My dear Montreal:

Hardly anything has gone through my heart like your despairing cry, "Let us get out of this hell of the United States!"

I do not blame you. I know & should feel as in your place — or rather much more desperate. I could not be so patient and patriotic as many of you who I know realize the truth are.

As I just wrote to a friend in Kansas, "Put eight millions of average white men and women in the slums and conditions of the eight millions of colored people of the South and hell would be a playground in comparison with the south in thirty days."

Yet I love the United States

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with a passionate ardor. Not, I think, because it is merely the land of my birth, nor ever because I have had the good fortune to shed a little blood in its defence. I can well see that both these trivial facts might exist and it yet be a land of hopeless and irremediable tyranny and oppression. In other words I realize that what we call patriotism sometimes, a mere blind devotion to the land of birth or domicile, may be a very crude and ignoble sentiment in comparison.

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with a true love of liberty for all, justice for all and equal opportunity for all by which alone the highest interests of all may be subserved.

So, if I believed that the interests of the colored people and of humanity in general would be subserved by the migration or dispersion of the ~~American Negro~~ colored population of the United States, I would heartily endorse your sentiment and give my ~~to~~ movement ~~such~~ approval to such a ~~movement~~.

I cannot, however, in spite of all that has been and all that promises

ises of woe and injustice for the col-
ored people — even though bishops
excuse lynchings and burnings and
the people of the country complacently
consider the question whether the
Negro has not had too much liberty —
even with all this I cannot believe
it is not true that the colored people
cannot more easily, cheerfully and
surely attain a higher and better
place in the world's life, here than by
any migration or dispersion. I do
not underestimate the blood that
has been shed and may be shed,

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the debasement, injustice and shame that has been and may be heaped upon them. But I believe that American civilization and American Christianity, with all their defects and I fully realize how many and how grave they are, has yet a stronger leaven of justice and a more hopeful inclination toward right-doing as measured by the standard of Christ, than any other nation or people of the earth.

I realize that one-fourth of the

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white population of the United States, that is practically all of the white people of the South, have set their minds and hearts upon the permanent subjection of the colored people here or their virtual extinction or exclusion from the country. I know also that a considerable proportion, perhaps a majority, of the people of the North regard such a prospect with complacency if not with approval. Of course, either alternative means untold injustice, oppression and horror. Yet there are very many of our best people who regard with a composure quite inconceivable when we consider the teaching of the Master, the

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prospect that the "christianization of Africa" may be hastened thereby. To me the idea of consoling ourselves for injustice, excusing our own evil doing to others with the thought that God may make use of our sin to establish his truth in another land or among another people is just as horrible as the idea of Judas congratulating himself on having made salvation possible by causing his Master to be crucified! In moral character the two ideas are precisely the same except that the position of Judas would be more logical and tenable.

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— Yet I believe that underlying this inmate cruelty, injustice and unreason there is a bias toward liberty and justice that may be stirred to active and effective control of our destiny. It is not possible that the American people will repeat the folly of Pharoah or the crime of Ferdinand of Spain or even attempt to permanently revoke the initial declaration of equal right — which means first of all things security and justice — for all men, on which alone the glory of our form hinges and which even when but half-realized, ~~is the~~

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our unprecedented prosperity attests ~~to be~~ as the highest, wisest, truest policy. I cannot even yet believe that the American Republic will not fulfill that immortal destiny which a mysterious Providence caused to be inscribed upon the bell which first announced to the world the birth of a Nation in the New World which God had hidden away in the "sea of darkness" for so many ages, for some good and wise purpose: "Proclaim liberty throughout all the land, to all the inhabitants thereof."

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It will yet perform this noblest and
divinest of national destinies and the
jubilee of ~~f~~ liberty will be based on
equal rights, equal opportunity, security
for all and justice to all. That is
my faith and I am grateful above all
things, to the Almighty Ruler and disposer
of events, that we live at a time
when it is true not only that "as a
man thinketh in his heart so is he,"
but also that as a people think in their
hearts so is the nation they compose.

The trouble with the American people is
that they are not thinking rightly and

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many of them are not thinking
at all upon these subjects. Yet the
way is open to their minds and con-
sciences, if we will but use it. The
highway of holiness "today is the printed
page. The supreme Court where the "equity
and good conscience" of all acts and
defects of our government, civil-
ization and Christianity must be es-
tablished and maintained is the intelli-
gence of the American people and all
causes must be presented on "printed
briefs." The cause of the colored citizenship
of the United States is the cause of liberty,
the cause of justice, the cause of God.

