

Personal -

My dear Sir:

While I do not think it would be advisable for me to publicly express an opinion with regard to the subject of your editorial, received today, there is no question about the correctness of your view of the man both as a statesman and a politician. To him party was ~~made~~ merely an instrument for securing power and policy anything to secure votes. Politically, he was wholly without conscience. He opposed the "Force Bill", not because he cared a fig about the conditions at the South but because he wished to foster an anti-soldier sentiment in order to secure the presidential nomination. He opposed everything looking to the maintenance of the rights of the citizen afterwards, both because he knew ~~to~~ such tendency would

reflect no credit on him and also because he thought if the colored man was wholly disfranchised and eliminated as a political factor, the Republican party might get certain support from the South on its financial policy. Statesmanship was never to him a matter of principle and justice was a word never ~~seen~~ ^{found} in his political vocabulary.

No doubt Fortune is too virulent in his denunciation of Hayes. His course was reprehensible enough, but it was hardly betrayed. The truth is the occasion demanded a great man, or rather as I am inclined to believe, it was too difficult for any man. Hayes' fault was not so much that he did not do what he ought to have done, as that he tried not to do anything. He was a

man whose conscious motives were entirely good and who had no bias of ill-will against those whose faithfulness he so bitterly regretted. He was as you say a man bound hand and foot, not I think by his party but by his special advisers - perhaps notably by ~~Mr Sherman who intended to make~~ ^{Mr Sherman who} ~~regarded~~ ^{regarded} Hayes, ^{simply} the com-encumber of his own presidential term which he was making up for 1880. The curious thing about Mr. Hayes was that he was willing to be bound - rather glad to be bound indeed - both because he had a ~~hope~~ was able after a fashion, to convince himself that he was thereby relieved of responsibility and because he came to have an actual belief that the best thing to be done was to do nothing. He was greatly disappointed that things did not result as he expected in this particular and at the last got to think himself quite ill-used because the various antagonistic elements would not harmonize ^{and} ^{that} the only ones who ~~that~~ =

oughly approved his course did so on
an hypothesis not entirely creditable to him.

I wish to say to you, however, that I am
very glad to see colored men and colored
journals estimating the quality and
character of public men by their
attitude toward ~~them~~ your race. Not
only is justice the highest attribute of any
man or people and the ^{the love of justice the} most infall-
ing test of statesmanship, but just as long
as the rights, ~~interest~~ privileges and op-
portunities of the race are part and
parcel of party policy, political contention
and public administration — in other
words, so long as the colored man is
anywhere distinguished against in right,
privilege ~~and~~ or opportunity — just so
long every colored man ought to base
his approval or condemnation on the
attitude of such men towards his

race; and he should express that ap=
proval or condemnation with open=
ness and emphasis. It is one of the
few ways in which the colored man
can make himself felt and although
their journals are not widely read a=
mong the whites, the time has not yet
come when the general, open, high=
toned, temperately-coordinated, disappro=
val of a public man as an enemy
of justice and an obstacle to the ad=
vancement of the Colored citizen will
not make a profound impression
on the conscience of the American
people.

I do not think it would be wise
for me to say this publicly at this time.
I have not hesitated to say it in sub=
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status of both white slave, and do
not stand myself in the same
peculiar relation to the subject that
you, as a colored man do. From me
to utter such words now, would I
think be a detriment rather than an
advantage to the cause of liberty and
justice.

You will therefore please
to consider this letter as wholly
private and confidential, not to be
disclosed either in its terms or sub-
stance.