Dear Sir: May I be allowed to call attention to some misstatements of fact and consequent errors of conclusion, in your elaborate review of "An Appeal to Caesar." The courteous tone of the article precludes the idea that any misrepresentation was intended and the apparent care bestowed upon certain phases of the book, renders all the more striking the ~~[illegible]~~ misapprehension of other and more important features. Your reviewer states that my remedy for the present ills and future perils of the South, arising ~~as~~ they do out of the ignorance of the masses, white and black, on which Slavery rests based and to which it owed its perpetuation" is education not only at the expense of the ~~general~~ national government but ~~also~~ under direct governmental supervision, without state agency." Against this idea he argues that "the national government has enough to do without taking upon itself the administration of a school system;" and denounces the theory of "the administration of a school system by the general government," as ~~too~~ a doctrine of terribly dangerous influences and tendencies.

This statement and arguments ~~are~~ are not only in correct but are in the highest degree misleading upon ~~a~~ two most vital points, of ~~the work~~ under consideration. In the first place,

the merely proposed in the Appeal, ~~does~~ is not "educa-
at the expense of the national government", it being ex-
pressly provided therein that no part of the fund shall
be disbursed in support of any school, unless at least
one-half the current expenses of such school are
met either by the state ~~author~~ or municipal government
of the locality or by the ~~people~~ voluntary contribution
the people of the district.

In the second plan, the plan ~~to~~ elaborated in the
"Appeal", not only does not propose "education under direct
governmental supervision", nor "the administration of
a school system by the general government" but it
expressly negatives that idea as ~~wrongful~~, unnecess-
ary, cumbersome and extravagant. On page 383,
the very first essential of the plan which it is alleged
~~would be met~~ should be elaborated by legislative
wisdom, ~~is alleged to be~~ ~~is declared to be~~ is that
"It must not provide for a system of national
schools." This explicit declaration is repeated and
emphasized on the three following pages and is con-
stantly insisted upon as an essential element
of the plan throughout the whole work. How the
reviewer missed it is a matter of amazement
to me unless indeed he inferred which it seemed
be from seeing what it was not instead of reading my analysis of it. The simple fact is:

my plan ~~might~~ be

that the plan proposed has no element of such a a theory in it. It simply proposes ~~to~~ (1) to appropriate a certain sum from in aid of primary education in states where more than twelve per cent of the population cannot write. (2) — It assigns to every school district, ~~or township or other~~ under the state system, a sum proportionate to the number of children in the district according to the last census. (3) This amount is to be paid over to the teacher or trustees of a "free school organized and operated under the state system" if there is such an one in the district, ~~and it~~ which is maintained for a reasonable portion of the ~~period~~ in the year. — If there is no public school or if the public school is not maintained for a reasonable period or one half its current expenses not provided for by the state, then the people of the district may organize such a school, and by paying half its current expenses and keeping it open the required period, with the requisite average attendance, may receive in aid of that school the proportion of the fund as equal to that district for that year. In case of a failure of both the state and the people to provide for one-half the current

expenses, to organize and maintain the school during the time required, the sum apportioned to said district, according to this plan is to be covered again into the treasury of the United States. This feature indeed is claimed as a chief merit of the plan because it stimulates both state and people to active interest and exertion in the matter of education and in effect punishes negligence by depriving the negligent of all participation in the benefits arising from the action of the general government. In other words, the plan proposed says to the state "If you will organize and operate a school in any specified district for a certain time each year, with an average attendance bearing a specific relation to the number of persons within school age in the district, we will give you a certain sum to be used in payment of the teachers' wages only". If the state refuses to accept these terms the same offer is open to the people of the district. If they will not act the money goes back into the Treasury. So that the explicit declaration of the general government is, under this plan, that it will aid primary education under the absolute control of the states

if they will do their share toward supporting the schools. If the state will not act it will state and primary education if the people of the district will themselves do what the state refuses to do; but in no event will the government "administer a school system" or do more than supplement the efforts either of states or individuals in this direction.

