Dr J. E. Rankin
Apl 30th 1893

My dear Sir:

Your letter in regard to "Pactolus Prime," is just received, forwarded from the publishers. I am glad to receive your commendation.

As to your suggestion that I should write a book of a different sort, it is of course, very natural that you should make it, being the ~~[illegible]~~ reasonable outcome of the relation you sustain.

As for myself, I am not an apostle to the Gentiles, in any sense. I am attracted to my work very largely by the dramatic opportunity — in this case the utter hopelessness of individual or race in the face of Christian caste and a civilization which asserts as a fundamental principle the right to destroy the weak for the offence of color, poverty or even because they cannot be kept weak. So far as it ~~[illegible]~~ is intended to con-

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any a moral lesson Factotus Prime was written ~~intended~~ to present to the Christian conscience of the world this terrible truth Christianity is white, and unless it ceases to be white it must meet destruction.

In three hundred years it has killed more souls because they are not white and strong enough to resist, than its missions could civilize and put in the way of salvation in a thousand years. It is now preparing to complete the depopulation of Africa which has been so gloriously begun at that misnamed southern extremity, Good Hope, which trampled over dear brave Bishop Colenso and the cross he held up for their protection to destroy the Zulus. Remember his words, ~~and is now the~~ "One half the money it will take to destroy would Christianize and civilize this most heroic people!" But Christian Great Britain did not want them Christianized or civilized. It wanted ranches and diamonds and gold — no matter how stained with injustice and blood!

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Within the next fifty years, in all proba-
bility 50,000,000 souls will be caught up in
the earth in Africa alone to make way
for Christian enterprise and greed —
more than the Arab slave-driver would
destroy in a thousand years. And this
will be done in the name of civiliza-
tion and Christianity — of our God and
his son Jesus Christ! What I wished only
meekly to hint was a belief that such a
civilization cannot stand if God is just
and that ~~such a~~ religion cannot continue
to sanction such an application of social
and political forces and be accepted as true
and righteous. In other words, I meant to in-
timate that Christianity must undergo a radical
change of character as soon to be regarded
~~considered~~ as the religion of humanity.

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The school question, as you may know, I am studying in a peculiar way — not so much with regard to individuals as with reference to races and relations. This I have done from choice in order to prevent being affected with the bias of individual relation. By this means and by constant study of the legal status of the colored man as affected by legislation, judicial decision, and public sentiment in the several states, I manage to take a clearer view of the collective relation of white and black to our nationality, our civilization and Christianity than I could in any other manner. The method is unique and laborious but its results are very exhaustive.

Your thought has, naturally, a very different background. You are considering the race as individuals, with relation to their own past and future. I think I can realize something of your disappointment as well as frequent gratification at the results arising from this social fact.

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You want them stimulated to self=reliance; as you say to "independence of the white race nor antagonism to it." Collectively, this is of course, impossible. We cannot have a white civilization and a black one, a white Republic and a black one, a white Church and a black one, unless we have a white Christ and a black One. Collectively considered, "independence" is just as dangerous as "antagonism"; indeed, it is the inevitable pre=cursor of it, — ~~for antagonism~~ for antagonism is unavoidable whenever independent interests clash with each other. Harmony and equality are the only safeguards against antagonism.

But I presume you mean individual "independence" — an idea of indifference to the question of color. Did you ever think that this is impossible except in the case of of collective independence or the recognition of equality of privilege opportunity and merit by the white race. You remember Gulliver found it equally impossible to be "independent" individually, among the Brobdignagians and the Lilliputians.

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Individual "independence" without "antagonism", implies a colored society complete in all its parts, existing, working, aspiring — side by side with white society yet indifferent to it and neither subject to nor responsible for its character or tendencies. This seems to me impossible in any age or under any conditions. Entire harmony and equality of right, ~~and~~ privilege and opportunity, I believe to be quite possible and indeed inevitable. It depends, however, It depends, however, upon the recognition by white Christianity of the terrible peril and horrible blasphemy of its present status.

As to the individual dependence of the colored race I think the tendency of his instructors to insist on the necessity of independence as if it did not exist with them has been rather too ~~marketed~~ and has proceeded upon a somewhat mistaken view. It seems to me that the individual self-dependence of the colored race in the United States, exceeds that of any people ~~I have~~ of which we have any knowledge. Of course, the measure of self-dependence is the ratio of self-support under parallell conditions. We know

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that the conditions affecting the colored people of the United States during the last twenty-five years have hardly ever been paralleled in difficulty in the world's history.

We know too that the conditions affecting the white people of the United States during that time have been surely favorable and that as self-supporters, they outrank all the civilized peoples of the world.

In comparing the most fortunate people in history with the most fortunate, we find that as self-supporters the former actually outrank the latter in the proportion of two to one. In other words the number of white paupers per 1000. of our population exceeds the number of colored paupers per 1000. colored population by something more than two to one. And if we compare the proportion of white to colored "tramps" is very much greater.

