

Dorchester, March 26. '68.

Dear Cousin Sam.

Your reply, to mine of 20th. came yesterday; and I take the first time I c^d. Command for quiet writing since getting it to reply. It is not in my power to thank you properly for its generous kindness, for its frank and friendly word & spirit. I thought I was sure you wouldn't be offended with me; & I was, as sure as I could be short of absolute certainty; but I am ~~entirely~~ ^{entirely} comforted to know that you interpret my letter, my thought, & my meaning, just as I hoped & designed they should be. Yet - such is human nature - that I am quite confident the instances are rare where I should, ~~have~~ in precisely similar circumstances, have been thus kindly and fairly, judged; for, as I wrote you, ^{though conscious of only a right purpose,} I would rather have unsaid every word I did say, & suffer under wrong judgment in the matter to the end of my mortal days, than have alienated your friendship & brotherly affection. - See, for instance, how I am personally treated by W. Phillips, to whose name, character, worth, & services to our Country's honor & to humanity, I have been for more than 25 years so admirably faithful; from whom I have had so many proofs of respect & esteem. Yet, now that he & I differ in opinion, he casts the heaviest of all charges, - that of perversion of a sacred trust, - upon me (& others) ~~as~~ cavalierly & loosely, as if it were a trifle, or we amongst the lowest of men. ^{*} But I hope his case is absolutely & undeniably, exceptional. I am not prepared to think, of human friendship & men generally, so ill

* I am much less troubled by Phillips's course now than I was at first. Since he allowed himself to charge Garrison (and I) with fraud & perversion of trust, I have lost respect for him, and care little for what he now says.

as to suppose it the rule. Still, such a letter as yours is so much beyond what I could have looked ^{for} from 99 out of a 100 that I know, that I ~~the~~ consider its reception-day a marked one; & as it came on your father's birthday I value it still more. I thank you for it, more than I can tell,

And of course I am glad that your deliberate judgment coincides with mine respecting the Standard's position & course as to this Jackson Controversy. You kindly give me the facts as to your course towards the Amⁿ. Socy., & Standard, since the Annual Meeting when Garrison withdrew. But I never went into those questions. It was in no wise my concern, whether you adhered to the Amⁿ. Socy., or not, - supported the "Standard" or not; or, at most, was only a subject for fair & friendly consideration between us, each acting according to his own sense of propriety & duty. I don't, to this hour, call in question your right to adhere to one, or support the other. - This is my only point - that having, last summer, been called to discover the "Standard" in a flagrant piece of injustice, & violation of the sacred ~~right~~ principle of "hear both sides"; & having condemned it for the same, there, & in case you decided to help the "Standard" on other grounds, (i.e. as valuing its influence in the general, or for information it brought you,) all such help should have been accompanied with so distinct a protest against its violation of justice in debate, that your

Contribution could not have been misun-
derstood, or made to cover more than it
was meant to cover. Now I learn from
you, that you did take pains to guard that very
point, in a letter to Sallie Holley, & that she
wholly disregarded it; that, finding she had disre-
garded your request, you wrote to recover the letter
& publish it yourself; & that she replied she
had destroyed it! This is not the only instance
of S. Holley's unhandsome behaviour (for the first time
in my life, I ~~thus~~ ^{now} express a censure of S. Holley's moral
course). In a late letter to Mr. Garrison, an old
Quaker abolitionist, writing to him from Yonkers,
(you will ~~probably~~ ^{perhaps} know who I mean, but I have
no right to ~~repeat~~ ^{give name to} private correspondence,) I said
he had paid money to Sallie Holley, who had
come urging him to give money to the Standard, &c.,
and had said "now, Sallie, I give thee this money
for thyself, individually; now don't thee have it
published as a donation to the Society," &c. He added,
"Judge of my surprise when I saw my name
published as a donor to the Society, with this amount
set against it." — Now that I hear of a second
instance in which Sallie has violated an express
charge, of an important personal nature, my
trust in her & respect for her has sunk a great
many degrees. This Quaker friend's wife had
begged him not to write to S. H. about it, & so he did
not, & the wrong went, unquestioned, to do its work.
— So, also, you — finding yourself foiled by her
destruction of your letter — & doubtless thinking you
had more pressing duties at hand, — allowed her

to go Scot-free (so far as the public knows) of rebuke
& your own position un-vindicated; - & then
Wendell Phillips holds up your name high, and
shouts to all listeners, "Look at that! Samuel
J. May approves & endorses the Standard". -

And, I say again, all right that you should
endorse it for all that may be good in it, - if you
think it good & useful, - but, ~~not~~ taking ~~the~~ strictest
care not to be drawn in to sanction what you
know to be wrong in it, & what you have indignantly
condemned. That was my entire point, -

and I was troubled, on your account too, to have your
name & influence used to uphold what I
knew you utterly despised, - the gag; and that
too, applied, of all others, by Wendell Phillips, and
of all other places, in the Anti-Slavery Standard.

