

April 25, '66

My dear friend F. D. Douglass

54 I told you every thing you wanted & will do
to break up the house & her by visitation
Propose it now you can then easily be England
in his favour; and if audience acts, we
can then "Endeavour away with you more
and more & soon" I would prefer to go
with you and to be with you in company of such
a man and friends, and in a setting our
hearts to what is now doing a road to
see the world moving forward. We must
not uncertain the idea of going so far in horro
to you, that I am now - I believe you to be a
distinctly bad & anyone before, a determined to be
himself from her own brother's death, that while
my wife lived a model wife so far from her.
Her affairs have been mainly in my hands since
the death of my father, and I do not like to
make any change now; and I should not be
convinced in going to a distance whence I could
not return in a few hours, fastest. Just

now been to consider, has a very poor &
redundant mind & I don't expect he will ever
have leisure, & time we can give, to acquire
very much of a name his country manners
& ways, & the imminent disaster which, as
no man can see by the papers, has
fallen to the Bostonians on May 2d -
the last in which my dear father Wallbridge,
with a regular & nieces, eighty years ago,
& which so fit or staid of "Suspension"
& "Significant movement" ever reached such
a management. Alas! that all the
qualities which he possessed, & which largely
characterized his generation, could not have been
transmitted. My brother John & his brother
Lindsey - & I (other & not so de family) have
done & tried hard to keep out of the vortex
& failure which has drawn us to a few
important but quiet hours in the past 12 or 13
years; they have made at least I know my
brother has - the greatest difficulty to maintain
their names & credit unimpaired, until
he stands now, I fear, I hope it's older

where nothing would have been said,
the more I'd thought, however, the simpler
this became; until now, it was not necessary
to restore the former partner, & have known
himself & the State of their affairs perfectly
ever since; but it has been, & may
ever be, a sore burden to carry, & by
broken & ruined business; but as I
have been yesterday, review the last narrative,
written divisional officer upon that, & can
but it may be new, with the more & more
confidence in respect to the former majority, - now a
partner. To have worked so & persistently & unflinchingly
for years, till the rest of them, so in-fidele?
the cause of peace; & the disinterested to see
and a little more a cause - & still
the termination, dear Sirs, true, which with
advantage a little wait - you never know to
think again or not; while, just now, I feel
it to be my face moreover. Not that you
nihilate wrong somewhere, but that the situation
hurts - pains my soul & actions, & it would
have surely killed me, rather I think if it were our
partnered to him.

I had long given up the task of writing to you. - I shall still do so, until you write to me. - I shall then
Daily Advertiser, No. 14, from you, or a general answer,
but my letter is a daily, & part of it, Number 14, will
contain, as I suppose, a sufficient reply, what I
mean by it. At first this was, in answer to inquiries
for history, & to give such more & less. I was induced
to let it remain, & to add a Colonial in Slick's Letter, (it is to
be inserted also,) & publish it the second week I am induced
to let the W.C.E. answer in former times with the
antislavery men? His responses & acceptance statement.
First now as a publication in connexion with the abolitionists
or with a really & disengaged anti-slavery people. He had
a chance & contempt for them & much as no little person
& not much large soul could hold. Friends & wife had
a talk with him, when in his company, perfectly disengaged
him R. & he said "No, not at all, or however accuse. E. brought a
black woman, to his office as alleged - (it was said at his
office, & saw her coming over her way) - but he continued
to be a hypocrite, until in new degree he had paid in
all the money & advances. And as if the money, & so on, were
not some in truth & integrity paid, & not some of mine now -
as is to her evident gratitude to thank her him, if the two
are true, - this to have been well known & worthy an antislavery
man. Never knew anything he did, while I say an slave &
in the ascendancy, to entitle him to be thought of as spoken of
as an "antislavery man". - You know how contradiction may
bias a man. It was in fact a dishonest position why he should
be a come to a definite conclusion. I am glad you
agreed & to rebuked him. I have been attempting
the rest of the Qd. & now I am compelled to
refuse to you. - And yet I am now bound in
this subject & do not feel myself in that full & clear
accord with you, in which I like to be, & to generally am.

