Mayville-on-Chautauqua

Oct 31 1893.

My dear Martine:

I have been having some very serious thoughts in regard to Blenis' Case of late, as my preparation for the hearing has extended.

Shall we press for an early hearing or leave it to come up in its turn or even encourage delay?

I know you will be surprised to hear this from me, and I will explain the reason of it. When we started the fight there was a fair show of favor with the Justices of the Supreme Court. One, at least, had come to regret the "Civil Rights Cases" which had been most strenuously for them. There are now four men on the

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Court who are not fully committed by participation in those cases. If Hornblower is confirmed there will be five.

Of the whole number of Justices there is but one who is known to favor the views we must stand upon.

One is inclined to be with us legally but his political bias is strong the other way. There are two who may be brought over by the argument.

There are five who are against us. Of these one may be reached, I think, if he "hears from the country" soon enough. The others will probably stay where they are until Gabriel blows his horn.

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The court has always been the foe of liberty until forced to move on by public opinion. It moved on up to the level of the "Granger Cases" and the "Interstate Lizzie Cases", because the general sentiment of the country was so unmistakably expressed as to have an enlightening effect.

It is of the utmost consequence that we should not have a decision as quick as it is a matter of haste with the court that it has never reversed itself on a constitutional question.

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Now, I do not wish to take the responsibility of deciding this matter without the knowledge of the committee.

I wish you would call them or have them called together and lay this letter before them.

My advice is to

1 — To leave the case to come up when it will and not attempt to advance it.

2 — To spend every possible energy to secure the discussion of the principle in such a way as to reach and awaken public sentiment.

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Of course, we have nothing to hope for in any change that may be made in the court; but if we can get the ear of the country, and argue the matter fully before the people first, we may incline the wavering to fall on our side when the matter comes up.

The prospects of the National Citizen are beginning to show so unexpectedly well that I am strongly inclined to say, let the

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cure go over and in the mean=
time array the sentiment of
the country against Caste and a=
gainst the Supreme Court as the
ally of Slavery, Secession and
Caste. The newspaper press wor=
ships the Supreme Court: the people
do not. Such an attack would
bring the press down upon the Citi=
zen but would awake attention
and reach the Court — at any
rate it could do no harm in
comparison with an adverse
decision.

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The Kentucky people have been raising a lot of money to push a case from that state. Of course, they are a= way behind us. When they approached me to represent them & showed them the state of affairs and they are now considering the question of ~~employing~~ asking to have their counsel associated with us and using the costs of the fund in subscriptions for the National Citizen. I think they will probably take 5,000. copies, & serving them as I do in yours without fee. If they do this & with the other indica=

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tions, we shall be able to start the Citizen on a paying basis. If we do so, I have no fear but it will reach a very wide circulation within a year.

This will be of great advantage to the best of the colored papers, as it will bring them into many white homes where there is a desire to know the exact truth.

Please have the committee advise me of their preference not to relieve me of responsibility but that I may know

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what ~~will be pleasing to them~~
is their view under the
circumstances. At least I do
not wish them to be surprised
or annoyed at what
they might not otherwise
understand. I have not written
to Mr Walker about this as he might not appre-
ciate so keenly the ultimate purpose of the action. As soon as
I can gather the inclination of the Committee I will write him fully.

Yours very truly
Elton W. Youngs

CHAUTAUQUA COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY 2003

The Crusader was received last night.
matter
You are wrong about the ~~idea~~ of emi-
gration: I doubted it before; now that
I understand
~~I see~~ your view more clearly, I
to be a mistake.
know it. The American Negro will have
to make his contest for equality of right
and opportunity with the Negro-hating
white men of the United States wherever
he may be when the clamor of any
the colored people
considerable number of them should
go to Mexico, a large white emi-
gration would follow to invade
them.

