

Chicago, Ill. Wells St.
CHICAGO POLICLINIC
174-176 CHICAGO AVENUE
I shall be at 119 2nd St. Gilet.
me at 9th

Hon. A. W. Toussie
Mayville, N. Y.

Chicago, Ill. May 30, 1892

Dear Judge - I am here yet - have been

recently attendant at the Polyclinic & have lived in a new
atmosphere all this time, am going home now & expected to
leave today or to-morrow - but a day or two ago I saw something
in the Anti-Slavery which indicated that you will be here to attend
the Anti-Slavery Convention next Monday, and I have almost
decided to await your arrival before taking my departure for
the incivilities South - not that I have any business, or that
there is any special reason why I should do so - but only for the
pleasure of seeing you once more & your shaking your head.
I feel that you are our one friend in this land of oppression
and I may never meet you again.

But before proceeding I must dispose of one thing. If you
come, Miss Sarah A. Farley, of New Iberia, La., will call
on you at the Grand Pacific. She has, on one or two occasions corresponded
with you I believe & you will no doubt remember ^{her} as the
lady teacher who precipitated the outrages by which the Rev. B. J.
Gunn was ~~run~~ away from New Iberia by attending his church
occasionally with her father. That was ~~that~~ or ~~five~~ years ago.
I say "precipitated the outrages" because the white devils would not
have left Gunn in peace. It was decreed that he had to go. They
want no one to teach the Negro virtue - morality, self-reliance & self-
dependence. And a white lady visiting the Negro church ^{permitted}
pretext to carry ^{out} the infamous decree! Well, she is here, with her
father who is 84 years of age. Traduced & realigned beyond all measure,
all these years she stood faithfully at her post trying to teach the little
"niggers". The church was burned down & all manner of ignominy
was offered ^{her}. But there is a limit to human endurance. Ostracism,
prejudice & hatred have finally got the better ^{of her} and like many others she
has at last been driven away. She reports a fearful & most regrettable
condition of affairs, but one which I expected. The Regulars have done
their work. In a parish like Iberia where the Republicans held sway so
long, & where there are many intelligent & well-to-do colored men, every
spark of manhood in the race seems crushed and the masses seem to

the higher & nobler interests in life. They seem not even to
care - or if they do they do not ^{adequately} manifest it - the efforts put forth
in their behalf. She does not know whether her self-inspired mission
of charity has been productive of good. Perhaps her presence & her
work among the Negroes have indirectly incited the whites against them,
she thinks, and she may be right. She will call on you. She is
trying to make a home here & is in search of employment. She has
our sympathy & also deserves our aid - but I know no one in this
city & am powerless to assist her. She has letters from prominent
people here & from others, but I don't know to what they
amount. I have suggested that she call on you, if you come.
You will pardon me for taking this liberty, but I thought you might
be able to help her in some way, either by recommending her to some
one or with advice or suggestion. I know you will be glad to do it.

Dear Judge, I return South with a heavy heart. I have lived
here a new man - a freeman. Of course I am a free man
in the South, and, knowing it, to a great extent, I act as a free man -
that is I ride in any car or go in any public place I want, &c.
But I know too how often I carry my life in my hands in doing so,
for I will not be ejected without physical resistance. You don't know
what that feeling is, Judge. You may imagine it, but you have never
experienced it - knowing that you are a free man & yet not allowed
to enjoy a freeman's liberty, rights & privileges, ^{unless you stake your life every time you try it.} to live always under
this feeling of restraint is worse than living behind prison bars. My heart
is crushed at the very thought of returning to those scenes - it suffocates
me. It is real cowardice, but it seems as if I read to take the caps top
back. It is that constant feeling of restraint & repression - that ^{prison} ^{they}
~~get more humbly, closed to the enjoyment of all pleasures in life than any~~
in which I live that has made my hair prematurely gray - and it is
foolish, but it seems to me they are turning black again since I am here.
Yet I go with determination. When the other thought does not obtrude
itself too forcibly, I am ^{really} happy at the idea of soon meeting my dear ones.
We have ^{never} been separated so long, but I am determined that they shall not
much longer breathe the ~~same~~ polluted & degrading atmosphere of the accursed
Southern land. I shall do my duty to the race - I shall not be unfaith-
ful to myself - but there is ^{no} claim, in justice, on me that I should ~~sacrifice~~
sacrifice the lives & future of those I love, ^{or who are dear to me, & their life.} I go to fight the race & battle
but I must at the same time be able to make a living & earn suffi-
ciently to support my wife & child in a locality where they will not
feel the weight of Southern oppression, even if I cannot protect ^{them} from
the stings of the American prejudice altogether. If I am not able to do
this, we shall all go - to some place where we can live in peace &
quiet.

