

***SOME ANECDOTES
AND
BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES
OF
BLACK KANSAS REPUBLICANS***



Blue silk regimentsal flag of the 1st Kansas Colored Infantry, the first African American regiment in the Civil War. Recruitment began August 1862 and it was mustered into Federal service January 13, 1863. The Regiment saw its first action at Island Mound, Missouri, October 29, 1862. The flag bears the names of eight battle honors.

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EXODUSTER MOVEMENT **(1879-1881)**

The end of Reconstruction in 1876 caused a mass outflow of black refugees from the Old South, fleeing violence and poverty. Many headed for Kansas which was associated with freedom, Bleeding Kansas, and John Brown.

Benjamin "Pap" Singleton, a former slave from Tennessee encouraged people to move to Kansas where they would be able to purchase land and establish a better life. In 1873, he led a group to Cherokee County near Baxter Springs. He organized another colony to come from Kentucky and settle in Graham County. This settlement of Nicodemus grew and prospered for a time until the railroad bypassed Nicodemus and built in a neighboring town.



First Baptist Church, the present church building built around this structure in 1907

Nicodemus, Graham County, KS

Around 30,000 blacks came to Kansas between 1879 and 1881. These people were called Exodusters from the Jewish exodus from Egypt. Most Exodusters arrived by steamboats unprepared to begin a new life. Most came with little if any money. The cities were overwhelmed with the large number of needy persons. Shelter, food, and rail transport had to be provided and were not cheap.



Benjamin "Pap" Singleton

The influx of poor and unskilled blacks caused a backlash of resistance to the new immigrants. Governor John P. St John (R), a fiery Baptist Minister, fought back against those opposing the exodusters. He ridiculed democrat allegations that he was trying to import

thousands of Republican voters.

He likewise dismissed objections based on cost and resources arguing that God would find a way for Kansas and that he would never turn back refugees who had suffered cruelty, outrage, and wrong, who were destitute, hungry and without adequate clothes in the winter.

He noted "the question of the exodus was not one of business, as shallow thinkers and flippant writers would have us believe . . . A large portion of the American people will ignore the humanitarian side. Kansas cannot afford to do so."

On May 8, 1879, Governor St. John formed the Freedman's Relief Association to receive charitable contributions to care for the Exodusters. They established colonies one in Wabaunsee to the west of Topeka, one in Chautauqua county, and another in Coffey county. Black communities also formed within cities like Topeka (Tennessee Town) and Kansas City (Quindero).

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EDWARD P. McCABE **(1850-1920)**

In 1882, E.P. McCabe (R) of Graham County was elected Kansas State Auditor; the first African American elected to statewide office (outside reconstruction) in the United States. In 1884, he was re-elected to a second two-year term. After the Republican State Convention nominated him



media claimed Kansas Republicans had gone "clean daft."

He was born in Troy, New York, received an education in law and migrated to Kansas in April 1878, just in time to get caught up in the "Exoduster" dream of establishing all-black towns. McCabe was closely identified with Nicodemus, Kansas, near which he settled as a farmer and attorney. A Republican activist, he was elected Clerk in Graham County. His connections and his charm served him well. After serving as state auditor he worked for the state's leading Republicans in the 1888 election.

JOHN L. WALLER **(1850-1907)**

John L. Waller was a career Republican and activist who played a significant role in Kansas politics. He was born on a Missouri plantation. After being freed by the Union Army in 1862, his family moved to Iowa where he attended school and was admitted to the Iowa Bar in 1877.

In 1878 he moved to Leavenworth, Kansas where he opened a law practice. In 1884 Waller, recognized for his speaking ability, was recruited

by Leavenworth Republicans to tour eastern Kansas in support of the Republican ticket.

In 1887, Waller was appointed deputy city attorney of Topeka, Kansas. In the 1888 presidential election, Waller was the only black man in the United States to be selected for the Electoral College. He cast a vote for Benjamin Harrison. In 1890 he unsuccessfully ran for Kansas state auditor.



The inability of black Republicans to move beyond local office caused Waller to look for other

opportunities. He remained loyal to the Republican Party and in 1891 was named by Harrison to be U.S. consul to Madagascar.