It did not need the editorial assurance to satisfy any careful reader that the writer of this review was is a Southern man. If he had sought to illustrate the view which the "Appeal" represents the Southern man as taking of this question he could not have done so more thoroughly. The closing demur that the negro is likely to increase faster than the white race for any considerable period and maintains that if he does it is of no material consequence. The negro, he declares, was docile and obedient as a slave; he did not rise in insurrection during the war and therefore is not likely even to use his power to secure his own rights or what he believes to be his rights. These are exactly the views ascribed to the Southern white man in the "Appeal". It is hardly be possible that he should take any other view. The master always despises the slave and one who has been a master and means properly appreciate the slave when once he has become a free man. This error is at the root of the editorial comment that because the ne-

man is a Southern man he necessarily understands the negro better than the Northern man can, whatever his experience or observation of the freedman. Of course this question can only be decided by time. The two classes of observers naturally reason each other's processes. The Southern man studies the freedman through his knowledge of the slave. I have studied the slave through a wide and varied knowledge of the freedman. Whether the master who fought to keep the slave in bondage or the man who fought to free him is more likely to understand and appreciate the characteristics of the freedman who was the result of the conflict is the question to be decided. I suppose Pharaoh's opinion of Moses and the crowd he lead across the Red Sea was decidedly different from that entertained by the ~~Amalekites~~ Amalekites after the affair at Rephidim. The Egyptians had studied the Israelites in bondage for four hundred and thirty years and no doubt boasted that they knew all about them. The Amalekites had only one day's acquaintance with them but when the sun went down that day they had a much better idea of those lively tribes than the Egyptians had acquired in four centuries or ~~had even been able to~~ would have gotten had they held them in bondage until doomsday. The southern man is a capital judge of the negro, as a "nigger"; when he comes to estimate him as a man, he utterly fails. Between the two there is a vast distance already and the gap is daily growing wider.

The reviewer asks triumphantly, if it is "to be assumed that such men will take advantage of their numerical superiority to set the law at defiance?" No such assumption is made in the "Appeal." It is there contended that these men will use the power which numbers will soon give, to assert and maintain their rights, or what they conceive to be their rights, to resist violence and to discern fraud. Editorially, it is stated that this idea that the negro's patience and submission will endure forever, is a much higher ideal of the negro character than I seem to entertain. No doubt the man who patiently endures wrong which he might redress by an assertion of his power and manhood constitutes a better style, a more desirable type, of "nigger." Considered as a menial, merely, which the reviewer seems to think he must ever remain, the negro no doubt would be the highest type of character is no doubt measured by his aptitude for peaceable submission. Such are not the men on whom liberty puts the seal of her approval, however. Those who know their rights" and knowing dare maintain" are the type of freemen whom history approves. My idea of the negro's character is too high to permit me to believe that he will always leave his rights in abeyance simply because it suits the notions of the whites to consider him an inferior.

(A) 9 (a. b. c)

The review charges that I have "appropriated" Professor Gilliam's idea and "founded a book" upon it. The charge is unworthy one of the reviewer's presumed intelligence. He should have known that I have already written two books "A Fool's Errand" and "Bricks Without Straw" the sole motive of which was to define and illustrate the relations between the races and classes of the South and to urge National aid to education as the one reasonable and feasible remedy for such evils and present dangers. If he will consult the latter work he will find the whole plan of the distribution of the funds and the operation of the measure proposed distinctly outlined therein. Professor Gilliam compared certain figures of the census of 1880 and showed in certain states the probable increase of the negro race as compared with the whites during the next hundred years. He made no analysis of the migratory movements of the two races and did not seek to ascertain the causes or consider the consequences of this increase with relation to the questions I have discussed. The greater fecundity of the black race was the object of his inquiry; it is only an incident of mine. For the work he did, so far as it bore upon the subject in hand I have given him the fullest credit. I am not aware, however, that any writer ever approached the subject from the standpoint from which I have written or that any one has endeavored to show the futility of other remedies and the probable efficacy of education as a cure for the ills already existing and only made more imminent by the fact of the more rapid increase of the blacks.

