# THE INTESSENGER

# NEW OPINION OF THE NEW NEGRO

Volume 5

APRIL, 1923

Number 4

#### PREACHERS DEFEND HELL

A Reply to Preachers Who Condemned "Things Nobody Believes"

By WILLIAM PICKENS

THE NEW MIGRATION

#### THE NEGRO AND POLITICS

A Discussion of the Economics of the Ballot By GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

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### The Messenger

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#### Editors: A. PHILIP RANDOLPH and CHANDLER OWEN

Contributing Editors: ROBERT W. BAGNALL, LOVETT FORT-WHITEMAN, ERNEST RICE McKINNEY, WILLIAM N. COLSON, WILLIAM PICKENS, GEORGE FRAZIER MILLER

CONTENTS

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Vol. V.	,	No. 4	
Open Forum	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	672	
	iture		
	ics		
Editorials		653	

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#### **Editorials**

#### Negroes in Soviet Russia

News dispatches tell of Claude McKay, the Negro poet, author of Harlem Shadows, as one of the two Negroes who addressed the Fourth Communist Internationale in Moscow. He plead for his race. It is reported that resolutions were adopted in the interest of Negro emancipation. While it is too early to estimate the significance of such resolutions, the mere presence of Negroes, either as spectators or members. in the great deliberative bodies of the world, radical, liberal and conservative, is an interesting instance of the monistic behavior of races, mentally, morally and physically.

It is a cogent argument in favor of a basic human egalitarianism. If modern anthropology and sociology have established anything it is that races have similar vices and virtues, similar instincts and habits; that their reactions to physical, economic, political and social stimuli, are similar. Thus, that Negroes, like whites, elect to study the new social phenomena of a workers' republic, should not strike us as strange at all.

#### President Harding and the Shopmen's Strike

President Harding announced in reply to a letter from the secretary of the Federated Shop crafts of the Jersey Central Railroad that he could see no "adequate question of principle" which could justify a minority of the roads "in refusing to make settlements similar to those which have been made by the majority." But the railroads can. They are backed up by Wall Street which makes them loans. The President wants a settlement, but Wall Street does not. Now Who's Who? Wall Street or President Harding?

While this question is being settled the strikers starve.

#### Amalgamated Union's Bank in New York

This organization is one of the marvels in modern creative, constructive and progressive workingclass effort. This is the second of a chain of banks which plans establishing in the large cities of the country.

But banks are not the limits of its practical idealism: it has also launched a gigantic project for the clothing of naked Russia through the organization of the Russian-American-Industrial Corporation. And as for its progress in the realm of workers' education and culture, one has but to visit its schools, forums and concerts; to study its pamphlets, books and press: and to scan its calendar entitled The Amalgamated As It Is.

#### Workers' Colleges

Slowly but surely the workers are engaging in self education. The rise of educational institutions under the control of the workers is an instance in proof. It is also an evidence of a growing distrust of bourgeois institutions of learning. Practically every union to-day is fostering some kind of workingclass education. In Europe and America, there are numerous institutions such as the Rand School of Social Science, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' University, the Amalgamated Labor College in Rochester, the Boston Trades Union College, and the labor school at Katonah, N. Y. In these institutions a fundamental labor interpretation of history, economics and so-ciology is made. Such is a necessary educational supplement to a labor press, church, forum, stage, and political party. That the great constructive rôle of the workers in ancient, mediaeval and modern society will only be honestly presented through their own educational media, is too obvious to need debate.

#### West Indians in Business

We have been reliably informed that propaganda is afoot to injure the interests of a certain prominent West Indian business man who runs a department store in Harlem. To us this is inconceivable, silly, mean and ignoble—something which can only emanate from a mind which is narrow, opaque and petty. We must learn that the success of one Negro, be he from Trinidad or Georgia, reflects credit upon the entire race, and that by the very same token, the failure of one, reflects discredit upon the entire race. Thus it is eminently to the interest of us all to co-operate with each honest, constructive, efficient, socially valuable institution conducted by one of our group in order that it may become a success.

This has always been the policy of THE MESSENGER since its very inception. It has the enviable and proud record of having done more to eliminate hate between the American and West Indian Negroes than any other publication or agency, being always fair in pointing out the virtues and vices of each.

#### British Labor in Parliament

British labor moves forward. It is over a century ago that Robert Owen, the reformist, raised his voice against the poverty of the masses. In 1901, Kier Hardie, the founder of the Labor Party, introduced the first resolution in Parliament to establish Socialism in England. Behind him was an ineffective labor movement, comprising in votes for labor candidates less than 70,000. But times have changed. In the month of March, 1923, Philip Snowden, backed by a Labor Party which polled 5,000,000 and a trades union membership of 6,000,000, to the utter consternation and despair of the British Tories and Liberals, introduced a resolution to suppress capitalism and establish Socialism in Great Britain. And this comes as a most astonishing sequel of MacDonald's and a number of his labor associates in Parliament, fraternizing with King George, Lady Astor and Lords at dinners and parties, for which the more radical wing of British labor condemned them. It is interesting to note too in this connection that well nigh three-fourths of the 144 labor members in Parliament are Socialists. In the United States of America only two men in Congress, Victor Berger and Dr. Shipstead, represent labor. In America, too, there are more political, economic and religious intolerance and bigotry, there are lynchings and burnings; there is the disfranchisement of persons for race and color, the defiance of law by a hooded band of midnight assassins, the Ku Klux Klan.

Is there a causal relation between the greater democracy in England and the presence of 144 labor representatives in Parliament, and the shameless suppression of free speech, press, and assemblage and the aspirations of racial, class and religious groups in America, whose congress has only two representatives to voice labor's aims and interests? We will let you answer.

Of course, we know that England has her inglorious and infamous record in India and Ireland as America has in Hayti and Mexico; still there is a contrast!

#### Licensing Labor Unions

Mr. Samuel Untermyer is responsible for the introduction of a bill in the Albany legislature to license labor unions. Happily labor has sensed the danger of the move and proceeded to oppose it. It requires no keen penetration to see that it is like sentencing labor to death to place its organizations at the mercy of a group of ignorant and unscrupulous politicians, the type which generally vegetates in our legislatures, state and federal. We heard this subject debated by Morris Hillquit and Samuel Untermyer. While it appeared that Mr. Untermyer's motive was honest, yet it was clear that he had no conception of the social forces determining our social maladjustments.

The Lockwood Committee has jailed big labor leaders but no big capitalist leaders. Such is the inevitable workings of capitalist courts. Of course, we would not minimize the value of the work done by Mr. Untermyer or the Lockwood Committee. It has been of great social value. His jailing of Brindell was a benefit to labor, but his recent attempt to license labor unions is a blow at the very heart of the labor movement.

#### American Civil Liberties Union

#### Extract

MONTHLY NOTE: Sharp increase of activities attributed to the Ku Klux Klan and particularly the extension to the middle west and the north are the reports for the month of January. More instances are reported for the single month than for any month since the Klan became active. There are also more reports of activities against the Klan, particularly numerous proposals for regulation by law.

Weekly Note: Cases of mob violence, actual or threatened, lead all others in the current reports on civil liberty. It is particularly notable that at the present time most of them are from the north and middle west, directly attributable to the extension of

the Ku Klux Klan.

#### Klan Activities and Violence

- 1. ILLINOIS. Warnings of a threat to bomb the Sisson hotel, in which Dr. Hiram Wesley Evans. Imperial Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan, has his Chicago headquarters, were sent to six Jewish guests of the hotel on January 28th.
- 2. Executives of the Ku Klux Klan have taken charge of the case of William Green, who was suspended from the Chicago Fire Department on the sole charge of being a Klansman and is now on trial before the Civil Service Commission.
- 3. Indiana. Two men were killed and Sheriff Harry Newlin was wounded in a street fight in Blanford on January 29, following an attack on a store whose Negro owner had refused to obey the order of a "citizens' committee" that all Negroes should leave the town.
- 6. LOUISIANA. Mayor Robert L. Dade of Mer Rouge, who testified against the Klan at the recent open hearing, received anonymous threats against his life from Hot Springs, Arkansas, on January 30.
- 9. New York. District Attorney Charles J. Dodd of Brooklyn declared on January 30th that the right of peaceable assemblage would not be denied the Ku Klux Klan unless evidence showed conspiracy to commit crime. The declaration followed the arrest of eight men as members of the Klan.
- 12. OKLAHOMA. Displaying a banner with the legend, "For God, for Home and Native Land," and accompanied by a fiery cross and a brass band, seventy-five ladies of the Ku Klux Klan paraded through the principal streets of Oklahoma City on January 29th.
- 13. Ladies of the Klan began their activities in Oklahoma City on January 24th by raiding a still operated by men on the outskirts of the city.

Such is the rampage of this beastly band of bigots. Only eternal vigilance, with a determined will to root out this foul growth from the American soil, can arrest its progress. It is America's greatest menace to civil liberty. And only a united front between Jews, Negroes, labor and Catholics, the victims of its ravages. can destroy it.

# Sending 5,000 Negro Miners to Break the German Miners' Strike

The international aspects of capitalism become more manifest daily. Its tools, such as detective agencies take on the international forms, too. Witness Harry

V. Dougherty, the detective (not Harry M., the Attorney General of our beloved Warren Gamaliel) attempting to break the German miners' strike with American Negro miners! But he failed. The Negro miners resolved not to be used as international scabs; but to uphold the international solidarity of labor with their white German brothers.