The French, however, viewed Waller's activity as a threat to their colonial ambitions in Madagascar and had him tried and convicted to 20 years in prison. Only the intervention of President Cleveland freed him. He returned to the United States and during the Spanish American War he was an officer with the 23rd Kansas Volunteers.

ALFRED FAIRFAX **(1843-1916)**

Elected to the state House of Representatives in 1888, Alfred Fairfax was the first African American to serve in the Kansas legislature where he represented Chautauqua County. During his single term in office (1889-1890), he served as chairman of the House Committee on

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Immigration and spoke out in favor of an end to segregated schools as well as a prohibition of discrimination more generally.

Born a slave in Loudon County, Virginia, he was later sold and taken to Louisiana. In 1862, he escaped and joined the Union Army. During



Reconstruction he actively participated in Louisiana politics, including earning a Republican congressional nomination.

In 1880, following the end of Reconstruction, Fairfax joined thousands of other African Americans in moving to Kansas seeking social and economic opportunity. Upon arriving in Kansas, as leader of a group of several hundred families, he settled in Chautauqua County near the town of Peru. He managed a farm of several hundred acres, raising cotton and operating his own gin, the Fairfax Ginning Company. He became pastor of the New Hope Baptist Church in Parsons.

LUTIE LYTLE **(1875-c1950)**



In 1897, Lutie Lytle of Topeka became the first African-American woman in Kansas admitted to the practice of law and one of the first three in the nation.

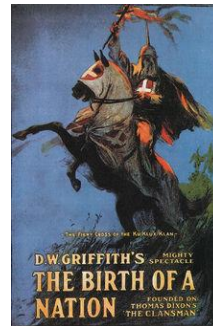
She was born in Tennessee and moved to

Topeka while young. Lutie attended Topeka schools, including Topeka High School. She then graduated from Central Tennessee law school's graduating class of 1897 before returning to Topeka. She later moved to New York, but returned periodically to Topeka where her brother Charles had a long, successful career in law-enforcement.

"I like constitutional law because the anchor of my race is grounded on the constitution. It is the certificate of our liberty and our equality before the law. Our citizenship is based on it, and hence I love it."

KANSAS BANS *BIRTH OF A NATION*

Birth of a Nation was a 1915 silent movie epic that portrayed the KKK as a heroic patriotic movement that put aggressive blacks in their place. Democrat President Woodrow Wilson, a renowned racist, showed it at the White House.



Meanwhile in Kansas, the republican-controlled Board of Review of Motion Pictures banned the movie for being both historically inaccurate and racist, representing the worst racist, exploitative historical revisionism. The

ban was not dropped until 1924 when a democrat was Governor

NAACP & ROBERT HILL

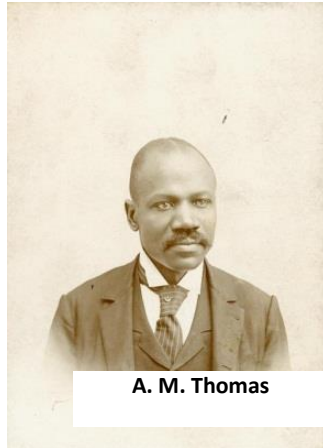
The Topeka branch of the NAACP was founded in 1913. It opposed *Birth of a Nation*, gained entrance for black children to educational movies shown at segregated theaters, and

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fought school segregation. In 1919, U.S. Senator and former Governor Arthur Capper (R) sat on its board.

In January 1920, Robert Hill, a civil rights leader who had fled Arkansas, was arrested in Kansas on an extradition request from Arkansas. Three NAACP lawyers took up his case: James Guy, Elisha Scott, Sr., and A. M. Thomas. They had the full support of Governor Allen and Senator Capper.

Unlike Arkansas, the NAACP could act openly in Kansas and planned mass public pressure. They added Shawnee



County Prosecutor Hugh Fisher to the team. When the Arkansas officials arrived to extradite Hill, they were met by large crowds of protesters, relentless news articles from Capper's newspapers on "Arkansas Justice" and requests from Fisher for information on the routine torture of prisoners in Arkansas.

On March 22, 1921, the extradition hearing was held in Topeka. The Arkansas Attorney General appeared, provoking hostility from the crowd by referring to all African Americans as "niggahs," and incapable of dealing with the African American attorneys Guy, Scott, and Thomas as equals, bungled his presentation.