But are we helping the race or advancing the cause of justice
by the method we are pursuing? Miss Farley doubts it. I have grave doubts
myself. Whenever the colored people show any spirit - ^{manifest} ^{any} ^{appreciation}
of the labors & sacrifices in their behalf, white supremacy
is sure to assert itself, rise up & crush it. Then it is certain that

CHICAGO POLICLINIC.

A Clinical School for Practitioners of Medicine.

174-176 CHICAGO AVENUE.

our pleading for justice make no impression on the oppressors - except
it be in the opposite direction than that desired. But do the colored people
try to help themselves to the extent ^{Chicago} they could? And do they always
appreciate the efforts put forth in their ~~best~~ interest, even when
they can show ~~some~~ appreciation? My doubts on this point have in-
creased here. I believe I told ^{you} that physicians from the South, even
from my own State, at the Polyclinic, had not seemed to identify
me. I am sure they did not. I went through there this whole
time unknown, ~~remained~~ unidentified. It is perhaps not
strange that the white physicians did not know me. But there came
a black man from Texas. He remained through the "Special Course" - two
weeks - and did not know me any more than the white physicians.
My full name & address written by my own hand in his autograph
book did not even seem to suggest to him my identity. Evidently he
had never heard of The Crusade - ^{an educated Negro} ~~an educated Negro~~ ^{therefore} ~~therefore~~
living in a State adjoining Louisiana. Of course I let him ^{alone} ~~alone~~ &
did not tell him who I was. Perhaps I expect too much of the
race in too short a time. Perhaps I think too much - not of
myself because I have disliked the ^{viciously} my connection with The
Crusade has given in some quarters, but of The Crusade itself. It is not
sufficiently known yet perhaps, or has not done enough to earn ~~the~~
~~recognition~~ ^{recognition} ~~of~~ the race. But yet the question forces itself upon me:
Are we not fighting a hopeless battle - a battle made doubly hope-
less by the tyranny & cruelty of the Southern white & the Negro's own
lack of appreciation, his want of energy & ^{his} ~~his~~ ^{submissiveness} ~~submissiveness~~? Are the
Negroes progressing, or are they not retrograding under the yoke of the
Southern barbarians, and are not our efforts for their betterment
put forth in a method & manner calculated to do little good, or per-
haps harm? Of course I refer to our efforts through The Crusade
& the efforts of those who are fighting with & like us in the South.
I know some of ^{my} ~~my~~ ^{views} ~~views~~ as to the standstill of the Negro are
offset by what we sometimes read of his progress. This is "commence-
ment time," and we are apt to meet here & there with flattering ac-
counts of the graduating exercises of some Negro college. I read
the other day of a glowing account of the doings at Tuskegee, Ala., and how
the whites & blacks fraternized on the occasion of "commencement." This is
a never-ending theme for a certain class of Negrophiles who plead
to Southern prejudices. But what becomes of all these graduates?
We don't find, after their graduation, in the South, where we need them,

