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ON THE NEGRO.

THE PROBLEM DISCUSSED BY THE DISTINGUISHED DIVINE WHO HAS THrice VISITED AFRICA

And Who Advocates the Return of the Black Man to That Land.

EX-SENATOR INGALLS' POSITION ENDORSED.

A Strong and Comprehensive Argument for Reparation by One of the Foremost of Living Negroes.

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Ex-Senator John J. Ingalls has written an article on the deeply interesting negro problem. Mr. Frederick Douglass, Professor Langston, Bishop Taylor and Mr. T. Thomas Fortune have replied to Mr. Ingalls.

As one deeply interested in the future progress of my race, I shall express my opinion on a subject so important to us, especially as I can not agree with the gentlemen who have undertaken to answer the distinguished Kansan.

I do not care to speculate on the motives of ex-Senator Ingalls. He may dislike the negro and wish to get rid of him, or he may be a sincere friend. I shall deal with his argument.

For convenience, I shall divide his article into two parts: First, the condition of the negro; secondly, the remedy for his improvement.

The ex-senator states that the negro is treated by the whites in this country as a member of an inferior race; that he is deprived of civil and political liberty in the south; that the whites, composed of white men generally, will always decide against him, when a white man's interest is placed in jeopardy; that his ballot is unceremoniously thrown out, so that the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments are practically nullified; that he is lynched on the



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slightest occasion and upon the merest suspicion of guilt; that in the north, as well as in the south, there is not the slightest social equality; that the labor of the negroes in the south is often obtained without adequate compensation.

This is the substance of the ex-senator's statement of the facts of the negro's condition. Is it substantially true?

Concerning that his motives may be unfriendly and malicious, that does not alter the facts of the negro's condition.

INGALLS' STATEMENTS CORRECT.

We agree with Mr. Ingalls in his statement of the facts. The condition of the negro is as he states it. He is treated as an inferior; he is deprived of his civil and political rights; he is assigned a separate conveyance among common carriers by law; he is forbidden by law to intermarry; he is compelled to attend separate schools and churches.

The facts, I think, will be generally conceded. The difference will appear when we come to consider the remedy, which we shall now do.

Mr. Ingalls recommends emigration to Africa. Messrs. Douglas, Langston and Fortune advise the negroes to remain in this country and fight the difficulties, expressing the belief that they can and will be overcome in time. Let us consider these various remedies.

In entering this field of speculation we shall not indulge in abuse, but consider the opinion of others calmly, and express our own respectfully, knowing that opinions are only valuable in proportion to the weight of the argument that sustains them.

THE ANTI-PATHY OF THE RACES.

That there is a strong race antipathy between the whites and blacks at present will be universally admitted.

Is that antipathy natural and inherent, or is it the result of circumstances?

Most men answer this fundamental question according to their wishes and hopes, and consider this as conclusive.

When you call for reason and argument they become excited, and abusive, as if they regarded the correctness of their views as self-evident.

Now, as our view of this fundamental proposition will greatly influence our opinion of the proper remedy, let us pause a moment and examine it carefully.

Let us state the question again: There are at present sixty-two millions of persons in round numbers in these United States. About ten millions of this number are negroes and their descendants. Will the fifty-two millions absorb the ten in course of time, and will they become one race, or, if not, can the negro and the white man live together as one, perfectly equal in every respect, civilly, politically and so-

cially? for no self-respecting negro will accept anything else.

It is an unique problem. We approach it with great diffidence. There are those who express their opinion with a confidence in proportion to their ignorance.

A PROBLEM WITHOUT A PARALLEL.

There is not a parallel in all history for our guidance.

The Anglo-Saxon race that controls this country is a peculiar one. It is a masterful and dominating race. Wherever it has settled among other races by colonization it has always either subjected the native races or exterminated them. It has subjected the native race in India, and at the Cape of Good Hope in Africa. It has practically exterminated the Indians in the United States, and it has, to all intents and purposes, wiped out the natives in Australia and New Zealand.