I have written the letter & H. got it in now
so will go you in full. A great subject it would
like to do, and make me write how I will
With that it is. I am free to say, my first impulse
is a direct minus, & the conclusions I am
come to are Social, Moral & Political, or in other
words, to be deeper from us. I have had to
make short notices, of the severest order, & knew
the value of your opinion & judgment on such questions,
that I can never have any other but the greatest
possible respect, for & confidence in them; and, very
evident, at the no occasion of finding myself mistaken
as to take away anything of disuse or abusion.

- I am sure that you will give me credit for
resisting, risking, & working for the great cause of absolute
justice ^{for} - the complete & permanent & all their
rights by, all the free people & all the colored people
of the country; and of all others, also, but the time
has not come when we can rightfully ~~feel~~ despatch
with a greater voice than for those once in slavery than
for any other single class in the land. We all remember
the Red Descriptions, in those dark anxious days
when the question of what to do with those conquered
Peculiar States was up. The one is often rec'd. No one

To take the 2^d & 3^d of the 2^d part because we have
not a single leader as they have been removed
to give up their the honest & resolute leaders
Commit to their removal the Committee which I
have here, & such as I could & honored & trusted
from the others so I never came in to that idea;
but in H. C. have come to this our own way
that a master's sea, said London, the
State is invaded, bring him a "house
trial," & he cannot then fit the place & by
now they had won't themselves fit to be trusted,
in the same conference; our committee
is a case in - more in with & frame.
He will try to have this plan can continue with
himself, & his chaplaincy of Southwark will be
so much that it will be a great loss to us
for a man formed & educated who has
partake the ecclesiastic lot, & who now to have
partake of first-means & attractors committed
by his class, church & by others, & - no
one will be a ecclesiastic breeding a
kind. The recognition; then that of the
main, with full positive right, except in re-

for which they have no right to do, & the
"Under God, & with a curse!" The church & all
of the white population, now ~~now~~^{then} are very
much at a standstill, & the meaning of that
word is in its place & worth whatever of
freedom, independence, & trust in their power
the ~~now~~ was notably shown, misgiving our best
& ablest friends in moral issues to understand.
For we asked of it to a day, & now ^{at last} ~~never~~
"What of this & that?" - we every conception
of cahid or ~~in~~ intent & consequence, that none
was not conceded. The scene in their hands,
what was due to prevent - by the very threat of
"If you don't, then I will," had seemed so apt to
be most fatal persecution & carrying off the
second people - until the "Mississippi Plan", do
making short shift with every colored man who
would not, in the old style of slaves, crook a
smile to their dictated, & unrefined rule from
& down in their stations. This would nimble
enough, if even is me, made in her own, wise,
that she & a score of murders & lynchings
in those states in the astute in ways - & the

the habell was ~~now~~ to be conducted.) as made
you & I. most things informed to Mr. Lincoln & me
as per. But, will you, in 13 volumes & U. S. War
Dept. & in the War Cont., inclyg, filled with facts
of the most incisive & exact nature on either side.
and these & other cases arrived early, - and I
wrote to Mr. Sumner, and to Mr. Cartwright, & to Mr. Hoar,
& Peleg & simple to have true cases, where the facts
are abundantly proved, brought to notice. Neither
Sumner nor any one else ever expected anything of that
kind, & Mr. Sumner gave me no encouragement to effect it
until I could do alone, - & sent from Spain, our long
letter. I say the Repub. today, was a failure & in a fit
to protect the loyal people of the South, black & white & like,
in particular in a more populous place, left them for the
most part, to take care of themselves as they could, & even in
a fit for a while longer, Gov. Chamberlain says the last
con election was carried in the State at the expense of the
Union & now he had to cover it. It is too much to
believe, so I suppose it is, but it is too great to
shoulder. I long for this, because I believe him honest,
upright, & so well suited standing the South down, that he would
make the "injust" in another way. We could not use him, &
when I told him that, & his best friend's talk to Hayes, (of whom
I know nothing), I gave my full support to Hayes. & still believe
in him, as an upright, well-fain man, who means, so far as
he can, that the colored people, & all the people, shall have
their rights, protection, justice. The 34th, federal troops
Now that is very impossible, cannot deserve this; now I know
they never stopped the Ku Klux, & could they be present in more
than few localities, to suffice as a defense; & the moral atmosphere of
the place was left. I welcome a just man & a friend & the
friend of the Negro and Union. he is with us who would script
a new "policy" & fit out a new course, to fit you please.