4

In faith I don't know where they go - unless they seek menial employment of some kind in Northern cities. You think I am hard on those who follow such occupations. Perhaps I am a little - perhaps many do it from necessity - but I don't believe they all make a serious effort for an opening in other avenues. There is here, quite a number of Creole cigar-makers from New Orleans - colored men & some of very dark complexion. They are all employed in the factories & earning ~~from~~ \$4, \$5, \$6, \$7, & even \$8 a day! Several have acquired their own homes since they are here, and they have ~~not~~ been here but a few years. This was a revelation to me. I knew some of them were here, but I had no idea that they were faring as well. Are there not other avenues open to colored men? Could not others be opened? Isolated cases of colored men employed in other branches ~~than~~ would seem to convey an affirmative answer. My opinion is that whenever any colored people willing to work & qualified for it appear in any law-abiding community, in sufficient ^{numbers} to make an impression on the labor ~~market~~ market, they will find employment - merit will win. But I am not deriding the colleges & their graduates. The Booker Washingtons, the Prices & others have their uses & are doing a useful work. But my impression is - it may be wrong, I don't know - but it is, that if these men preached true manhood to their pupils, if they sought to instill in the youthful minds committed to their training the spirit of true manhood, of manly courage & resistance to oppression, they would not be tolerated in the communities where they are, and their adorned accounts of the phenomenal educational & intellectual progress of the colored people would not be dished up so regularly to deceive a generous philanthropy at the North. And this is what the colored youths most need - they must be taught manhood, manly courage & resistance to wrong & oppression in the schools, alongside with the teaching of the "dignity of labor" & the elevating influences of ~~religion~~ ^{religion} of which we hear so much in connection with Negro schools; the hereditary servile tendencies of the race must be combated in the school-room by the teacher, since it will not be done in the colored home. This is the ^{educational} work of the future, for the Negro. Let me mention one instance to illustrate the readiness with colored men reputed the best of the race sink into menial situations & also to show the necessity of this reform ⁱⁿ addition to the school curriculum which I advocate. I have seen a colored man who held the highest position in the municipal government of New Orleans next to the Mayoralty & the highest position at our great port next to that of Collector of Customs - I have seen this man after the defeat of Blaine in 1874 ^{drop} to the position of - well of a waiter! I have had him to relate to me & that without any apparent feeling of ~~shame~~ ^{shame or mortification}, how after Harrison's election he had delayed his departure from New Orleans for Washington to witness the inauguration & at the same ^{time} present his application for

CHICAGO POLICLINIC.

A Clinical School for Practitioners of Medicine.

174-176 CHICAGO AVENUE

5

to the post of Naval officer which he had previously held, ^{and} at the request of the carnival managers, to take the direction of the ^{table} service at Rex's ball - ^{chair} waiter in fact. Now, you see my political leader & representative, in white of fine flying hither & thither around the rooms & ⁱⁿ ~~circulating~~ ^{seeing to the wants of the} ladies & gentlemen in attendance - And you see how he improved the opportunity, the next day, in going around these bankers & these business men's places, with his petition in hand, asking their endorsements for his old position, and he got them. His papers were ~~not~~ acknowledged to be the best signed & endorsed from New Orleans, by solid business men. And why not? A "nigger" held the place before; a "nigger" was to be appointed to it - ^{what} why not this "nigger"? He's a good ^{nigger} better than the rest of 'em" ^{but what} what ^{is} ~~the~~ ^{reason} ~~why~~ ^{he} ~~is~~ ^{not} ~~appointed~~ ^{for} ~~the~~ ^{same} ~~place~~ ^{as} ~~before~~ ^{is} ~~another~~ ^{nigger} ~~is~~ ^{not} ~~appointed~~ ^{to} ~~it~~ ^{because} ~~the~~ ^{political} ~~current~~ ^{is} ~~set~~ ⁱⁿ ~~in~~ ^{another} ~~direction~~ ^{and} ~~he~~ ^{was} ~~not~~ ⁱⁿ ~~favor~~ ^{with} ~~the~~ ^{Harrison} ~~wire-pullers~~ ^{and} ~~Alper's~~ ^{boss} ~~was~~ ^{charged} ~~to~~ ^{have} ~~influenced~~ ^{his} ~~vote~~ ^{at} ~~the~~ ^{convention} ^{and} ^{so} ^{another} ^{"good} ^{nigger"} ^{was} ^{chosen} ^{for} ^{the} ^{place}.

