My dear Sir:

Your letter of the 18th ult was duly read, but absence on a prolonged lecture tour at the west prevented a reply before this time.

It is not clear to me in what way I can be of service to you. I have no recollection of copying the section you cite from Art VII. of the Constitution of South Carolina, from any other. Indeed, I think it very improbable that I did so. I am not inclined to verbal reproduction and while my memory of facts is very accurate my verbal memory is woefully poor. It is highly probable therefor, that I drew the section you allude to in this form to meet the evil

which I particularly dreaded in the state at that time, to wit, the teeming J. cities and counties. Even this provision I think was insufficient to prevent some considerable operations in that line.

I do not know that the same provision has been adjudicated in the other state. One with a different modifying clause frequently has been. I cannot imagine, however, a fairer method of ascertaining what constitutes "a qualified voter" than the record of the registration. I must say, that I think the rule not only eminently wise and just but the only one a court could safely adopt in a state where registration is compulsory, as it is in N. C. Despite your evident aspirations I cannot but commend the court for this decision.

One is apt to forget, in his desire for ~~matter~~ a specific object, the value of general safeguards.

The decision that ~~a~~ a school tax is not ~~a~~ a part of the "necessary expenses" of a county, is a ~~matter of~~ question of a different character. You must remember that judges, as well as all other men, are the creatures of environment. To the ~~man~~ man reared ~~at~~ the south, in the ~~post~~ ante-bellum day, as a matter of course, a public school is an unnecessary expense. His training, his mental developement, was not such as to enable him to realize that general education is a matter in which the state and ~~a~~ county have a direct ~~[illegible]~~ pecuniary interest. He finds it difficult to understand that a high percentage of illiteracy is a

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matter of such extreme peril to a community as well as such a serious drawback to its prosperity as to make a sufficient provision to reduce ignorance to a normal ratio a matter of far more importance than good roads and bridges.

The judges of a Northern court, being educated under different influences, would probably learn inquired as to the ratio of illiteracy in a county and finding it away up in the twenties, would no doubt learn and, that until it was reduced to reasonable limits, a reasonable measure of county taxation for

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that purpose, was unquestionably a "necessary expense." It would seem that the peculiarly forcible language of the first section of the Educational article of the Constitution might have aided the court in determining the fact that the convention and the people in adopting the constitution — in ratifying it in this respect by the amendment of 1875 — intended to make education one of the most "necessary" of expenses.

However, these things are a matter of growth and when the people of North

Carolina become fully convinced that general intelligence is a matter of necessity rather than of ornament the courts will probably come up to their standard. Some of the men upon the bench of North Carolina are natural and intelligent progressionists, hampered no doubt in some degree by environment, but sincerely believing that civilization demands new conditions. There are others among her judges who are just as natural and perhaps more determined obstructionists. Their eyes are all in the rear and their strength, like that of the crow,

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Such men often think they are doing great things when like the cram-fish they are only bumping their backsides against a rock.

fish, altogether in their tails. They think it a sign of superiority — of greatness — to be always going backward — because the current is the other way. They expect to secure fame by settling back in the breeching forgetful of the fact that posterity always remembers and honors the man who tries to go ahead, even in a ~~wro~~ wrong direction, and forgets and despises him who seeks to prevent progress. Such men have to live until they are superseded by better ones. These things are no doubt discouraging but they are necessary elements of the ~~pr~~ ever unsolved problem of self-govern-

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ment, which made the sentiment of the people the index of progress.

No doubt if the whole country had been at the same point as to education and general intelligence, as the South was in 1860, and a like progress had been made over the whole land as that made at the South, we should all have deemed it very remarkable. As a matter of fact, it would have been impossible. Not only has the sentiment of the North been a most potent factor in stimulating educational progress at the South, but the sense of equity, the general desire that the South should excel has been a still more important one. The sentiment which has thus far stimulated educational

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progress at the South — the universal exultation in its super-excellence — will very soon become a most potent factor in multiplying its educational facilities. The people will favor it from a very fortunate desire to out do the North. That is why you educators of the South make a mistake in forever extolling what has been done. The surest way to induce the Southern people to act is to keep before their eyes the horrible figures which tell to what woefulness of ignorance — their old notions — the Southern ideas which they would fain worship — have

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condemned them and their children.

As to the "equality," as it is termed, between $100. of property and a man, as a basis and rule of taxation, I opposed it simply because I was and am opposed to any sort of poll-tax. It is simply a relic of not only of barbarism but of oppression and folly. If you care to examine, you will find in "Brief Without Stamp" page 3 a list of doggerel, I wrote and published at that time upon the subject.