Our hats are off to the Negro miners. They have saved the race from an international disgrace, the disgrace of being recognized as international scabs. Such an act would sow seeds of bitterness and hatred in the hearts of not only the white German workers, but French, English and American workers, too. It would widen the chasm between the races, linking up the white workers in all countries against our struggles for freedom.

If the French statesmen are unable to make the Germans pay the reparations bill, that is their funeral. American Negro Miners are not going to dig reparations out of the Ruhr for them.

The Negro workers of the world are not interested in scabbing on the white workers; they want to join hands with them. Negroes do not court the business of becoming the international black guard of capital. But they must be encouraged by the white workers. White workers cannot lynch Negro workers, debar them from joining their unions, and expect them to show the spirit of co-operation when white workers are sorely pressed by the brutal hand of capital. It is not human.

#### We Nominate Debs for President

Harry M. Daugherty has nominated President Harding as the candidate of the Republican Party to succeed himself in 1924. Harding has been a good machine politician. He is colorless, without constructive views on anything or an independent judgment. He is even behind Woodrow Wilson, a miserable picture of a politician whose ambitions to be a world figure were shattered. Of course presidents are not expected to do any hard thinking. Wall Street, the invisible empire, does the thinking for them. President, Congress and the Supreme Court are expected to register and to execute the mandates of their industrial and financial masters. And whenever a political tool shows signs of using his brains in the advocacy of any quasiliberal, democratic measure, he is forthwith discarded and thrown upon the scrap heap.

Sometimes, of course, a politician is allowed to say some nice and beautiful things, to warm up to the workers with a view to luring them away from a genuine apostle of a workingclass program. Roosevelt was such a demagogue. Hearst is another. So is Senator Borah. "Beware of the Greeks bearing gifts," is a sound policy for the workers, black and

white, Jew and Gentile, native and foreign.

Such is our reason for nominating Eugene Victor Debs, the spiritual spokesman of the working class of America as their standard bearer in the next Presidential election.

All workingclass and liberal parties and movements, in the interest of a new day for the oppressed and disinherited, should unite on this fearless, stalwart. tried and true champion of the tortured workers of all races, creeds and nationalities.

Long live Debs! All power to the cause of a triumphant workingclass political campaign.

#### The Oppression of Smaller Nationalities

St. Thomas, V. I., U. S. A., February 8, 1923.

THE FRIENDS OF NEGRO FREEDOM. 2305 Seventh Avenue, N. Y. C.

My Dear Comrade Randolph:

Since my departure from New York City and return home after a visit to Porto Rico, Santa Cruz, and St. Kitts, I found that the Police Commission had planned a frame-up against the sub-editor of the Emancipator. It is a vicious attempt to bridle the press in these Virgin Islands, and what is peculiar about it is that the henchmen are NEGROES. Here is an example wherein certain Negroes are against other Negroes and have white men as accomplices.

It is needless for me to state that the entire island is mad at the intrusion on the rights of the press. The editorial written by Mr. Bonaparte does not contain one word of libel.

(See Clip 1.)

The Governor, who is a naval man, ordered the deportation. And we are desirous that you ascertain from the Governor via the Secretary of the Navy what was the cause of the

deportation of our sub-editor.

Mr. Bonaparte is at present in the Island Tortola. And we need funds to fight his case in the courts. Any financial assistance you can give will be greatly appreciated and will act as a medium to advertise the organization.

Please give nation-wide publicity to this outrage. We are

depending upon THE MESSENGER to do its bit.

Letters have been dispatched to the American Civil Liberties Union, the National Office of the Socialist Party, the N.A.A.C.P., and a few Virgin Islanders resident in New York City. Counting on your co-operation and awaiting a favorable reply.

Very sincerely yours,

ROTHSCHILD FRANCIS.

The foregoing letter is a striking instance of the brand of democracy which Uncle Sam is carrying to the socalled backward peoples of the Caribbean

Every liberty-loving man or woman who reads this letter should answer it with liberal financial assistance; he should also address a letter to the Secretary of the Navy, protesting against this nameless and outrageous usurpation of the civil rights of our defenseless brothers in the Virgin Islands.

Note that reference is made to the fact of Negroes being used as tools against the cause of race justice. To us it is not strange. There are Negro traitors of the interests of the race everywhere. This is not peculiar to Negroes, however. There are traitors among Nordics and Mongoloids, there are traitors among Germans and Americans, there are traitors among Jews and Catholics and workers. In very truth the period through which we are now passing is productive of traitors and spies, because the business of betraying and spying is highly rewarded both with jobs and money.

A survey of history will show that some one can be found among all races, nationalities, religions and classes who will betray his group for pay. Benedict Arnolds are not the monopoly of any one race or people. But our task as militant, aggressive fighters for justice and right is to weed them out, to lay bare their dark and dirty deeds, to hold them up to the white light of pitiless publicity and scorn.

#### The New Migration

That a man's home is his castle is mere fiction with the Negroes in the South. Note the following:

In a letter recently received in the offices of the N. A. A. C. P., New York, from a person actively connected with the Methodist Episcopal Church in Chattanooga, Tenn., the following is quoted:

"For the last month or two the white people have been putting the Negro to flight out of several towns in Georgia, about the time their crops were ready for gathering theyean; some were run away from home with their crops standing in the fields ready to gather—hence, white people went to their houses and gave them notices to leave in so many days and on other instances notes were written and signed by, as indicated, K.K.K., and intimidated them so that lots of them left their homes furnished just as they were while they were at home. Some with their houses cleaned up, beds made up and everything done as though they were at home—they left their homes with nothing but what they were wearing and a suit case and sometimes not that.

"One family had to flee through the rain, snow, and cold, wade and swim the streams and at last arrived here in Chattanooga for everyone of that crowd to die except one, in less than two months, from the exposure they received in making their escape from pursuers. One man who had a nice automobile drove up to a filling station where he had always lived, to have his car filled; the man in charge asked him who the car belonged to, and he replied that it belonged to him. The oil man then ordered him out of his own car, saying that it no longer belonged to him, telling him that he got no oil from that station to move a car that belonged to him, and told him to leave the country. For weeks it was a most pitiful sight to see people traveling over this city by droves almost, through the rain and cold, with little bundles, suit cases, early in the morning and late at night, forlorn, hungry, cold, and nowhere to go. They sleep anywhere they could get to sleep and eat anything they could get—an organization contributed towards their food for several weeks.

"Several hundred of these people settled here in Chattanooga and its vicinity, mostly in South Chattanooga, Athens, Ga., almost all the colored people were run away and they were run out of Jesup, Ga., around in the neighborhood of northern Georgia near Summerville, and Lafayette, which is near the line of Chattanooga."

Is there any wonder that Negroes are happy to leave the South—a veritable hell for them! The New Migration is the result both of attraction and compulsion. Negroes are naturally attracted by the high wages in the North, and are compelled to leave, in many instances, by the unspeakable persecution in the South.

It is significant that the white South forces the Negroes to flee their homes about the time they are ready to gather their crops. Such is the economic factor involved. The whites want to get Negroes' property; not that they hate Negroes less, but they love their (the Negroes') property more.

The white farmers seem now to be adopting a new policy in dealing with the Negro farmers and share-crop tenants. They have practically ceased robbing the Negro farmers of a part of what they produced, such as they did in Elaine, Arkansas; now they dispossess the defenseless Negro of both his product and his farm by deliberately driving them from their homes.

What should be done about it?

First, the Negro must develop the will to resist, to sacrifice his life in protection of his children, his wife, his mother and sister, his home and his right to live like any other man. It is obvious that the Southern States do not intend to protect him, being, as they were, manned and controlled by Klansmen; and, it is also obvious that the Federal Government is winking and conniving at the lawless, ruthless, brutal savagery of the South. Thus, the Negro's only alternative is his strong right arm. Yes, "we must trust in God. but keep our powder dry." It is far nobler to perish fighting back than to be driven, hunted and murdered like rats by Southern barbarians.

We have reached the pass where it is not a choice between life and death, but a choice between dying, fighting for your home and family, and being stamped to death, lynched and ground into a red mush of mud like cringing craven curs.

Second, every time a Negro is lynched or unjustly dealt with, Negroes should boycott the white businesses. A blow in the pocketbook is sometimes as effective as a bullet in the belly. Boycott insurances, banks, merchants, everything. This will frighten the North, because it has investments in the South.

Now, perhaps it is not so easy for the Negroes in the rural sections to use the boycott; but the Negroes in the cities can, and it is their bounden duty to protect their brothers in the country districts; for lynching knows no geographical lines. Mobs will burn up a Negro in the country to-day and one in the city tomorrow. Thus, it is obvious that Negroes are not safe in the cities of the South or North so long as Negroes are lynched anywhere in America.

Now as to the Negroes' task in the North in order to help his Southern brother. Propaganda, economic power and the ballot are our chief and most telling weapons. With propaganda, we must expose the hateful villainy of the South; with our economic power through organized labor, we must drive white capital and labor to become seriously concerned about our problem, and with the ballot we must defeat both Republicans and Democrats and raise a new group to power whose interests it will be to treat the Negro as an equal.