Subjection or extermination is the rule, absorption is the exception.

It must also be remembered that these races, with the exception of those at the Cape of Good Hope, were not negroes, and none were slaves. The East Indians were a highly cultivated and self-governing race for centuries before the Anglo-Saxons. The Indians of this country were lords of its magnificent forests for centuries and resisted the invaders.

STILL SUFFERING FROM SLAVERY.

The negroes of this country were slaves for two hundred and fifty years, held in absolute and complete subjection by the whites, with but one or two insignificant attempts at rebellion and efforts to free themselves during the whole of that long period. They are at present comparatively poor and ignorant, and while free, the great mass of them are not greatly advanced in intelligence and material wealth above what they were in slavery.

I admit that the advancement made by many during the last thirty years, handicapped as they were, in intelligence, high creditable, and argues most hopefully for the future, and for the natural energy of the negro. But, notwithstanding all this, the vast bulk of the ten millions have not risen far in material condition above what they were as slaves.

That is the natural result of an agricultural peasantry in all countries, white and black. It is so with the white emancipated serfs of Russia. They barely make enough to keep soul and body together.

We are aware that there are about a million negroes living in cities especially who have made remarkable advancement in intelligence and wealth since emancipation, but they are only one-tenth of the great mass, and for all practical purposes the larger number determines the treatment of the smaller.

When the whites of this country decide upon a plan of treating the negro, they do not select the best specimens to determine that plan, but the worst. It is not so with the various other races that compose the heterogeneous American people. They did not feel called upon to treat the lowest Irish laborer as they did treat the distinguished Irish lawyer, Charles O'Connor. But if Frederick Douglass, Bishop D. A. Payne, D. D., L. L. D., or ex-Senator Bruce were to travel here in the south they would be placed in the inferior car set apart for negroes; although one is the peer of Calhoun or Olay, another is the oldest bishop on earth and a man with no superior as a scholar in his country, and the other an honored and distinguished member of the United States senate for six consecutive years.

CHRISTIANITY NOT POTENTIAL.

Christianity does not seem to have much influence in determining this question. The whites look upon the negroes as proper objects of missionary labor, but the question of civil, political and social rights is not determined by religious considerations. We admit that slavery was destroyed by the Christian sentiment of the civilized world, but slavery is one thing, and civil, political and social equality is another thing, and it is determined largely, if not solely, by worldly considerations.

REPARATION, THE REMEDY.

We believe, therefore, that if the negro determines to remain in this country, he has a long hard battle before him. It may be that, in the course of generations or centuries after he has acquired more wealth and intelligence, he may obtain perfect equality in all respects; and it may be not. In the meantime, however, we believe that the negro should do as the Caucasian has done, viz: Emigrate to other lands to better his condition.

THE CAUCASIAN HAS DONE THIS FOR CENTURIES.

The Caucasian has done this for centuries, and on much less provocation than the negro has. The British have let the civilized and culture of their homes and islands in India, Africa, Australia, North and South America. So have the Germans, the French, the Spanish, and the Italians. Their object has been generally material advancement.

WHILE THEY HAVE ESTABLISHED FREE INSTITUTIONS IN THE COUNTRIES WHICH THEY HAVE POPULATED, THEY YET RETAIN THE WARMEST AFFECTION FOR THEIR NATIVE LAND, AND OFTEN PATTERN THEIR INSTITUTIONS IN THEIR NEW COUNTRIES AFTER THOSE OF THE OLD.

Has the negro the pride and the ambition to establish a country of his own, as the Caucasian has done in this country, and in Australia? Or is he content to remain here—a parish, and a serf—treated with community and contempt for an indefinite period, with the hope that, perhaps, in the remote future, say one or two centuries to come, he will be so bleached out by the process of absorption that he will be a negro no longer, as Mr. T. Thomas Fortune expresses it, or, with the alternative that, even if not absorbed, he can obtain complete equality as a negro, when he acquires sufficient wealth and education?

