

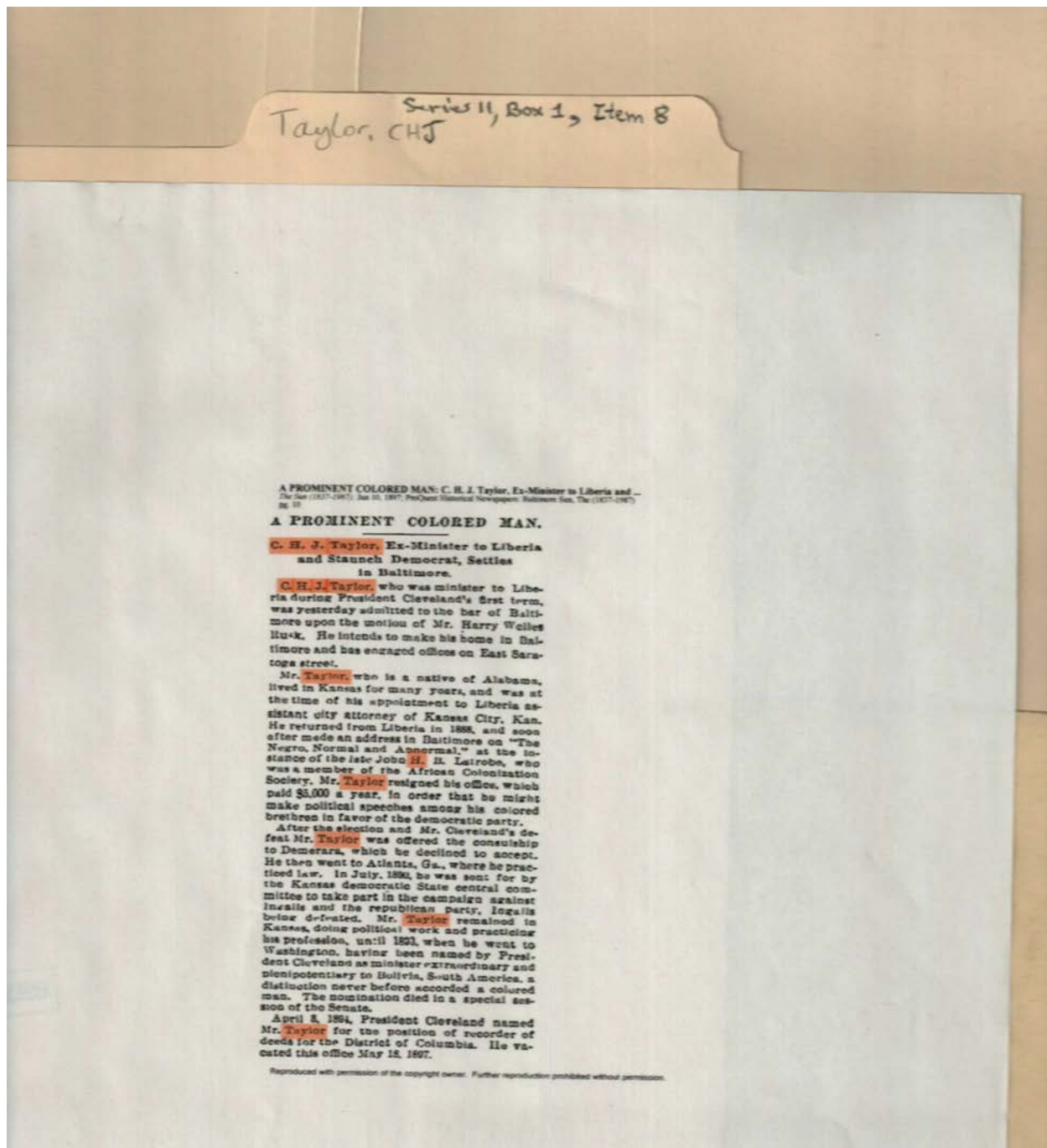
Names:

Cleveland, Grover

Taylor, C. H. J.

Types:

note



Names:

Cleveland, Grover,
President

Ingalls,
Latrobe, John H. B.

Rusk, Harry Welles
Taylor, C. H. J.

A Prominent Colored
Man

Places:

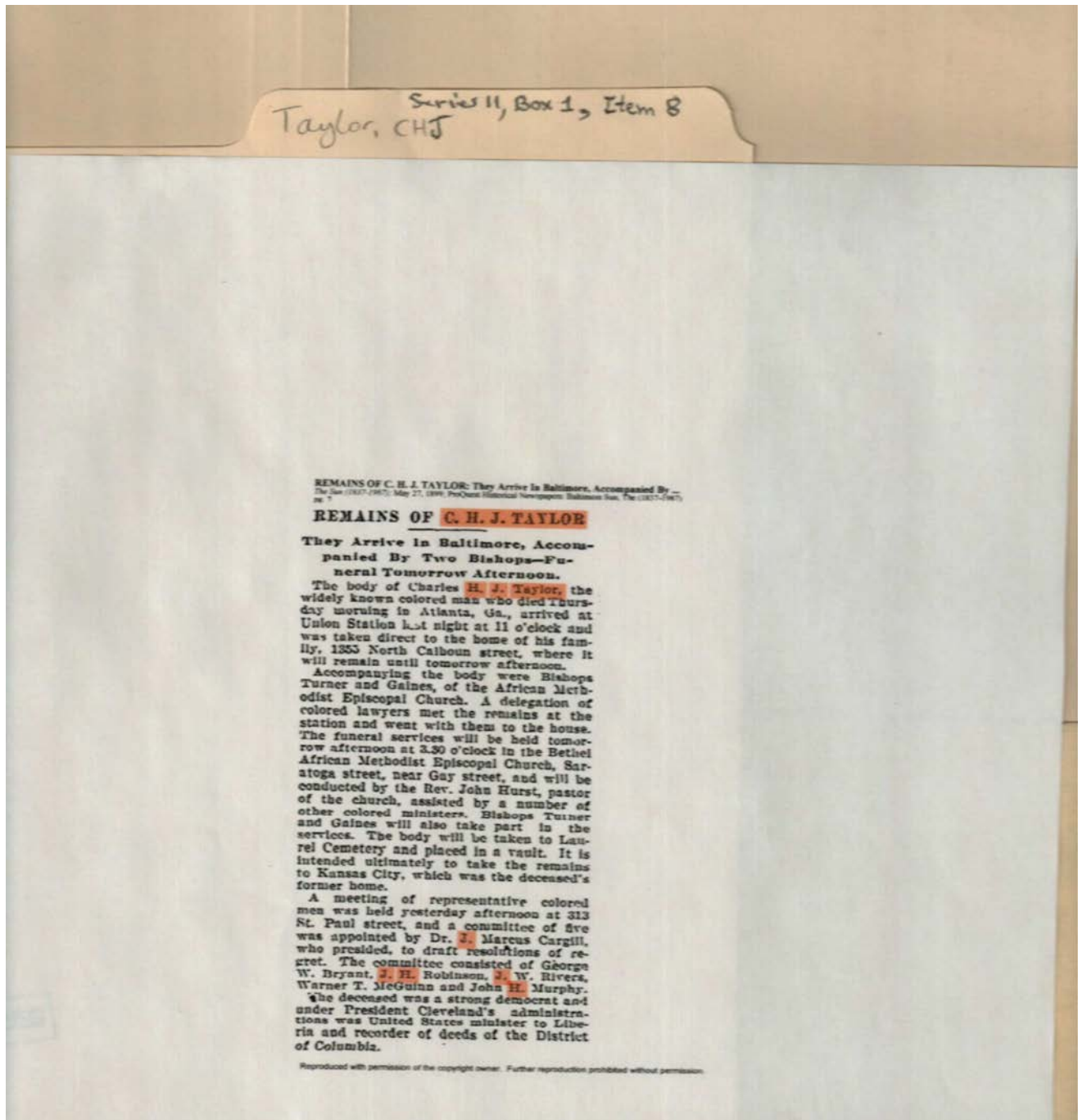
Baltimore, MD

Types:

article

Dates:

Jun 20, 1897



Names:

Bryant, George W.
Cargill, J. Marcus, Dr.
Cleveland, President

Gaines, Bishop.
Hurst, John, Rev.
McGuinn, Warner T.

Murphy, John H.
Rivers, J. W.
Robinson, J. H.

Taylor, Charles H. J.
Turner, Bishop

Places:

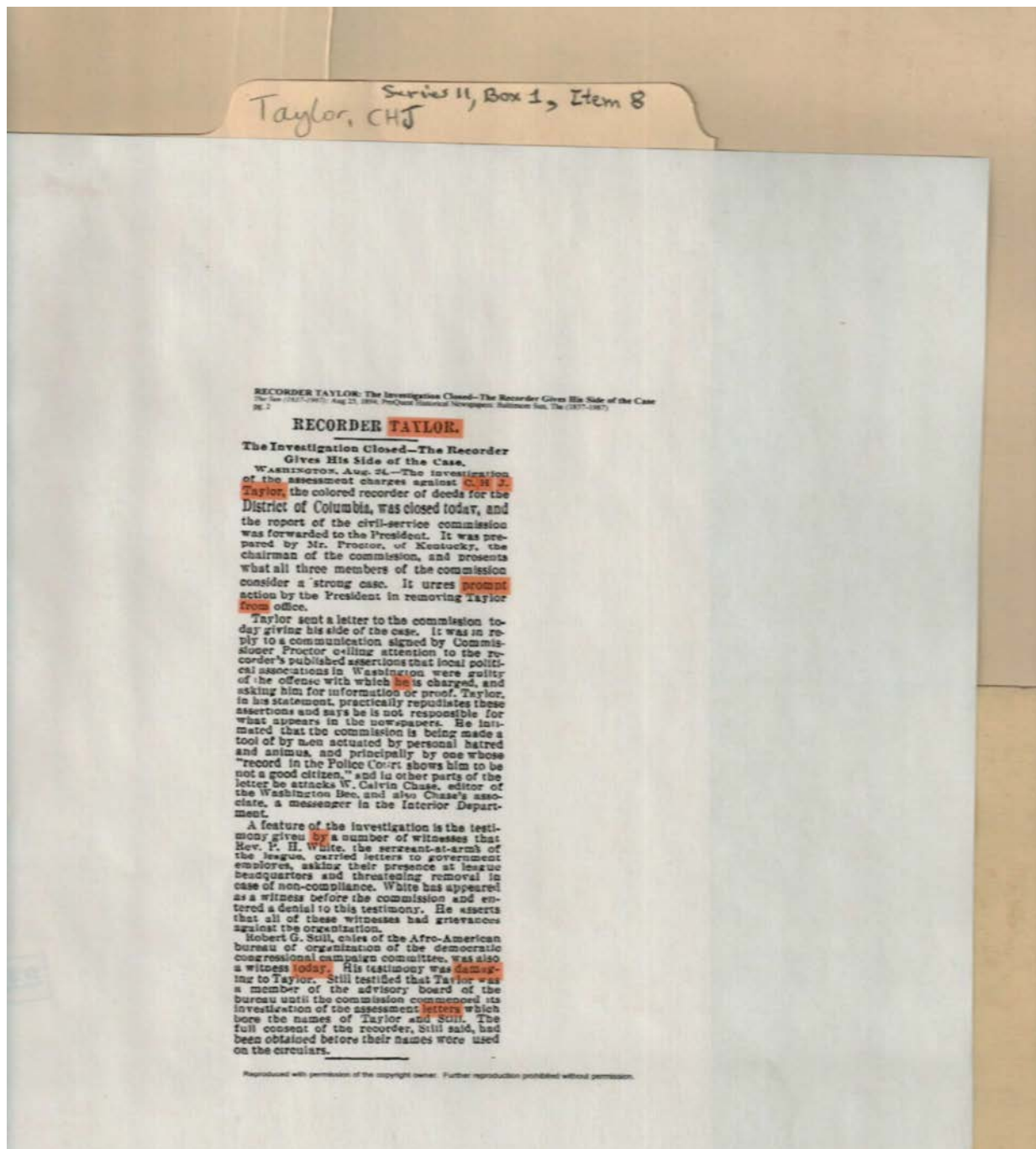
Baltimore, MD

Types:

article

Dates:

May 27, 1899



Names:

Chase, W. Calvin
Proctor,

Still, Robert G.
Taylor, C. H. J.

White, P. H., Rev.

Places:

Baltimore, MD

Types:

article

Dates:

Aug 25, 1894



ATTACK CLEVELAND'S VERACITY

Question of His Entertaining a Negro Discussed in Congress.
Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, April 12.—An attack on ex-President Cleveland's veracity was made to-day in the House by Representative Scott (Kan.) in reply to Mr. Gilbert, (Ky.) who had alluded to President Roosevelt and the so-called Booker Washington incident at the White House. It was Mr. Scott who some time ago charged Mr. Cleveland with inviting to luncheon while President a Kansas negro named C. H. J. Taylor. This Mr. Cleveland denied.

Mr. Scott read affidavits from numerous persons who had read in Kansas newspapers of Taylor's visit to the White House, and from a man to whom Taylor had boasted of his luncheon there. Then he took up the similar charges made by Thomas E. Watson and read Mr. Cleveland's letter about them, which was as follows:

Princeton, N. J., March 14, 1904.
Hon. Charles L. Bartlett, Washington, D. C.:

My dear Mr. Bartlett: I have received a number of inquiries similar to yours touching my invitation to Fred Douglass to a wedding reception and marriage, while Governor of New York, a bill providing for mixed schools.

I do not suppose that Mr. Thomas E. Watson believed or had any reason to believe either of the allegations when he made them. At any rate, they are both utterly and absolutely false. I cannot afford to devote a great deal of time in denying such foolish tales. I shall, therefore, attempt to cover every phase of the subject now and for all. It so happens that I have never in my official position, either when sleeping or waking, alive or dead, on my head or on my heels, dressed, hunched, or supped, or invited to a wedding reception any colored man, woman, or child. If, however, I had decided to do any of these things, neither the fear of Mr. Watson nor any one else would have prevented me.

When I was Governor a movement was made in the Legislature to abolish separate colored schools in New York City. I opposed the measure and it failed. I do not find that I interposed a veto, and have forgotten the course the matter took; but I know that whatever I did was in favor of maintaining separate colored schools instead of having them mixed. Yours very truly,
GROVER CLEVELAND.

"The Washington Post of June 16, 1898," continued Mr. Scott, "contains an account of Mr. Cleveland's wedding, and mentions Frederick Douglass and his wife as 'among those present.' I don't pretend to act as umpire between two such eminent Democrats. But Mr. Cleveland denies Mr. Watson's assertion that as Governor of New York he signed a bill providing for mixed schools. I send to the Clerk's desk Chapter 217 of the Laws of New York of 1891, and ask that it be read."

The Clerk read the law, which provided that certain colored schools be made mixed schools.

"It is very easy to forget an act which one committed twenty years ago," observed Mr. Scott. "I am willing to concede that he has forgotten all about it. But Mr. Watson's statement in that regard is borne out by the best of evidence."

Mr. Scott then produced a letter from an ex-State Department official, showing that Mr. Cleveland appointed the negro Taylor to be Minister to Bolivia, a white man's country, as charged by Watson and denied by Mr. Cleveland. Taylor never went to Bolivia, however, as Watson alleges. A month later Mr. Cleveland sent him to Liberia, a negro country.

The New York Times
Published April 13, 1904
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Names:

Bartlett, Charles L.
Cleveland, Grover,
President

Douglass, Fred
Gilbert,
Roosevelt, President

Scott,
Taylor, C. H. J.
Washington, Booker

Watson, Thomas E.

Places:

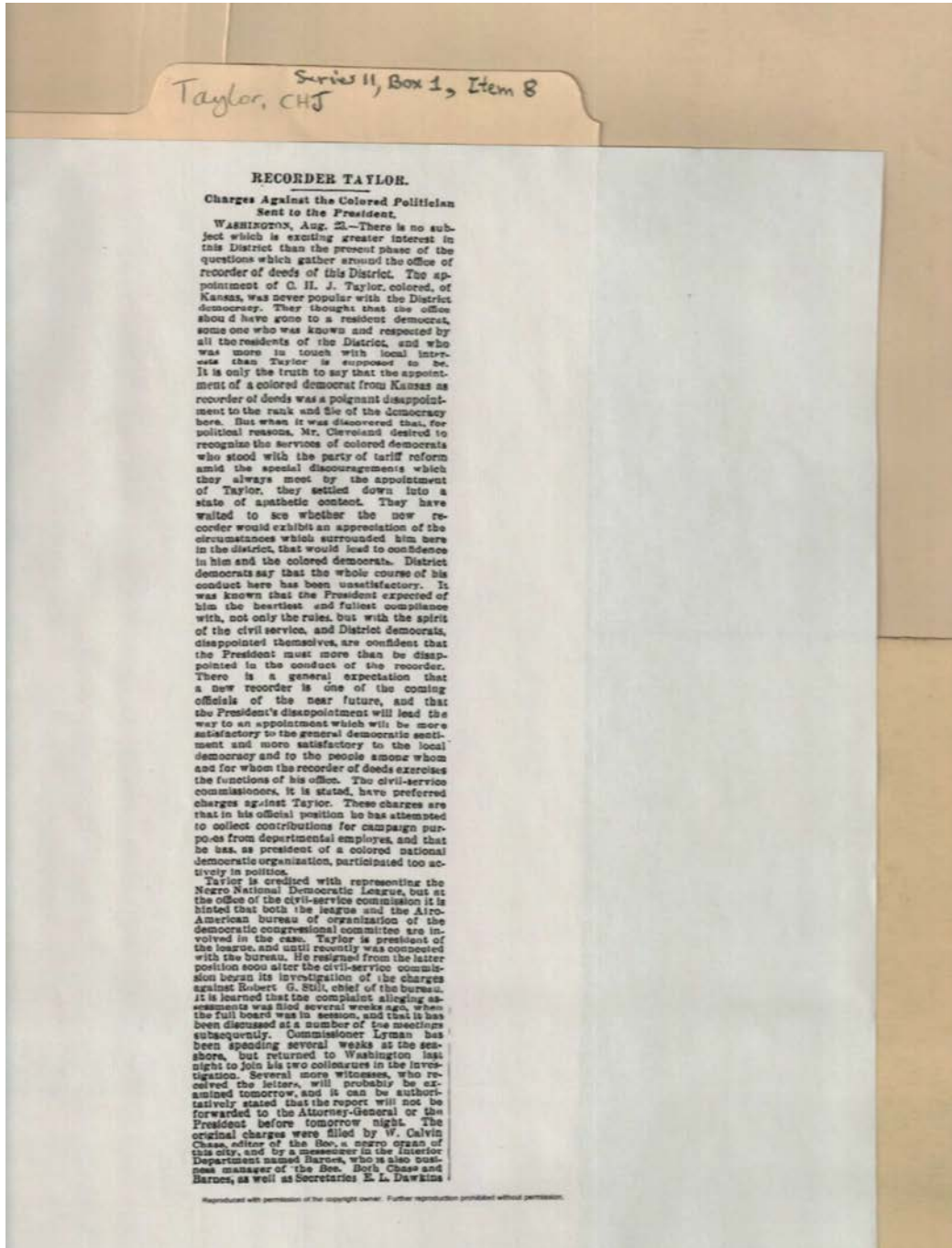
New York, NY

Types:

article

Dates:

Apr 13, 1904



Names:

Barnes,
Chase, W. Calvin

Cleveland, Grover
Dawkins, E. L.

Lyman,
Stilt, Robert G.

Taylor, C. H. J.

Types:

article

Frances Cabaniss Roberts Collection: Series 11, Box 1, Item 8
Article and Paper on Taylor, C. H. J., Author of "The Negro, Normal and Abnormal"
Image 7 r11_01-00-008-0221 [Contents](#) [Index](#) [About](#)

Series 11, Box 1, Item 8

RECORDER TAYLOR: Charges Against the Colored, Politician Sent to the President
The Sun (1837-1987); Aug 24, 1894; ProQuest Historical Newspapers. Baltimore Sun, The (1837-1987)
Pg. 2

and M. C. Koonce, of the league, have appeared before the commission as witnesses. The persons accused of campaign contribution soliciting denounced the charges as "trumped up" by Chase with the aid of the colored messenger, and ascribe them to a refusal of Taylor to appoint friends of the negro editor to positions in the recorder of deeds' office, and they will endeavor to have the President retain Taylor in office, notwithstanding the civil service commission.

