Dear Madame:

I have the "Southland" of April 1891, containing your ~~article~~ review of Patterson Prime.

I am your debtor for flattering words; yet I must confess that the article and the circumstances and conditions which it suggests awaken in my mind very unpleasant reflections. The book which you review was published in March 1890. Whatever else it may be, it is a protest against wrong done to the colored race because of racial character. Whatever its effect the colored race is the beneficiary of my labor. It may not do them much good; it cannot do them any harm. I, and my ~~people~~ race derive no benefit from it, except as it may help to stimulate us to do justice. For ten years I have stood alone

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almost as the advocate not of charity and dole to the Negro, but of justice. The volumes I have written upon the subject have probably been read by from five to ten millions of the American people. Look over the lists of volumes contributed to newspapers on matters of this subject.

A Fool's Errand
A Royal Gentleman
Bricks Without Straw
An Appeal to Caesar
Hot Plowshares
Pactolus Prime.

~~They represent a labor~~ They are a library in themselves — 3 or 4 score pages — enough for a life time. ~~Study to~~ They may aid types it presents are worthy or pitiful ones and always real — the best of a race. I have not time nor inclination to paint the vices and weeks of that race or any other. Others may

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do it if they choose. I have no objection to a buzzard eating carrion but I am not going to do it because people may have a fancy for buzzards.

In addition to this week after week for ~~for~~ ~~seven~~ half a dozen years, almost without intermission, when no daily paper in the United States dared or cared to discuss the matters affecting your race interest every week under my own name, I discussed the various phases of the race question in the ~~Inter~~ Chicago Inter Ocean.

With these ~~facts~~ things in your mind look at this fact: Eleven months after it is published a magazine

claiming to represent the best thought of the colored people in the United States, first finds opportunity to notice a book by this author touching the most vital facts of colored life in the United States and which on English review pronounces "the most powerful arraignment of the evils of ~~of~~ the civilization of today ever made!"

Go a little further. In the same number of this ~~colored~~ magazine ~~is~~ published by colored men and claiming to represent the interests of the colored people, I find highly commended the resolutions of the Mohonk Conference of 1890 — a conference of white men held to concoct advice for colored men, the resolutions of which were

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based upon the assumption of inferiority, pauperism and immorality upon one side and superiority, wisdom and purity on the other.

It stirred me to such indignation that I was forced to protest and Dr. Rankin so felt the insult of the race's exclusion that he would not attend. Yet these things are quietly ignored and an invitation hereafter for two or three colored men to enter the Chautauqua circle!

Suppose these things were laid before an unbiased Jupiter, who would with a clear historical knowledge of present and past conditions, what would be his judgment

on the colored race?

Pardon me. All I have asked of the Colored Race of the United States is a full reward and liquidation of my claims for having championed his cause in season and out of season, & whether alone or as one of many, has been that he would assert his manhood and vindicate my hope. Do you think he will?

Let me tell you a very serious truth: If the Negro race in the United States would stand by each other and use the means within their reach, they would have all their rights and put an end to all oppression in half a decade without

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striking a blow.

This is my earnest conviction. If I could violate the confidence of personal intercourse and give you the inside history of the Election Bill of the last ~~session of~~ Congress, you would be amazed to learn what one man working with the determination to accomplish something ~~—~~ was able to achieve.

I am so firm a believer in the Negro's capacity and see so clearly his magnificent opportunity that I cannot but be angry when I see these barking men striving for the reputation of being "good niggers," or repeating over the antics of the past and crowing about the ~~work~~ bits

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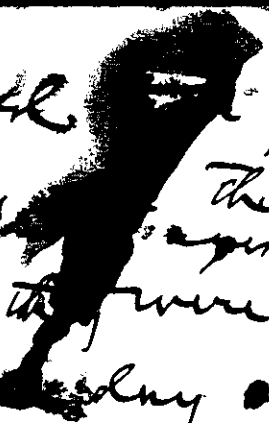

of youth formed among the
drinking their race's inimitable
during ages of bondage

If they were my people, I would
work resolutely on night until their
wrongs were righted; but this will
never be until the race produces
men who to whom their peoples'
true interests are greater than the
shadow of their own personal
gratification. The race has produced
any number of patient martyrs.
So far as suffering with patience
is concerned, it has become morally
perfectly dependable. It needs now
to grow martyrs so finely
strung that they will not live
to see their fellows wronged.

Active, transition natures who
will not let the world forget
the ills their people suffer.

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It is useless for a white man to attempt to fight your per= ples battles for them. He simply a = rouses the contempt of his own race and the suspicion of yours. He was not in vain dubbed by myself a "Fool" a dozen years ago. My own race regards me as a crank; yours very generally as an intruder. I often laugh and am sometimes half = inclined to mock over the situation. A stranger in = quiry has forced me to do what I have done, but I have a serious notion that I shall not do very much more. To tell the truth, I am beginning to lose confidence in the manhood of the race — as a factor of its immediate future, that is — and I almost fear to see the time when by its own wish and choice it shall be deprived of all claim of

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right — just as the free negroes of the South in 1838 voted to disenfranchise themselves.

I do not write this to discourage you dear Charlotte, but to let you know that the thought you suggest in relation to the unfitness of the race to itself is not a new one to the man who with a sort of unconquerable perseverance has fought its battles for a quarter of a century, to his own harm no doubt and it seems, but little to their advantage.

I think the race will evolve a new type from existing conditions, and, and as the conclusion seems, I am afraid

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it will be little improvement upon that of yesterday and today.

One thing is certain: its women have grown vastly better and stronger than its men. In courage, in aspiration, in virtue and in that determination to do for their race which is the hope of the future, they have far excelled their brothers and it is my conviction that it is to the ~~~~ colored women of the country more than to any other influence that the race must look for substantial betterment tomorrow may bring.

You will, of course, regard this letter as strictly confidential. Others would

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very probably misconstrue it and I make it a rule never to write of myself for public perusal to another.

Thanking you for your kind expressions and trusting that your grandchildren may think no worse of me than yours I am

Sincerely Yours

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P.S. – While I write this there has come a strange confirmation of the view I have expressed as to the folly of my course. A young colored man called upon me to subscribe for a ~~colored~~ newspaper published in the interests of the colored race. He said he was short of stuff. He had never heard of me until he struck the town today! Just that a recruit of 8 sufficient for any man.

V.