## VOL. 1.

## RALEIGH, N. C., APRIL 1879.

NO. 1.

## LETTER FROM REV. C. H. WILEY.

THE DERT WEICH THE WHITE PEOPLE OF THE SOUTH OWE TO THEIR FORMER SLAVES.

The Intellectual, Industrial and Spi-ritual Condition of the Colored People Dispassionately Con-sidered.

A SOLUTION OF THE SOUTHERN PROBLEM.

GREENSBORO, N. C., June 30, 1865. My DEAR BROTHER: Affliction in my family and my own bad health have prevented me from replying sooner t your favor of the 14th instant, received more than a week ago.

Your communication is interesting and timely, relating as it does to one of the most important subjects that ever came before any people, and one which has for some time engaged my

which has for some time engaged my earnest and prayerful attention.

You ask what is to be done for the education and religious training of the Negro of the Southern States; and I regard your suggestions as worthy of consideration, while I regret that you did not furnish me with a more detailed account of your interesting and tailed account of your interesting and instructive experience in the schools of British Guiana.

I trust it will be in my power to meet you, as you request, and in the mean time, you will please to avail yourself of the first safe opportunity of sending to me the public documents in relation to the Mission Schools in the West Iu-

dies and Demerara, to which you refer. But before we discuss the details of any plan for the instruction of the colored race of the South,

A GREAT PRELIMINARY QUESTION. environed with prejudices, will have to be settled; and to this grand purpose the energies of the pious and right thinking among us should at once be

It seems to be doubted by many whether the white population of our region should take any active part in the instruction of their colored reighbors, and while this apparently afficulquestion is capable of an easy solution, if properly considered a y aiscussion of the subject in a spirit other than kind, considerat and a spassionate, will

be productive of v nixe l e-11.

It has long seev d + me that the great majority of

THOSE : HO HAVE BEEN INTERESTED IN SLASFRY

in our country have been als anderstood or misre resented by those who have assum d > be their representative men in church a d State; and that the difficulties is the way of right jurgment and of right action, in regard to the negroe, did not originate in the hearts and minds of masters as a body, but in the theories, purposes and passions of controversialists, religious and political. I have been myself a slave owner of the third or fourth descent, and, like many, was a master to my pecuniary loss; and inheriting a charge in the way of servants, from which I could not in conscience free myself, I can feel, and do feel, for the honor and interests of those who have owned sixves. And although I have advocated reforms which were not carried out, I have no repreaches to make against any class, and I el toat my profound regard for their reputation and their interests entitles me to address them with a freedomworthy of my own kind wishes and of what I conceive to be their honest natures

I have a strong do ire to talk plainly with them concerning

OUR COMMON DUTIES IN THIS GHEAT CHISIS;

and I avail myself of the opportunity afforded by your letter, of laving before them a few leading facts and considerations, with the hope of dispelling what I consider fatal delesions, and of directing their thoughts in the right channels.

There are persons at the South who consider themselves relieved of all responsibility for the spiritual and phy-sical well being of the colored people in their midst, for the following reasons, to-wit: First, By the sudden emancipation of the blacks, without consulting the wishes of their former owners. Secondly, By a supposed unwillingness on the part of the negroes to receive suggestions and instructions from those who have been their masters; and, Thirdly, By the azitation of exciting

questions in regard to what should be the political sistus of the free blacks, and by the interference of persons from other States, who come into our midst as teachers, with strong prejudices against the whites.

These pleas are specious, but,

APPEALING TO OUR PASSIONS AND NOT OUR JUDGMENTS.
they will not justify the inaction pre-

dicared on them.

It may well be doubted whether the white race of the South is not itself largely and directly responsible for the sudden termination of slavery; and what I allege on this subject is not offered as a reproach for actions in which all of us are more or less implicated. but as a dispassionate reference to facts which it is our duty to consider if we would come to just conclusions on the

we accepted the bazards of civil war for the adjustment of social and political disputes; and we had reason to know from the warnings of the fathers of the Republic, and from all the les-sons of history, that in such disputenothing can be more uncertain than the arbitrament of the sword. Besides, we generally confessed that

SLAVERY, AS PRACTICED, NEEDED A REFORMAand could not be tolerated by God among a Christian people without it; and yet, on one plea or another, we

indefinitely postponing these

needed changes.

But admitting, for the sake of argument, that the whites of the South are in no way responsible for the present condition of things, it is perfectly clear that the negroes, as a race, had no part in producing it. They, as slaves, were the origin of the most tremendous conflict of arms know in metory; and while those who had them to personal service were girt about with fire and sword,

THE BLACKS, AS A CLASS, REMAINED FAITHFUL

TO THEIR MASTERS, were docile, obedient and alligent in service. They did not counsel the efforts for their emancipation, nor aid in as a race; and thus their former mast as a most be relieved from respona", to their servants by acts in watel the latter had no part.

