Apl 3rd 1890

My dear Sir: I have your letter of the — ult. Once in
~~three or ten~~ a century perhaps, an opportunity is of-
fered to a man to change the tenor of history — &
to fix the destiny of a race or nation. Once in
three or four centuries, perhaps, a man ~~or~~ thrice comes who
sees his opportunity, forgets himself and rises to su-
preme renown by accomplishing an unforgettable good
for the world, ~~or~~ or saves race or people. Such
an opportunity was offered you and I trust you may
yet ~~see it~~ comprehend it: but I regret to say that I see
nothing in your letter to indicate a realizing sense of
the need of your race from a great leader or the oppor-
tunity offered you to supply that need. It is a pity
that this present opportunity should be lost, but
God champions His own truth and raises up His
own as instruments. Your race must win its
recognition and real liberty; and no race ever won
any good thing for itself except by the assertion
and exercise of power. Such ~~a race~~ efforts demand
a leader who is willing to dare all and be
nothing if he may not win good for his people.

Such a man will never approve in the ~~case~~
name of his people such a measure as the

"Blair Bill" which thank God is now dead — as dead as all unjust and de-~~cepte~~ captive measures should be! I do not suppose you ever studied its provisions carefully enough to see that you were bidding for a new debasement of your race by approving it. What are they?

1 — That a certain sum shall be handed over to officers of each state to be used for ~~your~~ educational purposes in it.

2 — That this fund shall be distributed among the schools of each state according to the population ~~to wh~~ ~~among the schools of both races~~

3 — That it shall be apportioned to the states according to illiteracy.

What is the result?

Two-thirds of the illiteracy of North Carolina is colored.

Two thirds of the amount given to the state authorities of North Carolina will be given therefore, an account of her ~~white~~ colored illiteracy.

But two-thirds of her people are white — I speak in round numbers of course, —

How do the schools and separate the colored schools represent but one third the population?

However as the fund must be distributed equally per capita, among all the population, the white schools will get two thirds of the fund and the colored schools one third — though they represent two thirds of the illiterates.

Or to illustrate; say there are 200,000 colored illiterates and 100,000 white illiterates and the fund for the state is $900,000. Two thirds or $600,000 of this will be appropriated to the education of the 200,000 colored illiterates and $300,000 on account of the $100,000 white illiterates. Yet when it comes to be divided according to the [illegible]

this act Blair Bill, the colored schools will get $300.000 and the white schools $600.000.

Or in other words the United States will give for the benefit of 100.000 white illiterates $600.000 and for the benefit of 200.000 colored illiterates $300.000; or for each colored illiterate $1.50 and for each white illiterate $6.00!

And it is such a measure as this that you ask your people to accept and be grateful for!

You say your people cannot always agree with me. It is true: yet I have spoken the truth and advocated justice

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for them when all others were silent
or at most ~~sp~~ asked only alms ~~and~~
~~tuffs~~ for them.

I have no ~~interest~~ personal or
political in the matter. I have
given my life to its study in
all its phases. I do not stand afar
off but go and see for myself. I do
not make or ask or desire place or
power or preferment as the condition
of championship of your race; yet
when I demonstrate such ~~a profound~~ an ~~[illegible]~~
~~whelming~~ outrageous fraud as this
upon your people even you counsel
them to submit to ~~injustice~~. ~~No~~ leader
will ever benefit his people who is not
jealous of the very ~~[illegible]~~ slightest infrac-
tion of their ~~slightest~~ right.

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It would be useless for ~~you~~ me to elucidate ~~in regard~~ for the collection of data in regard to the wrongs of your people. ~~the details of the plan I intimated. It would not benefit the magazine any. It is a hard thankless the task which~~ It is a hard, thankless task at the best and ~~we~~ would probably be of no advantage to you on your enterprize. Besides, it is apparent that you have not studied them carefully. Indeed, I think I was probably unreasonable in supposing that one without the most thorough legal training and a natural inclination for ~~social~~ socio-political inquiry should undertake such a task. Of course, it covers a vast field including injustice in framing and construing laws, as well as in their execution. There are few even of the white members of the bar of the south who are capable of conducting such an inquiry, because they are prevented by training from comprehending what justice to your race means. Isolated statements are of no value: only immense aggregates of wrongs make any impression on the public sensorium. If I ~~we~~ could direct and supervise such inquiry, I have no doubt I could make it a weapon of terrible ~~force~~ effect in securing

the actual liberation and ~~an~~ a ~~franchisement of~~ uplifting of your race. It is however, a weapon I ~~hardly think~~ am satisfied you are unprepared to forge ~~and~~ though you might wield it successfully if it were ~~[illegible]~~ once in your hands. Its preparation would be a great task, however, and only a man who is willing to mine and toil without recognition or reward would ever undertake it. I judge it not wise for you to attempt what you do not seem to realize the character or importance of but rather you should hold yourself in readiness to do what you feel fitted to accomplish, in your own way, only cautioning

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you again that he who grasps at today, if his opportunities are such as yours is apt to miss the eternity of tomorrow he might otherwise have gained. The man who shall succeed in piloting your race up to liberty an equality of rights and freedom of opportunity, will rank with Lincoln and Washington but he will have to pay for immortality by self-abasement and the humiliation of incomprehending ignorance. I trust you may be that man; but whether you are or not, such manned he will come. You may be only his fore runner. No matter: do your duty as you see it and remember that your first duty is not to ask alms but justice for your race.