TO STATE THE QUESTION IS TO ANSWER IT.

We do not believe that the Caucasian will accept the African as an equal in every respect. As we have shown, he has not done so in any other country, with any other race, and let it be forever, purely ethnic, meretric and visionary to expect it.

One of the saddest results of slavery is its effect upon the pride and ambition of the

To Be Used Sunday, August 13th.

He has been enslaved so long in this country that, somehow or other, he will submit to kicks and cuffs in the most obsequious and servile manner, and then lick the hand that smites him.

We confess that we are almost discouraged with regard to the present generation. Our hope is in the young and rising generation.

EMIGRATION TO LIBERIA.

We are in favor of a judicious emigration to Liberia. We should like to see a large number of young men with ambition and energy of middle aged or old men with experience and capital, of old and young men and women with education and culture to train the young, of mechanics and agriculturists, go there to settle that country, the only one, in addition to Hayti, where the problem of negro government is being solved.

We do not advise the timid and old and penniless man to go there. He would be there as the tenderfoot is in our fertile western prairies, who is ebowed out of the country by the brave and hardy pioneers, and is glad to return to the shelter of his early environments.

We have visited Africa more than once, and have inspected the territorial domain of the Liberian Republic, modeled after the United States in its legislative, executive, and judicial departments, and we speak of what we know and have seen.

We say calmly and deliberately, that it presents magnificent possibilities to the negro race of the United States, and is the only place deserving mention, upon the face of the globe now left to the black man, where there is a glint of a chance to demonstrate his ability for self government, and play the drama of full fledged manhood.

MY ONLY FEAR IS THAT IF THEY DO NOT AVOID THEMSELVES OF THESE POSSIBILITIES, ENGLAND, THROUGH HER COLONY OF SIERRA LEONE, ON THE NORTH AND FRANCE FROM THE SOUTH WILL SEIZURE THE REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA, UNLESS PROTECTED BY THE UNITED STATES, AND THIS SPENDING, IF NOT THE ONLY, OPPORTUNITY WILL PASS AWAY TO THE NEGRO FOREVER.

AMERICA'S DUTY TO LIBERIA.

The United States government ought to protect Liberia from the wicked encroachments of France that are in progress at this time. President Cleveland should send a dozen men-of-war to the Liberian coast immediately and force the avaricious France to relinquish her bogus claim to the seventy-five or hundred miles of Liberian coast, which she is determined to take away from that infant republic, and to which she has no more claim than hell has to heaven.

SOME OF THE PRESENT CABINET OFFICERS favor it, but whether the executive office or not, is yet to be determined. If the United States congress were composed of first class statesmen, such far-seeing statesmen as Senators Butler, of South Carolina, they would meet and settle the financial question which has bedeviled the nation in suspension, appropriate \$100,000,000 to protect Liberia from the greed of France and put a line of steamers between some southern port and Africa.

THEN, THE SO-CALLED NEGRO PROBLEM WOULD SOLVE ITSELF. THE CONDITION OF THINGS PICTURED IN THE LETTER OF EX-SENATOR INGALLS, WHICH IS A MENACE TO EVERY NEGRO IN THE LAND, POSSESSING THE INSTINCTS OF MANHOOD, WOULD SOON DISAPPEAR AS THE NEGRO WOULD SHAPE HIS OWN DESTINY BY A REPARTITIONAL MOVEMENT THAT WOULD ACCLAIM THE WORLD IN TEN YEARS.

True, the wealthy and the ignorant negro would oppose it. One, because life is easy and race patriotism is wanting, and the other, because he has no thought beyond a meal and a scullion. But there is a middle class—thoughtful, industrious, self-reliant and venturesome—who would thank God and avail themselves of the opportunity.