#### Why Not Recognize Soviet Russia

This question every intelligent American is asking; and to it there seems to be no intelligent answer. Does Russia want to trade with America? Yes. Does the United States need Russian trade? Yes. It will serve to decrease unemployment. In fact, trade between Soviet Russia and America is now going on, but the State Department refuses to give it official recognition. Why? Because we are dreadfully loath to establish the precedent that the sweated, unwashed millions of industrial and agricultural workers are capable of self government, of stable constructive statesmanship. The reason for this is plain to the social student. Modern capitalist psychologists recognize the force of Tarde's law of imitation. What one group of workers have done, others can do, is not an unlikely suggestion of a workers' government anywhere to other exploited and oppressed workers. The tendency to imitate in others that which is believed to yield power, pleasure and happiness is strong in groups as well as in individuals. Thus Soviet Russia stands as a practical, living suggestion to the submerged toiling masses to dispense with capitalist misrule. Such is the basic reason for Article X of the Covenant of the League of Nations which provides that the signatories shall combine to maintain the status quo of the existing powers in the League. Status quo here means the present private property basis of capitalist society. In other words, the League of Nations is to function as the international police of world imperialism, preventing the workers in other countries from effecting a social revolution. Such also was the aim of the Holy Alliance of Metternich of 1815. The progress of the liberal, democratic movements of the

latter part of the eighteenth and the first and second quarters of the nineteenth centuries, was thwarted and retarded by the machinations and opposition of other neighboring kings. It is a matter of common knowledge that our Government has sought to dictate the character of the constitution of Mexico.

Thus the life of Russia is only secure in proportion as other workers' republics rise throughout the world. But, of course, if Soviet Russia keeps trending toward the right in her economic policy, keeps emasculating Communism, keeps proclaiming her disposition to recognize the rights of private property, she will eventually be recognized; for then it is plain we are not recognizing Communism. We are simply recognizing a state nominally under workers' control which recognizes the methods of Capitalism.

Of course, this reaction from Communism was inevitable. It is in obedience to the inexorable laws of social physics. If in this rebound, the workers are able to conserve the fruits of the Revolution, they shall have served humanity nobly.

This movement toward the right seems to be eminently proper, practical and sound. It is the only salvation of the Revolution. The march of events in Russia has shown that Russia is not yet ready for Communism.

However, whatever be the form of government a people choose, let them have it. If they change, let them change. If they are lawless, they are no different from us and other countries we recognize.

Let the American people demand that we recognize Russia; for, at least, one thing is clear to all the world, namely, Soviet Russia is stable!

"James W. Johnson is a man who has radical information. . . . For style, exposition and good diction, he is one of the best journalistic writers of the day. . . . He is one of the few Negro editors who knows anything about international questions. . . "—The Messenger, 1919.

#### In Memorism

To Our Fallen Comrade

#### **William N. Colson**

It is with exceeding deep grief that we mourn the passing, in the month of March, in the year of our Lord 1923, of our able, courageous and loyal co-worker, William N. Colson. In his untimely death, The New Negro Manhood Movement has lost one of its most valiant and uncompromising fighters. His was one of the finest and noblest souls God ever created; young, untiring, honest; and possessing a sweet and sensitive nature. None will soon forget his facile, brilliant and trenchant pen, wielded with unselfish devotion to the cause of making a great, achieving Race; and for a high, broad, virile, militant and constructive social idealism.

#### In Memoriam

To Our Fallen Comrade

#### Toussaint L. Owen

It is with deep and poignant sorrow that we record the untimely death, in the month of March, in the year of our Lord 1923, of our faithful, devoted and steadfast co-worker, Toussaint L. Owen, the brother of Chandler Owen. He was one of the Race's most gifted, skilled and able artisans; possessing the unique distinction of owning and operating one of the largest tailoring establishments in the South. In his demise the Negro has sustained a great loss—the loss of one, young, vigorous in constructive business imagination and ability, and full of great promise.

#### Chas. W. Anderson

Mr. Anderson was one of the favored sons of the Grand Old Party before we were born. He has managed to hold some sort of a job during all administrations. He is rated a good job-holder—whatever that is. We do not doubt that he can hold a job as tenaciously as any white politician. That fact does not reduce the rent or increase the wages of the long suffering, struggling Negro slaves in the mills, factories, mines and fields.

We know of no record of his ever turning a finger in the interest of the race. It has been Anderson, first, last, and all the time. Of course, we do not object to one's looking out for his personal interests so long as they are compatible with the race's good.

Anderson has been appointed near the end of the Harding term as one of the Collectors of Internal Revenue of New York. It is supposed to be a big job. It is thrown to the Negroes as a sop, as a palliative, as an expiation of the Republicans' treachery to the Dyer Bill and the Negroes' appeals for justice in America.

The passing of the Dyer Bill would have helped the masses but this appointment of Brother Anderson can only help him to grow sleek and fat. Meanwhile the rank and file are counselled to be patient; they are told that they will surely reap their reward in the sweet by-and-by.

But happily the days of the good old political Uncle Toms are passing. The New Negro will have none of this progress through patience, through the elevation of a few time-serving, compromising self seekers at the expense of the group. He is conscious of the fact that this political handout will not stop lynching, it will not stop peonage, it will not abolish the jimcrow car or disfranchisement, it will not build more schools for Negroes, it will not stop segregation, in short, it will not do for the Negro any of the things they so greatly need. It can only cause them to be content with their miserable and wretched lot. That is why Anderson was appointed. He is political chloroform. In very truth, his appointment helps to put the masses to sleep so that they may be the more easily robbed.

# **Economics and Politics**

#### POLITICS AND THE NEGRO

GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

THE methods of supplying the needs of life and the relationship between individuals, growing out of the associations required for this production of the vital necessities, form the basis upon which are built up the laws, customs, morals and theology of any human group.

When the means of supplying human needs in any group are owned and controlled by a certain section or class within it; that class becomes dominant for the simple reason that they have the power of life and death over the masses because of this ownership and control. All must bow to the owning class, for all must eat, sleep, and clothe their bodies. For this arrangement of things to continue, it must be considered just by the masses whose toil accumulates wealth for the owning class.

This work of keeping the great majority loyal to the owning-class philosophy is entrusted to the judiciary, pedagogues, polițicians and theologians. These gentlemen also require food, clothing and shelter, so, for fear these vital necessities may be withdrawn, they are bulwarks of loyalty to the own-These intellectual custodians of the owningclass philosophy constitute the mercenary rulingclass of every nation. In press, pulpit, school, legislature and court they diligently labor to instil into the minds of the masses a proper loyalty to thingsas-they-are. Any adverse criticism of the prevailing philosophy is considered heretical, immoral, unethical and seditious. Social and economic pressure. aided by the police power of the state is generally sufficient to keep the number of dissenters at a safe minimum. A certain amount of criticism and reformism is allowed when the dominance of the owning-class and their intellectual police is firmly established, but the lid of repression is clamped down when any crisis impends. Then liberals, reformers, labor "leaders," professional agitators and revolutionists either join the reaction, go to jail, or hibernate until the country is again safe for dissenters

As Korzybski points out in his "Manhood of Humanity," the development of the mass mentality moves in arithmetical progression, viz.: 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 12, 14, 16: while the development of industry moves in geometrical progression, viz: 2, 4, 8, 16, 32, 64, 128, 256. Hence, new relationships between individuals associated in industry are continually being formed, which necessitates synchronical changes in the social structure. As Van Loon puts it, in his "Story of Mankind," "the 20th century man in an automobile has the mind of a 16th century tradesman." So it is not surprising to find that in every nation the social structure of jurisprudence, morals, ethics and theology is more or less out of plumb

with the industrial foundation. As this condition of affairs becomes more and more pronounced, greater becomes the unrest, dissatisfaction, spirit of revolt, poverty, crime and degradation.

The necessity for change is first felt among the members of the group most intimately associated with industry, and first to be effected by changes due to new industrial methods, new inventions, adverse climatical conditions, opening or closing of markets. This discontent is given voice and organized by agitators, intellectual heretics descended by desertion or ousting from the ruling class, or political retainers of the owning-class.

Any change beneficial to the majority of the working class is violently opposed, by the owning-class through their intellectual phonographs, because it involves a sacrifice. A mild reform here, a conciliatory gesture there, are the extent of their concessions, unless a great danger, such as war, makes prudent the casting of a more meaty bone to the mob.

Within the owning-class, however, are various sections with slightly different economic interests who struggle for power to enact legislation favorable to them. For this purpose two or more rival political organizations are supplied with the pecuniary sinews of political conflict. In the United States the two dominant firms of political brokers are Republican and Democratic parties. Here as elsewhere, "He who pays the fiddler calls the tune."

The masses, drugged by the mental opiates administered to them from every side, are the pawns in the political contest for privilege. They are swayed hither and yon by the political herdsmen whose bait consists of bogus "issues" designed to play upon the fears, prejudices, ignorance and superstitions of the discontented mob. Since the radical organizations with an intelligent program make only appeals to reason, their slow growth is easily understood. These political "issues" are merely "red herrings" drawn across the path of proletarian discontent to divert them from the source of their troubles—the incompatibility of the industrial and social structures due to the form of ownership in vogue. For further convenience and confusion these campaign "issues" are condensed into slogans subject to numerous interpretations, such as: "Full Dinner Pail," "He kept us out of war," "A World safe for Democracy," "White Supremacy," "America First," "The Yellow Peril," and "Back to Normalcy."

