of Kansas, including Topeka, Wyandotte, Leavenworth, Parsons, Oswego, Baxter Springs, Emporia, Independence, Coffeyville, Fort Scott, Sedan, Chetopa, Hodgeman Center, Osage, Tonganoxie and Florence. Some had found homes in the settlements established by "Pap" Singleton at Dunlap and Nicodemus. Montgomery, a wealthy colored man, owner of 900 acres in Mississippi and a former slave of Joe Davis, brother of Jeff Davis, came to Topeka and helped locate the Wabaunsee county settlement. This settlement still exists and contains many prosperous, well to do negroes. Employment had been secured for at least 12,000. About 5,000 had gone or been sent to other states. The remaining number had scattered out thru the country. Some had purchased their own land, others had hired out to farmers, or were renting. A few of these refugees became dissatisfied or discouraged and returned South. An agency was established in Kansas City to aid such, and influence others to return.

The effect on Kansas of this great influx of paupers was
to tax to the extreme the resources of the pioneer settlers, and yet this unusual effort to aid others had its beneficient effect upon the character of the pioneer. Probably the success with which this giving relief was administered is due as much to the untiring effort of Elizabeth L. Comstock as any one else. She was a Quaker minister and is well called the "Angel of the Exodus".

After 1880, comparatively few refugees left the South. It is impossible to estimate how many of those who came to Kansas remained permanently. No doubt a considerable number returned to the South. The more energetic and thrifty ones prospered. The report of the Bureau of Labor in Kansas in 1885 showed a comparatively thrifty condition among those who had come as exodusters. Those in the rural region were most prosperous. Fleming says, "The negroes usually do well when in small numbers surrounded by whites and incited by white example, competition, and public opinion to exertions not known in the "black belt". Kansas, too, was on a business basis; the "black belt" was not and could not be; the industrious negro in the "black belt" would be "eaten up" by visiting friends and relations, while in Kansas he might hope to enjoy more of the fruits of his labor. The negroes certainly had to work harder in Kansas, but that was what they needed, and some succeeded because they had to work who would have been loafers in Mississippi."

1 University Bulletin, Louisiana State University, August 1909, p. 81
As a result of the exodus the plan of emigration has been tried to some extent. Did it fail? The color line still exists. This color line is no longer confined to the South but is creeping North. There is an antagonism of races under freedom that did not exist under slavery. The fact that the negro has the ballot is not the whole cause of the antagonism, nor the principal basis of it. If the exodus did nothing more, it has presented the problem of the race question in a new way; it has eliminated the possibility of solution by old and false methods. The South was made to realize that the negro was free could go where he pleased. The South needed the negro and it was the climate best suited to him. The South came to realize that the conditions that had driven so many negroes to leave had discouraged investments of money. A dissatisfied laboring class is never favorable to the interests of a state or community. No doubt those who remained in the South secured better treatment because of the exodus; yet, the negro learned that there was no Canaan flowing with milk and honey only thrift wins. The negro wins by contact and competition with the white, by the inspiration of his example. The negro needs the help of a people who do not hate him, but who are willing to instruct him in the duties of life.

The effect of the exodus on the North has been less marked than on the South. The North was willing to use the negro for political capital but when in large numbers they came
among the northern friends, the sentimental doctrines taught in the South during the carpet-bag rule were discarded. Instead of applying the golden rule to the treatment of the negro, the North has adopted in some cases an attitude very little, if any better than that of the South. The North may not be willing to admit it, but the fact is patent that freedom for the slave is not all. There still remains a tremendous problem with reference to the social and economic relations of the races. The solution of this problem will require all the wisdom, patience and faith of both races. Only the influence and power of Christianity applied to the problem for centuries to come, will be sufficient to establish just relations with the freedmen.