Poll-tax is both a folly and a crime — an attempt to make the weak support a government for the benefit of the rich and an attempt to add to the burdens and inequality which

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weighs down the poor. It is a product of feudalism and a result of that political philosophy which inferes and demands the duty of maintaining the slavery.

Poll-tax, including road-working — which is really an unconstitutional tax of the most outrageous character — puts on the laboring man, the poor man, of North Carolina, a burden which it amazes me that they have borne so long. Road-work and poll-tax united, counting in this brand while working on the highway make the average personal tax paid by the laborer equivalent to at the value of least two weeks, and in many instances three weeks labor off his labor.

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suppose it to be but nine cents and it constitutes an incredible burden. If the same rule were applied to business and professional men in the state it would raise a rebellion in twenty-four hours. It would take, you see, ~~about~~ two dollars out of every hundred received by the planter for the sale of his crops or the manufacturer by the sale of his wares, without regard to his profit or loss. By the same rule equably and justly applied, a lawyer receiving $2,000. a year in fees, would have to pay about $40. poll-tax. So long as the people of North Carolina submit to such deplorable injustice, they cannot

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expect the benefits of enlightened legislation. The fact that they do submit, shows, in fact that they are not freed from the thralldom of oppressive institutions — that they do not yet realize what self-government means.

Under such circumstances the ~~hardships~~ resulting hardships, become valuable incentives. When a people begin to realize that they are suffering from unfavorable conditions and learn that the remedy is in their own hands an easy always route for progress. Such things are hard at the individual;

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he labors; as it seems, in vain. He may die and never see the fruit of his work. But they are ~~the~~ really

"~~The~~ guards with which young freedom lines
The pathway to her uncomtain shrines."

Liberty — self-government, ~~a progress~~ comes always through the scourge of oppression and the progress of a people is always built upon the blighted aspirations of those who chafe under ~~off~~ unjust conditions. The time is coming when the people of North Carolina will look upon the ~~poll~~ taxation of the poll today as not a whit wiser or juster than the slavery of yesterday. ~~But~~

But there will always be men who will exult in throwing them 2

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scholars under the ban of disagreement, no matter how hideous or how foul the particular idol they worship may be. We are inclined to pity their infatuation, sometimes, but looking at it philosophically, it may be doubted if it is not as good a use as men of that sort could well be put to. A state that insists on oppressing its laboring class deserves the luck of prosperity which naturally results. That is the way by which history is always striving to teach tomorrow that justice is always the highest policy. Sincerely Yours.

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national conventions of the Republican Party. A Bill making provision for ~~and~~ educational aid to the several states has been before Congress for eight years. It has passed the Senate but failed of a vote in the House. It is generally known as the Blair Bill, and under that designation has been extensively endorsed by educational and religious assemblies. The leading features of this bill are – (1) The appropriation of a specific sum to be distributed to the various states in ~~the~~ proportion to the illiteracy of each. (2) The sum awarded to each state to be paid over in bulk to the

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state officials each year (3) The sum received is required to be used by states in which the schools for the two races are separate for the equal advantage of both. (4) In case of misuse of the fund by any state future payments may be withheld. (5) Part of the fund may be used for school buildings. (6) A portion of the fund may be used for normal ~~sho~~ schools or institutions giving normal instructions. There are other features but these are the important ones.

x x

x x x

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ted to education, but to the most unconstitutional kind of education, the training and advantage of a particular class. But besides that the national government has once distributed to the States, a surplus, to be done with disposed of as they chose, and some of them chose to distribute it their shares among their citizens, others to put it into schools, others to use it simply as a fund to reduce taxation.

After all this the claim of lack of power becomes too slippery for

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a man susceptible to the influence of common-sense to stand on long enough to put it into words.