Editorial writers on the kept press, with tongues in cheeks, take opposite sides with long kindergarten editorials; custodians of the "hire" education contribute solemn lectures and magazine articles; political henchmen "explain" the "issues" with straight

faces; ignorant workers vociferously exchange expletives and fisticuffs over this or that "good" man.

After election, costumes and scenery are stored within reach, lights extinguished, and the political cowboys, who were elevated to office by reason of having corralled the most votes, proceed with the prosaic business of "delivering the goods" for their respective machines until nearly time for the next perennial farce. The wage-slaves return to their toil, and hopefully await the relief "their" man promised. This failing, of course, to materialize, the discontent again rises. The masses feverishly await another opportunity to vote out one representative of business and vote in another.

Midsummer comes. The political mummers haul out costumes, scenery and lights to rehearse the next farce. The capitalist-owned machine bosses select a double cast of characters from among the "faithful" and adopt appropriate slogans. The electorate nominates the "honest" and "good" men from among the "faithful," and the yearly farce is repeated.

What has been the result of this policy for workers and owners? A few figures on the distribution of wealth give the answer:

Two per cent of the population owns 65 per cent of the national wealth of the United States; 33 per cent of the population owns 30 per cent of the national wealth of the United States; 65 per cent of the population owns 5 per cent of the national wealth of the United States.

Nearly ten millions are illiterate, while the majority are morons. The bourgeoisie and their intellectual and political gendarmerie are trying to maintain a rickety social structure on a rapidly moving industrial foundation for which a new structure of social concepts is absolutely necessary to insure a measure of justice to those who do the world's work.

These capitalist-owned political parties can no more represent the workers than a group of undertakers could represent an organization spreading knowledge of the attainment of immortality. They have never represented the white workers. How then can they be expected to represent the black workers. At least 98 per cent of the Negroes are workers.

By throwing their votes into one or the other of these political hoppers, the Negro worker may obtain a few soft jobs for subservient, hat-in-hand "deserving" leaders, but the masses cannot benefit except at the owners' expense. The interests of the two groups are diametrically opposed. The workers want more wages, lower living costs, steady employment, and a shorter working day. The owners cannot satisfy these desires, even if they wanted to, without depleting their bankrolls. They have rarely, if ever, shown evidence of such beneficence.

Only by economic organization much similar to that of the owners, can the workers combat the evils confronting them. It is ofttimes better policy for the owners to grant concessions than to attempt to fight powerful labor unions. In order to safeguard these concessions from vicious legislation and biased court rulings, it is necessary that a pronounced effort be made to place in legislatures and courts, representatives possessed of the working

class viewpoint. This political side of the main economic struggle must be carried on by a group of politicians owned and controlled by organized labor. "He who pays the fiddler calls the tune." Rewarding "friends" and punishing "enemies" has proven futile for the workers in the past. What is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander: a course of action capable of satisfying the aspirations of white labor, is also good for black labor. The great issue in the United States is not, "Black or White," but "Robbers or Robbed."

The slight natural aversion to the Negro because of his color, would have long ago vanished, as it has in the greater part of Latin America, through understanding and friendship bred of association. Unfortunately it grew into prejudice of a bitter type through accentuation due to economic competition between slave labor and "free" labor, and increased immeasurably by the propaganda of the slave owners and their intellectual police. In later years Negro migration into Northern industrial centers has engendered a similar hostility between black and white wage labor because of the competition for the inadequate supply of jobs.

The intellectual mercenaries of the owning-class have used this situation to their advantage by playing upon the fears, ignorance and hatreds of both groups of workers to keep them divided and exploited. A house divided against itself cannot stand. The owning-class believe in their class philosophy: they organize economically and politically; they are a freemasonry of economic oligarchs disregarding race, color and creed. The working-class largely have no class philosophy; their few economic organizations are archaic in structure; while their political efforts are largely confined to the long discredited policy of rewarding "friends" and punishing "enemies;" their one or two independent political groups are weak in numbers and dollars; they are easily divided on racial and religious lines.

The white trades unions, unorganized workers, skilled and unskilled, must be brought to a realization of these truths, and the necessity of acting upon them. The same is true of the Negro. Neither can hope to free himself while the other remains in servitude. The inexorable laws of industrial evolution is arraying the classes in our society on the side of exploiter or exploited. On which side the exploited Negro worker should stand politically is quite evident.

The union into a solid phalanx of black and white labor on the economic and political field is not as difficult as some may think. It is only necessary to expose through press, pamphlets and lectures, the falsity, deception and grotesquery of the "obstacles" supplied by the intellectual serfs of the bourgeoisie, which keep the workers divided, and profits only the owning class. This work can only be done by the workers themselves. Those who have banished the owning-class philosophy from their minds and let in the pure, free air of economic truth, must lead the way.

Here is a basic analysis of economic determinism in the realm of politics.

#### THE STATE OF THE RACE

By A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

HE state of the race, like the state of the world, is chaotic. The former mirrors the latter. They hold the relation of cause and effect. Thus, in order to understand the causes at the bottom of the existing economic, political and social débâcle in the life of the Negro, it is necessary to study the causes underlying the breakdown of the economic and political mechanism of Europe, the overthrow of empires and kingdoms; the rise of revolutions and republics.

Naturally, this carries us back to the war, which is beginning to be regarded as a new epoch in human history. The passions of the Great War swept the hopes of all peoples upward. War cries and slogans rang with a promise of a "new day," a warless world; 'world upon which the gibbet's shadow does not fall; where work and worth go hand in hand"; a world without oppression of race, or class, creed or nation. Such was the dream of millions. This psychology was the handiwork of a plutocratic press, pulpit and school. It was essential to the successful prosecution of the war. But, meanwhile, ten million men were killed and thirty million wounded. A world torn and shattered by conflict; burdened with billions of debt, turned to Versailles for peace. But the Elder Statesmen of Europe and America failed to achieve Their League of Nations, like the Holy Alliance of Metternich, holds no promise of order or justice. Following peace, in every country, the blight of unemployment, the result of over production, hovered over the lands. The high wage and high price levels of war, slumped. The buying power of millions of workers, black and white, contracted as their income decreased. A world-wide panic ensued. In America, as elsewhere, this financial and industrial depression reflected itself/ in the general economic, political and social life of/ the people. In every field of human effort visible signs of spiritual decay are manifest. Society, as a whole, seems utterly and hopelessly bankrupt of any vitalizing and recuperative powers. Not only is there little or no interest in cultural strivings; no power to heal the wounds of a bleeding world; but, far worse and far more alarming, is the absence of a "will" to salvage civilization, to reestablish ordered relationships in the affairs of mankind. In very truth, the Brahmins of the magic cult of profits, driven on by the inexorable forces of capitalist imperialism, have called forth monsters that now threaten to devour them. Strife and dissension, splits and disharmonies that are bitter and devastating, beset

The former allies, France and England, have reached the parting of the ways over oil in Mosul. The United States is becoming, a la Coué, day by day, in every way, more estranged from her former allies over the issue of debts. Russia is outlawed and despised by those whom she helped to win the war, because of her social philosophy. Turkey, the once "sick man of Europe," is now rattling the sabre of a reborn nationalism; while Germany, her former ally, lies prostrate at the foot of a ruthless world imperialism, her very life's blood ebbing away. Thus the united front of capital-

ism lies in ruins, with another world war hovering in the offing.

The victorious powers can not agree on anything. Both Soviet Russia and Germany have baffled the ruling class in every conference from Versailles to Lausanne. Such is the international muddle.

Moreover, the internal conditions of the respective countries are not any more reassuring. Even the employing classes within the several countries are divided, unable to settle upon any general policy of either exploiting the workers or of opposing rival national powers. Neither premiers Bonar Law of England, Mussolini of Italy, Poincaré of France, Chancellor Cuno of Germany, President Harding of the United States of America, or Lenin of Soviet Russia can boast a united nation behind their governments. Amidst troubled times that augur grave peril to the very life of the régime of the bourgeoisie, capitalist statesmen, distressed and distracted, play at politics. The European and American diplomatists are the Neros of today, fiddling while the world burns.

One has but cursorily to observe politics in the United States to note its obvious chaos. The hardboiled, stand-pat, Lodge faction is at loggerheads with the LaFollette-Brookhart progressives, sometimes styled by the Lusk fraternity as "parlor Bolsheviks." But even the Progressives are without unanimity of thought and action on general policies. In short, the politicians like the capitalists they represent, are in bitter, ravaging feuds, incapable of evolving a common program.

And what is true of the ruling class is equally true of the subject or working class. Though division invites repression, the ranks of the workers everywhere are riven asunder. There are rights and new-rights, centers and near-centers, lefts and near-lefts. Witness the variety of proletarian political efforts, viz., the Socialist Party, the Socialist Labor Party, the Communist, the Communist Labor and the Proletarian Communist Parties. (In New York City the Workers Party is recognized as the legal expression of one wing of the Communist movement.) Then, there are the liberals, such as the Committee of 48, the Non-Partisan League, etc. What power might not be wielded by the workers, with a united front; still these splits serve their purpose. They are the training school of a nobler and mightier movement.