The next day Governor Allen denied the extradition request. There was no appeal

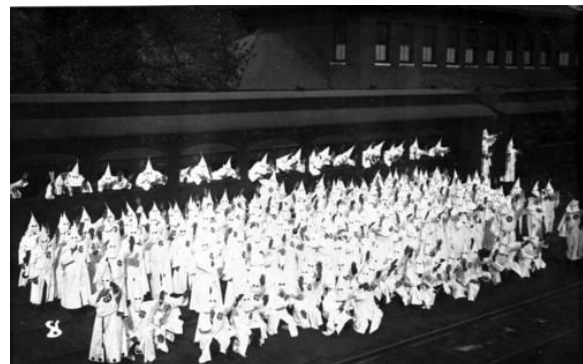
HOW KANSAS KILLED THE KKK (1920-1927)

The KKK began to organize in Kansas around 1920, positioning itself as an organization dedicated to high morals, Christian virtue, and Americanism. It preached a doctrine of hatred for "non-Americans" especially those of Jewish, Catholic, and Black ancestry. By 1922, it had about 50,000 members in Kansas.

Nov 22, 1922: Governor Allen (R), after declaring that there would be "no such nonsense" in Kansas, ordered Attorney General Richard Allen (R) to file suit to oust the Klan from Kansas as a foreign corporation illegally doing business – because it did not have a corporate charter.

In a speech Governor Allen stated "This is not a partisan issue. It transcends the obligations of partisanship and relates itself to the sacred cause of free government – the cause of individual rights. No more grotesque abuse of the word 'American' could be used than to call this Klan organization American."

1923-24: The Klan's influence grew at the grassroots level, reaching over 100,000 members in Kansas. It set itself up as moral censor in communities and took over scattered municipal governments and school boards.



1924: With the court case threatening its existence, the Klan had two options (1) get a

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charter or (2) get legislation passed to exempt it from the need for a charter.

- The KKK stood no chance of getting a charter from the 3-member State Charter Board—the Attorney General despised the Klan and the Secretary of State, Frank Ryan (R), was Catholic.
- The Klan tried & failed to intervene in the 1924 Republican primary to unseat the Attorney General and Secretary of State.
- Publisher William Allen White spent the 1924 election ridiculing the Klan, for instance, referring to their members as “suckers” who pay a large membership fee “in order to hate Negroes, Catholics, and Jews when they could stay out of the organization and do it for nothing.”
- A popular song at the time was “*Daddy Stole Our Last Clean Sheet and Joined the Klu Klux Klan*”
- Republican leaders publically referred to Klan leaders as “unchristian,” “idiots,” “evil,” “tyrants” and “wangdoodles.”

1925: In January, the state Supreme Court determined that the KKK was a Georgia corporation doing business in Kansas without a charter and ordered it to cease all activity.

- The KKK then worked to defeat anti-Klan Representative Clifford Hope (R) (future Congressman from SW Kansas) in his race for Speaker, but failed.
- During the 1925 Session, when Speaker Hope was in Wichita, Klan supporters rammed a bill through the State Senate on February 25 exempting “benevolent” charitable organizations, like the Klan, from the need for a corporate charter and tried for passage in the House on February 27 by calling an emergency and

suspending the Rules. The Clerk, O.H. Hatfield of Gray County, then intentionally “lost or misplaced” the bill and left the Capitol with the House in chaos, meeting Speaker Hope on his return. When the Speaker returned, order was restored, and the bill was defeated in the House.

1926-27: In a final attempt, in 1927, Klan supporters tried to defeat Representative John D.M. Hamilton (R) (future Chair of the RNC) for Speaker. At a meeting in Scott County the two Speaker candidates made their pitch to a group of new legislators. Simon Fishman (R), the new representative for Greeley County, stood up, paused, and addressed the pro-Klan candidate “Vell, you are a Klansman and I am a Jew. . .” and walked out. Hamilton was elected Speaker in January 1927, and the Klan died in Kansas.

ELISHA SCOTT, SR. **(1890-1963)**

Elisha Scott, Sr, was born in Memphis Tennessee in 1890. His family later moved to west Topeka. As a youth he possessed a strong drive and a quick wit, which attracted the eye of the



prominent minister Charles M. Sheldon. Sheldon helped Scott enroll at the Kansas Technical Institute, which was an all-African American vocational school. Elisha Scott went

on to earn his law degree from Washburn College in 1916. He was the third African

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American to graduate from Washburn, and the only African American student in his class.

