

My dear Sir:

Your theory is a good one if you could make  
facts to fit it. Unfortunately, those which exist  
do not.

The whole matter is summed up in  
<sup>two</sup> ~~two~~ propositions which are fundamental  
to all peaceful and prosperous societies.

- 1 - laws defining rights and denouncing  
penalties for their infraction.
- 2 - the just enforcement of such  
laws.

These are peaceful measures.  
When the law furnishes them is a  
breach of the peace.

Your idea that a colored  
man gets very nearer justice or lib-  
erty by education is a frequent and  
erroneous mistake. In nine cases out  
of ten the educated colored man is  
regarded with much more animosity  
than the uneducated one. If you will  
think that it is color not individual  
qualities that makes the antagonism you  
will understand this.

It is just the same with your idea  
that if the Negro would stand up and  
look the white man in the eye and  
say "I am a man" it would be  
all right. There are so many northern

men who have that theory, which is just so absurd that a child  
could turn it away. Suppose you take the white population of the South.  
One day of it, too. In fact the colored man himself is no exception.  
But of what use is courage, manhood you call it, in  
the presence of the open and personal law a heartless? Should  
he fight? If he does not think liberty an one thing, to  
do so is to invite more civil war and law the whole  
force of the government turned on him. But you very  
reasonably, he might stand for his rights, I would

of law the only "peaceful" remedy.

The United States is not an "external force". We are citizens of the nation — you and I as well as the negro — made such by the 14th Amendment, too — and if the State will not protect our lives, our rights, ~~that~~ <sup>the</sup> nation must or if it does not American liberty must suffer a bloody eclipse. In the old days we would do nothing because the constitution forbade — now it enjoins and still we say — Oh No do nothing! let the negro suffer <sup>for a century</sup> or two longer — perhaps he will die out!

not say you would not if in his place because I have done it; but I will say to you that I would never do it again and I wonder now at any folly in ever having done it. You do not consider that with all the state government at his back the white murderer of a colored man who "stands up" for his rights is just as safe as a saint in heaven. In more than a hundred years — from 1692 back to 1789 — there is no record in the South of the execution of but two white men for killing negroes!

Intelligence serves to make the negro desperate and hastens the day when blood will flow like water if justice is not done. To think of curing this evil by "schools and universities" is like trying to cure a cancer by rubbing it with emphysema. Justice is the only cure and the enforcement

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