I was absent, - from which you etc. - other night
I scarcely looked for. I know these ears
will be ears, - this is the country news, & hence
lack of confidence in the personal word or honor
of Trumpler or of Vicksbills, and not much
in those of Gordon or Lamar, - but I know
Hedges has done his right place in regard to their
Journal & ^{Editor} Hedges before the County &
before the world. I am sure the scorn &
execration of mankind will reach them swiftily,
if they fail to carry out those Hedges; and that
they will be a lasting & notorious, morally &
politically, stigma on the land. I wouldn't have
had to have children trying his hand at such a work.
I believe Hedges is done it from a high motive, in a
large spirit, with an admirable courage which does
not bring a man's party & location, nor helps
it off to a decline by the morning or indolencies
of the others, at least, so far. I like to sit back
long, to those bad men; & you may well say, where
are the bad men's ironies worth? Not to, I suppose
any man by their personal & official ^{character} &
ston, in ordinary relations. But now, standing
in a position where they are seen by all the world,
& giving their personal & official Hedges to, I mean,

in the Southern way of which they are -
aptly, they will be pititioned in the South to
maintain it. They dare not do it, for they
think they don't dare to break them. The
Federal govt. will find a way to restrain
them. — weest find a way, — unless the old
habit of rebelling comes back to us.
Better, I must say, has the country been
generally ^{with} the Administration than
it is frightened by hundreds of thousands ! ,
especially, in every State, in the right to
uphold the state. party.

It will be interesting — as I believe —
and some need me, in other hands, to tell —
I think we are most fortunate in having so
experienced & upright a man as Mr. Hayes
to inaugurate it, to watch its working, and
to sift the scales, otherwise, as may be
recessed. His voice will be a "ring"
but of few high notes. He is to stand
"this winter" probably he will be substituted. The
question stands as in the last, I demanded
whether he voted, "who will you?"

I am unable to say what would be that
provision in particular, as I consider
it to be that which Pres. is taking.
Had we been in the same place 20 years ago, it
probably would not have been so difficult,
in my judgment. Thus, after 12 years of
the Lincoln - & Johnson + Company, in the
combined efforts of slaves, the war, and the
all-but-losing Republicans, how far are
things off now. — In educated circles, there
is little of the people welcome this kind
order; — though, I believe, a higher ground
than any they ever held or before, — a love
of peace, a respect for order, a desire for a
chance to get a tolerably honest living. Again
I say, which is a lack in doing the
national administration in the hands of a
President so cool, self-satisfied, firm, and
resolute as Hayes. He may, of course,
not mean to do worse than this. He was long
located in S. Carolina. But how different are his
last days in unprecedented. — I think
Hayes should have supported from the first

and have a wife, - writing in meay,
uninformed & unconditional approval; that
Shall depend wholly upon his integrity,
honesty, and a leg-susp. - which can
explain the spirit of your letter, or
of the position from which you write. And, -
for me, except you gone out the country,
the one thing, that I & all we sorry
not to have you on the spot to watch every
word the Pres't. & Gov't., & to administer
warning & rebuke as you may feel needful.

On very often mind I am glad you
are going. I feel sure you will both enjoy
the helped by it. The rest of time to /
you, to Franklin, to Lucy, and to all your
party. Thank you, again & again, for the
cordial, heartfelt way, in which, for yourself;
the others, you propose this, my friend. Truly
affectionately, & with much friendship.

Affectionately yours,

Wm. H. May.