During his long career as an attorney, he argued many civil rights and school segregation cases throughout Kansas and the Midwest. Scott provided legal help for the victims of the Tulsa, Oklahoma, lynchings in 1921.

He won the 1924 Kansas Supreme Court case *Thurman-Watts v. The Board of Education of the City of Coffeyville*, which struck down Coffeyville's attempt to segregate Jr High Schools. In 1947-48, Scott represented families in Johnson County in the Kansas Supreme Court case *Webb v. School District No. 90*, which gained entrance for black students to a Merriam elementary school. He gained a reputation in Kansas as taking difficult cases, and winning them.

Scott's two sons, John and Charles, joined him in his law firm. His sons would make history by helping with the landmark case of *Brown v. Board of Education*.

AN ANECDOTE FROM 1948

From an April 1948 Letter to Congressman Clifford Hope (R):

"I beg of you in behalf of America's freedom, that you vote against [the] civil rights program. I am not against the colored man, but GOD Himself pronounced a curse on Ham and his descendants, they were to be servants all the days of their life. I beg you, in the name of Jesus Christ, My Lord, that you vote against this bill. God will not hold you guiltless if you go against his will."

Congressman Hope's response:

"Until I received your letter I thought I had seen and heard about everything in the course of my twenty years in Congress. Your letter, however, takes the cake. . . . For one to urge as you do, however, that [the civil rights program] should be opposed in the name of Jesus Christ is the most blasphemous thing I have read for a long time. I suggest that you hold a session of prayer with yourself or go to your Minister and try to find out something of the principles of the Christian religion. I am proud of the State of Kansas and I really didn't suppose there was anyone in the State who would go back so far to the dark ages as you."

CHARLES SCOTT, SR. **(1922-1989)**

Charles S. Scott, Sr., son of Elisha Scott, was an attorney, and republican, who helped integrate public schools nationwide by bringing suit in the landmark *Brown versus Topeka Board of Education* case.

Charles attended Topeka Public Schools and graduated from Topeka High School. He began at Washburn Law School in 1940 only to be interrupted by World War II. During the war he was assigned to the all-black 2nd Cavalry Division and served in Southern France. After the war, Charles re-enrolled in Washburn Law School and acquired his law degree in 1948. From there he went on to join his father and brothers, John and Elisha, Jr., at the family firm.



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In 1948, Charles and Elisha Scott sued to integrate elementary schools in Merriam, Johnson County. The school board had built a modern elementary school for the white children and forced the African-American children to attend an old dilapidated, elementary school. The African American parents withdrew their children to a home school and the Scotts sued because the schools were not equal. In 1949, the Kansas Supreme Court ruled that equal facilities must be provided for all children and the school board admitted black children to the new school.

The issue of whether segregation was allowed in equal schools was not addressed. That was the issue in the *Brown v Topeka Bd of Ed* case, in which Charles participated in 1951-54.

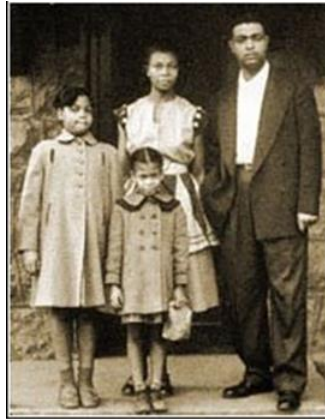
Later, with his brother John, Charles represented plaintiffs in many cases that sought to allow blacks access to swimming pools, theaters, and restaurants in Topeka. The Scotts' law firm also represented the Congress of Racial Equality during the civil rights movement in the 1960's.

Charles S. Scott, Sr. died on March 3, 1989.

BROWN V. BOARD OF EDUCATION **(1954)**

The landmark United States Supreme Court case, issued on May 17, 1954, unanimously (9-0), which held that "separate educational facilities are inherently unequal" and thus racially segregated schools were a violation of the Constitution's Equal Protection Clause -- "no State shall... deny to any person... the equal protection of the laws." *Brown* overturned an 1896 decision which had held that racially separate but equal schools were Constitutional.