In industry, too, the workers have no less a variety of splits and splitlets. The Labor Movement of America comprises the American Federation of Labor, which constitutes the conservative wing; the I. W. W., or the left wing; and such independent organizations as the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the Amalgamated Food Industries Unions, each of which possesses numerous wings that are ever locked in a raging war. Even during periods of strikes, the disastrous internal strife of the Labor Movement proceeds apace with redoubled fury. Doubtless such has ever been, in little measure. But this confusion and disunity in the ranks of the workers and employers are intensified and aggravated during periods of economic storm and stress—panics and the aftermath of wars.

This phenomenon of world-wide political and economic disorder was precipitated and accentuated by the world war, which world war was the outgrowth of commercial rivalry between capitalist nations; and this commercial rivalry flowed as an inevitable consequence of the existence of a socio-economic system under which the workers produce more wealth than their wages will enable them to buy back, thereby piling up a huge surplus.

By a careful study of the economic history of the United States, it will be seen that these periodic commercia and industrial crises have their roots in a system which oscillates well-nigh mechanically from overproduction to underproduction, from high wages to low wages, from high prices to low prices. capitalist countries of the world alternate from violent business inflation to severe and drastic liquidation, expressing themselves in the closing down of factories, mines' lay-offs on railroads and steamships; widespread unemployment, bankruptcies, strikes, etc. These cycles of economic depression reappear around every decade. While wars may intensify their manifestation, wars are not essentially their cause. Our planless system of producing wealth for profits is the fundamental Thus, this is not the first, and doubtless will not be the last period of industrial upheavals and maladjustments which will reflect itself in a social malaise, spiritual dry-rot, political bankruptcy and intellectual And every group, whether capitalist or worker, black or white, is a replica in microcosm of this all-encompassing world collapse. No group can escape being afflicted by this virulent bacillus of chaos because no group can escape dependence upon the existing economic order for food, clothing and shelter, the primary needs of life. And just as one loses his equilibrium when the platform upon which he stands is shaken, so does a social order reel, its ethical, religious, legal, political and cultural superstructures lose balance, when once the mechanism for producing the wealth of that society is damaged, either through abuse or disuse.

Hence, the Negro race, being an integral part of the present system, will naturally and logically reflect this chaos; but, perhaps, only more acutely because of its weakness.

It is not unnatural that a group which is the last hired and the first fired, a group which works the hardest and receives the lowest pay, would show signs of moral deterioration under the stresses and strains of the present period of readjustment. Well might the race assemble in a parley to discuss its miserable plight, its apparent degeneration and the probable way

Our lines, defensive and offensive, have been pushed back on every sector, political, economic and social. Witness how the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill, a supreme test of the race's virility and instinct to move forward, died because the overwhelming economic paralysis had sapped our will to battle for manhood rights.

Our political policies, the heritage of Civil War days, are barren of achievement. The job-political-policy of the Old Crowd is insolvent, discredited, repudiated; still political statesmanship goes a-begging.

In industry we have lost ground. Wages have dropped below other groups doing similar work because we lack bargaining power, which can only come with organization.

In business, our failures have been numerous and disastrous, including banks and enterprises of all kinds. Here we lack credit power, knowledge, and experience.

In the educational field the sinister monster of segregation rears its menacing head, in many cases securing our acquiescence, in others pressing us to yield through murder and threat.

Meanwhile, lynchings and riots and the indescribable depredations of the Ku Klux Klan are religiously employed to drive us back into the black night of moral slavery.

To the solution of these problems, the race has evolved many and divers schools of thought, working assiduously at cross purposes. A word about them.

The conservative, or right wing, is led, in the field of education and general social policy, by the Tuske-gee-Hampton-National Urban League-Howard University group. In this group, the idea of acquiring property, knowledge of trades and professions, and of being law-abiding, thrifty, home-buying, "cast-down-your-bucket-where-you-are" citizens, rather than of the protesting, insurgent variety, is stressed. The Negro leaders of this group are largely satellites of their white benefactors, reflecting the views of conservative, imperial America.

In the center stands the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, articulating the opinion of liberal Negro America. Through this medium, liberal white America, in alliance with liberal Negro leaders, seek to achieve civil justice for the Negro.

The radical, or left wing, is represented through the Messenger and Crusader groups. With this section, political and economic radicalism is the dominant note, treating race as an incident of the larger world problem of class conflict. The radical black and white leaders combine to unite black and white workers.

Finally, there is the Garvey Movement, with its "back-to-Africa" program. The leader of this group has recently come into great disfavor on account of his interview with King Kleagle Clarke and his subsequent defense of the Ku Klux Klan. Such are, in brief, the broad streams of Negro thinking. Like their white correlatives, the Negro schools of thought are torn with dissension, giving birth to many insurgent factions in each. All are engaged in a war of bitter recriminations, tearing each other limb from limb, while the wide, long-suffering Negro masses trudge aimlessly on, victims of the vanities, foibles, indiscretions and vaulting ambitions, ignorance and dishonesty of varying leaderships.

To the foregoing picture of apparent, amazing race insanity the questions arise: whither are we trending? Is there any way out? What can be done to transform this internecine strife into constructive, co-operative effort?

First, may I observe that the Negro, like the capitalists and workers, like Nordics and Mongoloids, like various sects, cults and movements of all types, together with the great "power nations," is passing through a period of severe and relentless race dialectics, each wing, each leadership desperately striving with a sort of Machiavellian "might is right" creed, to establish a supreme mastery in leadership.

Out of this fierce competitive leadership-movement

—struggle will be evolved a clearer vision, a firmer and a more rugged morale, an unconquerable will, and a finer and more comprehensive and scientific Race policy and technique of action. The progress of the mass is indifferent to leadership—egoisms. The race will move forward even though movements of well-merited honor and distinction for service fall into the discard. For social, like organic progress, in the main, responds to material imperatives.

I am not distressed, then, as to the ultimate issue of the race in these times of world readjustment, although I am conscious of a definite summons for a orientation in race policy and method, in harmony with the trend of the economic and social forces of the age. Thus a determination of the character and tendency of these socio-economic forces is the chief desideratum, since it is obvious that the march of the Race is advanced or retarded in proportion as it is guided by the most severely tested conclusions of modern science.

In conference after conference we must search for and work out the remedy. There should be specialized conferences whose agenda is economic, political, educational. But specialized parleys do not obviate the need of an All-Race Conference.

There are myriad questions of pressing immediacy which challenge the Race for an answer, an answer which should emanate from some representative body, embodying itself in a broad, reasoned policy.

What, for instance, should be the attitude of the Negro in the United States on "the conflict between labor and capital," "immigration," "a future war," "the relation of Negroes to white leadership within and without the Race," "the problem of Negro business in periods of expansion and panics," "education in white and Negro schools and colleges," "radicalism among Negroes," "unemployment," "the open and closed shops," "the problem of Africa, the West Indies, Central and South America," "Negro Culture." "lynching, race riots," "which should be the Negro's political party?—Republican, Socialist, Democratic, Workers, or a new Party," "Social Equality," "the Negro farmer," "farm tenant," "peonage," "consumers' and producers' co-operatives," "the relation of the Negro worker to the American Federation of Labor, the I. W. W., and independent unions"; the attitude of the Negro to workers' international, economic, and political, movements."

Such is a brief sketch of problems of which Negro leadership is either ignorant or indifferent to, but which hold a vital life and death relationship to the fortunes of the race.

To this task of grappling with these riddles of the race, the Negro masses must draft their "best minds and hearts"; men and women who possess a consuming passion to build a great monument of achievement, devotion, and service to the cause of a militant, constructive idealism, a free Race, a free world.

#### THE KU KLUX KLAN

A MENACE OR A PROMISE?

BY J. A. ROGERS

Author of "From Superman to Man"; "As Nature Leads"; "The Approaching Storms"; etc.

Is the present Ku Klux Klan a menace or a promise? The best answer, without a doubt, is to be found in a reading of the history of the first klan.

# Second Period of Reconstruction—The South Again Fails to Keeps Its Word

The loyalists, as was said, rejoiced thinking that they had seen the closing incident of the war. Their hopes, however, were destined to be rudely shattered. The events that had gone before, violent as they were, in comparison with those that were to follow were as the faint puffs preceding a hurricane. Murder, atrocity, and anarchy were to show themselves on a vaster and deadlier scale. The ex-slaveholders were not a whit less resolute to recover that which they regarded as their property, and when driven from one position merely intrenched themselves in another. Many of them had been firm in the expectation of a bonus, something like that which the British government had given to the slaveholders in its dominions, seventeen years before.

"It was soon disclosed," says Blaine, "that on the part of the large mass of those who had participated in the rebellion, properly speaking, indeed on the part of the vast majority of the white men of the South, there was really no intention to acquiesce in the legislation of Congress, no purpose to abide by the Constitutional Amendments in good faith."

This determination was greatly strengthened by the

attitude of the President. It may be noted here, that throughout this period, the ill-feeling engendered by the war was still running high, and that it would be particularly aggravated in the South by the presence of Northern white men who were engaged in enforcing the new amendments. These Northerners, called "carpet baggers," were about as welcome as a white prohibition officer of Kentucky is among the moonshiners that infest the mountains of that state.

The South, broadly speaking, still thirsted for slave labor; perhaps more intensely than ever now that it had been placed further out of its reach. Black Codes could no longer be used. Fear of the Northern army made the use of force undesirable. The only recourse of the ex-slaveholders and their allies, the impecunious whites, was the methods of the habitual offender. But at this time, by the merest accident a deadlier, a far more insidious and powerful way of reducing the Negro to near-servitude was discovered. That force was Superstition. The Negro's own ignorance was to be forged into fetters for him.