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Now I believe in both individual and collective "independence", because it is the only method of securing equality of right, privilege and opportunity. No people ever has or ever will obtain justice except by the display of power and purpose to resent injustice. Civilization recognizes but one controlling influence the power to injure. Christianity is armed to modify collective relations only by powerfulness and force. The security for personal right and collective privilege therefore is always dependent upon the apparent power to injure and terrify. Christianity is growing afraid of the right hook. The killing of 100,000 Armenian negroes would fill Christendom with horror. Civilization is afraid of degradation. The burning of a city or the desperate valley of the colored race for its rights would engulf empires.

~~The fes It is the realization of a power~~

Realizing as I do, the tremendous forces that are making for "independence" both individual and collective, and the "antagonism" necessarily resulting therefrom, I have never felt inclined to hasten it, but only to the justice, reason and conscience of the white man, and white Christian, to induce them ~~by~~ to avoid what is otherwise inevitable — to use their reason, apply their christianity, ~~and avoid thereby a display of barbarism who to the so~~ in the solution of a problem simple in its elements and only difficult because of the terrible necessity which compells the choice of one of two alternatives. The question in the middle of the American people is not so much as to which of these is preferable, but whether both may not be avoided by blindness and neglect to do anything. It is this tendency at which I have chosen to strike — at which

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I have struck with a blind instinction per=
tinacity for so many years not for the sake
of the colored man, but to save if I might,
or rather help to save, civilization, Christian=
ity and our country from the stain of
blood and the degradation of unutterable
It is the white man I would save from his own folly: the
infamy. White Christ I would save from shame. On
It is the complete misconception of
that hangs the Negro's destiny: not because he is inferior but
this purpose, even by those to whom it
because he must walk step by step with him, or fight nich
should be most evident, that not only
by nich the battle of right with him,
discourages me but terrifies me as well.
With "Pactolus Pinn," I have said my last word
upon the subject. Hereafter, I propose to use my
pen to concoct sweetmeats for the delectation of
a people who are sweeping on towards a Niagara
of woe infinitely deeper and darker than the gulf
of Slavery from which they have just escaped.

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whispered in her father's ear —
What? Was it her trouble or her father's?
She was in a straight between two lovers?" She had seen the advertisement? She knew the story of the opal? What was it?

~~The opal.~~

Mr Kishn had just set up his carriage. He was beginning to be known as "the prosperous Mr. Kishn." None of his great strokes had yet been projected or if projected had ~~only~~ not been carried into execution. He had his eye on certain outlying property which he thought would be in the way of improvement. It seemed to him certain that a railroad would ~~come down the river and cross it~~ cut it in twain on its way to the city's heart. He had long predicted that — to himself ~~that is~~; Mr. Kishn never predicted the course of events for others. ~~Now and then, he~~ Now and then he was accustomed to go out and look the ground over. He had no doubt as to the ultimate value of the property and he was pretty sure no one else realized it. Just now there was an opportunity to buy. It had recently descended to heirs who were of divergent interests, thought little of future possibilities and wanted each his ~~little~~ portion in available funds. There were two questions to be considered How long before the transformation scene would begin? He had heard something that very day which convinced him it would not be long. But the money? How should he get that? It did not require much but he dared not strain

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States	Colored Voters
Conn.	9,000
Ills.	12,000
Ind.	10,000
Iowa	2,500
Minn.	5,000
N. J.	9,000
N. Y.	15,000
Ohio	16,000
Penn.	18,000.

To this list should also be added Missouri, which has become fairly contestable ground, and has 80,000 colored voters.

Practically the whole of this vote has heretofore been Republican; ~~heretofore, except in a few districts where the Democratic majority~~ because their hope for their race lay in Republican success. The effect of a mere refusal to vote upon the next election can be seen at a glance.

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~~down to the river not far away. There had once been a ferry at this point but it had long~~ where ~~there had once been a ferry and was still a landing.~~ Looking beyond he saw a narrow path down which the boy had no doubt intended to escape. Scrambling down he found the girl bruised and bleeding but alive. They had fallen in a heap of mud which a trickling stream had brought down the face of the cliff. When ~~at~~ he had ~~to~~ washed her face she ~~to~~ revived and began to cry feebly. He held her on his arm and soothed her while he examined the boy. He was a lad of about

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A Bystander's chotes

Some little animadversion has of late been made upon the fact that the Bystander recently referred to Southern Republicans as feeling themselves deserted by "their chicken-hearted brethren of the North". We are assured by not a few of the aforesaid brethren that they are not chicken-hearted, and some of them even remind the Bystander of the lion-like things the party has achieved in proof of the falsity of the charge they bring against it. There is no room for controversy in regard to the facts alleged in support of this sometimes angry and sometimes reproachful denial. A glorious past, however, does not always argue a valorous present. No one has prized more highly or has testified more clearly his appreciation of Republican achievement than the Bystander. To do otherwise would be to belie himself and his own past. In the courage and manhood of its individuals too, there can be no stronger believer than he and he will even go further and say that

believes the future will exhibit a like patriotism and devotion to principle. But all this is aside from the real question. ~~on which his stales~~ His former statement was simply description of the feelings of the Southern Republican in regard to Northern Republicanism — that they regarded ~~it a~~ the Republicans of the North as chicken-hearted. Is it unnatural that they should?