An 1879 Kansas law allowed, but did not require, elementary schools in cities of the first class to be segregated by race. Attempts to expand this statute to cities of the second and third class failed in 1916 and 1919. State courts struck down attempts to expand segregation beyond elementary schools. But



the State Supreme Court upheld the basic segregation statute in 1930.

In 1951, a class action suit was planned against the Topeka Board of Education in federal court. The plaintiffs would be 13 Topeka parents on behalf of their 20 children. The suit called for the school district to reverse its policy of racial segregation. The plaintiffs had been recruited by the leadership of the Topeka NAACP including Chairman McKinley Burnett, Charles Scott, and Lucinda Todd.

The named plaintiff would be Oliver L. Brown, a parent, a welder for the Santa Fe Railroad, and an assistant pastor at his local church. He was convinced to join the lawsuit by Charles Scott, a childhood friend. Brown's daughter Linda, a third grader, had to walk six blocks to her bus stop to ride to Monroe Elementary, her segregated black school one mile away, while Sumner Elementary, a white school, was seven blocks from her home.

In the fall of 1951, the parents first tried to enroll their children in the closest elementary school. They were refused enrollment. Then they filed the lawsuit. The thirteen plaintiffs were: Oliver Brown, Darlene Brown, Lena Carper, Sadie Emmanuel, Marguerite Emerson, Shirley Fleming, Zelma Henderson, Shirley Hodison,

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Maude Lawton, Alma Lewis, Iona Richardson, and Lucinda Todd. The last surviving plaintiff, Zelma Henderson, died in Topeka, on May 20, 2008.

In 1951, the District Court ruled in favor of the Board of Education, citing the prior Supreme Court precedent that schools could be racially separate, if equal. The Court concluded that segregation in public education had a detrimental effect upon the children, but denied relief because the schools were substantially equal in terms of facilities, curriculum, and teacher qualifications.

Kansas eliminated its segregation statute before the case reached the Supreme Court, but was allowed to argue the case because it was the only state where segregated schools had actually been equal.

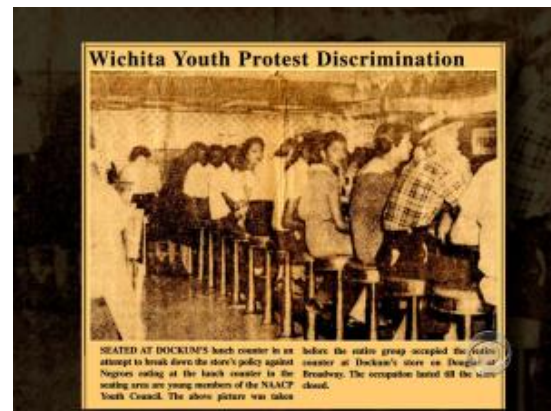
In December 1952 and again in December 1953, the Supreme Court heard arguments on five combined cases: the Brown case, along with cases from South Carolina, Virginia, Delaware, and Washington D.C. The Kansas case was unique because the schools at issue were substantially equal – thus allowing the Supreme Court to address the issue of whether equal schools could be racially separate. In the other states, the black schools were found to be substantially inferior to the white schools. The Supreme Court issued the unanimous opinion May 17, 1954.

Oliver L. Brown, who died in 1961, was posthumously awarded the Congressional Gold Medal in 2004 by a bill sponsored by Senators Brownback and Roberts.

WICHITA SIT-INS **(1958-1959)**

The first peaceful organized sit-in the US occurred at Wichita's Dockum Drug Store in July 1958.

The Dockum Drug Store, like many of the other popular eateries in downtown Wichita, refused to serve African Americans at the counter. If they wished to purchase food in the restaurant, they had to order it at the end of the counter, and take it to go.



Starting July 19, 1958, 20-year old Ron Walters, head of the NAACP Youth, and Carol Parks-Haun, with other young students, began entering the drugstore every day and filling the stools at the counter. They asked only that they be served a soft drink. They were neat and quiet, and caused no fuss. For a month the students continued to fill the drug store. Finally on August 11 the owner relented, saying, "Serve them — I'm losing too much money."

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Dockum Drug Store, Wichita

In 1959, the Kansas Legislature banned all racial discrimination in hotels, motels, restaurants, and other places of public accommodation.