#### What Happened When Hell Froze Over

On a dark night in the late fall of 1866 a solitary individual was walking on the western outskirts of the town of Pulaski, Tenn. Near the road, on the brow of a hill, were the ruins of a mansion that had been destroyed some years before by a cyclone. Around the

ruins were storm-torn trees whose limbless trunks stood grim and gaunt like spectrous sentinels against the sky. The man trembled with fear as he neared the shattered house. He had heard others tell how the owner, slain during the war, had returned to haunt it. Ghosts were more generally believed in, in those days, and stories of how those killed in the war had returned to visit their homes were numerous. Many whites had declared positively that they had again seen a husband or a son who had been killed in battle; many Negroes swore to having seen their dead masters. The man hoped to pass safely by this time and never to be caught out alone again. But as he rounded the corner and came in view of the house he saw a sight that turned the blood in his veins to an icy cold. There, outlined against the blackness of the ruins was an apparition, a thing of unearthly appearance and immense height in a flowing white robe. When the man had recovered his power of locomotion, he sped to the town and said that he had seen a ghost twenty feet tall.

A number of bolder citizens went to investigate. Arriving at the spot they saw now not one but what appeared to be a whole army of spectres. Some of enormous size and height stood still and erect like sentinels on the broken steps, others moved among the ruins and about the verandahs, while on the path to the house stood a figure about twelve feet tall, apparently on guard. From the strange band came not a sound.

The majority of the investigators fled.

A few bolder ones advanced toward the lone figure. On its head was a white hood from which protruded huge ears, erect. Beneath the hood was the grinning skeleton of a human face, from whose empty sockets flashed a wierd, strange light.

A sceptic approached the figure and demanded its identity. A profound silence, then, somewhere from the depths of the figure came a sigh and a voice that said in expressibly sad and sepulchral tones: "A spirit from the other world. I was killed at Chicka-

The bold one stepped forward as if to investigate further, but the apparition slowly and majestically lifted a draped arm. From the loose white folds emerged a fleshless arm that blazed with a sickly, unearthly flame, the grinning teeth moved, while from the chest of the object came the command in a freezing monotonous voice:

"Go."

The bold man waited no longer but fled with the rest. A few nights later a number of Pulaskians walking together for company saw a body of ghostly cavalry

sweep by noiselessly and disappear in the distance. The horses on which they rode were draped in white and had skeleton heads from whose hollow eyes came the same strange light. The only evidence of reality was the dust and the movement of the bushes by the wind they had set in motion.

From time to time others would see these strange creatures in lonely lanes and deserted places after nightfall. The belief in ghosts was more firmly established than ever. Few would leave their homes at

Who were these strange creatures, and what part were they playing?

The members of the Confederacy, on its disbandment in April, 1865, immediately began to join and to form secret societies to oppose Northerners and to keep the Negroes in what was considered their place. Some of these secret societies had been in existence before the war. One of these, the Paddle Patrol, or patter-rollers, as the slaves called it, had been formed to keep the slaves in check and to oppose the abolitionists. By September, 1865, these secret organizations existed by the hundreds.

It is important to remember the year, 1865. majority of historians assert that the purpose of these societies was to prevent Negro domination at the polls and "carpet-bag" rule. As was seen the Fourteenth Amendment did not become law until 1868, and the Fifteenth until 1870. The Thirteenth Amendment itself was not ratified until December, 1865, nor did the Civil Rights Bill become law until April, 1866.

How, then, could these klans have been formed for that purpose, at that time, when the Negro could not only not vote, but was unarmed? As was mentioned in the introduction, the Encyclopedia Britannica itself gives the date of the formation of the Ku Klux Klan as 1865. In the Ku Klux inquiry by Congress, in 1871, it developed that these secret organizations had begun their outrages immediately after the war and that Negro suffrage had but served to intensify them.

The most powerful of these societies, some of which sprang up then, while others developed later, were the White Brotherhood, the White League, the Pale Faces, the Constitutional Union Guards, the Unknown Multitude, the Black Cavalry, the White Rose, the '76 Association, and the White Camelias. These societies later became known as the Ku Klux Klan, although that name may not have originated until 1866.

(Continued on page 675)

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<sup>\*</sup>Some authorities say 1865, Lester & Wilson say 1866.

# Education and Literature

#### MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE

A TRUE STUDY OF THE WAY COUPLES MEET AND PART

By CHANDLER OWEN

This month Mr. Owen gives a true interpretation to these perplexing questions, Marriage and Divorce; and shows vividly how household inventions, like vacuum cleaners, electric washers, the modern restaurant, steam laundry and apartment hotel, are breaking up the home. Marriage is not obsolete but it is becoming so. The more leisure the more divorces.

Another principle which should be kept steadfastly before us is that a less desirable new object may be more desired than a more desirable object of which one has become tired. To illustrate: A charming woman sees her husband with a very ordinary woman. She is shocked; her pride wounded. She cannot explain it. Again a man of distinction who provides a fine home for his wife and dresses her in the height of style will sometimes find her flirting with a veritable tramp—probably a panderer. Is this because the wife, in the first case, does not love her husband, or the husband, in the second place, does not love his wife? Not at all. It is frequently simply because they are different.

Some readers will no doubt ask: Since proximity -nearness-contact and constant association, wear out one's patience, tolerance and affection-Does absence make the heart grow fonder? Popular experience, with a good judgment born of instinct, has facetiously yet seriously and accurately answered: Yes—for somebody else! Absence, like proximity, electricity, water, fire—has its limitations. There must not be too much of it, nor yet too little. Too much proximity means too little absence. Too much absence means too little proximity. We must avoid extremes. We must adhere to that happy mean. Absence from loved ones-wives, husbands, sweethearts-must be tempered with sanity. It is like varying the diet. Laying off chicken for a week may increase the taste for it. Laying off from it too long may completely destroy the taste for it. Herein lies the principle of dealing with narcotic victims. By keeping the drug from the addict sufficiently long, he loses the taste, the crave, the appetite, the desire for it. Is this queer? Of course not. It is the exact working out of the La Marckian principle: An organ increases with use and diminishes with disuse. La Marck felt it was unnecessary to say the organ could be over-exercised and thereby injured. Overwork is as bad as disuse or under-exercise.

We have another theory about absence as a wrecker of the marriage institution. We do not believe the difficulty rests altogether in the too great absence of the husband from the wife, or of the wife from the hus band. We think the difficulty comes with the too great propinquity, nearness or presence of somebody else during this absence! Herein lies the menace of friends. How many men have lost their wives on account of

their (the husband's) best men friends? How many women have found the magnet which drew off their husbands was their best girl or woman friend? Is there anything strange about this? No; one's friends chiefly are around his home—not his enemies. They are in contact with wives or husbands. And if—as in the case of natural enemies like cats and dogs, or cats and mice—friendships grow up from contact—how much more likely is it that natural friends should become endeared to each other through close association?

Moreover, the prohibition of an act creates the desire to perform the act prohibited. We want what we are not supposed to have. Tell us not to take and you have stimulated—intensified—increased our desire to get that prohibited thing. According to convention and law, one is not supposed to love another man's wife or another woman's husband. Therefore, everybody wants to do just that thing which is prohibited.

There is nothing unusual about the desire for another's wife or husband when viewed on the basis of property. Wives and husbands are property in a very real sense. Richard T. Ely says: Property is anything which may be bought or sold. Both wives and husbands are bought and sold. Women usually ask: Is the man able to care for me?—that is, can he buy me? The men, too, are asking: How much money has the woman. One is usually the buyer; the other, the seller. When this is not true, both are part buyer and part seller—each is exchanging with the other something which he wants for something which he does not possess. This constitutes a sale.

People generally covet the property of another. Hence the ease of coveting human property in wives and husbands.

When one's property is coveted, he has to watch it, guard it. He fears its loss, if the covetor is powerful. This fear of the loss of one's possessions is jealousy. It goes out against the person loved, and the person about to take the one loved. Frequently it is directed against both. We observe this in murders of both the mate and the paramour by the other mate—whether wife or husband.

The manifestations of jealousy come both before and after marriage. The more fatal and serious manifestations, however, come after marriage. Why? Not because love between the parties is greater. Marriage lessens that. But the idea generated by the social convention—that one's husband or wife is his property—carries with it the right to protect this property and to maintain hold on it, even by force. And marriage is simply the legal and religious sanction to title in a man or a woman.

Now, married women desire other men who are not their husbands, and other men desire these married women. Married men desire other women who are not their wives, and other women desire these married men. Generally, however, wives will not permit other women to have their husbands; nor will husbands permit other men to have their wives. And insomuch as the law will help married persons to protect their property, there arises the necessity then to secure property in other men's wives and other women's husbands through stealth, or clandestinely. This calls for deception—that is, doing by fraud what cannot be done by force; doing covertly what can not be done overtly; doing secretly what cannot be done openly. How is this done? Oh, a man's wife, through a sort of premeditated accident, meets another man she loves at a theatre. It turns out that the two got seats together, which placed them side by side. They choose to take lunch at the same hour and at the same place! What a pleasant surprise when they meet—"So un-expectedly," as Bert Williams would say. She decides to stroll in the park, and lo and behold! he is strolling at the same time and at the same place. He starts to call his business place on the phone, when lo! the operator gives him this woman's number. "Wrong number" but right party, yet since he has it, he will exchange a word. If it is unsafe to write letters to the house, why she will get a private mail box, take on an assumed name, or some friend can be found who will receive mail for her. Sometimes he may risk calling the house. If her husband is there and it is inconvenient to talk, so soon as she catches his voice she will reply, "Wrong number." That means wrong number just then; it may be right later. Occasionally a foot slips, but the affinity has become quite a fixture in the life of the modern city. And, oh, how the telephone does help out!