The negroes are free by the force of circumstances which they did not create; and

THE "CONFEDERATE" CONGRESS.

professing to represent their masters, had itself adopted measures which would have inevitably resulted in immediate emancipation. But whoever is responsible for their present condition, the negroes are not; and here they are, a lame and impotent race, sitting at the gates of

THOSE WHOM THEY HAVE CHEERPULLY SERVED for many generations. Sitver and gold we have none to give; but shall we withhold those healing inflaences of which they are more in need and which we can so casily afford? It is an irksome task to teach the ignorant and the sensual; but is that a reply to the Di-vine command, "to go into ai the world and teach all nations?" When we were interested in their labors we did not avoid their association; we were willing to live with hordes of them, and to be at great trouble in sectasks. More than half our time was passed in personal association with them, we, acting, it is true, in the capacity of superiors; and when we are engaged in affording mental and moral instruction are we not then more righ fully and touly than ever occupying the dignified place of governors? But think of the claim upon us from contaries of service, clumsy though they may have been, but of such services as the race were capable of making in our behalf! Here are the de cendants of

THOSE WHO SOWED AND TELED THE PRIOR when our ancestors fought the seven years' war for Independence-of the men and women who nursed our fathers and mothers in latincy and sickness, who dog their graves and watered them with tears, and watched and prayed, and labored for their chit-dren. Here are people who, until a few weeks ago, were our property, descending from generation to generation, following our fortunes without complaint, knowing no homes or interests but those of their masters; among whom are persons who have stood by us in

danger, who have watched by our beds. and who have nursed us and our chil

To enhance their claims, the race is but few removes from the gloomy barbarism of Africa, and our own policy is partly responsible for its not having attained to a higher mental culture. I do not characterize this policy one way or another; I do not say whether it was right or wrong to torbid negroes to be taught to read, and to tolerate the separation of bushand and wife, of mothers and their young children. I only desire to advert to the fact that our laws did discourage the education of slaves, and that they did permit a very loose system of co-babitation among the sexes.

If we owed then no special moral debt who will pretend that they have not upon us that general claim which all the ignorant races of the earth have upon the labors and prayers of the disciples of Christ-

by the fact that it is infinitely easier for us to reach and instruct them than it is to go to the heathen of foreign lands, while we can labor at home, cheered with the society of our own race, enjoying all the comforts of civilization, and all the protections and privileges of a great and free government.

But, it is alleged, the negroes would rather be instructed by any others than by those among whom they have been

slaves.

A MERE SURMISE.

and an honest and conscientious people should at once test it by their action. The suspicion is natural, and yet the few developments that have already occorred seemed to indicate that it is without foundation.

Giving to all these facts and consid-

erations their full weight, can any fair minded and conscientious man among ng say that we are recreed from our obligations to take an active and special interest in the moral development of negroes?

Everything considered,

IT IS REALLY SURPRISING how little extravagance the sudden and tremendous change in the condition of the blacks has caused in their conduct; and white they are made to know that they are not indebted to their former masters for their freedom, and there are circumstances and agitations tending to foster national antipathies, the negroes are still docile, and under the cheumstances, could not, with human passions and infirmity, display less in-disposition to receive kindly suggestions and efforts for their good on the part of their former owners.

The third reason urged against systematic action on the part of the whites of the South, in behalf of the negroes, is an argument in the other way.

The political agitations and the foreign interference which excite so much apprehension are permitted by God to ward us of

OUR DANGER AND OUR DUTY, and if we neglect the latter, we can hardly magazy the greatness of the

In times past these very consideration were urged as reasons for not reform conforming its laws an practice to the known conscience of masters; and our leaders interposed our pride between our actions and our usichous, causing us to put off th day of reformation until slavery should be beyond the reach of political in-trigues, and wholly exempted from foreign intermedding or dictation. These agirations and this interference

were formerly, as now, but

WARNINGS FROM A RIGHTEOUS PROVIDENCE. who a tinits of no excuse for the nonperformance of a known duty, and as weet so for years to misinterpret their obvious import, the bolt fell at last and suddenly, and slavery was wholly abolshed with mi its imperfections on its hear, a d masters left to be judged by the world, not by what were their inter tions, but by their public actions.

But the righteous Arbiter has, no doubt, seen good designs in many hearts—at all events, he has most mercifully opened a still broader and easier field of usefuluess and honor to the

He has left the negroes in the midst of their former owners, almost wholly dependent on them for even the most | society.

elementary instruction; a docule and helpless people, forming, as it were, a great mass of shapeless and photio day, to test the artistic skill and energy of a race which claims that the world has never done it justice.

No other race can have the access to. or the facility for, shaping the character of the blacks of the South, afforded by a kind Providence to their former proprietors, and while the Stern behands of buty

require nomediate and systematic efte the fullest account, the imperious claims of interest and honor lead in the same direction.

We have professed to be the best friends of the blacks—we still have opportunities of proving our assertion. We have insisted that no others so well understood or appreciated the character and wants of the negroes. This is true, and it greatly enhances our pre-

sent obligations
The negro has for generations regarded us as his moral superior, and his natural teacher and guardian; if we will go forward in the paths of duty we will nobly prove this moral superiority, for the teacher is ever the leader of his pupil; and we still insure for ourselves that kindly deference from the more ignorant race which will preserve the harmony of society, and promote the best interests of all its classes.

And this is the only effectual way to shut out foreign interference, and to arrest dangerous political agitations.

