

Dear Sir:

I send you herewith, a copy of a circular I am sending to the ~~U.C.R.~~ Members of the U.C.R.A in a few selected localities which seem to me fairly representative of our Northern membership. I have not included Chicago ^{among} these nor have I yet ~~made~~ taken any means to lay the matter before any considerable number of the colored members. If the 1,000. circulars I am sending to these representative localities bring in a reasonable ratio of subscribers, we shall go on and send to all. a ~~good number~~

If we can get 10,000 subscribers we can proceed in the matter without risk and establish a journal which shall be to the impending struggle for equal rights and equal opportunity, which the National Era, was to the Anti-Slavery struggle. I have no doubt that with such a start I could increase its circulation to 100,000 copies within a year. My purpose is, in case the returns are not of a character to promise an assured success, I shall carry the matter no further but accept some

other work, ~~much of which~~ several openings for which are now before me.

Of course, I have a very deep interest in the matter, both because I realize the ~~opportunity~~ wonderful opportunity which lies before us to establish a journal which shall be a power in the shaping of American thought and through it determining the destiny of ~~the~~ a race and perhaps of American liberty itself, but also because I can see no other way in which there is any hope of averting even worse conditions than we have ever known. I seem to be about the last white man, having any follow-

ing an appreciable status before the
people who has any inclination to
fight for the rights of the colored
man, or make their cause the cause
of American citizenship. I have a pretty large
clientelage both in a literary and a po-
litical sense. That is, I have the ear of the
American people and to a very consider-
able degree their confidence. Given a jour-
nal under my ~~entire~~ control and
effective
I can make this sentiment ~~more~~ #
for justice and equal right - as it has
effective than it has been before in
never before been ^{as I believe} ~~and~~ ^{in one else}
can.

Public press, so far as it is controlled
by white men, is practically neutral
upon the subject of the Colored citizens'
rights. The ~~aspect~~ ^{now} of the National election
leaves, ^{which is certain,} with which goes the last vestige of
pretence of defending them, will awaken
very little comment. The ~~aspect~~ ^{refusing}
~~of~~ formal amendment of the XIV and
XV Amendments which will very likely be
attempted within a year or two, will hardly
meet ^{with} any serious ~~resistance~~ ^{opposition} unless we
have such an organ to represent the
real liberty-loving sentiment,

Again, I do not know any one in whom
so many of both races have confidence
as regards this subject, as myself. I
think I am quite within the bound of
modest claim when I say this. Very few
colored men, I think, feel any distrust of me:
most white men regard me, not so
much as too radical, but ^{rather} too persistent,
on the subject. A journal under my
control would be a common meeting
ground of sentiment and would serve
to awaken the one, strengthen the other
and enlighten both. At present the press
~~I do not feel inclined however~~

The coloured newspapers circulate
very little among white people and are
not likely to do so for ~~some~~ a good
while to come. ^{This is unfortunate, but it is true; and we must face the truth,} My purpose ^{is,} should such
a journal be established, to associate
with me in its management one or more
coloured men or women, and open its
composing-rooms to coloured labour as soon
as it does its own printing; so as to make
it an exponent ^{it will be an} ~~as well~~ advocate of ~~the~~
^{actual} ~~practical~~ as well as theoretical equality of
^{opportunities.}
~~I do not know~~ I do not know
how many white men there are who

care as much as \$15.00, a piece for the future
of these questions; now how many
colored men ~~there~~ there may be who
care \$15.00 a piece for their rights - on the
future status of their children.

"The first man to respond to this circular
was an old soldier who said: "I am old
~~and poor~~ and infirm, but I will take 10
copies in order to do what I may to secure
to the ^{children of the} colored men ^{who fought} with me for the Union, the
full enjoyment of the liberty it should secure,
and enclose a postal order for \$15.00
to pay for the same."

Every colored man who is able to
do so, would follow his example, I

think it would do more to show that they appreciate the necessity of maintaining what they have and securing ~~that~~ what they ^{ought to have,} ~~would~~, than almost anything that could be done.

I am not inclined to urge the matter upon any one, both because it might have a flavor of ~~promoting~~ using approval of my conduct to promote my own interests, which I have always been careful not to do, and also because the work has always seemed to me to be in the hands of One greater than I, who if it is this is the time and I the proper instrument for its performance, will open the way and incline the hearts of those

who have even more at stake than I can
have, to give it such support as it requires.

If it is his will that I should give up the
work to which I have devoted so much of
my life, and that it should stand still
until such time as ~~He~~ He shall point in
blood and flame the sword of justice
and duty, I shall submit, not without
regret, but at the same time with some
thankfulness that for the rest of my life,
I am ^{to be} charged with less stormy duties.

I write this to let you understand
why these circulars which are being sent to

other countries, do not reach the friends of
justice and liberty in Chicago. Whatever is to
be done there, ~~either by the members of the Association~~
~~or the colored~~ must be done
by others. I think if it were known that
the colored people of Chicago - acting as such,
- ~~should~~ ^{had} resolved to take a certain number
of copies, say 1,000, and had organized
a canvass to secure subscriptions, the
list being headed by some liberal pledges
by leading men, and this fact could be
stated in the circulars hereafter sent out
it would act as a powerful stimulus
to ~~the~~ the members of the Association

There ought to be thirty colored men in Chicago who have interest enough in a matter of such grave importance to their people, to undertake as much as that. The risk would be practically nothing as by a little care you could plan every one of them in a short time.

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everywhere and render success practically certain. However, I leave it all with you and those and him who I trust will guide us all right.

Sincerely yours

Wm. D. Touge

It is possible that a few might assume such responsibility and then ask the many to come up and share it with them. This is usually the most effective way of accomplishing such results. The statement that say 30 colored men of Chicago had done this would stir every member of the Association to do his utmost. (over)

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