Marriages are increasing, but divorces are increasing more rapidly. Inventions are growing at a greater pace than either. What has that to do with marriage and divorce?

This: Every new household invention militates against monogamy—whether it be mechanical or social. Factories make shirts better, better fitting and cheaper than the housewife can. Steam laundries not only wash and iron clothes, but they put on buttons, darn socks, patch and fix your shirts. Restaurants feed cheaper, cleaner, better cooked food, on the whole, than the average private home. One does not have to make a certain breakfast hour, but is served according as it suits his or her convenience. The private home has been socialized, through the hotel and apartment house. Rooms are kept clean, and instead of each family having to hire a separate maid, janitor, tellman, waiter, porter—several combine in hiring one. It is economy—it is cheaper.

Electric devices, dish washers, etc., vacuum cleaners, carpet cleaners, curtain stretchers—all lessen the time which a wife needs to give to the home.

Inventions are time savers. They are generators of leisure. The more leisure men and women get, the greater opportunity they have to meet other men and women. The greater this type of contact, the greater number of "affairs" they will have, for contact, we have shown, is the key which unlocks love's door. Which means that each new invention helps break up the home. Witness the greater number of divorces

and separations among the rich of both sexes where wealth affords the leisure which results in amorous meetings.

As civilization advances too, both man and woman rely less upon the other. She has economic independence. She goes to the factory, teaches school, works in some line, makes her own money—her living. She acquires more education. So does he. And the law of population is: Population increases inversely proportional to intelligence. In other words, people of little education have many children, while people of much education have but few children. The average family of Harvard and Yale graduates is one and a half children.

What has this to do with divorce and marriage, you ask? This: children are a strong bond, a tie between husband and wife. When children are to be considered there is usually greater indulgence—a larger degree of tolerance with recognized wrongs. Add to this the passing of a sense of mutual dependence. For instance, woman is no longer dependent upon man for the means of subsistence and he is no longer dependent upon her for care of the home, cooking, washing, ironing, cleaning, etc. Besides, there is the generally liked catering phase in the above mentioned utilities. Unless one laundry does your work well, you may go to another. If you dislike a restaurant, you may select its competitor. Not so with a wife. She may haul or hail her husband into court and make him pay under penalty of imprisonment. (We are not overlooking the fact that one must do some catering to hold a husband of a wife.)

Prostitution, also, is undermining monogamy. Without entering upon a discussion of its merits or demerits, it is a social institution which has the same relation to social evolution that the change from the chattel slave to the wage system had. For just as the employer did not care to keep a slave when he was not working, but would prefer to hire and fire him, under the wage system, according to his needs—so the man does not want to keep a wife all the time, but would prefer to buy and use the woman according to his needs. Again, just as the employer, under the wage system can select varieties of labor, according as they best suit him—the man, under prostitution, can select varieties of women, as they best suit him. In each case the buyer of services has no responsibility beyond the period of use.

Then too, the modern man is trying to save time. Time saving devices always attract. This is the force wielded by the flapper—and the prostitute. They save time and remove uncertainty—the latter another advantage which modern man seeks. This explains why older women and more modest ones genuinely hate the flapper.

The woman, too, has a side to this prostitution. She can get rid of men easily when she no longer wants them—and women are as much bored by men they do not want as men are by undesired women whose novelty has gone aflying.

We are now prepared to give a new, more comprehensive definition of prostitution. It is the socialization of biological (sexual) gratification.

What then is the future of monogamy? Will the marriage institution survive? Is divorce anti-social?

The latter question can best be answered by asking (Concluded on page 679)

"All that mankind has done, thought, gained, or been, it is lying as in magic preservation, in the pages of Books."—CARLYLE.

# The Messenger's May Educational Supplement

### Some Books and Reviewers:

#### ECONOMICS AND POLITICS

"THE POMP OF POWER." Anonymous. Reviewed by Roscoe Simmons, Contributing Editor, Chicago Defender.

"Woodrow Wilson and World Set-TLEMENT," by Ray Stannard Baker. Reviewed by Emmet J. Scott, Secretary to the late Booker T. Washington, Special Assistant to the Secretary of War Baker, now Secretary-Treasurer of Howard University.

"SHALL IT BE AGAIN?" by John Kenneth Turner. Reviewed by A. Philip Randolph.

"GUILD SOCIALISM," by Niles Carpenter. Reviewed by Thomas Kirksey, of Boston University Law School.

"LIFE AND LETTERS OF WALTER H. PAGE." Edited by B. J. Hendricks. Reviewed by J. Milton Sampson, ex-Professor of English Literature of Union University.

"Imperial Washington," by R. F. Pettigrew. Reviewed by John H. Ryan, Member of the Washington Legislature, and Editor-Owner Ryan's Weekly.

"Public Opinion" by Walter Lippman. Reviewed by James Weldon Johnson, Secretary. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Poet, Author, ex-Minister to Nicaragua.

#### HISTORY

"THE WORKERS IN AMERICAN HISTORY," by James Oneal. Reviewed by Chandler Owen.

"THE STORY OF MANKIND," by Hendrick Van Loon. Reviewed by Myra H. Colson, Y. W. C. A. Worker.

"THE NEGRO IN OUR HISTORY," by Carter G. Woodson. Reviewed by Eugene Kinckle Jones, Executive Secretary National Urban League.

"THE OUTLINE OF HISTORY," by H. G. Wells. Reviewed by J. Cogdell.

#### DRAMA

"Print of My Remembrance," by Augustus Thomas. Reviewed by Lovett-Fort Whiteman, art and dramatic critic.

"A SHORT HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH DRAMA," by Benjamin Brawley. Reviewed by Montgomery Gregory, Professor in Howard University.

#### SOCIOLOGY

"THE SOCIAL TREND," by Edward A. Ross. Reviewed by Dr. W. S. Scarborough. President Emeritus, Wilberforce University.

"THE NEW SOCIAL ORDER." by Harry F. Ward. Reviewed by Abram Harris, The Department of Research of the National Urban League.

"THE NEGRO IN CHICAGO," by Mixed Race Commission. Reviewed by J. A. Rogers, Author of "From Superman to Man."

#### **PSYCHOLOGY**

"THE GROUP MIND," by William McDougall. Reviewed by Charles S. Johnson, Director Department of Research, and Editor of Opportunity, the organ of the National Urban League; Chief Editor of "The Negro in Chicago."

"Self-Mastery," by Emile Coué. Reviewed by Louis T. Wright, M.D.

#### RELIGION

"THE HISTORY OF THE NEGRO CHURCH," by Carter G. Woodson. Reviewed by Robert W. Bagnall, Director of Branches, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

#### SOCIAL SCIENCE

"THE RUSSIAN IMMIGRANT," by Jerome Davis. Reviewed by Frank Crosswaith, only Negro Member of Executive Committee American Labor Party.

#### SEX

"Women and the New Race," by Margaret Sanger. Reviewed by Grace Campbell, Special Parole Officer and Member Local School Board of New York City.

#### LITERATURE—FICTION

"BABBITT," by Sinclair Lewis. Reviewed by Eric D. Waldron, magazine writer.

"CERTAIN PEOPLE OF IMPORTANCE." by Kathleen Norris. Reviewed by Nella Larsen Imes.

"TALES OF THE IAZZ AGE," by F. Scott Fitzgerald. Reviewed by Anita Thompson, Movie Actress and Scenario Writer.

"NIGGER," by Clement Wood. Reviewed by W. A. Domingo, editor and writer.

"THEY CALL ME CARPENTER," by Upton Sinclair. Reviewed by E. Ethelred Brown, Minister Liberal Church.

"Penitent," by Edna Wortley Underwood. Reviewed by Arthur Schomburg, President American Negro Academy.

"JURGEN," by James Branch Cabell. Reviewed by Francis Ellis Rivers, A.B., Yale University; LL.B., Columbia Law School.

#### SCIENCE

"THE OUTLINE OF SCIENCE." Edited by Arthur J. Thompson. Reviewed by Thomas W. Talley, Professor of Chemistry and Biology in Fisk University.

#### CRITICISM

"Prejudices," by H. L. Mencken. Reviewed by Walter F. White, Assistant Secretary National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. A triumph in constructive Negro journalism. A magazine for the growing and widening fraternity of men and women who seek to appreciate and enjoy the best that is thought and experienced by the <u>human race</u> through the fellowship of books.



SOME sage has said that "reading makes a full man, writing an accurate man and conversation a ready man." To the social student, it is not strange that reading should precede other methods in the order of equipping man with the tools of knowledge of storing his mind with the facts and principles of nature and society.

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In this extraordinary Book Review Number, the Messenger is blazing a new trail in Negro journalism, presenting the "best minds" of the race in review of the latest and most significant works in bookdom.