SAMUEL C. JACKSON, JR. **(1929-1982)**

A Kansan, he was the highest ranked black Republican in Washington, D.C., in the early 1970s, serving as Assistant Secretary of Housing & Urban Development. Charles Scott, the famous lawyer, told an audience in 1971 that Sam Jackson, "was a young man who had a dedication to do something for his people and he picked the NAACP and the GOP as his chance for usefulness."

He was born in the Mudville community of Kansas City, Kansas. After graduating from Topeka High School, he attended Washburn University and received his law



degree in 1954. While in law school, he served as a clerk in the Scott law firm and worked on the *Brown v Bd of Ed* case. In 1957, he returned to Topeka after completing his military service and began his law practice. He was also appointed to

serve as a Deputy General Counsel of the Kansas Department of Welfare.

Committed to the ideals of liberty and equality, he was an active member of the NAACP, served as president of the Topeka chapter, vice-president and legislative chairman of the Kansas NAACP Conference, and several positions in the regional and national NAACP.

In 1965, he was appointed by LBJ to serve as one of the five original members of the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. In 1969, he was appointed by President Richard Nixon to serve as General Assistant Secretary of the Department of Housing and Urban Development. During the 1970s, he left public service and joined a prominent Wall Street law firm. In 1981, he returned to public service as an appointee of President Ronald Reagan to the Presidential Housing Commission.

ARTHUR A. FLETCHER **(1924-2005)**

Arthur Fletcher was born in 1924 at Camp Huachuca, Arizona, where his father was stationed in the all black cavalry unit. His family settled in Junction City, Kansas, where he attended high school, and organized a boycott of the school yearbook, which segregated the photos of black students at the back of the book.

He served in Europe in World War II, was wounded, and discharged in 1945. He was a college football star who studied at Washburn and later played defensive end for the Baltimore Colts and the Los Angeles Rams before returning to Kansas and beginning his career in politics.

He was picked to manage the 1956 Governor campaign of Fred Hall (R) among black voters.

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Fred Hall won, and Fletcher was rewarded with a



job overseeing the building and maintenance of Kansas highways. The job, in the 1950's in the middle of a boom in highway building, gave him a firsthand look at how lucrative government

contracts were handed out, and he concluded that better access to those contracts was a cornerstone for improving the prospects of minorities.

He personally helped finance the lawsuit against the Topeka Board of Education in the Brown v. Board of Education case. He later left Kansas and President Nixon appointed him Assistant Secretary of Labor, where he pursued policies to use government contracts to get businesses and unions to hire minorities and women.

He became the executive director of the United Negro College Fund, where he started a management training program, began a grass-roots effort to include blacks beyond the middle class, and coined the phrase "A mind is a terrible thing to waste."

He later served as an advisor to Presidents Gerald R. Ford and Ronald Reagan, and headed the United States Commission on Civil Rights from 1990 to 1993, under President George Bush.

TODAY

We can celebrate the achievements of many Black Kansas Republicans: **Eliehue Brunson**, following in the tradition of the Elisha & Charles Scott, as an attorney, Major US Army - recipient of The Bronze Star, member of President George H.W. Bush's Administration as

Secretary of Labor's representative for Region VII, of the State Attorney General, the NAACP, and Chair of the Kansas Black Republican Council,



Kenya Cox, Past Chair of the Fourth District Republican Party Committee,

Willie Dove, State Representative from Johnson and Leavenworth Counties, House Majority Whip



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Herman Jones, Sherriff of Shawnee County, elected by precinct leaders, then elected by the voters in 2016.



Treatha Brown-Foster, recent past president of the Kansas Black Republican Council and long-time Wichita Community Activist.



The Kansas Black Republican Council was organized in 1966. It has held numerous events including an Educational Symposium in Wichita to provide the Wichita community and WSU students exposure to a more complete and accurate history and platform of the Republican Party and understanding of the current activities of the Kansas Black Republican Council.

The KBRC holds an Annual Freedom Shoot in September in Topeka, Kansas. The Shoot celebrates our right keep and bear arms, a right honored and respected by our U.S. Constitution.



Visit: www.kansasblackrepublicans.com.



Black Council presents award to Governor Brownback