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Names:

Chase,

Koonce, M. C.

Taylor,

Places:

Baltimore, MD

Types:

article

Dates:

Aug 24, 1894

Series 11, Box 1, Item 8

BASE-BALL AND CHEWING-GUM.

Recorder Taylor Talks About These Diversions in the Deeds Office.

[Special Dispatch to the Baltimore Sun.]

WASHINGTON, July 8.—The recorder of deeds, C. H. J. Taylor, colored, made no changes in the deeds office, but he says he has discovered that social rather than business influences have had sway in the selection of many of the appointees. He says he has found many in positions in the office whose parents are well-to-do. In his selections he says he prefers to open the chances of the office to clerks, copyists and others who have abundant capacity to fill the positions, and who have need of the places to earn a livelihood. He told a SUN representative that he was not au fait with the ways of Washington colored "society." He says he came from Kansas, where "society" does not flourish and aristocracy is at a discount. He announced that his administration of the office will be made on a simon-pure democratic basis. He says he does not object to base-ball, but cannot allow games to interfere with the regular business of the office, and hence those who desire holiday to witness base-ball games will, it is likely, soon have a general holiday from the office.

The titles to all the real estate in the District are under Recorder Taylor's keeping, and, he says, it is a matter of such supreme importance that he can entrust it only to first-class hands. These he intends to have in all the departments of his administration. He says he objects to girls in the office chewing gum while on duty.

Objection to a Saloon.
The District commissioners had as attorney before them this afternoon ex-Commissioner J. W. Douglass, who appeared to oppose the licensing of James D. Donnelly, whose place of business is at Fourteenth and I streets northwest. The commissioners sat as an excise board, and it was alleged in

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Names:

Donnelly, James D.

Douglass, J. W.

Taylor, C. H. J.

Places:

Baltimore, MD

Types:

article

Series 11, Box 1, Item 8

BASE-BALL AND CHEWING-GUM: Recorder Taylor Talks About These Diversions in the
Special Dispatch to the Baltimore Sun
The Sun (1837-1987); Jul 7, 1894; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Baltimore Sun, The (1837-1987)
pg. 2

opposition to the license of Mr. Donnelly that his saloon is within 400 feet of the Young schoolhouse. It was contended, in reply, that his place was established before the schoolhouse was built. To this it was rejoined that for some years Mr. Donnelly had no actual license, but sold under the permissive rule on deposit of license fee. The commissioners took the question under consideration.

Awaiting a Decision in Plumber's Case.

The case of Plumber Kerr vs. the District of Columbia for mandamus to compel the granting of a plumber's license without examination before the plumbers' board was resumed before Chief Justice Bingham this morning. Mr. A. B. Duvall continued his argument for the District commissioners and Mr. James Coleman made the concluding argument on behalf of Kerr, the petitioner. Chief Justice Bingham took the papers and reserved his opinion.

Injured by an Explosion.

A fire broke out this afternoon at the New York Dye House, No. 709 Ninth street, kept by Edward K. Plant. It was caused by a benzine explosion, which injured Edward Braler, the foreman, and set the establishment on fire. The flames were extinguished before more than a few hundred dollars damage had been done. Mr. Braler was carried to the Emergency Hospital and his burns dressed. His injuries are not fatal.

Three Divorces.

Judge Cox entered a decree of divorce today in the suit of Ida J. Croxton vs. Richard A. Croxton. Judge Wagner divorced Elizabeth A. Evans and Antony Evans and Daniel O'Brien and Lupah O'Brien.

The Strike and the Meat Supply.

The supply of Western beef in the Washington market is now very low, and prices of meat, which began to rise some days ago, are still moving upward. There is also a lessened supply of California fruits, and the cost of dinner and lunch here will soon be considerably enhanced unless the railroads are free from the obstructions of the strikers.

Notes.

Dudley Carns, a lad living at 510 Mable street, was badly injured last evening by the explosion of a can of powder.

A marriage license was granted here today to Watson L. St. Clair, of Baltimore, and Katie E. England, of the same city.

Washington Duncenbower this morning entered suit against the District of Columbia, claiming \$200 as rent of the New York avenue skating rink as an armory.

Names:

Bingham, Justice
Branier, Edward
Carns, Dudley
Coleman, James
Cox, Judge

Croxton, Ida J.
Croxton, Richard A.
Donnelly,
Duvall, A. B.
England, Katie E.

Evans, Antony
Evans, Elizabeth A.
Kerr, Plumber
O'Brien, Daniel
O'Brien, Lupah

Plant, Edward K.
Wagner, Judge

Places:

Baltimore, MD

Types:

article

Dates:

Jul 07, 1894

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Article and Paper on Taylor, C. H. J., Author of "The Negro, Normal and Abnormal"
Image 10 r11_01-00-008-0224 [Contents](#) [Index](#) [About](#)

Series 11, Box 1, Item 8

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA: Testimony in the Libel Suit in Which Recorder Taylor Is Interested
Special Dispatch to the Baltimore Sun, 1895. FoxQuest Historical Newspaper: Baltimore Sun, The (1837-1987)
PE 2

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Testimony in the Libel Suit in Which Recorder Taylor Is Interested.

[Special Dispatch to the Baltimore Sun.]

WASHINGTON, Feb. 23.—The colored population of Washington was again largely represented today at the Taylor-Chase libel case, in which the colored editor, Calvin Chase, is indicted for publishing a libel upon C. H. J. Taylor in the Bee, a colored newspaper. The defense, while presenting testimony to show the improprieties of conduct on the part of Taylor in his office and toward applicants for position under him, offered also to prove the course of his life to have been immoral. Judge Cole refused to allow proof of this kind, and confined the defense to proof of misbehavior in connection with his office. The first witness was Miss Benseman, who completed her testimony given yesterday. She testified in substance that Taylor dismissed her from office because she would not abandon one of her friends, who was a barber. Her statement as to her relations with Taylor occupied most of her testimony. Then J. D. Barnes, a colored man, was called, and testified that he had been a secretary of Taylor and had carried a message from Taylor to some of his female clerks inviting them to accompany him and Barnes on a trip to Norfolk by way of the river steamers. Mrs. Annie Hill was then called and testified as to the conduct of Taylor to her.

The cross-examination of Mrs. Hill was evidently aimed to show that she had never made known that Taylor had insulted her until she and Chase fell out.

Mrs. Mamie Mortimer, of 1032 Twelfth street, testified that she came here from Richmond, Va., under an appointment of Senator Bruce and took place in the register of deeds office. Taylor sent a message that he wished her to go with him on a trip to Norfolk upon the steamer Lady of the Lake. She refused. Then she was furloughed. On cross-examination it appeared that the witness had left a portion of her officework undone and had gone off to get married. The District attorney produced a letter from the witness certifying that Taylor had never treated her otherwise than as a gentleman. Witness said, with tears, that she was forced by Mr. Taylor to write that letter while her father lay dead in the house.

On further cross-examination witness said that she had told Mr. Taylor that she had been offered a good position and her mother had been offered money to testify against him in this case. She declined to say who made the offer.

H. C. Astwood testified as to his relations with Recorder Taylor. Several copies of Astwood's newspaper, "The Defender," were presented in evidence as illustrating part of the controversy between Chase and Taylor, and the papers were ruled out by the court. The witness testified, in answer to a question, that he never heard Taylor offer Chase money to cease attacks upon him. The relations of Taylor to the National Negro Democratic League and the discussions which grew out of it occupied the time of the court until the adjournment.

Potomac Flats Suit.

The court in general term has taken up the long-delayed hearing of the Potomac flats suit of United States vs. M. F. Morris and many others, claiming title to the Kidwell flats and other property on the river in front of this city which has been reclaimed by the United States engineers at the cost of several millions of dollars. Congress having vested the jurisdiction to hear this suit in the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia in general term, that court met this morning and set the case to be heard on the 22d of April, 1895. Chief Justice Ingraham and Associate Justices Hagner and McComas will sit at the hearing, which will extend through a long series of weeks. All persons who intend making claim to this land or any portion of it are now required, by order of court, to file their petitions and proofs on or before the day of hearing.

Potomac Open to Navigation.

The Potomac river, from the District harbours to the bay, is open to easy navigation. Ice still floats in small quantities but

Names:

Astwood, H. C. C.
Barnes, J. D.
Benseman, Miss
Bingham, Justice

Bruce, Senator
Chase, Calvin
Cole, Judge
Hagner, Justice

Hill, Annie, Mrs.
McComas, Justice
Morris, M. F.

Mortimer, Mamie,
Mrs.
Taylor, C. H. J.

Places:

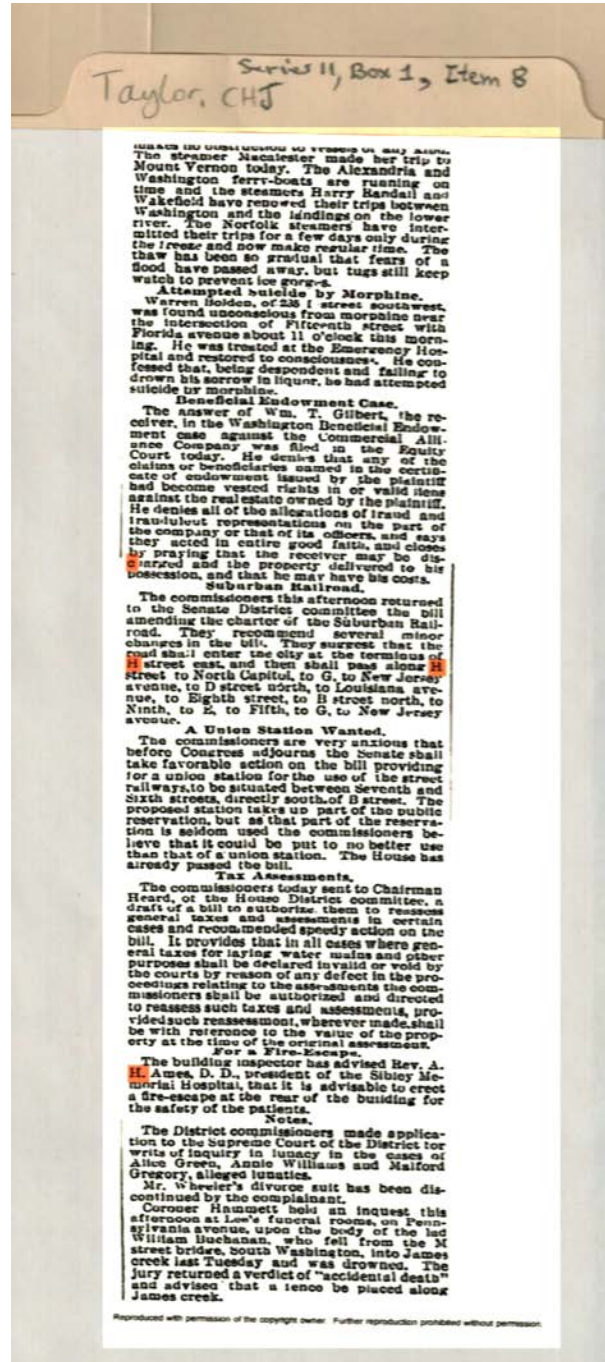
Baltimore, MD

Types:

article

Dates:

Mar 01, 1895



Names:

Ames, A. H., Rev.
 Bolden, Warren
 Buchanan, William

Gilbert, William T.
 Green, Alice
 Gregory, Malford

Hammett,
 Heard,
 Williams, Annie

Types:

article

Series 11, Box 1, Item 8



C. H. J. Taylor and the Movement for Black Political Independence,
1882-1896

Randall B. Woods

Journal of Negro History, Volume 67, Issue 2 (Summer, 1982), 122-135.

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Wed Jun 28 11:22:46 2000

Names:

Taylor, C. H. J.

Journal of Negro
History

Types:

internet

Dates:

Summer 1982

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122

C. H. J. TAYLOR AND THE MOVEMENT FOR BLACK POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE, 1882 - 1896

Randall B. Woods*

In response to lynching, disfranchisement, and segregation, black leaders in late nineteenth century America devised and advocated a variety of strategies designed to protect them and their brethren from the extreme racism of the period. Booker T. Washington in his Atlanta Compromise speech and in his many actions afterward denied the centrality of disfranchisement and segregation. Blacks should eschew social equality and political activism and concentrate on achieving economic independence and respectability through thrift, industry, and self-reliance. They must accommodate themselves to existing prejudices and pass through the "severe American crucible."¹ T. Thomas Fortune, though a close personal friend of Washington, shunned the Tuskegee's "get along" philosophy and advocated unceasing protest and agitation in behalf of full political and civil equality. An uncompromising integrationist, the editor of the *Age* contended that once blacks ceased demanding that whites respect their constitutional and human rights, they would become what white supremacists said they were—inferior.² Another group headed by Bishop Henry McNeal Turner of the African Methodist [AME] Church insisted that both accommodation and resistance were pointless. Because the black man was in a hopeless minority and racism in America was all pervasive, Turner contended, the Negro did not stand a chance. The only answer was emigration to Africa where, free from the stifling shroud of white prejudice, the black man could erect a proud and powerful Negro republic.³ Others, such as Charles H. J. Taylor, insisted that the key to survival, if not salvation, for the black American was political independence. Accommodationism as an object in itself was a dead end street. Surely the white community's fears regarding social equality, miscegenation, and black commitment to American institutions must and could be assuaged, but there could never be economic security without political power. Agitation and protest, on the other hand, could be counterproductive and even suicidal, particularly in the South. Finally, argued Taylor and his associates, blacks were American, not African; they should stay in the United States and work for an authentic biracial society where blacks and whites lived in mutual tolerance and respect, and at the same time retained their racial identities. In a sense, the position taken by supporters of political independence was a natural product of a simultaneous commitment to the American Creed of self-help, industry, and material accumulation on the one hand, and to the attainment of full civil and political equality for blacks on the other. While rejecting emigration, Taylor was at the same time acutely aware of and disturbed by the racism that in one form or another seemed to pervade every section of the country. Political

*Randall B. Woods is a Professor of History at the University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, Arkansas.

Names:

Taylor, C. H. J.

Turner, Henry
McNeal, Bishop

Washington, Booker
T.

Woods, Randall B.

Types:

article

Series 11, Box 1, Item 8

C.H.J. TAYLOR AND THE MOVEMENT FOR BLACK POLITICAL 123

independence did not involve rejection of America's ideals and institutions; indeed, as Taylor so often stated, ticket-splitting was the American way. It was at the same time a strategem that promised to reduce racism by directly influencing the policies of the two great national parties and indirectly by convincing white Democrats that blacks were not simply political pawns who would submit to Republican manipulation. Taylor believed it was possible to accept America—its institutions, its interest groups, its mores, and its political processes—and through purely political means achieve for black Americans the same rights and opportunities as those enjoyed by white, Anglo-Saxon Protestants. As a vehicle for personal aggrandizement, political independence served C. H. J. Taylor reasonably well, but as a technique of racial advancement, it was a failure.

Frustrated by their lack of economic progress and alarmed by the deteriorating racial climate in America, blacks became increasingly dissatisfied with the party of Lincoln following the Compromise of 1877. In 1882 Fortune urged the Negro to act as an independent agent in politics: "No colored man can ever claim truthfully to be a Bourbon Democrat. . . . But he can be an independent, a progressive Democrat. . . . When colored voters differ among themselves and find themselves on both sides of local political contests, they will begin to find themselves of some political importance."⁴ Shortly after Grover Cleveland's inauguration in 1885, W. Calvin Chase, outspoken editor of the *Washington Bee*, urged Southern blacks to divide their vote in order to compel the white power structure to guarantee blacks due process and equal protection.⁵ "There is a new generation of people now ready to become a factor in politics," announced the *Marquette Monitor* in 1888. "It is a generation of educated, intelligent colored American citizens, with all the ambition and political instinct peculiar to Americans. . . . They prefer to remain loyal to the party that gave their fathers freedom but they justly expect a fair recognition for their continued allegiance."⁶

The man who perhaps more than any other typified and profited from the rebellion against the G. O. P. was Charles H. J. Taylor. Taylor was born a slave on a plantation near Marion, Alabama in April 1856. His father, Rufus Carson, was of pure African descent. According to Taylor, his early years were hard, but he managed to steal enough time from the dawn to dusk plantation routine to teach himself to read and write.⁷ In 1869 he decided he could take the cotton fields no longer and ran off to Savannah, Georgia. He subsequently changed his name to Taylor, obtained a job as office boy in a large commission house, and enrolled at Beach Institute, a school founded by the American Missionary Association. Taylor excelled as a student, and in 1871 he entered the University of Michigan where three years later he earned a B. A. in English. From 1874 through 1876 he read law first at Michigan and then at Wilberforce. Though he never earned a law degree, Taylor was admitted to the state bar in Indiana in 1877, and was certified to practice in courts of the United States the following year.⁸

Sometime in 1884 Taylor moved to Kansas just as the "Great Exodus" was coming to a close. During the previous five years some 40,000 blacks, responding to racial oppression and agricultural depression in the South and drawn by Kansas' reputation for freedom and equality, migrated to the Sunflower State.⁹ In a sense Taylor was a part of this mass movement. Along with the destitute, exploited masses of the South, came a handful of educated, upwardly mobile blacks such as William Bolden Townsend.

Names:

Carson, Rufus

Chase, W. Calvin

Cleveland, Grover

Taylor, C. H. J.

Types:

article

Frances Cabaniss Roberts Collection: Series 11, Box 1, Item 8
Article and Paper on Taylor, C. H. J., Author of "The Negro, Normal and Abnormal"
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Series 11, Box 1, Item 8

124

JOURNAL OF NEGRO HISTORY

E. P. McCabe, and T. W. Henderson. These talented transplants, stimulated by the political, economic, physical, and psychological spaciousness to be found in their new home, coalesced into a well-defined elite that exhibited many of the same traits as the black middle classes that had emerged at the national level during Reconstruction, but that at the same time reflected the unique habits, aspirations and experiences of the Kansas community. Unlike the upper crust in Washington, Philadelphia, Detroit, Cincinnati, and other Northern cities, the black leadership in Kansas did not derive its status from a light skin, free parents, or participation in the anti-slavery movement.¹⁰ Broadly speaking, members of the Kansas elite were ex-slaves, dark-skinned, and self-made. They were men on the make, the *nouveau riche* (psychologically, if not economically) of black society, much akin to the rising Negro middle class which appeared in Chicago and other urban areas at the turn of the century.¹¹ Lawyers, journalists, and politicians by trade, this coterie of blacks simultaneously preached self-help and solidarity as techniques of racial uplift¹² and worked through the courts and legislature to achieve civil and political parity with whites.¹³

Taylor settled in Wyandotte, one of the three communities that later merged to form Kansas City, Kansas, and immediately hung out his shingle. The ex-slave from Alabama proved to be, relatively speaking, a successful lawyer. A rotund 200 pounder, Taylor evidently possessed oratorical skill to match his bulk. According to one estimate he won more than eighty percent of the cases he accepted.¹⁴ In private practice he specialized in divorce and other types of civil suits. He became thoroughly familiar with criminal law, however, as deputy city attorney in Wyandotte, an appointive post which he filled from 1884 through 1887.¹⁵

In search of a vehicle that would simultaneously advance his interests and those of the race, Taylor turned to politics. Kansas in the 1880s was a Republican state, though the Democrats, taking advantage of a major split in the G. O. P., managed to capture the governorship in 1882.¹⁶ During the campaign of 1884 Taylor worked vigorously for the Republican gubernatorial candidate, John A. Martin, even going so far as to establish a campaign sheet, the *Wyandotte World*, in his behalf.¹⁷ Martin, an Atchison businessman and editor, won by a landslide; but despite the fact that blacks had voted almost solidly for him, he failed to give Taylor any credit and repeatedly rebuffed his requests for appointive office.¹⁸ Partly out of disappointment at his failure to receive a patronage plum from the Martin administration and partly out of a growing conviction that political pragmatism would aid blacks in their drive for power and prestige far more than blind allegiance to one party, Taylor became an avid Democrat in 1884. Throughout 1885 and 1886 he published articles in various Kansas papers and in the *Atlanta Constitution*, *Nashville American*, and *Chattanooga Times* praising Democrats in general and Grover Cleveland in particular.¹⁹ Apparently the political turnabout which Taylor executed in 1885 was not his first; rumor had it that he had journeyed to South Carolina in 1876 to campaign for former Confederate General Wade Hampton who in his bid for the governorship promised blacks equality under the law and liberal appropriations for black schools.²⁰

Conversion to Democracy brought almost instantaneous gratification. Taylor's appointment as assistant city attorney for Kansas City in 1884 came at the hands of the Democratic municipal administration. Then, three years later Grover Cleveland, actively courting the black vote in anticipation of his campaign for reelection in 1888,

Names:

Cleveland, Grover

Hampton, Wade,
General

Henderson, T. W.
Martin, John A.