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they should go to Africa, the whole American would go with them, as fish as a ~~[illegible]~~ experiment of emigration; there, as a merchant, a factor, a trader a planter, and very soon the old order would be removed ab a distance from the best influences among the Americ[illegible] people, and with the

(over)

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protect his right, not to deliver him up to the white man's cupidity. There was never yet a Pharaoh in all the world's history, who was willing to let a people he had wronged and tyrannized go free; and there never will be. Every Israel must win its way to freedom by following God's guidance with courage and persistency, whether it lead through the Red Sea or towards a fixed and determined refuge but through the desert. It

(over)

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=over

^men. Who desire for him all that they
could wish and pray for, were they in his con=
ditions. You know this is true. There
are thousands who have attested it,
by faithful service. Think of the millions
of dollars they have freely given for the
uplifting of the race! Think of that
wonderful army of white-robed
saints who went out of our earth
ere known to fame ostensibly
ignorant to teach the way of life
and self-respectful civilization!
(over)

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* All has not been wisely done. The people of the North did not know your conditions and could not therefore provide effective remedies. Perhaps you were not ready even for what might have been done.

Now, the time has come when both must work on sound, practical lines, for the special good of your people and the general advancement of all that Amer-

(over)

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The Crusader was received last night.
You are wrong about the matter of emi-
gration: I doubted it before; now that
I understand your view more clearly, I
know it to be a mistake. The American Negro will have
to make his contest for equality & right
and opportunity with the Negro-hating
white men of the United States wherever
he may be when the clamor of any
considerable number of the colored people
go to Mexico, a large white emi-
gration would follow to create
room;

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or to seek opportunity for ~~future~~ invasion through them.
money out of traffic with them. The habit of ~~plundering~~ the colored race has become the lust of conquest is only momentarily slumbering in the breasts of our restless white citizenry of the South, whose ~~conscience~~ too strong to be renounced). In a brief time the country would be ~~a~~ people who have fillibusters ~~abroad~~, embroiled in another war with Mexico and as a result the colored men who had fled there for refuge would have to begin the struggle, ~~all~~ over again with for individual liberty and right.
the helpless condition of alien and discordant races weighing down their destiny. So too, if

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they should go to Africa, the white
American would go with them, or
at first as a ~~missionary~~ superintend-
ent of emigration; then, as a
merchant, a factor, a trader
a planter, and very soon the
old contest would be renewed
at a distance from the best
influences among the Amer-
ican people, and with the
(over)

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power and flag of the Republic protecting and supporting the white man's wrong-doing.

There is no other way, my friend: The colored man must work out his deliverance here in the United States. It is his only hope. Before he can go securely or hopefully to another land, he must become an acknowledged equal factor of American life. When he goes he must have the power of the United States behind him to

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protect his right, not to deliver him up to the white man's authority. There was never yet a Pharaoh in all the world history, who was willing to let a people he had wronged and ~~oppressed~~ go free; and there never will be. Every Israel must win its way to freedom by following God's guidance with courage and persistency, whether it lead through the Red Sea or towards a friendly and determined refuge but through the desert, or

(over)

CHAUTAUQUA COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY 2020

they can
never win by merely fleeing where
they
the very evil they would avoid is sure
to follow faster than they can fly.

There is but one way: the battle of liberty
justice and equal opportunity must be
fought out here. The colored man
and those white men who believe
in liberty and justice — who do not
think Christ's teaching a sham — must
join hands and hearts and win
with brain and patience and
wisdom and courage.

There are millions of the
white people of the United States who believe
in justice and equal right for the col-

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over

men. Who desire for him all that they
were they
would wish and pray for, in his con-
ditions. You know this is true. There
are thousands who have elected it,
by faithful service. Think of the millions
of dollars they have freely given for the
uplifting of the race! Think of that
wonderful army of white-souled
saints who went out of our earth-
ern homes to face astonishment
ignominy to teach the way of life
and self-respectful civilization!
(over)

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All has not been wisely done. The people of the North did not know your conditions and could not therefore provide effective remedies. Perhaps you were not ready even for what might & have been done.

Now, the time has come when both must work on sound, practical lines, for the special good of your people and the general advancement of all that Amer-

(over)

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liberty prefers and all that Christianity proclaims as its earthly function. The will, the purpose the means exist, and may be rendered and united. The appeal, and, in some sense, the intention, must come from your people. You must unite in making appeal, and in demanding the American people and of American Christians, Justice. Those of us who already believe must join with you and echo this appeal so that it shall be heard by all the world.