The simple fact is that if two-thirds of those who need ~~such~~ enlightenment were not colored men, who are not only ~~solo~~ ignorant but also poor and weak, such appropriation would have been made a dozen years ago. If the ~~fr~~ 5.000.000. of illiterates in the Southern states were all of the white race not a member of Congress of any party ~~on~~ would ever dream of opposing such

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an application of national funds. There is always a lack of power when anything is proposed to be done that may result in advantage to the colored race, but never any failure of authority when it is proposed to do them harm.

x x x

There are but ~~two~~ ~~three~~ ~~of~~ three questions involved in the matter. The first is whether a people — a nation — whose laws have enforced and maintained slavery for two centuries and a half — who kept the slave ignorant by law and took the fruit of his labor to build schools and churches, is not bound at least to furnish his children

with the opportunity to learn to read and write. The second is, whether, it is just to them ~~prudent~~ on a matter of common-prudence in the nation on the part of that it should leave so large a proportion of the population of one-third of its constituent commonwealths, in ignorance. The third is, whether common-reason will endorse as either just or prudent or profitable the emancipation of a people and leaving them without any provision for their education as independence.

No one pretends that the educa-

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tion of these people is not ~~necessary~~ desirable and necessary, but we have men of all parties, who are willing enough to tear down the Constitution when it is in their way or stretch it to the point of almost imperceptible tenuity, when it suits their pleasure, snuffling and whimpering about the "solemnity" of its provisions, just as soon as there is a proposal to do anything that would enable the negro to secure "a white man's chance" in the United States. Nothing has ever produced such a display of catarrhal hypocrisy, since

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Columbus discovered America, as the moving of this question ~~among the party managers in Congress~~ in Congress. That a Southern Democrat should oppose it, is at least comprehensible. It is not logical or consistent, for he is, as a rule, greedy enough for appropriations. That a Northern Republican should oppose it, simply shows how afraid or ashamed ~~they are~~ the leaders of the party — its political managers — are of the logical consequences of their own acts, or that Mr Jefferson Davis's construction of the Constitution is the one our soldiers fought to maintain.

x

x x

With these views, and the well-known fact that since ~~1872~~, 1872 the Bystander has been an open and avowed champion of "National ~~primary~~ Aid to primary education", and has ~~having~~ made it the theme of more than of more than one volume, it is not surprising that one by whom the Blair Bill is ~~represented~~ supposed to represent the only method of ~~oblow~~ securing that result, should write to him inquiring with much earnestness "Is it possible as has been represented to me, that ~~you~~ one who has done more than

any other to awaken public interest in this subject, should be opposed to what is known as the "Blair Bill"? If so, will you not tell us through the Inter-Ocean what reason you have for such opposition?"

If the writer of this letter had ever read the Bystanders' "Appeal to Caesar" there, he could hardly have been in any doubt as to either of these questions. He is quite willing to answer them, however, and in so doing desires to say that the views expressed in that work have been deepened and confirmed by all that has occurred

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since its publication.

The Bystander is opposed to the "Blair Bill" and to all other bills or projects based on the principle of state ~~application~~ manipulation of the funds nominally designed for educational purposes.

His reasons for this, are:

1 – That a state in which from one-third to one-half the people are debarred of their political rights should not be given control of a fund intended to a great extent ~~at~~ ~~to~~ as a remedy for that state of affairs.

2 – Because it ~~makes~~ involves a needless risk of loss of the fund, its waste or misapplication. The Treasurers of four states have defaulted within a decade — all exceptionally honest men, too. A very large part of the ~~College~~ Agricultural College Scrip was lost or squandered.

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If the National government had kept the land and given yearly to specific institutions in the various states the ~~[illegible]~~ share intended for each, the result would have been much more beneficent, except in a few cases.

3 – There is no means of punishing, or preventing or recouping such loss, in case it should occur, nor can any such scheme of that character be provided in a

4 – It allows part of the fund to be used to build school-houses and provide higher education.

5 – It contains and can by no form of words be made to contain any sufficient guaranty that the colored race shall receive its due proportion of such fund.

6 – It is simply doing another wrong to the victim of generations of injustice under the specious plea of promoting his welfare.

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7 — It is a most mischievous and unnecessary acceptance of the "State Sovereignty" construction of the Constitution which has already cost us blood and money enough.

8 — Such a law or almost certain to produce conflicts between State and National authority.

or any law based on state manipulation of the fund

9 — It would make the colored man of the South wholly dependent, for opportunity or hope upon the usurping "White Lines" Democracy.

10 — All the purposes sought to be promoted by this bill may be secured more directly, more cheaply

more certainly, more justly and without possibility of loss, misapplication, conflict of authority or bowing the knee to the blood-stained Baal of "State Rights."

The Bystander would do almost anything to secure the enlightenment of the Colored race in the United States, not for their sakes alone, but because he believes the peace and perpetuity of the nation depends upon it — but he thinks it better for the race and worthier of the Nation's honor, that nothing should be done in attempted