McCabe, E. P.
Taylor, C. H. J.

Types:

article

Series 11, Box 1, Item 8

named Taylor United States Minister to Liberia, one of the most prestigious of the handful of federal positions traditionally given to blacks.²¹

Taylor's sojourn abroad was a disaster. The black diplomat from Kansas found life in Monrovia, the sweltering, malaria-ridden capital, desperately uncomfortable. Liberia, he reported to Secretary of State Thomas Bayard in a series of lengthy dispatches in May and June, 1887, was the "weakest" and most "unprogressive" republic in the world. The American immigrants kept the native inhabitants in virtual bondage, refused to till the soil or pursue any useful livelihood, and were in general lazy, shiftless, and immoral. The army, Taylor reported, was a joke. Exemptions could be purchased from the Surgeon General for five dollars. Democracy was nonexistent; the franchise was restricted to approximately 2500 adult males. The republic and its corps of venal officeholders existed on the charity of the United States. In November, 1887, after only five months in his new post (he did not arrive in Monrovia until June), Taylor resigned, suggesting to Grover Cleveland that the United States legation be downgraded to a consulate.²² Upon his return Taylor wrote a book entitled *Whites and Blacks* which was in part a narrative of his experiences in Liberia and an explication of his views on the Liberian experiment. In this work and in subsequent articles and speeches, the lawyer from Kansas City denounced the American Colonization Society, Bishop Henry McNeal Turner, and all others who encouraged overseas emigration.²³

Taylor's experiences in and his subsequent reaction to Liberia had a profound impact upon his political and racial views and upon his position within the black community. The ex-slave from Alabama was something of a racial chauvinist. "My personal God is a black God and my personal devil is a black devil," he once told the Young Men's Social Club in Topeka. "If I had my way about it, I would have every one of you black as the ace of spades."²⁴ He accepted the Liberian post joyfully, he wrote Grover Cleveland, anticipating that he would find in the black republic a frugal, industrious, patriotic, and enlightened populace. Free from the shackles of racial prejudice, the black American immigrant would have civilized and Christianized the natives, established the foundations of a black capitalist society, and begun the process of creating "A Great Negro Nationality"! Bitterly disappointed at the economic chaos, human exploitation, and general backwardness he found in Liberia, Taylor briefly considered the possibility that perhaps all that American racists had been saying about the Negroes' innate inferiority was true. He quickly discarded such thoughts, however, and came to blame the situation in Liberia on the climate, the personal qualities of those first Afro-Americans who had chosen to emigrate, the character-sapping "dole" then being provided Liberia by the United States, and particularly the colonizationists, white and black, who had been and were exploiting Africa and Afro-Americans for their own purposes.²⁵ Taylor's brief encounter with Liberia turned him against emigrationist schemes in general; it forced him to conclude that the black American was irreversibly American and that no matter how exploited and oppressed he might be, he must not separate his destiny from that of the United States. From the time he returned to America in 1887 until his death, Taylor proclaimed that blacks should and could maintain their unique identity, but within the context of the American pluralism. The Afro-American's home was America; his duty was to stay put, accommodate himself to existing conditions, and work for change from within.²⁶

Names:

Bayard, Thomas
Cleveland, Grover

Taylor, C. H. J.

Turner, Henry
McNeal, Bishop

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Taylor's views on Liberia, widely publicized in black and white newspapers throughout late 1887, provoked bitter personal attacks on him by black leaders in virtually every section of the country. His strictures against Liberia and emigration in general seemed to many Afro-Americans an indictment of the Negro character, a rejection of the black man's potential for self-rule and civilized development. In short, Taylor's attacks on Liberia and on prominent emigrationists such as Edward Blyden and Bishop Turner served further to stigmatize him within a black community already suspicious over his efforts in behalf of the party of the Confederacy.²⁷

Taylor's resignation and his report on Liberia did not affect his ties with either the Democratic party or Grover Cleveland. Indeed, in that it convinced Taylor that African emigration was not a realistic alternative for black Americans, the Liberian experience reinforced his commitment to political independence. Furthermore, the rejection of his views on Liberia by black leaders, nearly all of whom were Republican, left Taylor little choice but to seek the Negro's salvation as well as personal fulfillment through the Democratic party. Upon his return to the States, the former Minister settled in Atlanta, established a law office, and once again became active in Democratic politics.²⁸

Between 1888 and 1891, in countless speeches and editorials, Taylor articulated a comprehensive rationale for black political independence. He argued that above all else mass defection of black Republicans to the Democratic party would generate political leverage that could be translated into political power, equality of economic opportunity, and full citizenship. Like T. Thomas Fortune, Taylor insisted that the fears instilled in white Republicans by the activities of black Democrats in such pivotal states as Indiana, Michigan, Ohio, and New York would lead to the nomination and election of black Republicans.²⁹ Furthermore, he asserted, the era of Reconstruction was over. However much the Negro might desire a repetition of that period, the federal government, whether controlled by the Republican or the Democratic party, would not intervene in the states to protect blacks.³⁰ The Negro must rely on state action, and black Democrats from the North and Midwest working within the context of the national party might be able to persuade or pressure Democratic state officials in the South to accord blacks protection and recognition.³¹ The Republican party was controlled by the Rockefellers, Carnegies, and Blaines, men who knew nothing of the Negro, who cared for him only as a political pawn, and who were thorough-going plutocrats.³² There were in the Democracy Northerners who were tied to the Jeffersonian-Jackson themes of liberty and equality, and Southerners who, though paternalistic, wanted the Negro to progress.³³ This coalition would certainly be more responsive to the needs of the blacks—especially as the prospect of federal intervention into the South receded—than the barons of Wall Street.

Whether these arguments were rhetoric or whether they represented deeply held convictions on Taylor's part is impossible to determine. There is no doubt that Taylor was an intensely ambitious man. He and other post-Reconstruction leaders such as Fortune and J. Milton Turner chafed at the refusal of the entrenched black leadership—almost all Republicans—to step down and make way for a new generation. The pathway to power and office within the G. O. P. was blocked as long as these men lived, and they were apparently ageless. The only option left for the ambitious was to seek power along a new avenue—the Democratic party.³⁴

Names:

Blaine,
Carnegie,

Cleveland, Grover
Fortune, T. Thomas

Rockefeller,
Taylor, C. H. J.

Turner, Bishop
Turner, J. Milton

Types:

article

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"Messrs. B. K. Bruce, John R. Lynch, P. B. S. Pinchback, and a number of other aged Afro-Americans have grown fat and hoggish feeding at the public crib," Taylor complained in 1891. "It is high time for a new deal and relegation [to oblivion] of these omnipresent professional race office-holders."³⁵ Moreover, Taylor no less than E. Franklin Frazier, who was to pen his famous *Black Bourgeoisie* more than fifty years after Taylor's death, realized that the black politician's ability to satisfy the demands of black voters was severely limited because he was forced to serve the political machines supported by the propertied classes in the white community.³⁶ Taylor argued that the average black shared a larger community of interest with the landowners, poor farmers, small entrepreneurs, and international businessmen who constituted the Democratic party than with the financiers and industrialists who guided the G. O. P. The low tariff policies of the Democratic party, its opposition to subsidies and other special benefits for manufacturers and financiers, and its agrarian orientation best suited the interests of Afro-Americans, most of whom were farmers, mechanics, or unskilled laborers.³⁷ Thus, he reasoned, adherence to Democratic doctrine would enable the black politico to reconcile the two constituencies with which he had to deal far more easily than continued membership in the Republican party.³⁸ Although he was ever-mindful of his own career and ever-anxious to advance that career, Taylor is no more vulnerable to charges that he pursued a political strategy that placed his interests above those of the race than Langston, Fortune, Bruce or any other nationally recognized black leader during the Gilded Age. Indeed, he operated on the premise that his personal fortunes depended upon the efficiency of political independence as a tool for enhancing the power and prestige of the race as a whole.

Fortunately for Taylor, the Democratic party was almost as anxious to make use of the Negro as Taylor was of the Democratic party. In the years following Horatio Seymour's defeat in 1872 Democratic moderates took over the party reins and devised a long-range plan to regain power. Official acquiescence in Reconstruction would renew Democratic respectability among Northern voters, while a hands-off Southern policy justified by states' rights theory might allow Southern Democrats to regain political power. This theoretical capitulation to Republican Reconstruction and simultaneous reaffirmation of states' rights doctrine, writes historian Lawrence Grossman, became known as the "new departure."³⁹ While the national Democratic party was keeping the federal government from protecting Southern blacks in the two decades after 1872, a new, more positive relationship developed between Democrats and blacks in the North. On some occasions and in some places blacks took the initiative by adopting an independent political stance in state and local elections. In other situations the Democrats, who were increasingly aware of the Negroes' importance in crucial states, made the first move with patronage or favorable state legislation. Grover Cleveland endorsed the new policy of the moderates and took the lead in hammering out a rapprochement with Northern blacks.⁴⁰ By virtue of his willingness to appoint black officeholders and to fight for those appointments in the Senate, the New Yorker had by the close of his first term earned a reputation for fairness among many blacks.⁴¹ This, together with growing black dissatisfaction with the G.O.P.'s lily-white policies in the South, swelled the ranks of Negro independents and Democrats, and led to the creation of a number of black Democratic organizations in the late 1880s and early 1890s which worked energetically in behalf of Cleveland's '88 and '92

Names:

Bruce, B. K.
Cleveland, Grover

Frazier, E. Franklin
Grossman, Lawrence

Langston,
Lynch, John R.

Pinchback, P. B. S.
Taylor, C. H. J.