If we believe in an Almighty and just

God, we must know that THE COURSE OF DUTY IS THE PATH OF SAFETY; and indeed will not worldly philosophy plainly teach us that if we would not have the negroes trained by others we must ourselves furnish them with good instructions? Does not our common sense inform us that an ignorant and helpless, but free race in our midst, large in numbers. Spleeted by us and easily led, furnishes one of the most dang rous openings for permanal expe-litical strife? Does not universal experience exemplify and explain the force of the Divine allusion to the eagles and the careass?

I would implore our Southern friends d and their prejudices, and look at at in their clear light.

We can perform a glorious mission, and if we do not we will fall to a dread paper abyss. There is no intermediate position for us-there is no place and no lone to the countral. We must

tu or do . - .. as do or be : Let us no longer listen to t se would delude us with the plea that this is not the favorable time-this streu sing has plunged us into one deep pit, and now it would lure us on to a still

profounder abyss.
It is a perversion of the obvious teachings of Providence to permit the agitas. tions of which the negro is still the cause, to deter us from making efforts for his moral advancement, and when those who are

RIS NATURAL PRIENDS.

and who have most power to do good for him, are making the best use of their opportunities, will not the door

of the South stard aloof from a work that en Is builty for the aid of Christian to find among these many who will aim to a quire cheaply a reputation for ph Luthropy by declaiming against the faults of others.

They must, also, be prepared to suffor the natural consequences of such an accumulation of moral malaria in their m dst, and to andure a society officied with many serious disorders. Besides ad tois, the vast body of ignorant blacks wile forcish a glorious opportunity for the enterprise of ambitious politicians; and the progress, neclected by their natural guides at home, will rally under the standard of leaders who will easily persuade them that sit their moral and social ills will find an inta lible remedy in political changes.
In sport, we have in the present con-

diam of things at the South all the clements for social chaos, " - remisions agrications, for parioual c. me

is simply the wisdom and the will to

is simply the wisdom and the will to look at things aright, and to place each party in its proper place—for the whites to rise above the influence of prejudice and passion, and to prove their claim to mental superiority, by going forward unitedly, systematically and carnestly to the work of instructing their dependent and decile neighbors. The undertaking must be commensurate with the wants of those to mensurate with the wants of those to be benefitted—and it must embrace whatever relates to industrial habits, to social character, the mental develop-ment, and to spiritual regeneration. The instruction must comprehend all that the blacks need to know to enable them to be self-supporting, and to un-derstand the great principles which concern their temporal and eternal weltare; and while the white race is thus engaged it will be destroying the seed beds of social and moral pestilence; will entitle itself to and will receive THE LASTING RESPECT AND DEFERENCE

OF THE BLACKS.

will be improving and elevating itself, and will be effectually blocking the way of false philanthropists, demagogues, and the whole pestiferous broad of selfish agitators.

I did not propose to say asything now in regard to special plans of instruction for the colored people; but it is proper that I should express my opinion on a single point, that there was he on injurious meannaghersions. may be no injurious maspprehensions as to what you and I, and others who agree with us, propose. The blacks must be instructed together by themselves; and while religious principle does not require that the races should be mingled in an educational system, the attempt would be productive of u mitigated evil.
With affectionate regard,

I am truly yours, Church, Iredell county, N. C.

## Encouraging Words from Commis-sioner Polk.

RALEIGH, April 8, 1879. MR. O. HUNTER, JR :-Sir: Your favor of the 7th inst., asking me for a contribution to the columns of your this moment received.

ies of my office demand my mmendation of an enterprise so lauds able and worthy as the one you have inaugurated, and which your journal is designed to represent and promote.—You inform me that in the conduct of the paper, partisan politics and sectarianism will be eschewed, and that its best energies shall be devoted to the advancement of the material interests of your race. In this you have acted wi-ely. And I trust you will appreci-ate the admonition that, to secure the sympathy, aid and co-operation of the intelligent patriotic white men of the State, in promoting the declared objects of your Association, you must demonstrate by an nuswerving adherence to this avowal that your sole and sincere a the upon agitations and agitations? purpose is to foster and advance the material wolfare of your usee through the legitimate influence of such an organization. Let the locty and noble be nevelence, they must expect o here labeled to ensure the neglected field, and vate the aims and aspirations of your people, by inculcating ideas of economy, industry and hones y, and unlike your brethren of the more Southern States, you will not be deluded into the great error of leaving the bountiful fruitful land of your birth for one bounding only is disappointment. With best wishes for your success in your undertaking.

I'am, respectfully, L. L. Polk, Com'r.

The Residence of John Bandolph of Ronnoke, Destroyed by Fire.

Norfolk Virginian, 8th.

Information reached here to-day of the destruction by fire of the residence of John Randolph of Roanoke, in Char-lotte county last night. The property was purchased by the late Hon. Wood Bouldin of the Supreme Court of this State, from the heirs of John Randolph. The remains of Randolph are buried for intersectine war; and yet i man is the remains of Randolph are buried can clearly discover a possibility of constructing from these materials a compact, conservative and prosperous tained by the fire has not been ascertained.