

Dear Madame: I have your letter and thank
you for its kind words. The memorial to the Pres-
byterian General Assembly is already prepared. I
do not look for its adoption nor for any such re-
sponse as it received from the Methodists. Yet
God has done wonderful things during the past
year or two in awakening freedom to a sense
of injustice and duty. It has been a matter of
great surprise to me since it had reached the
point that I was almost the only one of any
race who seemed to think liberty and justice
worth fighting for. I had long given up hope of vis-
ible results in my day, but kept on week after week
striking a blow which, however feeble, fell always
in the same place. By and by, the results came
to be apparent and the progress of the past year is
altogether amazing. The white people of the North are
rapidly coming to a clearer comprehension of the
true situation and an appreciation of the
necessity of securing an effective remedy.

For all this I am truly grateful, but how shall
I express to you my disappointment and grief
at the attitude of the colored man - espe-

ally at the North? You know Prof. Shaler claims that the conclusive proof of the Negro's incapacity for civilization is to be found in the fact that he never heartily engages in a partnership of a voluntary character.

I find it hard sometimes to believe that this present matter does not make probation of this theory. The colored man has a thousand times more interest in this matter than I. All his future is bound up in it. Unless he can induce a very large body of the white citizenship to espouse his cause and make it their own there is nothing left for him but to fight his way up to liberty or sink back into permanent subjection. This every one ought to see and I think every one of sense does see. Get what is the fact?

For almost half a lifetime, I have given the major part of my time and strength to this work. Despite all discouragement I appealed to all who believed in liberty to join in a grand movement for the consolidation of sentiment and concentration of purpose on the question of human rights and national citizenship.

What is the result? The white people of the North respond by thousands and scores of thousands. The colored people of the South send across their piteous tear-stained appeals for aid. The colored people of the North remain indifferent, unresponsive, — doing nothing. It is true that some of their papers and some of their people have been stirred up by any constant appeals. But the National Citizens' Rights Association has on its roll today ten white names for one colored. What does it mean?

Do not the colored people care for liberty and justice? Do they ^{expect} ^{and hope} to wait like gaping young robins ^{would} justice, and equal right and opportunity dropped into their mouths? Or are they willing to sit still until bound hand and foot as in Mississippi, and thrown back into a semi-^{state} not less helpless and degrading than that the race lately knew, though it may lack the accompaniments of a bill of sale and the auction block? Or is it true that the colored

~~He~~ Man

has not the capacity, the confidence and the devotion to a high purpose, necessary to enable him to co-operate with others even for his own prime advantage? I cannot believe it, and yet the apathy, the indifference, the distrust, the selfish querulousness manifested by the most intelligent, the assumed "leaders" discourages and depresses me very greatly.

I do not know why I have taken the course ^{upon this subject} I have, that it is the sheerest folly for me personally, a deaf dumb and blind baby could easily understand. Neither I nor my children will in all probability ~~lose~~ ^{any} advantage would suffer any harm if things should go on from bad to ~~worse~~ ^{worse} and I doubt ~~seeing~~ ^{profit} And, certainly, it means neither profit, honor or advantage to me. I think sometimes if I do this can you think it strange that my heart is led when I see how care-
less, dull and indifferent the colored man

is upon the subject. Does he not value liberty?
Does he not care about the conditions of his
race? Or does he not realize that earnest
and hearty co-operation with those who be-
lieve in justice is the only way in which
his rights can be secured?

Candidly, gentlemen, I am afraid the colored
man of the North feels very little the wrongs of
the colored ~~from~~ people of the South and does
not realize the importance of the subject to
him and his people. Most of them seem to wonder
~~hardly~~ at the intensity of my conviction and
I am not sure that many of them do not
feel a mild contempt for me on account
of it. They seem to be willing enough that I should
do - for them - but almost indifferent as to
the duty of aiding and promoting the work.
The one thing, ~~more~~ of all others that hinders
the work of the U. C. R. A., is this indiffer-
ence on the part of colored people. ~~I~~

I do not ~~mean~~ write this as a personal
compliment. The poorest colored man in
the land has more at stake in this move-
ment than I. I only write you of it be-
cause if it continues, and the hundreds
of thousands of white voters who have
pledged themselves to demand justice and
equality for the colored man, come to
see and feel this indifference as I do, they
will be sure too early that they will
not force liberty and equality upon
people who are indifferent to it. ~~If the~~

If the colored women can rise to
the level of a great occasion, as did
the white women of the land when Treason
threatened the Union of States — no one could

measure the extent of their power.

But I do not hesitate to say, and the opinion is that of one who has given a life time almost to the assertion of liberty and justice, that the colored man people of the South will never receive justice nor enjoy equal rights before the law, and equal opportunity in the industrial world, until the colored men and women of the North come to feel these wrongs so keenly that they think of them, pray ^{for} ~~about~~ them, speak of them and labor for them, more earnestly, more continuously and more zealously than for anything else. It must become the one thought of the colored race before it will be =

come the purpose of God or the
effectual desire of the American
people.

For myself, I will confess that I am growing very weary of furnishing faith, energy, enthusiasm and ~~total determination~~ persistency, not only to the white people who believe in liberty but also to the colored people who are the chief beneficiaries of our faith. If half the colored men of the North had courage and manhood and self-forgetfulness enough to place their names upon our rolls, the power of our Association would be many times increased, not so much by its numbers as by the unity of thought and earnestness of purpose it would imply. If they will not do so little

from their fellows ~~from~~ what hope can be based on
their ~~for~~ operation and support in the great battle of
liberty which impends?

~~course~~ ~~Gods~~ ~~will~~ ~~and~~ ~~work~~ ~~itself~~
~~into~~ ~~fulfilled~~ ~~facts~~, ~~through~~
~~the~~ ~~action~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~conscience~~ ~~people~~.

As I write the word comes that
certain young colored men of Bos-
ton have taken up the manufacture
of bombs dynamite bombs to reform
southern outrages. Their mothers
should spank them. Dynamite is
the instrument of fools. Only when
every other means have been ex-
hausted should threats, terror or
destruction, become the agencies
of freedom seeking redress of wrong.
If a man is attacked let him de-

fed himself; if his home is in-
vaded let him destroy the ~~murder~~ ^{aggression}
in God's name. Such a course, is
not merely the privilege but the bound-
en duty of the freeman. I would to
heaven that a bomb were exploded
in the midst of every band of lynch-
ers. But the time has not yet come
for such an appeal, because, neither
the colored man nor the white
friends of liberty have yet ex-
hausted all the moral and
peaceful means by which redress
should first be sought. If those
young men had debated themselves

to securing members for the National
Citizens Rights Association, extending
its power and awakening the con-
science of the lovers of liberty
throughout the land, they would have
done far more for the liberties of
their race than by the manufac-
ture of bombs. It needs manfulness,
not boyish vengeance to settle
the question of a race's right
well and truly. God grant that
the colored ~~man~~ people may
manifest the higher quality rather
than the weaker one. Yours truly
Wm. W. Sawyer