RETURN TO AFRICA INEVITABLE.

Our nation will have to come to it sooner or later, and the sooner the better. For, as long as a single right, privilege, or immunity is denied the negro, so long will he be a menace to the nation.

Square and fair dealing in every particular must be meted out to the negro, or there will be an insolvable problem existing.

No species of persecution, violence, lynching or burning will eradicate the spreading evils which constitute the negro problem.

IF THE WHITE PEOPLE OF THE COUNTRY DO NOT INTEND TO COMPETE TO THE NEGRO UNRESTRICTED MANHOOD, THE SOONER THEY PLACE HUNDREDS OF MILLIONS OF DOLLARS AT HIS DISPOSAL TO LEAVE THE MOST RACE-DISCRIMINATING COUNTRY UPON THE FACE OF THE GLOBE, AND SEEK MORE CONGENIAL QUARTERS, THE BETTER FOR HIS PEACE AND HARMONY.

In the use of the term country, I do not mean the south. I refer to the United States as a nation. For the south represents no violence upon the negro, that the north does not endorse by its silence or non-interference. When secession was inaugurated, the north objected, and interposed her strong arm to contravene its actualization. So far as the north trying to stay the bloodshed in the south, it has become a participant, and is particeps criminis, in the sight of heaven and considerate mankind.

WHILE THERE IS NO EXCUSE OR PALLIATION FOR THE LITEROUS AND HORRIBLY REVOLTING CRIMES SO OFTEN CHARGED UPON MEMBERS OF THE NEGRO RACE, YET AS LONG AS THEY ARE NOT GIVEN A FAIR TRIAL BY THE COURTS OF THE LAND, SO LONG WILL THEY BE LOOKED UPON AS THE VICTIMS OF VIOLENCE. FOR EVERY MAN IS INNOCENT, UNTIL HE IS PROVEN GUILTY. HANG THEM IF GUILTY, BUT GIVE THEM A FAIR TRIAL.

HAS NO CIVIL RIGHTS.

Waiving what is commonly known as political rights, as I do not propose to touch politics in any form, it is well known to the country that the negro has no civil rights whatever, except those that are granted by the respective states, or that he is permitted to enjoy by suffrage. For the United States supreme court, by its abominable decision, robbed the negro of all civil rights, October 15, 1883, Justice Bradley acting, as its mouthpiece—a decision a hundred times more revolting and unconstitutional than the much-famed decision of Chief

Justice Taney, which declared that black men had no rights which white men were bound to respect. Chief Justice Taney only voiced the condition of things as they existed in the days of slavery, while Justice Bradley issued a decree on behalf of the supreme court that nullified the plain acts of congress and the expressed provisions of the constitution of the United States, and has fettered the arms of the executive and legislative departments of the nation, so far as the black man is concerned, for all time to come.

All that the negro has to complain of regarding his deprivation of civil rights, was decreed by the United States Supreme Court when it was composed of northern men with one exception, Justice Harlan, of Kentucky and he, a southern man, alone dissented.

The negro is, therefore, an outlawed inhabitant of this country, for a people denying their civil rights can hope for nothing but degradation and contempt. Foreigners of every grade and shade can come here from the ends of the world and enjoy civil protection, civil respect and receive civil recognition, while the colored race can enjoy none unless some state generously confers them.

CONTENTMENT AN IMPOSSIBILITY.

Now, I ask, can the negro be contented, happy, patriotic and progressive under such a condition of things? The interrogatory answers itself. Were the negro to content himself under such surroundings it would be a declaration not only of his inferiority out of his fitness to be only a menial, a slave and a scullion; and he should request the nation to demand him to bondage.

AS FOR THE THEORY OF ABSORPTION, OR THE AMERICAN NEGRO BEING BLEACHED OUT BY INTERMIXTURE WITH THE WHITES, IT IS THE Jargon of folly. The Negro does not want it, and the whites execrate it.

