Bishop Turner:

Atlanta Ga —

My dear Sir:

I have delay and some words
I owe, especially, with regard to the
Civil Rights decision of the Supreme Court,
which so heartily meet with my ap-
proval that I cannot withhold
my commendation.

Earnest men very often agree
in ultimate ~~conclusions~~ aims though the methods
methods of arriving at them are
entirely diverse and alternately

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contradictory. You and I know ~~that~~ somehow
disagreed as to the means; as to the re-
sult to be attained, I think there has
always been substantial harmony.

I do not write this to induce you
to yield any of your convictions as
to the methods you desire to see adopted.
You may have noticed that I never
have any controversy with those who
~~desire~~ honestly desire to see the
same results achieved as I. ~~It~~ seems
to me a waste of much-needed
strength, ~~in both sides,~~ to do so.

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In the present instance we are both representatives of an idea which is in a decided minority ~~in the~~ among the American people, to wit; We ~~do~~ believe that a colored man is entitled to the same rights, privileges and opportunities as a white man; that caste founded on race is contrary to the spirit of Christianity and abhorrent to the true principles of civil liberty.

We agree that the people legis-

lation, jurisprudence, economic conditions, habits of thought and general ~~sent~~ sentiment of the majority of the people of the United States ~~is~~ are hostile to this just demand and inalienable right of the colored minority.

I think we believe that the enlightened citizens of ~~America~~ our American Christianity perpetuates and intensifies this spirit.

We agree, ~~I think~~, that ~~every~~ it is the duty of every colored man of every grade and character,

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to do what he may to secure his full rights - both for his own sake, the sake of his fellow colored men and especially for the sake of those who are to come after him.

We agree that it is the duty of every right-minded white man, also to do all in his power to secure there natural rights and just opportunities to the colored men of the United States, not only because to do so is to

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fulfill the Christ-behest, "do unto others as ye would that they should do to you," but also because ~~this~~ it is in accordance with the theory and purpose of the government of the United States, and in fulfillment of the express pledge of the government and people of the American ~~X~~ nation to the colored man in his emancipation and enfranchisement.

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We agree, also, that the white people of the United States ought especially to do this, in expiation of the sin and crime of American slavery, perpetuated by the power of the nation, and as a recompense to the colored man for that ~~irreparable wrong~~ irrecoverable wrong.

Last, and ~~perhaps~~ most important of all, we believe in God; that his kingdom on earth means,

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first of all, that man should render justice to all men and accord to each his rights as a man and a component of human society; and that he is a ~~factor~~ force who must be reckoned with in all matters pertaining to the individual or collection desting of mortals.

Thus far we are at one. We differ, I think, chiefly in the following particulars:

1— You do not think it possible that the government and people of the United States can ever be brought to deal justly with the colored inhabitant of our Repu-

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relation, while I believe that they can.

2- You believe that the colored people of the United States ought to be looking toward ultimate expatriation and providing a place to which they may flee in an~~d~~ order to escape the injustice and oppression which they are subjected there. I do not think any man should sell or offer to sell his birthright or abandon or surrender it either to the force or fraud of another.

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3 - You believe that God intended by American slavery and its resultants to prepare the way for the Christianization of Africa? & believe that He intended through it to subserve the much larger and grander purpose of teaching to civilization the lesson that "of one blood are all nations of the earth"; and that the function of the American ~~college~~ Republic is to teach the world

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that because men are "created equal", no other man or race of men has a right to establish any rank or caste based on race or color, but that all are entitled to ~~enjoy~~ the secure and peaceful enjoyment, not only of equal rights but of all their inherent rights,

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4— You think American civilization is a hindrance rather than a help to the colored American's development and that he would better accept and encourage the inclination to expel him from the country in order to establish himself in some part of the earth where this hindrance does not prevail. I think that with an element so large as undoubtedly exists among the white people of the country believing in the justice of the colored man's claim to equal right and labor

tently, the colored man can more
easily, and more surely secure the development of in-
dividual and self-respecting manhood
here, than when surrounded by the
barbarism of Africa; and, if his mis-
sion is to be the redemption of
Africa, the great lesson required of
him for it is to be best acquired by
doing his part in the redemption of
his race from the conscious and
unconscious wrongs that rest upon
it. Here.

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I do not designate these differences to imply that you are wrong on that I am right; but merely to indicate that we are educated by these differences of method rather than purpose, and to point out the fact that no sufficient effort has yet been made to establish the impossibility of securing here in America the rights and privileges of the colored citizen.

We have reached the time in the world's history when public opinion rules. The will of the people is

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the highest law and the real law.

A very large minority at least of the American people believe in justice and equal rights ~~without~~ regardless of race or color. This class consists of two elements—

1— An undetermined portion of the white people.

2— The colored people of the country. I include all the colored race for though many are ignorant and some are treacherous and vicious, they will know by the

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best of evidence, ~~upon~~ that derived from experience, that color = caste and race = prejudice are unjust.

The question is whether the sentiment of this minority can be made to so modify the views and affect the action of the majority, ~~as~~ as to ~~secure~~ obtain for the colored man

1 — Security of life, person and domicile.

2 — Legal redress for acts of violence

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The rights of

3 – Free speech, free public assembly and equal economic opportunity

4 – The equal rights of citizenship in which really there are all embraced.

If this cannot be accomplished you are unquestionably right and American liberty, American civilization and American Christianity must all be stamped as unequal and unspeakable frauds. All this I freely admit: but I

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contend that no effort worthy of the name ~~has been~~ or at all commensurate with the magnitude and importance of the task and the interests at stake, has yet been made to effect that result.