Now, I rejoice to learn from you that, if
W. Phillips does not retract all his charges
of "defrauding", "robbing", "perversion of funds", &c.
as made against Garrison (and I suppose
you would equally include myself, & E. Quincy,
you will so write to the "Standard" as to clear
yourself of all "appearance of giving countenance
to such impurities." I have, to this

day, a right to be heard in the Standard.
It is not less a right of mine, & a duty of the
Standard to grant it, than it was before
Garrison's letter was published in its columns
of March 14. ^{Standard} It will not clear itself of baseness,
in this case, until it offers me the right it has refused
with held.

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I have left the subject for him, and have left the matter for what he may do.

Of course I cannot but wish that, when you found G. Holley had disregarded your request, & had prevented your using, yourself, the letter you had written, by destroying it, - you had written another, directly to Ed. of Standard, saying, that ~~whatever else~~ your contribution was not meant to imply sanction or approval of the Standard's course in the F. Jackson matter. That must have been printed, & would have made all right, so far as you were concerned, & Phillips could not have used your name as he did. In connexion with yr. name, Phillips used Gerrit Smith's for same end. Mr. Smith has written to W. L. G. to say, his vindication of himself is perfect, and that he does not see how W. P. can successfully reply to it. So have many others. The Quaker friend, before referred to, said, "I think if Francis Jackson should speak to us from heaven he would entirely approve thy course." Mr. Smith said, the questions of discontinuing the Society, & the Liberator, & of the appropriation of F. J.'s money, were questions upon which the men & women, long associated, ought to have been able to differ, without doubt or disrespect of one another, & or any imputation of wrong ^{motives} ~~by~~ ~~either~~ one against another. And of course it sh^d have been so. When, where ^(or course) & by whom, was that sound principle violated? I sh^d be glad to have any one search that question thoroughly.

I beg again to disclaim any thought of proposing to you, "to give up Phillips & Powell," to use your own words. That would have been to travel quite out of the record, & quite to overstep the line where I had a right to go. Still more, I have no wish you should "give them up," ^{"where they are right,"} If you believe

they are doing service to good & essential causes,
your right & duty to stand by them, therein, shall
never be called in question by me. Only, I
would say, & pray, - let not your friendship for them
^{silently} suffer them to use you, for shielding, excusing, still
less justifying, what you feel and see to be an
enormous wrong, - a violation of the very vital
spirit & principle of our great Cause of Freedom.
That point effectually guarded, it is not for any one
to call in question your right to support them in
every good thing. For myself I think Phillips
& his friends were wrong, - exceedingly mistaken in
not terminating the Antislavery agitation & Cause, as
such, when Slavery was abolished by National Decree,
It could have been done then with eminent propriety,
justice, & effectiveness; and the Country & the
World w^d have been forced to bear witness to the
true dignity & splendid success of that Thirtyfive
years' Moral War. In a spirit of personal spite
& bitterness, which I saw many instances of, by
efforts to draw in new supporters who had never
lifted a finger to help the old Cause, in the days of
Slavery, but still more by assiduously plying the
minds of as many of the old abolitionists, as possible
with wailing over Garrison's defection, falling back,
treachery, &c. &c. "lost leader", &c. &c., they introduced
a temper & spirit into the Society which utterly, in
my view, "demoralized" it, for any sincere & grand
influence on the public mind & conscience.
That is my conviction, - stronger today than at any
other period in the last two years. Had the old
movement been appropriately closed then, and its