But if our fight is fruitless, or rather our manner of fighting it - ^{is} ~~so~~ - what is to be done? The colored people must ^{first} be given a chance to develop, to rise & the hand of oppression must be stayed from them, & they must be taught properly - they must be taught, not only to read, write & pray, but also that to combat wrong & injustice, to resist oppression and tyranny, is the highest virtue of the citizen. They cannot, as I have said, be taught this ^{at} ~~in~~ ^{the} ~~homes~~ ^{of} ~~their~~ ^{ancestors} ~~and~~ ^{for} ~~the~~ ^{reason} ~~that~~ ^{they} ~~get~~ ^{only} ~~examples~~ ^{of} ~~their~~ ^{ancestors} ^{and} ^{their} ^{conduct}; they must be taught at school, and in present conditions this is impossible. These conditions must therefore be changed. But how? This is the question.

You are fighting a great battle, Judge. You are, if not the only one, the foremost militant apostle of liberty in the whole land. You are doing an immense good to the blacks ^{of} ^{the} ^{South} by enlightening the country on their ^{present} ~~dire~~ ^{condition} & well nigh of hopeless condition, and perhaps to many of them directly by instilling in them a spirit of resistance to ^{oppression} ~~the~~ ^{unjust} ~~laws~~ ^{on} ^{them} ^{and} ^a ^{three} ^{manifold} ^{which} ^{may} ^{some} ^{day} ^{explode} ^{to} ^{awaken} ^{this} ^{sinful} ^{Nation} ^{to} ^{its} ^{duty} ^{and} ^{perhaps} ^{you} ^{are} ^{rendering} ^a ^{greater} ^{service} ^{to} ^{the} ^{whites} ^{of} ^{the} ^{North} ^{by} ^{opening} ^{their} ^{eyes} ^{to} ^{the} ^{original} ^{and} ^{criminal} ^{tendencies} ^{of} ^{the} ^{South}. You may not live to see the fruit of your labors & sacrifices, or to receive the gratitude of those benefited by them - ^{it} ^{will} ^{be} ^{reserved} ^{to} ^a ^{future} ^{generation} ^{to} ^{properly} ^{estimate} ^{them}. But this ^{is} ~~not~~ ^{not} ~~enough~~. The colored man also must plead his cause at the bar of American public opinion. He also must show that his condition is a forced one & give the lie to those who assert that he is satisfied with it. (Have you seen Ingalls in the Chicago Sunday Tribune?) This must be done by a continued & well sustained effort. It can not be done by a stump speech or a spasmodic outburst of oratory. I have long believed that if the colored people had one respectable publication ⁱⁿ ^{the} ^{South}, dealing mainly with the social, political & industrial ^{and} ^{literary} ^{needs} ^{of} ^{the} ^{South}, a publication that ^{is} ~~not~~ ^{commended} ^{itself} ^{by} ^a ^{temporary} ^{glitter} ^{of} ^{information} ^{of} ^{happenings} ⁱⁿ ^{the} ^{South} gathered from trustworthy ^{and} ^{reliable} ^{sources}.

in all quarters possible to have any, and such publication was distributed among all classes of North, without regard to expenses, that is whether all who got it paid for it or not so that it reached a sufficiently large number of people, it would do the race more good than all the money put in Negro churches & Negro colleges too. Of course such a paper should be published in the North to insure its success & its existence untrammelled. None of the ~~papers~~ ^{papers} published by colored men now come near ~~the~~ ^{meeting} the requirements. They seem to be published only to praise & glorify the race, & scarcely or otherwise matters little with them. They are Negro sheets & nothing else - The ~~terrible~~ ^{terrible} conditions in the South can only be changed by a strong sentiment in the North demanding it. The people of the North must therefore be educated as to those conditions, and the colored man must do his share in that campaign of education - both to prove his own worth & manliness & refute the calumnies of Douglas and those of his stamp who avow that he accepts his ^{present} condition. Will any colored man start in it? Here is a work for Douglass & others who have money & are imbued with a ~~good~~ ^{loyal} professed desire to help their oppressed brethren. Preaching for right & justice in the South meets only with derision from the whites, & perhaps sometimes cause violence to the defenseless victims of their oppression, and if not received with indifference by the colored people, is heard with fear & trembling.