× × ×

The Bystander lives in the country. While he was reading one of these protests against the designation of Northern Republicans as chicken-hearted by the southern man who has cast in his lot with it in the past, he ~~of~~ happened to glance out of the window and saw a hawk make a sudden swoop upon a flock of fowls in a neighbor's. He was lean, hungry, and daring. His ~~stroke~~ wire was sure and his ~~choice~~ stroke unerring. He fastened on one of the weakest of the flock. There was a scurrying scramble for cover on the part of the pullet. A cock on two ventured

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~~too~~ half-threatening by to approach the marauder, and clamorously challenge his right. Clutching fast his prostrate prey the fiend reared his crest and faced the remonstrants. "What are you going to do about it?" was the unmistakable challenge of his eye. The cocks strutted and clamored; the pullets cackled and hid. The hawk uttered a scream of contemptuous defiance, spread his wings and ~~departed with~~ flew off with his plunder. A few moments after the cocks were crowing and clamoring about a bunch of feathers and a few drops of blood where the poor pullet had been slain. The Bystander wondered what opinion the unfortunate chicken must have had ~~as~~ of the cocks, looking down upon them as she was borne away ~~to the~~ in the talons of the ravisher.

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x x

Perhaps there was no reason for the comparison, but for the life of him the Bystander could not help thinking with what lavishness of self-devoting imagery the Republican party pledged itself to the cause of freedom — free labor, free-speech, a free-ballot and equal rights at the South only a few years ago. With the most solemn vows they pledged themselves to the protection of the Negro's citizenship. He had aided the party and the country by shedding his blood for the perpetuity of the Union. He was the creditor of the nation for two centuries and a half of unremitting and unspeakable injustice. We offered him no recompense for this but the poor privilege of the ballot. We said to him you shall have equal opportunity hereafter and we will see to it that you are protected in the exercise of every right. The falcon struck the peaceful flock: there was a cry for aid; blood was shed: the rights of millions were defiantly torn from

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them. "What are you going to do about it?" shouted the ravisher. There was a ~~deal of~~ some boastful clamor and a deal of cackling protest. Yet the white and black Republicans of the South were held in bondage as clear and palpable, as the ~~[illegible]~~ slave endured. They were not bought or sold; but they were not permitted to exercise those fundamental rights of the freeman, — the right of free = speech, free = assemblage, open public discussion of political affairs, the free exercise of the election ~~[illegible]~~ franchise and a ~~fair~~ true certification of the result. ~~Look upon the statute-book for a reply.~~ What did the Republican party do? It threatened, promised, clamored. "Just let us spit on our hands and get a new hold" they said "and then ——." The silence was ominous of doom to the enemies of liberty who had pillaged, slain and driven into the desert of silence the allies of the Republican party.

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They got the new lease of power and then the era of philosophic speculation set in. A great many Republicans began to question whether the Negro ought actually to enjoy the rights of a citizen at all. Others thought him good enough to serve the country in time of war but the country had no use for him in time of peace. Some thought that the chivalry of the Southern falcon would induce him if stuck to wholly surrender his prey at least to share the white meat. All sorts of indirect methods for ~~evading~~ securing this were devised but nothing was done. A million and more voters had a right to a share in the election of Congressmen and a voice in the shaping of Congressmen. The Republican party had the power by the express terms of the Constitution to take control of these elections and restore to them their

rights of suffrage thus far at least. But the Southern falcon shrieked and not a step was taken toward compelling him to loose his grip ~~upon his~~ prey.

The years went on. Half a generation passed away. Still the angry protesting cry for help — still the protesting prayer for aid continued. The colored man served and waited and hoped. What is the natural view which those Republicans — so long openly and deficiently ~~take~~ deprived of their rights take of the allies who abandoned them in their hour of peril?

x x x

The Bystander has never believed nor intimated that the Northern man whatever his politics was as a class deficient in personal courage. He could not do so, without ~~defam~~ discrediting himself. What he has stated is that the Southern Republican as well as the Southern Democrat regards the Northern Republican as deficient in political sturdiness and resolution — as lacking "sand", to use a western phrase in the fulfillment of his pledges and adhesion to his professions, whenever the right of the colored man on the Southern Republican of any color, is concerned.