There stands against ~~this~~ us

1- ~~an unbelievable~~ a hostile sentiment of ~~unbelievable~~ unbelievable invincible strength, but, for the most part very bitter.

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tendencies

2 – By a united effort to put before all the people not once nor twice, but week by week, the truth.

The first you and I may constantly may be united. The record we have now no means of accomplishing and can only have by establishing a medium through which the true conditions may be brought home to indifferent or hostile minds. How can this be done?

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You and I and many others have been at work more or less faithfully on this problem for years. We have seen many plans fail and our own efforts apparently limited and lost. Why?

This is my answer. Because we have admitted high [illegible] literary character and recognized and undoubted purpose, especially devoted to this subject — the most important ever presented to a people's judgment and conscience.

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We have tried organization —
religious, political. It is not sufficient. ~~Probably~~ What is needed is
not organization of individuals but
a common purpose and a recognized
medium of expression. The great
dailies cannot give the matter its
due attention: they must follow rather than lead it. Their
purpose is simply to make money and
that must be done by going with
the multitude not with a minority a large element of which

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is struggling for recognition. The col-
ored newspaper cannot do it alone be-
cause it cannot get hold of white
readers and white sentiment. This is
unfortunate, but it is true.

What is the remedy?

All those who believe in liberty and
desire justice must unite to establish
and maintain a <u>great journal</u>
which shall be to this struggle
what the "<u>National Era</u>" was to the
conflict for liberty — a journal so
strongly edited as to command

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not only the respect but the attention both of those who read and those indifferent — a journal that shall command the confidence of liberty-lovers of both races and give expression to the thought of both — one which shall unite both races in its management and illustrate in its economies as well as advocate theoretically equal opportunity for all — a

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joined with both white and colored editors and a composing-room in which color should be ignored by no man from lack of opportunity.

It must practice what it preaches and teach by example as well as words. Such a journal will be of great advantage to the colored newspapers and no detriment, as it will in no sense take the place of any race=

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journal but will introduce them to many white homes. Such ~~a sentiment will~~ a journal will unite in sentiment both wings of the army of liberty, and when they are united in sentiment and purpose, unity of action will result.*

Such a journal I propose to establish. What will the ~~white~~ your people do in regard to it?

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2 – A neutral element of sufficient strength but mostly neutral because ignorant of the real facts of the situation.

I believe that a considerable portion of the first, and nearly all of the second class, may be brought to stand with us upon this question. This can only be done in one of two ways:

1 – First, through some still more horrible event which shall awaken the attention of the world to present conditions and

I make no appeal to them. It is their fight for more than mine. As director I shall do my duty, because I feel it is my duty. I do not ask them to accept my "Cracker-Jack" for I want none; but they can either double the value of my work by joining in it or ~~break it~~ take away half by withholding their confidence and support. They have raised for me $40,000 to test the

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"Jim Crow Car" case in Kentucky. Long
before they can get ~~the case~~ a case to
the Supreme Court of the United States
every question that can be raised un-
der it will have been decided by the one now
pending there from Louisiana, which I am the
leading counsel having given my
services free of charge, in order to in-
duce the colored men of that state
to join in its prosecution.

But the case of the colored
man's right has to be tried in

a higher tribunal — before the American people, and in that court the colored citizen's rights can be heard only on "printed briefs", which must be filed early enough to attract attention and convince the indifferent. Two hundred thousand white men of the South have testified each under his own hand, approval of the work I have done and of its general

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Cope and purpose. To them I am sending out 1,000 of these circulars to buy. I have no doubt that a fair proportion of them will give it their immediate support and ultimately nearly all of them. If we can wipe out the indifference and apathy of the white people of the North upon this subject, there is no doubt that the Supreme Court which has always been the stalwart foe

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to liberty except when moved by the awakened and potent conscience of the people, may grant it which against caste. I submit to you whether ~~it is~~ it is wiser—

~~to do it soon to~~

1- To do nothing?

2- To ~~hesitate~~ until something happens?

3- To leave the interests of a race solely in the hands of law-journals which however fruitful

ful to their liberties can hardly reach that ~~end~~ mass of intelligence and conscience on ~~on~~ the conviction of which the chief hope of betterment depends? or

4 — To give your moral and material support to one who for twenty-five years has labored faithfully to create the very sentiment on which the character of the future must depend?

Unless the colored people

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of the United States are wise and
vigorous as well as devoted to
their highest interests, of course, no
other people can lift them up or se-
cure them the enjoyment of their rights.

But it is equally true that unless
the sentiment of the white people is greatly
modified, there is little hope in their future.
Their thought, their effort, should be
wisely directed to this end. By a common
interest and a common purpose, the forces
of liberty may be made effective and in

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that we may only cure the wrongs of
exile, expatriation, ~~or~~ extinction
or practical re-subjection to
servitude. If I believed it hopeless
I would join hands with you
and say "Go, in God's name!"
But I cannot think that God
will permit the American people
to stain the future with such
shame and crime, if we who
believe in justice and liberty

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are true to him and the opportunity before us.

You are at liberty to use this letter as you see fit, except that I should think it would be wise to publish it entire. I have written sincerely as I feel, and plainly as it is your right to expect that I would. The event I leave with God

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who has led me in a wonderful way to the strange position in which I now stand, almost alone, and largely against my inclination and desire, I am determined, however, that when the account is made up, it shall show that I neither wronged anything that might be done nor did anything to hinder

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from doing what he could to
another, may all my
own interests & blind my
eyes or paralyze my endeavors
Sincerely yours