Yet I go back to continue ^{our} the fight, provided I can continue it under circumstances above indicated. The labor is one of love, but I can no longer give gratis my whole time to it. I must find means of making a living for three, or quit it altogether. Through happy at the thought of meeting the dear ones, my ~~heavy~~ ^{heavy} heart is heavy as the thought of going back to ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~accursed land~~ ^{the} ~~obtrudes itself~~ ^{obtrudes itself}. Would it not be better for them to come to me than for me to go to them? Nay, I must not nourish this thought now.

I have often recalled the suggestion you have made of assisting us through the N. C. E. R. B. in transferring The Crusader into a daily, & have thought much over it. You know my purpose in attempting this is to see whether we could not make the paper pay at least ^{part} of the labor bestowed on it. I think we ought to succeed. Yet I base my expectation on the estimated number of colored people who regularly take some one ~~of~~ ^{of} the evening papers which offend & insult them. They take these papers I suppose because a man wants to read the daily news, and I judge they would prefer one that expresses their sentiments & defends their interest & their rights. But evening papers are not like yours here. With one exception, they have no Associated Press service & cull their news from the morning papers, receiving only occasional specials from some points. We could do the same & give as good a paper, and we ought to have not 3000 but 8000 subscribers right in N. C., and with this we could command a share of the advertising patronage. But you see my hope is built only on a supposition, and I am loth to try the suggestion you have so kindly made, unless the colored people - or a sufficient number among them able to do so - should evince in a material way their desire to have the daily Crusader. I have not brought them close to the test yet. We have attempted ourselves heretofore in appealing to the people generally to take shares in the concern, and in this way we have been able to pay for the ^{small} plant the Company has. But when I go back I shall put it to a few who have means ~~just~~ ^{just} as to whether they would put say \$50 each in the enterprise or subscribe their obligation in that amount, & then try if we could make a fund of \$2000 or \$2500. With that & the help we might have by the means you suggested we could start the paper & run it six months or a year, ~~certainly~~ ^{certainly} until it is a success or long enough to ascertain beyond a doubt what

CHICAGO POLICLINIC,

A Clinical School for Practitioners of Medicine.

174-176 CHICAGO AVENUE

its continued publication is desired or advisable. If I ~~propose~~ ^{succeed in this} then will
 enough sufficiently interested in the paper to work for its existence. If I
 fail to find enough Negro patients, who are able to do it & yet not
 willing to ~~subscribes~~ ^{subscribe} this prescriptive friend, ~~Chicago~~ ^{Chicago} think we ought
 to take the money of ~~others~~ ^{others} to embark in the venture. If they
 will not risk a few cents to have an organ to defend their rights &
 interests they perhaps ought not to have it. Then again, without such
 backing as I desire, and only with a moderate sum from outside members
 of the N. C. & P. A., the enterprise may be a flat failure, and those out-
 siders who will have contributed to it, not understanding its inherent
 weakness, might attach some odium to its managers - among
 whose ^{whom} I shall figure prominently. Negro enterprises are always regarded
 with suspicion, it must be admitted have not been uniformly
 successful, if we except Negro churches & Negro schools, and these
 because people never tire of giving for their support. It is a queer
 charity, that of which funds only ~~church~~ churches & schools worthy
 subjects - a newspaper shall appear to merit as a business venture
 & we ought ^{not} to be too surprised of its success.