free & working men & women addressed themselves
to the new aspects of things, to the changed social
& political condition of things in the South, to the
new issues which were opening before us, - if, in
a grand, unselfish spirit, like that of the earlier
days, they had been done, we could have had
now a moral union for moral ends which would
have made itself respected & felt. Now, I venture
to say, the present Amⁿ. A. S. Society does neither. It
is narrowed, compromised, & hindered of its old
influence everywhere, - save in the circle of its own
immediate adherents. As proof of that, see Pillsbury,
Susan Anthony, Mrs. Stanton, falling out with Phillips
& with the "Standard", & denouncing ~~them~~ ^{him} because
he resisted the introduction of the question of female
franchise upon the platform of the Am. A. S. Society.
Even you condemn Phillips on that point. Now I
respectfully differ from you, Pillsbury, Stanton, & Anthony
on that subject. By every law & principle of our
Antislavery Society, Phillips was right in that -
i.e. in the position that, on the Antislavery platform,
the question of woman's right to the ballot was an
extraneous one. It was perfectly proper for any
speaker to express his ideas on that subject, in
support or illustration of the objects for which
the Amⁿ. A. S. Society was formed; but to
introduce votes, resolutions, or other action, concerning
Woman's Suffrage, or concerning any other issue
however important & needful, was to be out
of order, & to introduce "an extraneous question".
We insisted, ^{in the old days} on the right of every human being

to work ~~for~~ against Human Slavery, without
reference to sect, faith, Country, color, or sex;
but we never passed any votes about woman's
rights, to property, or to the ballot, or to act on School
Committees, or anything else. We put her on our own
Committees for the same reason that we put
men there — because she was there, in the A. S.
work; — ~~all~~ that was an innovation, God be praised,
& taught its lesson of Woman's Rights & Capacity
far better than a volume of resolutions. — ~~Now~~ I
think you will see that ^{difference between Phillips & Pillsbury} all this we have been
entirely ~~prevented~~ ^{avoided}, had the A. S. work been
closed up, & the new ones broadly met, on a
new platform, in a new association. Nobody was
more virulent against Garrison & his friends than
O. Pillsbury; — ~~for~~ for years ^{he} was egging & flattering Phillips
on to a fight, & at last accomplished it; — and
then, he was himself the first to turn on Phillips
& condemn him for narrowness, &c. &c. & to go off, &
take up that disgusting blackguard Geo. F. Train
as a representative & leader, ^{in Woman's Rights & the "New Revolution"} What a fall! What
a prostitution of a noble idea & cause! Thank God,
my skirts are utterly clear of any part therein. —
And what a signal instance of retribution, & more
than poetic justice, that Phillips should have
had his first blow, & bitterest opposition, at the
hands of men & women whom he had followed
into the shameful business of breaking down
Garrison. — I thus frankly tell you how it looks to me.

I have been glad to learn, from a recent letter of Lucy Stone to me, that she is as utterly opposed to the Train - Anthony - Stanton Pillsbury, doings as any one can be. It has been an affliction & burden to her, weighing down her spirit all winter. — It seems to me to give a meaning to the Tower of Babel story — altho' there is no likeness otherwise; for the Babel business was one in defiance of God's law, while Antislavery, in its essential spirit, was reverent, & labored to establish God's law. While we were true to that great end, in a self-renouncing spirit, we "saw eye to eye" & prospered, & the Lord fought on our side, & "the horse & his rider were thrown into the sea." Another spirit ^{& other ends came into vogue} set in, & in God's providence the old antisl. ranks were scattered. Its essential elements go back into the maps of the population again — to come forth again, subtly, at ^{every} ~~the~~ ^{but in new forms & combinations.} real call, I sh^d. rejoice to be in a Society today, with such as Lucy Stone, for the securing of Woman's every right, civil, political, & social; but I must take the very best care not to be identified with Mr. Stanton or G. F. Train, or their like.

Bye & bye, it is to be hoped, that such men as Mr. Mills will see into the question of the A. S. Association. At present he doesn't know the facts, I presume.

I had before heard that your Syracuse Society ^{was likely to} ~~might~~ give Mr. Calthrop a call. I ^{must} hope not. Syracuse is too important & too central a post to be given to one like him. He is too fitful &

impetuous, too trivial often, & unreliable
as to tone & influence, to go there, in my opinion.
I think he is not the man to wear well. I hope
some careful inquiry will be made of his former
parishes, before a call is given. I should say
I have known comparatively little of him the last
two years.