Types:

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campaigns. Among the best known were the National Colored Tariff Reform Association organized in Washington, D. C., in March 1890, the Young Afro-American Democrats established in New York in 1891, and the John M. Palmer Democratic Club, founded by Jerome Riley in September, 1891.⁴² But by far the most important was the Negro National Democratic League which included among its leaders H. C. C. Astwood of Louisiana, Peter H. Clark of Cincinnati, J. Milton Turner of Missouri, and Taylor.⁴³

The National Negro Democratic League was established in June, 1888 by Herbert A. Clark, a prominent black journalist and politician from Columbus, Ohio, in conjunction with the Democratic National Convention held in St. Louis.⁴⁴ Taylor, who by this time had moved back to Kansas City, attended the general convention where he seconded Cleveland's nomination; between sessions he participated in a minor way in the formation of the N.N.D.L. and in the power struggle among several of its more ambitious members. In mid-July J. Milton Turner, former Republican Minister to Liberia but now an active Cleveland Democrat, called upon League members to meet in Indianapolis and elect a slate of permanent officers. The conclave was a boisterous affair, dominated by a struggle for the chairmanship between Turner and Peter H. Clark, a Cincinnati school teacher and for the past fifteen years an active Democrat. Clark's chief supporter and unofficial manager was C. H. J. Taylor. After two days of struggling, punctuated by several fist-fights and an attempted shooting in the cloak room, the Clark-Taylor forces prevailed. The committee on resolutions, headed by T. Thomas Fortune (a Clark backer) penned a report that praised Cleveland for "by word and deed pouring oil on troubled racial waters" and then endorsed the Democratic party's tax and tariff policies.⁴⁶ Taylor, who made several speeches calling upon Afro-Americans to support the Democracy as the natural home of the poor working man, did not receive any official position within the League hierarchy, but he had backed the winning ticket.⁴⁷ His influence within the organization was to grow steadily.

Taylor's ascent within the Negro Democratic movement was due in part to his support of Clark and in part to his untiring efforts in Kansas and throughout the Midwest in behalf of the Democracy. Following Cleveland's defeat in November 1888, Taylor moved back to Atlanta and set up law offices in the Centennial Building on Whitehall Street.⁴⁹ During the next six months, according to the *Indianapolis Freeman*, Taylor won sixty-three out of the seventy-two cases he conducted.⁴⁹ Despite these professional successes, Taylor once again moved to Kansas in 1890.

A deteriorating racial climate in Georgia and increasingly volatile political situation in Kansas were responsible for Taylor's decision to leave Atlanta, a decision he at the time considered final. Life in Georgia, and particularly Atlanta, during the quarter century following the Civil War was at least tolerable for blacks. There was no legal segregation and disfranchisement had not become institutionalized. A group of agrarian radicals gained control of the Georgia legislature in 1890, however, and subsequently chose to compete with Democratic Conservatives for the role of guardian of white supremacy in the state. As a result, in 1891 Georgia legally mandated segregation on trains and streetcars and refused to pass legislation designed to halt an alarming increase in lynchings.⁵⁰ In contrast, the political and racial picture in Kansas seemed full of promise. As Taylor was well aware, the Kansas G.O.P. then faced a serious challenge from outraged farmers and mechanics who had become convinced that the

Names:

Astwood, H. C. C.
Clark, Herbert A.

Clark, Peter H.
Cleveland,

Fortune, T. Thomas
Palmer, John M.

Riley, Jerome
Turner, J. Milton

Types:

article

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Republican Party was the party of the banks, railroads, and land speculators, and who were flocking to the Democratic or newly formed Populist parties. Moreover, in Kansas the Democrats and Populists elected to make common cause whereas in Georgia the agrarian radicals formed a tacit alliance with the Republicans, by then Taylor's mortal enemies. Although they constituted but six percent of the population, blacks cast between fifteen and thirty percent of the vote in Kansas' six largest towns and could comprise a politically critical mass in case a party stalemate developed.⁵¹ Thus, to the ex-slave from Alabama, Kansas appeared to be the ideal testing ground for his ideas on politics and racial advancement.

Further contributing to Taylor's belief that he could sell Kansas Negroes on the concept of political independence was the fact that quite a number had become disenchanted with the G.O.P. for its failure to accord the state's black community the recognition they believed it deserved. Blacks were particularly miffed that the party had not seen fit to replace F.P. McCabe, a Negro and Republican state auditor from 1882 through 1886, with a black candidate.⁵² In addition, black leaders such as William "Pap" Eagleson of Ft. Scott and William D. Kelley of Kansas City believed that the high tariff, sound money, pro-business doctrines of the Republicans had nothing to offer the vast majority of black Kansans who were either farmers, day-laborers, mechanics, or small businessmen.⁵³

Taylor reached Kansas in the spring of 1890 and, as he had hoped, immediately assumed leadership of the black independents. In October he was nominated for a seat in the State legislature on the Democratic-Populist ticket and in November he was named editor of the *American Citizen*, one of the West's largest black newspapers and, since its sale in 1888 to two black Kansas City businessmen, an outspoken advocate of political independence.⁵⁴ Black Republicans denounced Taylor as a crass political opportunist. "Some men are like vegetables," sneered the *Leavenworth Advocate*; "they are on the market to be bought... Colored Democrats are Democrats for revenue only." The hopes of black independents rose when the state Republican convention refused to nominate for state auditor John L. Waller, a prominent black politician who had been endorsed for the auditorship by a "colored men's" convention in August.⁵⁶ They received further encouragement when the Populists selected a Negro, Benjamin Foster, as their candidate for that position.⁵⁷ Although Taylor, Foster, and the Democratic gubernatorial nominee, Charles Robinson, subsequently lost, the Republican plurality of 82,000 in 1888 was reduced to 15,000 in 1890 and a "Demo-Pop" coalition won control of the House of Representatives. Desertion of the Republicans at the polls by black Kansans was clearly a significant factor in the party's declining fortunes.⁵⁸

Undismayed by his personal defeat, Taylor continued to use the *American Citizen*, which prospered under his editorship, in an effort to lure Negroes away from the party of Blaine and Harrison.⁵⁹ Taylor proved to be an extremely effective propagandist and political organizer. Throughout 1891 and 1892 he visited various communities in Kansas, Missouri, and Iowa and then printed long, detailed articles mentioning prominent blacks and whites, and lauding the town's churches, charitable activities, and business establishments. These articles invariably closed with the prediction that the educated, self-reliant black population of the town in question was in the process of freeing itself from its thralldom to the G.O.P.⁶⁰ In 1891 the Democratic National

Names:

Blaine,
Eagleson, William
Pap

Foster, Benjamin
Harrison,
Kelley, William D.

McCabe, E. P.
Robinson, Charles
Taylor, C. H. J.

Waller, John L.

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Committee asked Taylor to tour Iowa and speak in behalf of Democratic congressional candidates.⁶¹

As Taylor's effectiveness increased so did the abuse heaped on him and his family by black Republicans. He was ejected from the convention that organized the Afro-American League in 1890.⁶² Black editors such as E.E. Cooper of the *Indianapolis Freeman*, W. Calvin Chase of the *Washington Bee*, and William B. Townsend of the *Leavenworth Advocate* denounced Taylor as a charlatan and a lackey of those who would reenslave the Negro.⁶³ So relentless were these attacks that Taylor was prompted to protest bitterly in the *American Citizen* in June, 1891: "You who complain of free speech being denied in the South see to it that you do not yourself deny free speech in the North."⁶⁴

Although 1892 opened with the burning of Taylor's three-story Kansas City home—he suspected arson—the year proved to be one of the most auspicious of his life.⁶⁵ Taylor secured shelter for his family and then threw himself into the state and national Democratic campaigns, delivering dozens of speeches in Kansas, Iowa, Illinois, Ohio, and New York. In the summer of 1892 he was elected president of the National Negro Democratic League. The "Demo-Pops" once again nominated him for a seat in the state legislature.⁶⁶ Although Taylor lost, Lorenzo D. Lewelling, fusion candidate for Governor of Kansas, and Grover Cleveland, then seeking a second term in the White House, won.⁶⁷

Cleveland was just as determined in 1892 to reward blacks who had stood by him as he had been in 1884. The Negro Democratic League supplied a list of names to the President from which he selected appointees to fill those federal posts traditionally held by blacks.⁶⁸ He appointed Astwood consul to Calais, lawyer Archibald Grimke to the Santo Domingo post, and A.M.E. Bishop W.H. Heard to head the United States legation at Monrovia. In 1893 Cleveland rewarded Taylor by naming him minister to Bolivia, but the Senate subsequently refused to confirm both him and Astwood.⁶⁹ In February, 1894, the President nominated Taylor for Recorder of Deeds. For two months a coalition of Southern Democrats and Republications attempted to deny the Recordership to Taylor. After some intense lobbying among Republican senators by Frederick Douglass, however, the upper chamber confirmed the Kansan's nomination by a vote of thirty-four to fifteen.⁷⁰ Southern Democrats opposed Taylor and Astwood's nominations because they saw no need to grant federal patronage to representatives of a group that was in the process of being disfranchised in the south. Republicans, led by Senator John J. Ingalls of Kansas, first opposed Cleveland's nominees out of partisan considerations but then reversed their position when Douglass convinced them that though Taylor was a Democrat, blacks would resent opposition to his confirmation by G.O.P. Senators and penalize Republican candidates at the next election. So difficult had been the struggle that at one point Cleveland considered naming his chief black supporter to the position of Washington, D. C. Superintendent of Street Cleaning, an \$1800 a year job that did not require Senate confirmation.⁷¹

As Recorder of Deeds from 1894 through 1896 Taylor corresponded with Cleveland almost weekly concerning appointments and policies calculated to weld the black community to the Democratic party.⁷² In the fall of 1894 and again in 1896 he toured the North and Midwest in behalf of Democratic congressional candidates.⁷³ The Recordership brought Taylor a degree of prestige and power outside of Washington, but black society

of Leavenworth, KS

Names:

Astwood,
Chase, W. Calvin
Cleveland, Grover
Cooper, E. E.

Douglass, Frederick
Grimke, Archibald
Hear, W. H., Bishop
Ingalls, John J.

Lewelling, Lorenzo
D.
Taylor, C. H. J.

Townsend, William
B.

