Mayville N.Y.

Sept. 25th 1857

My dear Sir:

I always feel like congratulating the country and condemning with the individual when I have of one leaving the inclinations, your better edict, being sent to Congress. It is a tough mountain fate—a field for worthy ambition in which short-sighted self-seeking is apt to get the better start of more noble and worthy ambition. I trust you may see far enough into the future to guide your feet in the way of success as well as right: for I recognize much
clearly the fact that the man who
is right and unsuccessful
weight, for practical purposes, as
much as well be wrong. Of
course, this maximum of success is
not always an exception. In
fact, I think it seldom is. I named
myself men in making up a list
of men who in one time had
seemed to form the ends of future
success and combining it with
a list of those whom succeeded
themselves continuously. For
member I was surprised at the
claiming — a great majority of
the really strong men being
given a moment after a time—

It may not be a fact—it is always dangerous to draw a conclusion from an observa-

tion—but it seemed as if the strong man, faced from the people and his own existence

was able to have some idea of the popular need, which entered the

conscious straight and required some time to penetrate in the

general mind and conscience.

However, this may be, I am

glad to awaken your

mind who goes to Washington

with the idea of enacting
his passage and winning his way by what he does, or takes to do, instead of relying solely upon hand specialists or keepers the-ever popular politicians in order.

You are undoubtedly correct in your forecast as to the question of race and caste. It is now twenty years since I wrote to the fact that it was an infinitely graver and more delicate question than slavery. The risks of great war is worth more found upon my head for inarticulating such a thing. Theodore Phillips second me from in tone for leaning...
opposed the disbandment of the Anti-
Clarence Society. Charles Sumner in-
stilled that I was frightened of a
shadow, because I insisted that
the XIVth and XVth Amendments were insuffi-
cient to totally inculcate as remedia-
lar measures. I think this most
viciously of statements went as far
as to assert that I was not prac-
tical simply because I urged a
lawyer's views of a statute against
his indolent speeches.

not to be reminiscent out of
the vagueness of his ideas and
their adoption as the funda-
mental law, spelling your ques-
tion, our present difficulty
and future danger. Strange enough, Thunderous Stevens was the only man of that time who seemed to foresee the present and his
future practicability led him to form measures which a dry
can now see would have saved the humiliation of the past and
avoided the trial of the future.

Not all of his ideas reached the "mill" stage or even became gen-

erally mortal questions. They
were wise, however, beyond any
thing I have ever known in
any man. I did not realize
in fully reach them at that
but every day adds to their own self-evident wisdom.

Take a few of his fundamental ideas—the ideas on which he would have based a government if he could:

1. The breaking up of all existing state boundaries and the establishment of territorial governments, with suffrage to the Negro who could read and write a national exam in its many.

2. The provision of a homestead for the negro, his ideas upon this were not fully elaborated but his conclusion was based upon the assumption that the man had earned a home and had the right to demand security against individual disabilities and oppression.

3. That the government should settle the debts of the old states
assuming what was just and discrediting the Confederate debts and all its resultant.

4 He would also have punished a numbers of the leading adheres. He was not bloodthirsty, but he insisted that "mercy to a cause starving against the fence of a Re public, is cruelty to the citizen." He used to insist too, that in surrender offered to treating any but a reward offered for future rebellion.

I have never been able to admit the necessity of wasting good blood on a poor citizen and as I have never been able to revert to the last proposition, though I must confess it has species very
strong probability of being verified. He thought no wonder to be in a worse condition in 1895 than we were in 1875, and it is by no means certain that he was not then met.

But what can be done by Congress?

Carefully, I think very little at present. It would seem to be a fact that matters must grow worse before they can grow better. Even things are possible: nothing think improbable.

1. An educational measure in the plan proposed in "An Appeal to Cæsars."

I think the sentiments, smg.principle of the Public Bill, the putting the funds in years into
the hands of the State, a most foolish and perilous thing. The money
that was distributed to the State in 1837-8 in many cases went to
supply troops for the rebellion. If
the nation promises educating as
it unquestionably should by direct appropriation, let it pay the
money directly into the hands
of teachers and teachers (it is shown
to build school-houses) and not
give it to the State to handle in mid-
the men, pyramid, stock on
ve to make stronger the hands that
bind the negroes.

The idea of making a State
responsible for its own
misuse is a folly to spend
for bedlam & contemplation
with sinners.

The government should pay
direct to each township in which
schools sufficient for all are
kept open not less than six
months in the year a sum
enough for each illiterate
resident in the town.

Where there are white
and black schools, pay
to the support of the white
school, the same sum by
reason of white, illiterate

In support of the
very great to the black school,
the same done by means of black
illiteracy. Let the States and
the school; if they will not
let the citizens have the money
if they will support for schools.
This is the first and most
important thing to be done.

2. This possible under the
Amendments for the Nation's
to take charge of national
elections. Such a plan
should be universal.
It should provide that
in State, county on

respective electors be held within four months before or one month after the said election, which should be held by municipal officers acting under municipal laws, except as to—(1) Qualifications of voters and
(2) The regulation of districts.

You will perhaps be surprised at these exceptions and ask what are the laws which authorize them.

I make these exceptions because I do not think the Constitution gives legal warrant for going further.
The laws will have these
 good effects:

1. It will give the government
 full information as to what
 is done at any election.

2. It will give the U.S. courts
 jurisdiction in all matters
 touching those elections.

3. It will be an object to keep
 in national power a truce
 who threatened to urge its ex-
 extension now.

4. It will not cure the
 evil at once. Nothing
 will. This is the best
 remedial measure.
unquestionable key city, I can think of one that has yet been denied.

We ought to have learned by this time that paper and mud do not cure political disease. If the amendments had been drawn with some knowledge of actual conditions and not with the idea that a

â\textit{sleep}\textsuperscript{\textit{in the belly of a
da\textit{statute} was a reliable specific for maternal crumps, we might, at least, have been saved from the hi-
P.S. Of course, you will not print this without my consent. If you turn to 'A Turk's Central' at hand and will turn to Chapter XXXIV, "Love me, love my dog," you will find a letter to Comfort Evans and his reply to A.B. Forrest. There are copies of a letter, a transcript by the Rev. Silas Cat. Co., and of my reply, taken verbatim except names, from my letter of correspondence. The same is true, and of great peril and anxiety to my self and family was the mechanized publication in the New
Your [illegible], of a letter of mine sent to Congress. He did not mean to do any harm, but he could not resist the temptation to see God's factor in Revelation. Since that, I always make it a rule to put up a signboard when I write for Congressmen.

Yours,

[Signature]