To talk about times getting better in a century or so is an idle dream. Ireland has been under the domination and, in many respects, the cruel persecution, of England for 721 years, and during my stay in England in the month of May just passed I heard Gladstone abused for everything in the catalogue of villainy, because he is trying to grant the "a few more rights. And the Irish are denounced and berated from Lords Salisbury and Churchill down in the most calumnious manner possible. Yet they are all white. Now, what may the negro expect, who is not only black, but is destined to remain so? For miscegenation is virtually an end.

When I was a boy, white and colored children played, rollicked and fought with each other, as though they were all of one color and virtually ignorant of any color-differences. They grew up to be men and women with a mutual respect and sympathy, which slavery itself did not eradicate.

But now, by the time they reach puberty, their respective mothers and frequently by their fathers to abuse, scurn and even beat each other, and this spirit of mutual scorn and alienation grows, matures and is intensified as they reach manhood and womanhood, creating a chasm between the two races that can never be bridged. And the man must be blind or deaf to the voice of reason who can not see what must be the sequel.

BLOODSHED SURE TO FOLLOW.

The race hate, and color prejudice implanted in childhood and youth are as sure to bear a crop of bloodshed and carnage, sooner or later, as the sun is sure to set. The American negro will one day want some place to rest the soles of his bleeding feet, and the negro is a fool if he does not take time by the forelock and prepare for it.

The negro has no friends now in congress as formerly. That grand cluster of brave, heroic and mighty statesmen whose voices once rang like thunder peals from the national legislature, in our behalf, are all dead, and the forty-nine members of congress, who fill the seats that ought to be filled by black men, by virtue of our immortal strength, do nothing but misrepresent us at every opportunity. Congress is likely to be composed of ward politicians, with a few exceptions, and men who become terrorized at any issue involving even-handed justice to the black man, for an indefinite time, so the negro has nothing to expect from that quarter.

THE 40,000 WHITE MINISTERS OF THE COURTRY ARE TOO BUSY WITH THE LITTLE SUNDAY EXERCISES OF THE WORLD'S FAIR AT CHICAGO TO NOTICE THE FLOW OF BLOOD WHICH IS DELUGING THE COUNTRY AND PROVOKING THE ULTIMATE VENGEANCE OF A GOD, WHOSE RETRIBUTIVE JUSTICE WILL NOT ALUMBER FOREVER.

THE NEGRO'S ONLY FUTURE.

Therefore, the only future for the negro is to leave the country, and the only future for the American republic is to assist him in doing so.

AS THIS LETTER IS ALREADY TOO LONG, I FORBEAR TO CONTINUE THIS LINE OF ARGUMENT. BUT THERE IS NO MANHOOD FUTURE IN THIS COUNTRY FOR THE NEGRO. I DO NOT DARE THAT HE MAY EXIST HERE FOR AGES TO COME, AND PLAY THE PART OF A MENIAL AND A SCULLION, BUT IF HE INTENDS TO DO THAT, HE HAS BETTER RETURN TO SLAVERY. THEN, AS IN ANTE-BELLUM DAYS, HE WOULD HAVE WHITE MEN TO PROTECT HIM FOR SELF-INTEREST, WHICH HE HAS NOT AT PRESENT.

BUT, ABOVE ALL THE ARGUMENTS WHICH HAVE BEEN ADVANCED IN FAVOR OF THE NEGRO RETURNING TO AFRICA, IS THAT I BELIEVE IT TO BE THE WILL AND PURPOSE OF GOD. I HAVE NO DOUBT THAT THE THINGS WE COMPLAIN OF IS THE VOICE OF GOD, LOUDLY SPEAKING TO THE negro to "arise and depart, for this is not your place of rest."

In conclusion, I beg to say, that there is far more political philosophy and broad statesmanship in the position of ex-Senator Ingalls than a casual or prejudiced observer is likely to detect.

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