

Manville N. Y.

Feb'y 14" 1892

A. Royall Esq.

Dear Sir: I was greatly pleased to receive your frank and thoughtful letters and should have answered them before but a couple of months illness is a serious delay to such work, especially when one has to earn his daily bread with his pen and both work and correspondence get so far behind.

To reply to your inquiries as fully as I can, I would say, (1) that it is not any purpose nor that of the Administrative Council, to prescribe any specific method by which the people of any vicinity shall act in regard to this subject. The present method was adopted not so much from choice as from necessity and its working has strengthened in my mind a con-

rection of its efficiency. It has two advantages; (a) Many people do not like to be pioneers and some do not like to be in a minority. Of course, there must be a beginning and if we proceeded by public meeting, etc., it might have been difficult to secure a nucleus. (b) - I think it is a fact that a good cause is sometimes "killed to death" before it is fairly on its feet.

Besides that, you must remember that several attempts to establish some such movement among the colored people, had failed by reason of bickering, jealousy, distrust and excess of machinery. I determined to make this so simple that a steer could not "kick" at it and by the system of lists and circulars give every one an opportunity to work according to his own inclination and capacity and in his own way. It leaves every one free to work for the cause

only requiring that the names of all members secured be sent to headquarters for registration.

The reasons for this are three fold.

(1) — It makes every member directly accessible for consultation or information of any sort by which unity and harmony of action are more easily secured.

(2) — In my opinion, the mere fact that there is such a list of names of people who actually believe in the maintenance and enforcement of the rights of citizenship, is one of the most important results of such organization. The very fact that it exists makes it a potent force.

Take the Republican party, for instance. They would not pay much attention to a few scattered clubs; but if they know that I can reach by mail tomorrow and every day 100,000 or 200,000 or more voters all of whom are more or less in accord with the sentiments

I advocate, they realize at once that this is a coherent force. They know that no diversion or disaffection can be created for there is nothing to act on. The only things to be done are either to concede to our demands, reject them, or seek to evade them. I therefore judge that more can be accomplished in this way than by other methods of organization. You see

You may not have noted the fact about the effect of the Association on Southern thought and Southern methods has already been very marked. They dread anything like the old "abolition" movement which was an appeal to justice. A mere political organization they care nothing at all about. They can always manage such. This there is no chance to manipulate.

3- Such a list of members is useful for all the purposes you mention: to keep the Republican

party from surrendering; to hold up before weak-kneed members of Congress; to enlighten the Executive; ~~and, if the~~ to facilitate State organization, and if the need arises to afford the means of quick and effective party organization.

Now, as to what we propose to do:

The U.S.R.A. has as yet but two purposes, (1) To get as many names of the liberty-lovers of the land on its rolls as can be found by its active and earnest members.

(2) To be ready to do whatever may require to be done to promote the desires of its members and secure equal rights for all citizens.

I quite agree with you in regard to the course of twenty years ago. Justice is now to a large

degree dormant in the hearts
of the American people, simply because
the managers of the Republican
party have accepted the idea that
greed is the strongest motive that
can be appealed to. They no longer say:
"This is the party of liberty and justice,"
but, "This is the party of self and profit."
They think the American people are simply
64,000,000 of mercenaries, who
care no more for justice than a
punchbroker does for tears.

Yet in this party is to be found the
great bulk of just and true sentiment.
If it will pledge itself in the Con=
vention to the protection of citizen=
ship, then we can pledge its con=
gressional nominees separately and
after that hold our segregated
roll over them, so that they will
not become weak kneed.

If the party refuse to pledge itself,
or seek to evade the pledge
when made, we shall have to

letter for the country, to organize
in it the association in any
way that may seem to you
desirable. Application lists and
certificates will be furnished you ^{the committee}
as you may require. You can
issue the certificates and return
the filled out stubs to this office.

You can do this in any man-
ner you choose; call a public
meeting if you wish to name
the committee and get re-
cruits — any way so the end
is accomplished.

As to reading this letter ^{to a meeting}
I should not say it would be
^{entirely} prudent to be as frank with
the public but of course you
can send what you choose
^{of it} to friends. The U. C. R. A. has
nothing to conceal but does
not deal in trumpets just

Now —

Why do we enroll women? because they are citizens, have countenances and are willing to work and pray for liberty.

They count on the public sentiment which after all is the source of power and chief adieu of justice. It is not well to crowd the lists with female names but we are always glad to see the names of wives and daughters of Members. Some of our best members in Michigan are ladies.

We have about 100 names enrolled from your country, mostly from South Haven, Cassport and Kibbie. The numbers of the certificates run from about 1210 up to 20,275 - showing that the members are ~~being~~ alive and at work. The first received was C. Pierce, Oct. 29. Then J. A. Duggill & family, James H. Green and F. M. Brown on Nov. 12. - The list includes Prof. J. C. Green and Rev. A. C. Strickland.

I should say ~~you~~ ^{we} were strong enough to have a meeting in South Haven and make it a success, if on consultation with these you should find it was their wish. If not it would probably be better just to consult with them or have a meeting of members only to consult as organizing for the work in the County. In some counties they establish sub-committees in each town.