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By approving anything less or by ceasing to demand that you dishonor yourself and degrade eight millions of people who have made you their leader.

In any opinion, you should give yourself solely to this work. Unless you do, it assuredly will not be well done. If you do you will have more work to perform than any one man can accomplish. I know you think it is throwing away chances for securing advantage. But if the great Irish leader had not

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impoverished himself for his people, the Balfour bill would not now be before parliament appropriating $600,000,000 to ~~buy~~ farms for landless Irishmen.

You stand in relation to your race — or may stand — ~~more~~ very nearly in the position Parnell occupies toward Ireland. ~~than~~ It is one of the closest parallels of history. But the great leader can never inspire confidence and win success except by being foremost in self-sacrifice and ~~[illegible]~~ devotion to his people's service rather than his own advantage.

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I enclose you a copy of a bill to give National aid to education without injustice to or debasement of your people. I should commit myself unwisely only to be burned at the stake should I ask or advise anything less than justice for the colored men of the country.

I think I begin to see more wisely it was that God gave me such a change and such a unique training and experience — that I might be able to save your race from the most serious and unintended wrongs ever

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offered with the gilded bait of flattery, to any people.

May any right hand wither and my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth if I cease ever to ~~denounce~~ oppose such infamous wrong as denounce any one who may for any reason seek to induce your ~~fl~~ people to ask for, approve or accept a gift so ~~fraught~~ fraught with false=pretence and so degrading in its unique injustice.

I do not often waste time

(~~[illegible]~~)

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in fighting men but injustice and folly have in me an unrelenting enemy ~~not~~ no matter what the color of the skin — not because I am better than another but because I am, unfortunately perhaps, so constituted, that I cannot as Bacon says, "sit quiet even on another's wrong!"

With the kindest wishes but severest judgment, I remain

Yours truly

this moral precept yet compelling by law four millions of people to live in adultery!"

"This was not because the Southern people were in favor of immorality, but because they believed the conditions of southern life were so different from those of all other social organizations, that the ethical rules that applied to other peoples, not only might, in the light of necessity must, be essentially relaxed and modified in order to meet those requirements.

x
x x

So too, in regard to individual rights. Not only was it believed that the best interests of the South demanded an inequality of right and privilege between the white and colored race, but it was imperatively necessary demanded that the white race of the South alone, should have the power to define fixing the limits of the colored man's right and privilege, because, Southern civilization being unique and anomalous, only the white mind of the South understood it, and could tell just how much strain it could bear. For a long time "Southernism" declared that the interests of "Southern civilization" demanded the continuance of slavery. After emancipation, then it was imperilled by the proposal to allow the freedmen to

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trying to ~~be~~ splice it somewhere ever since — indirectly of course and this method is a very important piece of conciliation. It's rough on you "niggers", but it's better than nothing and perhaps, if after they have squeezed the surplus "nigger" vote out and sent it to Africa to be re-barbarized or destroyed, they may give you a fair chance and let you be de facto citizens!"

That is the Blair Bill translated to the vernacular.

But you say Mr Blair does not so intend it?

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~~but our hands are tied~~ this is all we can do. You see our hands are tied. It's a curious thing but they always are when we think of doing justice to a "nigger"! It took us eighty years to find a way to set him free and we would never have found that if the confederacy had not cut the string after two years of hard backing! A good wrong dist thing ~~the dist one~~ best to prevent it because they were afraid the constitution would fly into flinders if that string was cut, but they finally backed it in twain! We've been

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at the best get only
half as much to educate an igno-
rant "nigger" as ~~you would~~ will be given
to educate the ignorant white
man. But then you can't ex-
pect to be put on an equality
all at once! Only wait a
century or two longer!
But we shall do all we can
for you and ask the minor-
ities who control ~~your states~~ the states
in which you live to be as lib-
eral with you as they can
afford to be! Probably, if you
behave yourself, and do just
as they say, you will get a
part of it! We are very sorry

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of servitude and gro vided no way for his education, support or protection but left him ~~the~~ to starve or continue the dependent and virtual slave of his former master.

But now to say "We are going to give a fund for the cure of illiteracy We ~~kept up~~ maintained an army and navy to enforce the law that kept you in enforced ignorance. We are very sorry for you and are going to comet you in on this deal if you are black. We are not sure you will get any of it and are sure you will

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all, and attended by one-half the population of school-age in the town. That is enough to know. Then pay the bonus and be done with it.