(B)

The reviewer also makes the ordinary mistake of the Southern man who seeks to palliate and excuse the events of the past few years. He declares that "Kukluxism" was the "offspring" of "Carpet-baggism". Unfortunately for this frequently asserted theory, there were no "carpet-bag" governments, or "carpet-bag" officials until after the Kuklux Klan was in the zenith of its bloody work. The recent historians and defiers of this wonderful piece of revolutionary conspiracy, inform us that it was instituted in 1868 and was in full blast in at least five states before 1867. The first "carpet-bag" government was in formed in July 1868. Up to that time Andrew Johnson's provisional governments were in operation and were run by native Officials — mostly Democrats. The matter is not of great importance perhaps, and the "carpet-baggers" deserved perhaps, all the infamy that has been heaped upon them. They were very few — not one in a hundred as compared with the native voters — and to undertake to carry out the behest of the national legislature with the material allowed, was a piece of folly so stupendous as to make any abuse fall short of their desert. However, when it is a question as to who muddied the stream it may be well to note which way the current flows. In this case the "carpet-baggers" certainly did stand down stream from the Kuklux. How much

the anticipation of carpet-bag maladministration had to do with inspiring the half-million of Kuklux who belonged to the Klan in 1867, by the climax of its offenders and defenders, to the career of murder and outrage on which they had already entered, I do not know — but one thing is sure, that if the "carpet-bagger" was the ~~sire~~ progenitor of the Kuklux the child was a full-grown man-slayer before his father was born.

(a, b, c)

The reviewer further illustrates the correctness of the view taken in the "Appeal" by alleging as a reason why no danger need be apprehended from the facts therein set forth by asserting that "as a matter of fact, things in this country usually right themselves, and that when they fail to do so, "the American people adopt effective measures for their righting." He instances Tweed and the Credit Mobilier. He might have cited Slavery and the Rebellion. After righting these evils there is no question about the ability of the American people to deal with any other. That is the basis of my "Appeal". The only question is whether it is not better to forestall evil by prevention than rely upon good fortune for a cure. The ground of my contention is simply that it is cheaper, wiser, manlier and every way better to cure the evil and prevent the danger today with the spelling-book, than to eradicate it tomorrow with the bayonet. Even in this I may be mistaken. The tree of liberty surely flourishes without frequent watering of its roots with blood. There are no doubt cases in which blood is cheaper than money and the blood of the negro, now that he is free, seems to be about as little esteemed as blood ever was. When he was a slave, the nation paid little heed to the rights of states in

its frantic efforts to return the fugitive to bondage.

Now that he is free, the very thought of handing him across the general line of a sovereign state, without a spelling book ~~without~~ leave and license first had and obtained from the state which has ~~been charge sends~~ the same divine right to keep him in ignorance which it some claimed to hold him in bondage, sends chills of apprehension agony down the backs of the timid {to whom emancipation has not served to seem "a tolerable anomaly in our system of government." ~~some patriots, who consented submission to a~~ ~~for the sake of peace and the [redacted] rights~~ This pulpitating fear of invading the rights of the states may be entirely wise and proper ~~sincere~~, but it is a curious fact that it surely manifests itself ~~himself~~ except in connection with the negro and always to his detriment. I may be wrong but I firmly believe,

(1) That if the illiteracy of the South had been entirely white — that is if there was no race and color side to the matter ~~the~~ the nation would not have waited nineteen years, without doing anything to effect its cure.

(2) That if the illiterates of the South were all white, not a man in the country, North or South, would dream of denying the authority, policy and duty of the general government to aid in the enlightenment of a mass of ignorance the states are unable to cope with alone. As evidence of this, I call attention to the fact that two billions of acres of the public domain have been appropriated for educational purposes without opposition and in cases where there was no such pressing necessity for enlightenment as is now apparent at the South.

(3) — If the negro had not been much more patient and forbearing under oppression than even the whites of the present day, no sane man can doubt that

cases the attention of the American people, which the "Alfred" ~~[illegible]~~ notices, unnecessarily, unless united by wire and telegraph, likely to occur in the future, would have opened into stubborn and terrible fact, long ere this.

Respectfully

U. A. Sourge

Answer to Report
in Commercial
Advertiser

Oct 24 1874