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It is a case in which in union there is strength, and without it weakness. Without the voice of those white people who believe with you your demand will fail, as it has heretofore, unheeded. Without both united there is no hope of success.

We must have two things; both practical, both difficult; both needing joint action:

First we must have a great journal which shall voice the needs of your people, the

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duty of ~~the~~ race and the obligations
with authority
of ~~and interests of both~~. It must
be great enough to be heard by
all the world and strong enough
to defy clamor and party. Such a
journal should be in the control of both
white and colored men, in order
that it may speak with confi-
dence to and for both races. Such
and illustrate the truths it advocates
a journal backed by the hearty
support of the colored people will
find five white subscribers for
every colored one. It will
bring those elements of both races

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which are in sympathy on these great questions into substantial and intelligent harmony. The trouble has been, heretofore, that there has been no way to reach the intelligence of the north. They have had to take the testimony of the opposition in relation to the South. The mere race-journal, however well-conducted, desirable and home it may be, is necessarily restricted in its influence and circulation the fact that it is a race-journal. by that fact. Such an organ of human rights as is proposed would greatly enlarge the circulation and enhance

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the influence of the colored press by sending its attorneys into their homes ~~elsewhere~~ such as reach otherwise. it can never ~~penetrate~~ there.

With such an organ of united sentiment we must have also a great bank Exchange and Trust Company — greater than any ever organized — which should enable the workers for better conditions to shake off the dust of the South forever their ~~the~~ oppressive conditions of unmerited shackles from their brothers and ~~sisters~~ there seek and find secure work liberty and self-support, throughout the north. There are hundreds of thous-

(over)

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ands of ~~farms~~ small farms lying
idle all through the north waiting
for just such willing workers. There are
millions of dollars ready to back
such an enterprise wherever it is
safe and practical basis. There
are millions more across the sea
in the hands of people
who are tired of vain speculation
and ready for solid, permanent
investment, with a prospect of
doing good instead of evil, while
therewith.

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required for success?

What is ~~wanted~~ —

1 — ~~An~~ Method — simple, secure evidently practicable.

2 — The ~~man~~ men to manage and direct such a system.

3 — The evidence of hearty co-operation and support on the part of the best elements of the colored people.

The last is by all ~~odds~~ the most important. The two former may be supplied. Already a method that has been endorsed by the best practical brains of the country ~~and~~ ~~has~~ ~~received approval~~ and has been

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prepared. The men of long practical experience and special training in this very line, to put it into operation are not difficult to secure as they may be needed.

The great question with all investors is, "Can the colored man be relied on to co-operate faithfully and truly in such an enterprise?"

His enemies say he cannot: his friends say he can. There is one way the truth can be ascertained — by establishing such enterprises — by creating such a journal as I have indicated. Within one year after that is done such an enterprise may be established which within every year will provide scores of thousands of northern homes for self-sup-

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porting and self-respecting colored citizens.

It will be done too, — not because I have outlined this course, — but because the logic of events shows it to be the only way. It saves the good of the past, ratifies the results of its evil and opens the way for betterment in the future. The South-ern white man cannot object to the movement which merely provides the colored man of the North the opportunity he declares he cannot have at the South; and the only way to convince the Northern negro-philanthropist is to show tangible results. (Over)

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You may not be willing to accept this method now. Your people may not be willing to give you the immediate dreams of instantaneous relief from evils that oppress and begin the steady and tedious work of gradually overcoming them. I may not live to see these ideas put in practice; but if I do not I will leave them as my bequest to humanity and ask no other monument. The initiative in a sense rests with your people; but whenever

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you are ready to move I will
guarantee that five white men
men will be ready to assist for every
colored man who shows a readiness
to work and a thousand dollars will
be found ready to back ~~the~~ the assertions
of every colored man who can show
a stable purpose, thrift, energy and a
sober life as security for such favor.

Already the eastern holders of forfeited
western mortgages are looking about
for some safe method of disposing
of [illegible] the properties they have been com-

pulled mercilessly to Cuba. Even now English investors are tired of being made the catspaw of unscrupulous American speculators. The opportunity is unprecedented: the main question is whether the colored man is ready to start, to move slowly in order to win surely. If he is, God has wonderfully opened the way for success before him. Yours truly

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