17— A worse thing even than the unfair distribution is that idea of the Blair Bill which makes usurping state governments the almoners of the National bounty. It simply increases the sense of dependence which is already the bane of the colored man's existence. It was hard enough when the government set him free after two centuries and a half

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It is a fraud which ought to damn the bill to everlasting infamy.

16 - But Mr Blair says the Government cannot require the states to distribute the fund in any other way? So say I, and for that reason I also say, "let the states alone. Put the money into brains! Secure intelligence! Do not advertize for injustice nor offer a bonus for ~~your~~ discord and uncertainty. Pay ~~$~~ a sum certain to word the schools in each township when they have been held. Dont multiply conditions! A free school open to all or to each race as the case may be, ~~and~~ big enough to accommodate

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The Bystander suggested at once the defects he has since pointed out. In 1882-3 he at his own expense, circulated throughout the United States ~~many thousands of~~ petitions calling upon Congress to act in the matter in conformity with the views he had expressed and bound volumes containing many thousands of ~~such~~ these petitions are now on file in the Library of Congress. In 1884, he wrote "An Appeal to Caesar" setting forth some new phases of the matter and showing how the end could be much more certainly, cheaply, justly and ~~affordable~~ readily be attained as well as indicating the actual perils of the "Blair Bill." Of this plan the New York Post, a newspaper which has never had a kind word for the Bystander, declared that the plan suggested was "a model of simplicity and efficiency". Since that time not a month has passed in which he has not discussed before some auditory of American citizens some phase of this question. Even

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as these lines are be written the presses are pouring out the sheets of his last work "Pactolus Prime" which again presents it in still another phase.

Does our correspondent think this is a sufficient record to ~~entitle the~~ give the Bystander "a" right to oppose ~~a bill~~ the Blair Bill," which he as a lawyer and a publicist after twenty odd years of constant study believes to be a weak, inefficient and dangerous and unjust method of seeking to effect a very desirable end?

x
x x

The difference between Senator Blair and the Bystander is simply one of Method not of power nor of results. The Bystander does not deem it wise or statesmanlike to ~~recognize the old Southern~~ drag the old doctrine of state ~~supra~~ Right. ~~The Senator~~ ~~to~~ into the controversy: the New Hampshire Senator ~~both admits~~ and denies the dogma — he would ~~make~~ have the state distribute the fund and ~~they~~ then try to control the

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in its admitted sphere. The Bystander does not think it wise to increase the dependency of the colored majority upon the white majority of the South: Mr. Blair would have the colored majority of every Southern state get upon its knees to a usurping white minority in order to get a share of the fund. The Bystander does not believe it — just to give two dollars to every white illiterate for every one given for colored illiteracy, though the latter is the more numerous and is the result not of choice of inclination, but of statutory deprivation of privilege. The Bystander would offer a bonus for schools actually held in every township, where illiteracy exists, in proportion to its extent, and if the townships did not have the schools would

withhold the money. Mr. Blair would prefers a States enforcible pledge to do the fair thing. The Bystander would put the fund solely into teachers — pay the payment of teachers in primary schools; the "Blair Bill" would help build school houses and pay colleges and high schools. The Bystander would not have the government assume control over the schools of the States. If they are free to all on equal footing and actually operated with a fair attendance, that is enough to secure the bonus. No penalty can be enforced against the violators of the Blair Bill. The Bystander's plan is the common sense form of putting a clause written on every man that appropriates a dollar or falsifies a fact in the administration of the fund.

Are these differences enough to give the Bystander right to oppose the Bill?

the Bystander does not believe and cannot believe.

x
x x

The Bystander has recently had occasion in another ~~form~~ (place) (The Farmer for ~~the~~ ~~Mar~~ this month) to ~~disc~~ demonstrate the fact that beneficent intent is not ~~enough to~~ a sufficient guarantee ~~des~~ of desirable results. It is an unfortunate fact that the ~~bulk~~ greater part of our legislation designed for the benefit of the colored race, has for this very reason been ~~[illegible]~~ so utterly inefficient that those opposed to his advancement have found little difficulty in rendering it of ~~no practical~~ little practical value.

x
x x
x x

The most amazing thing to the Bystander's apprehension, is that colored men like his correspondent who are in charge of colored schools will consent to ~~this~~ the gross and evident injustice which the Blair Bill imposes on the colored people of the South. Can it be that the percentage allowed to colleges and Normal schools, blinds them to the fact that by so doing they are simply increasing the feebleness and dependency of their own race.

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x x x

But ~~are all~~ is it a fact that those who are "best-informed upon the subject" ~~support the~~ approve the method of the "Blair Bill"?

As a rule, there are hardly the fewer proper judges of the practical results of legislation than the class usually termed "leading-educators." The routine of educational system does not prepare men for that close scrutiny of legal intendment and political effect which is especially needful in any matter involving the dual character of our government. They are naturally inclined to regard intent rather than method. There is no question but almost all educators and friends of education believe in National aid to education. That many of them have turned to consider the effects of the Blair Bill beyond this general intendment, or would favor it, if they should once carefully consider its provisions