Now I must tell you that I went once to the Exhibition
 last week. It is immense. There ought to be much to be admired
 in it. But its very grandeur has filled me with bitterness. I wandered
 through the grounds - went through every building, rushing from
 one through the other. I was ^{as if} full of resentment against myself,
 as if ~~yet~~ ^{yet} were weakness on my part to having gone there - and I have
 not brought myself to make another visit yet, though I suppose I
 ought to. But I feel that we have been excluded & have no share
 in the concern. If there be a just God how can he permit such
 an iniquitous people to prosper thus. I felt that if the
 whole thing could sink in Lake Michigan & disappear in ~~lots~~ ^{lots} I would rejoice.
 There have been Congresses here every week, of one thing or another, but I
 have not visited nor taken an interest in any. We are not wanted
 in them - except ~~when it is desired~~ ^{when it is desired} to fill the ~~of~~ specific role of representing
 the race when it is desired for any other interest but that of the race
 proper. It is strange how this resentful feeling has grown on

me. When a boy, a youth, I hated almost every white man I met. I wished, ~~to~~ for a chance to fight a kill - but I never had occasion to kill in self-defense & would not commit murder. Later this feeling passed to the collective mass. I no longer hate the individual, but the whole people, the Nation. I feel at times as if I could tear the flag - the Stars & Stripes - into shreds. Yet I am not a bad citizen - as long as I live within its jurisdiction I shall be loyal to the country, under a sense of duty. But yet why this feeling? I ~~do not~~ ^{have no} specially love ^{for} the Negro - never perhaps had - only sympathy. As an individual I have been treated better than a great many. Personally I have always been respected by those with whom I have come in contact - often have been treated with much consideration. I do not hanker for ^{companionship or} social relations with those who do not want to ~~be~~ ^{to} associate with me, nor ~~do I~~ ^{do I} desire unduly the personal advantages that accrue from unreserved association with one's fellow being. Am foolish enough to think that I am above those who view a man's worth through ^{the glass} of color prejudice. All I want is my civil rights & plain privileges as a citizen, and simple justice for all who are denied it. I want to enjoy rights and don't want to be tolerated merely.

When I begin writing to you I never think until I am through how your time is precious. Once more therefore you will pardon this inroad on it. I shall try to make it the last abuse.

I suppose you remember that you have got me in the Plessy case. I must say that I read the responsibility - and it also puts more work on me. You intimated then that you wanted me to take a certain part. Don't forget to explain when you write & so help me out.

You no doubt have followed the trials of the Regulators in Arroyelles parish in Mississippi. It was specially farcical in Arroyelles. Yet some think they argue some good to the Negro. I don't see it much in that light. It may mean that this ~~class of Regulators~~ ^{class of Regulators} are not going to be permitted to drive away the ~~planters~~ ^{planters} ~~labors~~ ^{labors} in rows - but I don't ^{think} that it ~~that~~ ^{that} insures more security to the Negro individually. In fact it was a collision ^{between} the poor whites & the rich men & land owners, and the rich men got the best of it. May be the Negro will be benefitted, but I don't ^{know} the rich only want him as a beast of burden.

If you are coming for the Anti-Funk Convention please, on receipt of this, to write me, at my expense, what day you will arrive, so that I may not have to wait next week & not see you. I should get away as soon as possible. There is a rule in court ~~made~~ against me at home to make good my notarial bond. It is a rule taken every year by the Dist. Ct. on all notaries. But since I am here one of my bondsmen - Mrs. Ariside Mary - has committed suicide. He was a patient & his death is a loss to us & our community. I am not quite ready to give up the notarial office yet & I may have some difficulty to find another bondsman in the sum of \$5000. When I had friends among the Democrats I could give any amount of \$ bonds, but colored people are not fond of rendering such service. They are talked about everything of this sort. I have had the people at home to speak for "duplication tax" as you used to, but I do not know with what success. I see they changed the day to May 26. ^{What?} L. C. An. Wheatfield

My respectful regards to Mrs. Johnson & your truly