

My dear Sir: Your letter is received,
with clipping. Ever since 1873, I
have been waiting for somebody to
do something, I have written, talked,
begged, somebody else to go on
and do what it seemed to
me as plain as the nose on a
man's face must be done if in-
calculable evils are to be averted.

Many promised: some tried: there
were meetings and speeches, prayers
and tears. Wind enough to make a
cyclone and eloquence enough to
move a gate post were elicited.

Results, a very good spirit but
no tangible force. I started the "Jim
Crow ~~Book~~ Car" matter through
the Bytander's Notes. I found the
colored people only needed plain
honest talk and simple ma-
chinery.

Accident led to the start
of the U. C. R. R. Two weeks

ago today the first certificate was issued. Its aim is a simple one; to find how many there are who believe in liberty, justice and equality of right.

It has no machinery except two rolls, one by numbers and one by states.

It has a President who ~~keeps the rolls and~~ does the work of enrollment as fast as the members send in names and provide printing and postage.

It has an Administration Council to whom report is made of receipts and work.

Everything is voluntary. Thus far nothing has been paid for work any family having done it all. After this week, a young lady will be hired to assist. All the work is under my personal supervision. Thus far we have had

just money enough to ~~do~~ buy the
~~the~~ envelopes, pay for the printing done
and pay the postage. There is even on
hand \$11.80. ~~to~~ towards a new lot of
printing ordered next week. A
friend has also offered to print 25,000
circulars.

~~We have~~ ~~from~~ It has members
who are its life. They are active con-
vancers because they are men
and women who believe in
what they are doing and have
no personal interests to subvert.
When they have got all the members
they can they send the lists received
to their friends in other states or
countries. In this way we have
already active agencies in all
the states but 8 three.

It has no assessments; makes no
demand on time or purse for meet-
ings or funds. A man may
belong to it and no one know
it except at headquarters (a great

consideration at the South).

It has no drum corps; ~~it~~ needs no siege guns yet and carries no pontoons.

What it seeks is men — men who believe and are willing to endorse their belief.

If we can get as many as it required soldiers to put down the rebellion, ~~the~~ the National Citizen will have his rights and the Negro Problem will be settled.

How will it be done? Certainly, without any considerable bloodshed.

By what method? By applying the moral force of some millions of enrolled freemen to individuals, to parties, to Representatives, to officials, to the world.

Put to 2,000,000. Northern freemen in front of Southern prejudice demanding justice

and a million colored men
who know they have friends
behind it, and the South will
listen to reason very quickly.

Let ~~2,000,000~~ even 1,000,
000, enrolled Northern voters
demand a protected citizenship
and they will get it. Parties pay
heed to demonstrable facts; they
care nothing for speculation
ones. At present, therefore, every
energy should be bent to ex=
tending the numbers of the or=
ganizations. Every member is
a committee of One on this
work. ~~To raise a sum of \$100,000 and~~
~~and secure, at least, \$50,000, his~~
~~sum is too far from a certainty to be~~
\$ Every ^{man} man can at least send
one. The cost of enrollment, cer=
tificate, return list, &c, is about
3 cts each and experience shows
that every dollar brings at least

~~It~~ mean 40 members. The
cost of one ^{national} convention of 100
members, counting such main
expenses at \$50.00 a very low es-
timate would yield 200,000 mem-
bers. The Convention would yield
200. speeches and twenty factions.

One thing is certain; the colored
man can do nothing alone. No one
should ask or expect him to. If he
keeps up his own end of such a
movement he does well — very
well. Thus far he has felt that he
had no friends. This gives him
some — reliable ones.

Another thing should be evident:
As soon as you make this a
matter of meetings, speeches talk
and clamor, you have dis-
ension between black and
white, factions and envy. Keep
the matter until the full comes on
the whole and they will all

stand together.

I want to see results —
business, not bureaucracy; freedom
and justice not the spend & engh.
It is for these reasons that I have
adopted this plan. The Association
will ~~not~~ stand on these princi-
ples. If it succeeds, ~~well~~, it will
cross the streams as it may
come to them. Whenever there
is need we can have all
the money we desire. At pres-
ent we have no use for it —
no purpose to which it can prof-
itably be applied. When we have
the moral sentiment behind
us we shall have need for
a great deal and it will be
forth coming. You speak about
the civil rights and think it a
mistake to keep to the front the
political phase of the question.

That has been the trouble heretofore.
Conscience never got even any
good sense. Civil rights without
~~the co-ordinate ones~~ are
not worth a fig. A laborer
without a ballot is like a crab
without a shell. The man who
who accepts us a gift what they
are entitled to demand as a
~~demanded right~~ to demand as a
right, becomes thereby a subject
and is afterward estopped of his
right.

I have 10,000 letters from
white men on this subject.
Hardly ^{a hundred} ~~one~~ of them mention
the civil plan of it. Civil rights
are ~~an~~ ^{the} incident of political
liberty, and ~~with~~ little value
without it. Your suggestion may
be correct, but I have to rest on
my own judgment.

I do not think it wise to give
the matter ^{general} publicity through
the press. I never had any

success in hunting game with a horse = hound. And you must remember that much of our game is very shy. Let us land our catch and "holler" afterwards. We have now more white men enlisted to fight your race's battles than ~~we~~ there have ever been colored men in all the organizations at a ~~sample of~~ ~~that~~ ~~same~~ heretofore.

One of the most important questions it will help to decide is whether the colored man has reached the point where he can sink himself for the common welfare. I think he has but in that opinion, you know I stand almost alone. If they can hold themselves down and show no rivalry except in the number of members they enlist success is just as sure as sunset.