Types:

article

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in the nation's capital, exclusive and overwhelmingly Republican, never accepted him and his wife. Indeed, Washingtonians campaigned against his confirmation and then in 1895 pressed for his resignation when the Civil Service Commission, then headed by Republican Theodore Roosevelt, investigated Taylor for allegedly soliciting campaign funds from employees in the Recorder's Office.⁷⁴ Republican editor W. Calvin Chase, who accused the ex-slave from Alabama of being a hack, a corruptionist, and a tool of the Southern slaveocracy, led both fights. With considerable help from the Cleveland administration, Taylor not only managed to withstand the drive to remove him from office but successfully sued Chase for libel.⁷⁵

Following McKinley's victory in 1896 Taylor turned over the Recorder's office to a Republican and returned to Atlanta where he became dean of the law school at Morris Brown College and edited for a time the *Atlanta Appeal*.⁷⁶ After an illness of several months Taylor died in Atlanta on May 25, 1899. He was forty-four.⁷⁷

Following Taylor's death only a handful of black newspapers published obituaries and those were cold and impersonal. True, some black spokesmen such as J. E. Bruce and J. Hume Childers of the *Topeka Plaindealer* credited Taylor with having the best interests of the race at heart,⁷⁸ but most labelled him an unqualified accommodationist, the archetypical Uncle Tom. And as historian August Meier—who agrees with Taylor's contemporaries—points out, *Whites and Blacks* did breathe a spirit of conciliation toward the white South. Taylor was highly critical of Radical Reconstruction and urged blacks to seek the friendship of Southern whites whenever possible.⁷⁹

Accommodationism, however, was for Taylor primarily a matter of tone, a strategy meant to disarm extreme Negrophobes. "Under our peculiar conditions in this country," he wrote in 1892, "we can do more with molasses than with vinegar. . . . If using the 'blarney stone' policy will do us any good. . . . let us use it, and that continually! We are the down dog in this contest and there is nothing we desire so much as a cessation of hostilities."⁸⁰ In reality Taylor was never willing to overlook lynching, discrimination, and disfranchisement in the name of racial harmony. By word in the editorial column of the *Wyandotte World* and *American Citizen*, and by action, Taylor demonstrated that he was a staunch defender of the race against all forms of injustice.⁸¹ Following the lynching of John Kelly in Pine Bluff, Arkansas, by a white mob, Taylor penned a biting editorial in the *Citizen* entitled "Is God Dead?" "It is a wonder to men," he exclaimed, "that the Annihilating Angel does not pass through the hell region of the United States and wipe everything of an Anglo-Saxon from the face of the earth."⁸² The Negro should work to assuage the white man's fears about miscegenation and seek to convince him that blacks were committed to the nation's political, economic, and social institutions, but he should protest and agitate unceasingly whenever his basic civil rights were threatened.⁸³ In 1893 the *Kansas State Ledger*, a Republican paper, credited Taylor with using his influence with Democratic legislators in Jefferson City to kill a Missouri separate coach law. In 1894 the newly nominated Minister to Bolivia journeyed to Lexington, Kentucky, where he led the fight to repeal that state's separate coach statute.⁸⁴

Taylor can no more be accused of being a coward or syncophant than can Booker T. Washington. But like Washington he may be faulted for advocating a scheme for racial advancement that was doomed to failure and for ultimately being unable to distinguish between his interests and those of the race as a whole. More specifically Taylor failed in

Names:

Bruce, J. E.
Chase, W. Calvin
Childers, J. Hume

Kelly, John
McKinley,
Meier, August

Roosevelt, Theodore,
President
Taylor, C. H. J.

Washington, Booker
T.

Types:

article

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his role as race leader because of flaws in his style of leadership, contradictions in his philosophy of racial advancement, and the political milieu that developed in America after 1890. In her book, *The Exodusters*, Nell Irwin Painter identifies a black leadership type—the "representative colored man"—which she claims was prevalent in late nineteenth century America. Prominent blacks such as P. B. S. Pinchback, B. K. Bruce, John Mercer Langston were not true tribunes of the people but rather individuals who because of their "western education" and facility for dealing with the white power structure had been singled out—originally by whites—as leaders of the race. For the most part, representative colored men did not reflect the wishes of the inarticulate masses but rather imposed their views upon them. Painter charges that in criticizing black folk for deviating from conventional Victorian codes of behavior, these men allowed white supremacists to shift the blame for discrimination and exclusion from themselves to their victims. That is, white racists could cite the attacks on black immorality and improvidence that appeared in the speeches and editorials of representative colored men to justify Jim Crow and disfranchisement.⁸⁵ Whatever his motives, Taylor must be classed as a "representative colored man." There was a large gap between his rhetoric on the one hand and his instincts and lifestyle on the other. Taylor was an elitist; his commitment to a classless society was purely theoretical. He repeatedly called for a coalition between the best elements of both races and decried the "shiftless" and "immoral" habits prevalent among the uneducated element of his own people.⁸⁶ His elitism isolated Taylor and prevented him from becoming a true mass leader able to induce a significant number of black laborers to join the Democratic party. This flaw in Taylor's leadership was all the more important because one of the potentially most effective arguments in behalf of black desertion of the G. O. P. was that the Democracy was the natural home of the poor, working class members of both races.⁸⁷

Taylor's failure as a race leader was due not only to stylistic weaknesses but to a misunderstanding of the Democratic party and to the course of Southern politics after 1890. He was correct in recognizing that after 1877 federal action in behalf of black civil and political rights was a virtual impossibility. There was little support in the North for federal intervention in behalf of the Negro and even less in the South. Taylor insisted that Southern white supremacists were not really Democrats and that blacks should look to progressive Northern leaders such as Grover Cleveland and paternalistic Southerners such as Henry Grady. Once state Democratic leaders, both North and South, realized that blacks were no longer ruled by blind devotion to the G. O. P. and mindless aversion to the Democratic party, they would court black votes with patronage and favorable state legislation. Taylor's arguments and the assumptions that underlay them were, of course, fallacious. The national leadership of the Democratic party was committed first and foremost to Democratic supremacy. Grover Cleveland's Puritan ancestors and his commitment to human rights notwithstanding, party leaders treated the Negro as a means to an end. They were willing to bid for the black vote in crucial Northern and Midwestern states but unwilling to force the Southern wing of the party to treat blacks as political allies. While Democrats in the North gained respectability by acquiescing in Reconstruction, Democrats in the South attracted and held white votes by denouncing it. The national leadership of the Democratic party obviously did not believe the black vote in the swing states important enough to compel Southern leaders to openly court it, thus contradicting themselves

Names:

Bruce, B. K.
Cleveland, Grover
Grady, Henry

Langston, John
Mercer
Painter, Nell Irwin

Pinchback, P. B. S.
Taylor, C. H. J.

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in the eyes of white supremacists. Given the decentralized nature of the parties during the Gilded Age, such coercion would have been impossible anyway. Too, even if Taylor had been right about the willingness, both actual and potential, of the Clevelandites and Southern paternalists to help the Negro, his plans for racial advancement through black political independence would still have come to naught. As a result of the agrarian revolt which began in the 1870's and culminated in the 1890's, the Clevelandites of the North and the paternalistic ex-planters of the South lost control of the party to working class white radicals, that element of the party most inimical to the interests of the race.⁸⁸

Finally, Taylor's failure as a race leader stemmed in part from the fact that his philosophy was based on the liberal ethic of group advancement through self-reliance and individual striving. Taylor not only accepted the American creed of self-help, industry, and material accumulation as his personal *modus vivendi* but, like Booker T. Washington, he insisted that if collectively practiced, it would win acceptance, and power for the entire race.

In reality the opportunity for those Americans who were economically and educationally disadvantaged to live the Horatio Alger dream were extremely limited, especially given the fact that the vast majority of those who had, were devoted to exploiting those who had not. For Taylor's brethren, who had to deal not only with poverty and ignorance but racism as well, the rugged individualism of the Gilded Age was even more irrelevant than for the white farmers who joined the Populist party and the mechanics who founded the Knights of Labor.

¹ Louis Harlan, *Booker T. Washington: The Making of a Black Leader, 1856-1901* (New York, 1972) 288.

² Emma Lou Thornbrough, *T. Thomas Fortune: Militant Journalist* (Chicago, 1972) 131, 369.

³ Clarence A. Bacote, "Negro Proscription, Protests and Proposed Solutions in Georgia, 1880-1908" in Dwight W. Hoover, ed., *Understanding Negro History* (Chicago, 1968) 212-213. The most authoritative work on black America's interest in African colonization at the turn of the century is Edwin J. Redkey, *Black Exodus, Black Nationalist, and Back to Africa Movements, 1890-1910* (New Haven, 1969).

⁴ Elsie M. Lewis, "The Political Mind of the Negro, 1865-1900," *Journal of Southern History*, XXI (May, 1955), 200-204.

⁵ August Meier, "The Negro and the Democratic Party, 1875-1915," *Phylon*, XVII (Summer, 1956), 177.

⁶ *Marquette Monitor*, April 27, 1888.

⁷ *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography V* (New York, 1907), 551-552.

⁸ *Indianapolis Freeman*, April 27, 1889.

⁹ For an in-depth analysis of the sources and causes of the exodus see Nell Irwin Painter, *Exodusters: Black Migration to Kansas After Reconstruction* (New York, 1977). See also Marie Deacon, "Kansas as the Promised Land: The View of the Black Press, 1890-1900," unpublished master's thesis (University of Arkansas, 1973) 1-5.

¹⁰ See for example Allan H. Spear, *Black Chicago: The Making of a Negro Ghetto, 1890-1920* (Chicago, 1867) 51-53; David A. Gerber, *Black Ohio and the Color Line, 1860-1915* (Urbana, 1976) 320-416; and David M. Katzman, *Before the Ghetto: Black Detroit in the Nineteenth Century* (Urbana, 1973) 151-169, 187-194, 209. Actually, these authors document and expand a concept developed by August Meier in his *Negro Thought in America, 1880-1915* (Ann Arbor, 1963).

Names:

Alger, Horatio
Bacote, Clarence A.
Cleveland,
Gerher, David A.

Harlan, Louis
Hoover, Dwight W.
Katzman, David M.
Lewis, Elsie M.

Meier, August
Spear, Allan H.
Taylor, C. H. J.