Friday Evening, 27th I have been hindered in
finishing this, & you will doubtless wish I had
been stopped sooner, for I am spinning out quite
too long a story. - But I must tell you of our
Trustees' meeting this afternoon. Although the Court
gave its decision ~~the afternoon~~ some 7 months since,
in the case of F. Jackson's bequest, not a dollar of it
has the Executor paid over yet to the Freedmen's Comⁿ,
nor did the Chairman or Secy. call a meeting to act
upon the subject. At length, Mr. Garrison & I joined
in a request for a Trustees' meeting, (some 6 weeks or
2 mos. ago). But W. Phillips was at that time absent
from Boston, and so the meeting has been delayed
until today. Four of the Trustees (Phillips, E. Jackson,
Bowditch, & Whipple) voted not to pay ^{over the fund} ~~the money~~ to the
Freedmen's Commission. C. K. Whipple proposed to pay \$500.
to them (the ^{for this year} Ft. Com.) Both W. Phillips & Bowditch declared
they would not vote any of it to the Freedmen's Com.; & Phillips
said he w^d. as soon use it to go to the Theatre with, as vote
it to the Freedmen. On the proposition to pay \$500. for this year,
2 (Jackson & Whipple) voted Year; 2, Garrison & Quincy, voted Nay;
It was a tie, & so, lost. I would not vote for, or against, it; for I
considered it trifling with the question. The A had clearly indicated
their purpose to block & nullify the Court's decision, as far as possible,
- and I thought it not wise to contend with them. We shall take other
measures.

You inquire as to my own connection
with the Antislavery movement. I have not
now, by me, the minutes which I should have at
home; but, ^{I can say, that,} while steadily defending the movement
& contributing to its support much earlier, I did not
publicly & fully identify myself with it until the
Spring of 1838. Then I became member & officer, first
of County, then of State, & afterwards simultaneously
of Town, Societies, & in every way which my sense
of duty & justice pointed out, ^{and} ^{of my ability allowed,} advocated & upheld it.
My interest in, & advocacy of, that cause was the
sole reason - to the best of my knowledge & belief - for
the surrender of my connection with the 2^d. Congl.
(Unitarian) Society in Leicester, as its minister.
In 1840, Joshua Clapp (by loss of property) & Waldo F. Hunt
(for various reasons I suppose, but chiefly to get occupation)
left town, & greatly crippled the Society's means; still
I staid with them, on much reduced compensation.
Their leaving brought forward less intelligent men to
be first in the Society. These were hostile to any
word about Slavery, and one by one left the Society,
to the number of 3 or 4, influencing others to drop
off. I always told them I sh^d. adhere to my
convictions, but was ready to give way for another
minister, whenever they desired it. In 1845, Isaac
Southgate made so much trouble that I sent in my
~~own~~ resignation. After ^{several} ~~many~~ meetings, they voted
unanimously to ask me to withdraw it, and I
did, it being clearly understood by all, as I
supposed, - for I had met them at their request
& told them so, - that I held the freedom of

I saw John Solomon today in Boston. He was to return to New York tonight. We wrote to Joseph yesterday to offer him our own emigration letters. You don't say a word of your health. Our love to Charlotte & family. Apply your stamp May 11

the pulpit wholly "unabridged". For six months, there was no apparent opposition; then Mr. Southgate broke out again, worse than ever. I bore it, the 12 month through; & then, again, I definitely resigned. I consider my Antislavery course the reason of the dissolution of the Convention. A few didn't like temperance any better than antislavery; but they never could have made any serious opposition on that ground; and if I had chosen to stand my ground, as it was, I have no reason to doubt that fourfifths of the Society would have upheld me. But I had, then, the feeling that I had better not carry the difference into what seemed to become a personal question; and I chose to be out of it.

I was appointed General Agent of the Massachusetts Antislavery Society in 1847, & entered on the duties of that office in June of that year. A few years later, I was appointed General Agent of the American A.S. Society, also; (I cannot ~~now~~ ^{here} name the year)

I never formally accepted that office, but I discharged ^{as "Acting General Agent"} its duties ~~of that office~~ for I think, twelve or thirteen years. I was Gen. Agt. Mass. A.S. Socy. 1847-1865, taking out 1 1/2 years on acc't. ill health.

It was in May 1848 ¹⁸⁴⁴ that I offered in the Annual Meeting of the Am. Unit. Assoc. a Resolution, declaring the true character of Amk. Slavery, on moral, Christian, & Unitarian grounds. ^{discussion of several days}

The long protracted ~~controversy~~ tapered down into a poor, cowardly ^{unit} censure of the Savannah Society for its treatment of M. J. Motte. [I think Mr. Motte was the man.] The censure was well enough, but it was a case of ^{with} "mint, cummin, & anise", & "cutting the weightier matters".

It was at that ~~time~~ time that I heard Fr. Parkman loudly declare that, whether Slavery sh^d. ever be uttered by any, & highly commended a N. England Captain who put his vessel about, & returned an escaping slave to his master.

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