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But it must be laid freely and
fairly before this ground of earthly
tribunals, the American people, before
it can be justly and truly determined.
It must be freely argued on both
sides. Woe to the advocate of truth,
he does work for its advancement
who openly and bitterly combats
it, if both sides command a
free hearing. The cause of justice
and liberty does not lack either
advocates or supporters in this august
tribunal. It merely lacks a hearing —
a chance to be heard by those
who must decide on its merits.

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I have been more and more convinced of this during every day of the two months last past, when I have for the first time in a generation of a century I have been absolutely — and it time have been only absolutely out of the fight — during that time I have been especially at work upon a volume which I hope to publish ~~in a few~~ in a few months, entitled "The Nation and the Citizen," a history of citizenship

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in the United States, which by the way, I intend to dedicate to the "Citizens Committee of New Orleans" as the most deserving body of men for their labors in behalf of the rights of the and their legal ~~xxxx~~ protection and maintainance Citizen to be found in the United States. In the course of this work, I have been especially struck with the fact that the American people are apt to decide in favor of the justice and the right whenever they know exactly where the line of right and justice lies.

In no ~~xxx~~ more than ever con-

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viewed therefore that whatever much need is a journal of such ability and character as will command recognition and ~~respect~~ respect, ~~does~~ which shall be especially devoted to this and kindred subjects pertaining to citizenship.

You know how I have shrunk from assuming charge of such a publication and you know also some of the reasons for that hesitancy. There have been, in fact

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removed and I feel compelled to ~~cut~~ put aside the others. Such a journal must of course be made self-supporting if it is to have any influence and must have a literary character which shall make it rank with the best if it is to command respect. If it has a sufficient support, it can easily secure these things. The question is whether there is a sufficient sentiment to give it such support. To deter-

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mine, at least approximately, this question. I shall during the next week mail to a few thousand of the members of the National Citizen's Rights Association throughout the North copies of the enclosed circular and subscription-list. ~~If one-half or one-fourth of those addressed subscribe~~ If the subscriptions aggregate one half of the number addressed, or if one-fourth of those addressed subscribe, I shall take it that the indications are unmistakably

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favorable and sufficient and shall ~~contain the same process.~~ proceed to establish the ~~future~~ ~~Government~~ ~~may have~~ National Citizen and make it what we need to have, an advocate ~~an exponent~~ of ~~pure~~ justice and liberty, security and equality for all citizens, without regard to race or color. ~~such wealth or~~ ~~formerly~~. * Of course, it is not expected that the Southern members will do anything much in the matter. I know their weakness and the heaviness of their burthens. It will

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depends on the ~~enumerations of the Union~~ ~~there has~~ question whether there are enough people in the world who believe in liberty and justice to put the thing on its feet. If we can get 10.000 or more subscribers we can make it a great success. If not we must work with other means until such time as providence may show a better way. This is the best I can devise or suggest, ~~unless~~ ~~some individual or group of individuals~~ It seems to me as if ~~that~~ what has already been done

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~~indicates~~ points in this direction,
but I have more than once in
my life been mistaken and have
learned that my way is not al-
ways the best way, no matter
how carefully it may have been
thought out. In this case I shall
wait very composedly the outcome
of this test. If it succeed I shall
be greatly rejoiced: if it does not,
I shall not be wholly cast down.
In any event, I shall feel that
I have done my full duty; im-
proved such opportunity as lay

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before me, and shall then rest con-
tent to leave the ~~issue to a~~ verdict
for a stronger hand to do, when
the time shall come that it must
be ~~s~~ done.

I fear that my last letter
~~could~~ may have added something to
the terrible burden which recent events
have cast upon you. It was unfor-
tunate that it was written just at
that moment but you very
well know that it was such
a moment either to reproach or depress.
My admiration for your courage
sagacity and patience has been

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much enhanced by your course during the past few weeks, and I assure you has been a much potent influence in helping me to arrive at the conclusion I have indicated.

If I had $10.000. or could find those who had and were willing to place it in what I do not doubt would prove a most profitable venture, I would start the National Citizen ah once. Yet it is quite possible, that this present appeal to me already established

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and developed sentiment may be the better way.

You are at liberty to make such use of this as you choose; though it would probably not be best to publish — that is to print what follows the double ¶ paragraph marks; neither would it be advisable, I should think to publish all of the circular. You might publish the subscription blank if you think best. I leave that wholly with you to decide.

A number of persons have proposed the establishment of a Cattle Journal, but I think the time has hardly come for that. If such a company were organized and would

with the warmest sympathy and highest regard
Yours sincerely