Thornbrough, Emma
Lou
Washington, Booker
T.

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¹¹ Kenneth Wiggins Porter, "William Bolden Townsend," unpublished manuscript filed in Kansas Historical Society Archives, *Leavenworth Advocate*, June 13, 1891; *Topeka Plaindealer*, January 12, 1923; Rashey B. Moten, "Negro Press of Kansas," unpublished master's thesis (University of Kansas, 1936) 56; *Topeka Commercial*, March 5, 1879; Robert A. Swann, "The Ethnic Heritage of Topeka Kansas: Immigrant Beginnings" (n.p., Institute of Comparative Ethnic Studies, 1974) 49; and "John L. Waller," *Topeka Capital-Commonwealth*, March 7, 1889.

¹² See for example *Western Recorder*, April 5, 1883.

¹³ See for example *American Citizen*, March 5, 1889 and *Leavenworth Advocate*, November 19, 1889.

¹⁴ *Indianapolis Freeman*, April 27, 1889.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ William Frank Zornow, *Kansas: A History of the Jayhawk State* (Norman, 1957) 192-193.

¹⁷ I. Garland Penn, *The Afro-American Press and Its Editors* (Springfield, 1891) 187-188 and *Western Recorder*, October 17, 1884.

¹⁸ C. H. J. Taylor to John A. Martin, January 16, 1884, Governor Martin Letters Received, Box 26, Kansas Historical Society.

¹⁹ Penn, *Afro-American Press*, 187-188 and *Western Recorder*, October 17, 1884.

²⁰ Lawrence Grossman, *The Democratic Party and the Negro: Northern and National Politics, 1868-1892* (Urbana, 1976) 58. When, during that bitter campaign, Democrats and Republicans fought a pitched battle at one of the polling places, Taylor received a leg wound, an injury that left the corpulent politician partially crippled for the rest of his life. *Indianapolis Freeman*, April 27, 1889.

²¹ See the *Washington Bee*, March 19, 1887 and *Cleveland Gazette*, April 9, 1887.

²² C. H. J. Taylor to Thomas F. Bayard, June 4, 1887, No. 7; June 8, 1887, No. 10; June 9, 1887, No. 11; June 11, 1887, FW/No. 14; June 13, 1887, No. 13; June 14, 1887, No. 14; and June 15, 1887, No. 15, Dispatches of United States Minister to Liberia, Department of State, RG 59, National Archives (hereafter referred to as DUSML).

²³ C. H. J. Taylor, *Whites and Blacks or The Question Settled* (Atlanta, 1889) 31-40. See also *American Citizen*, July 13, 1891; November 6, 1891; and January 29, 1892.

²⁴ *Topeka Capital*, April 27, 1888.

²⁵ C. H. J. Taylor to Grover Cleveland, November 11, 1887, unnumbered, DUSML.

²⁶ *American Citizen*, July 13, 1891; November 6, 1891; and January 29, 1892.

²⁷ See for example the *Washington Bee*, December 3, 1887. Ironically, in the wake of the passage of the Force Bill of 1890 there was widespread support for black emigration by conservative Southern Democrats. These white Bourbons were alarmed by the possibility that a revitalized Republican party, its black supporters protected by federal law, might be able to take advantage of divisions among Southern Democrats. Redkey, *Black Exodus*, 58-60.

²⁸ *American Citizen*, January 18, 1888.

²⁹ *American Citizen*, November 27, 1891.

³⁰ "A Convention Row," *Indianapolis News*, July 26, 1888 and *Salt Lake City Broad Ax*, June 6, 1899.

³¹ Taylor, *Whites and Blacks*, 40-44. *American Citizen*, August 28, 1891.

³² *Sedalia Bazaar*, July 31, 1891.

³³ *American Citizen*, January 29, 1891.

³⁴ *Nebraska Morning World Herald*, August 14, 1891.

³⁵ *American Citizen*, July 17, 1891. See also *American Citizen*, November 20, 1894.

³⁶ E. Franklin Frazier, *Black Bourgeoisie* (Glencoe, Ill., 1957) 105.

³⁷ C. H. J. Taylor, "Every Colored Voter Should Read This Letter," *Republican Party Clippings*, Kansas Historical Society: *American Citizen*, December 18, 1891; and Taylor, *Whites and Blacks*, 42-44.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ Grossman, *Democratic Party and The Negro*, 15.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 60, 65-75.

⁴¹ H. C. C. Astwood to Grover Cleveland, November 11, 1895, Papers of Grover Cleveland, Library of

⁴² *Washington Bee*, October 4, 1890 and September 19, 1891; and *New York Age*, August 29, 1891.

⁴³ C. H. J. Taylor to W. Q. Gresham, May 19, 1893, Taylor Appointment File, Department of State, RG59, National Archives.

⁴⁴ *Indianapolis News*, June 6, 1888 and Herbert A. Clark to Josiah Quincy, June 28, 1893, Taylor Appointment File, DOS, RG59.

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Bayard, Thomas F.
Clark, Herbert A.
Cleveland, Grover
Frazier, E. Franklin

Gresham, W. Q.
Grossman, Lawrence
Martin, John A.
Mosen, Rashey B.
Penn, I. Garland

Porter, Kenneth
Wiggins
Quincy, Josiah
Swann, Robert A.
Taylor, C. H. J.

Waller, John L.
Zornow, William
Frank

Types:

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- ⁴⁵ *Indianapolis Freeman*, April 27, 1889.
⁴⁶ *Indianapolis News*, July 25, 1888, and July 26, 1888.
⁴⁷ *Ibid.*
⁴⁸ *Indianapolis Freeman*, April 27, 1889.
⁴⁹ *Ibid.*
⁵⁰ Bacote, "Negro Proscription," 200-208.
⁵¹ Department of the Interior, Census office, *Report on Population of the U.S. of the Eleventh Census, 1890*, Vol 1 (Washington, 1895) xcii, xciv, ci, 916. See also William H. Chafe, "The Negro and Populism: A Kansas Case Study," *Journal of Southern History*, XXIV (August, 1968) 400-418.
⁵² Jack Abramowitz, "the Negro in the Populist Movement," in Sheldon Hackney, ed., *Populism: The Critical Issues* (Boston, 1971) 40-41.
⁵³ *Washington Bee*, August 29, 1891 and *Western Recorder*, September 26, 1884.
⁵⁴ *American Citizen*, July 26, 1889 and April 2, 1897.
⁵⁵ *Leavenworth Advocate*, November 1, 1890.
⁵⁶ *Proceedings of the Twenty-ninth Republican State Convention*, 39, Kansas Historical Society.
⁵⁷ Chafe, "Negro and Populism," 410.
⁵⁸ *New York Age*, November 19, 1892 and Zornow, *Kansas*, 192-193.
⁵⁹ *American Citizen*, June 26, 1891.
⁶⁰ See for example, "Sedalia Missouri," *American Citizen*, August 7, 1891 and *Lexington News* in *American Citizen*, September 25, 1891.
⁶¹ *American Citizen*, July 3, 1891.
⁶² "Fortune's Fiery Utterances," *Leavenworth Advocate*, January 18, 1890; *American Citizen*, June 5, 1891; and *Denver Statesman* in *Leavenworth Advocate*, November 1, 1890.
⁶³ *Leavenworth Advocate*, September 22, 1888 and *American Citizen*, December 25, 1891.
⁶⁴ *American Citizen*, June 19, 1891.
⁶⁵ *American Citizen*, February 5, 1892.
⁶⁶ *Afro-American Advocate*, September 29, 1892.
⁶⁷ "Hon. C.H.J. Taylor," *Kansas State Ledger*, December 16, 1892.
⁶⁸ C. H. J. Taylor to Grover Cleveland, March 10, 1894, Cleveland Papers.
⁶⁹ Meier, "Negroes and the Democratic Party," 181.
⁷⁰ *American Citizen*, April 20, 1894 and May 18, 1894; and *Kansas Blackman*, April 27, 1894.
⁷¹ *Salt Lake City Broad Ax*, June 6, 1899 and *Kansas Blackman*, April 27, 1894.
⁷² See for example C.H.J. Taylor to Grover Cleveland, July 23, 1894 and August 9, 1894; and C.H.J. Taylor to H.T. Thurber, July 23, 1894, Cleveland Papers.
⁷³ C.H.J. Taylor to Grover Cleveland, August 9, 1894, Cleveland Papers.
⁷⁴ *Leavenworth Herald*, August 25, 1894 and *Kansas City Gazette*, October 13, 1898.
⁷⁵ *Washington Bee*, May 27, 1899.
⁷⁶ *Iowa State Bystander*, December 3, 1897.
⁷⁷ *Cleveland Gazettee*, June 3, 1899, and *Indianapolis Freeman*, June 3, 1899.
⁷⁸ "Hon. C.H.J. Taylor," *Kansas State Ledger*, December 16, 1892, and *Topeka Plaindealer*, June 9 and June 16, 1899.
⁷⁹ Meier, *Negro Thought*, 32.
⁸⁰ *American Citizen*, January 22, 1892, and Taylor, *Whites and Blacks*, 25-26.
⁸¹ *Nebraska Morning World Herald*, August 14, 1891 and *Leavenworth Advocate*, September 22, 1888.
⁸² "Is God Dead?" *American Citizen*, February 19, 1892.
⁸³ *American Citizen*, August 28, 1892 and November 6, 1891.
⁸⁴ *Kansas State Ledger*, February 24, 1893, and *American Citizen*, January 26, 1894.
⁸⁵ Painter, *Exodusters*, 15.
⁸⁶ *American Citizen*, August 14, 1891; *Kansas City Times*, January 16, 1890; and Taylor, *Whites and Blacks*, 42-43.
⁸⁷ Taylor was prone to making careless statements that could only have reinforced the prejudices of white supremacists. In a bid to persuade the World's Fair Commission to grant blacks their own exhibit area, he declared: "The Negro naturally loves parade, exhibition, the pyrotechnic and spectacular and he loses no opportunity which allows him to wear a regalia." *American Citizen*, December 11, 1891.
⁸⁸ C. Vann Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow* (New York, 1974) 67-109.

Names:

Abramowitz, Jack
Bacote, Clarence A.

Cleveland, Grover
Taylor, C. H. J.

Woodward, C. Vann

Types:

article

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Frances Cabaniss Roberts Collection

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