Ours is the purpose of deepening an interest in, of creating a love among Negroes for the choice, rare and enduring creations of thought and feeling of our modern life; of interpreting the trend of times and pointing with prophetic finger to the future.

### Some Books and Reviewers:

#### **POETRY**

"HARLEM SHADOWS," by Claude Mc-Kay. Reviewed by Georgia Douglas Johnson, poet.

"Bronze," by Georgia Douglas Johnson. Reviewed by Alice Dunbar-Nelson, Public School Teacher and Social Worker.

"Cords and Discords," by Walter Everett Hawkins. Reviewed by Countee P. Cullen, poet.

#### WHO'S WHO

"The Modern K. K. K.," by H. P. Fry. Reviewed by William Pickens, formerly Dean of Morgan College; Field Secretary National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

"AMERICA FACES THE FUTURE," by Durant Drake. Reviewed by George W. Harris, Editor-Owner New York News; only Negro Member of Aldermanic Chamber of New York City.

"CIVILIZATION IN THESE UNITED STATES." An Inquiry by Thirty Americans. Reviewed by William H. Ferris, A.B., Yale; A.M., Harvard; Author of "The African Abroad."

#### **AUTOBIOGRAPHY**

"FIFTY YEARS A JOURNALIST," by Melville E. Stone. Reviewed by Lester A. Walton, only Negro reporter of the New York World.

#### **BUSINESS**

"Men Who Are Making America." by B. C. Forbes. Reviewed by Harry H. Pace, President Black Swan Record Co.

#### OPEN FORUM

"THE NEGRO PRESS IN THE UNITED STATES," by Frederick H. Detweiler. Reviewed by Monroe N. Work, Head of Department of Records and Research, Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute; Editor of the Negro Year Book.

"THE RISING TIDE OF COLOR," by Lothrop Stoddard. Reviewed by Chas. H. Houston, Harvard Law School.

"THE W. G. N." Reviewed by Nahum Daniel Brascher, Editor-in-Chief, The Associated Negro Press.

"THE REVOLT AGAINST CIVILIZATION," by Lothrop Stoddard. Reviewed by Prof. Kelly Miller, Dean Junior College, Howard University.

"The History of the New York Times," by Elmer Davis. Reviewed by Noah D. Thompson, Member Editorial Staff, Los Angeles Evening Express.

"New World of Islam," by Lothrop Stoddard. Reviewed by Allayne Leroy Locke, winner Rhodes Scholarship to Oxford University; at present Professor in Howard University.

#### PHILOSOPHY

"HINDU GODS AND HEROES," by Lionel D. Barnet. Reviewed by H. G. Nudgel, Hindu student.

Some of the publishers whose books will be reviewed in the May number:

GEO. DORAN & CO.

B. W. HEUBSCH

D. APPLETON & CO.

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#### INTELLIGENT CHRISTIANITY

Not the Fear of Hell By WILLIAM PICKENS

In this brilliant and scintillating article, Professor William Pickens answers the preachers who attacked his article entitled, "Things Nobody Believes," shows that these ministers know neither their theological authorities nor their Bible—to say nothing of science.

N February we expressed the opinion that nobody believes:

"That there is a materialistic heaven situated anywhere in

space.
"That there is a lake of fire and brimstone, or any such material hell anywhere.

"That all the billion-billion human bodies will ever 'rise from the dead'."

Some enterprising newspapers, who wanted to make it unusually interesting, changed these propositions by dropping the word "material" from the first two statements, and the word "bodies" from the third. That is, they made new and different propositions out of them. Just as if a man should say: "There is no moon made of cheese"; and some newspaper should report: "He says there is no moon."—The blessed newspapers got just what they went after, for some people commented on the statement of the papers, without seeing the true propositions. Some used quick and hard terms.—but we shall not be tempted to reply to any abuse or Billingsgate or Blackguardism. We shall use common-sense arguments and honest convictions. For twenty-three years we have been a member of the Christian church, and shared the belief of intelligent Christians.

I have known intimately a number of intelligent ministers, and I have had the acquaintance of thousands. I have never known one intelligent minister who took anything but a *spiritual* view of these ideas. I have read the Bible through, slowly and carefully, from the first word of Genesis to the last word of Revelations, and those who believe in a final resurrection of dust and ashes, should read the forty-fourth verse of First Corinthians:

"It is sown a natural body; It is raised a spiritual body. There is a natural body, and There is a spiritual body."

The ablest statesmen of the church are warning today that some better motive will have to be advanced for interesting people in the Christian church than the fear of hell. Nobody is afraid of hell any more, except little children and weak-minded grown-ups. The best of the children will grow out of it, as they grow up, and churches cannot survive on weak minds. The good and brave people in any church to-day are in it in spite of hell, not because of it.

The best mark of an intelligent Christian is tolerance and generosity of spirit. And it should be said that there ought to be a lake of real fire for the intolerant and ungenerous. Men who cannot meet reason with reason, have in all ages met arguments with abuse—or with physical violence. Three thousand years ago, Tutankhamen, Pharaoh of the Egyptians, had buried with him his golden couches, gilded chariots, vases, statues and a bunch of flowers, in the

belief that three thousand years after his BODY (not merely his soul) would arise and take all these little luxuries into another world and stand before Osiris, the great god. If some honest and brave Egyptian thinker had said: "Tut, your mummy and those things are not going into any spirit world. Things stay in this world. Your body is a THING. Your body and your things will some day go into the British Museum"—that honest thinker would have been anathematized by every priest of Osiris, and perhaps his sacrilegious tongue would have been cut out.

The acts of a life like that of Jesus of Nazareth are worth more to the church to-day than all the terrors of a million hells. If I were disposed to commit a crime, I should be more afraid of my enlightened conscience, or of one good policeman, than of all the devils of all the hells ever created by the cringing fear of man. The happiness of my fellowman, or the smile of my little girl, means more as a constraint upon my conduct than the threat of a devil or the approval of an archangel.

Let us quote a bit from Henry Ward Beecher. He was certainly a sincere Christian, a good citizen, and a brave man. He commanded the respect of all people, but he deserved the love of the colored people of the United States. Well, when Beecher considered the matter of material hells and material heavens, he cried out in his pulpit:

"If you tell me that they (the billion-billion material bodies that have lived and will live) have all gone to heaven. my answer will be that such a sweeping of mud into heaven would defile its purity, and I cannot accept that. If you tell me that they have gone to hell, then I swear by the Lord Jesus Christ, whom I have sworn to worship forever, that you will make an infidel out of me."

Mr. Beecher went on to say that:

Such a doctrine "is to transform the Almighty into a monster more hideous than Satan himself, and I swear by all that is sacred that I will never worship Satan, though he should appear dressed in royal robes and seated on the throne of Jehovah."

And Beecher continued that:

"A heaven presided over by such a demon as that, who has been peopling this world with millions of human beings, and then sweeping them off into hell, not like dead flies, but without taking the trouble even to kill them, and gloating and laughing over their eternal misery, is not such a heaven as I want to go to."

Then Beecher concluded:

"By the blood of Christ I denounce it (this infamous doctrine); by the wounds in his hands and side I abhor it; by his groans and agony, I abhor and denounce it as the most hideous nightmare of theology."

If I must take my choice among preachers, then I will agree with Henry Ward Beecher. And I wish to humbly confess that I am against hell and all its officers and sympathizers. It would help the preacher occasionally to listen to a view from the pew. When a friend of the church warns that people will stay out unless they hear something more persuasive than that doctrine, such a friend is not causing them to stay out by foretelling that they will stay out. We might as well blame the weather prophet for the kind of

weather. That is what the old woman did when she said: "We used to have pretty good weather before that weather man started to meddling with it."

When we speak to people of the more untrained minds, we use stories, parables, figures of speech, "concrete ideas." Why should not the Bible do this, as well as other good literature? That is the spirit in which I have read of Jonah and the whale ever since I was a child: the story of an apostate and renegade soul, and that soul's final repentance and deliverance. That I could believe a long time quicker than I could believe that any fish was ever intelligent enough to swallow a fellow to keep him from drowning, and that even the fish's belly was intelligent enough to refrain from digesting that fellow for three days—We INTERPRET everything else in the world in the light of our later knowledge—why not also the Bible?

One man raises a question which I do consider very serious. He says that he fears for the effect of such truths and facts "only in the influence they might have on our young people." That is a respectable prudence, but the fear is not justified in the history of knowledge. In the end, we must remember, every opinion must bow to a fact and to truth. Facts are like God: immutable, indestructible, eternal. In the long run (and it will be short) hypocrisy and pretense will have the more disastrous effect upon the young mind. At first the truth may startle, but it is the most abiding thing and the best security at last. When Socrates told the truth on the street corners about Zeus and Hera and Minerva, they charged him with "corrupting the youth" and put him to death. But the truth which he uttered has brought no disaster upon the world. It rather prepared the way for the Christian religion. God and science are not antagonistic. We think God can stand His ground in science, and that it is a weakness of the priest and a sheer insult to deity to presume to defend God by taboo. If the facts of science are destructive to religion, then God destroyed religion by giving man a brain and a thumb. I have quoted the Bible, the Book, and I have quoted Beecher, the Minister—and in this last connection let us quote from David Hume, one of the world's greatest Thinkers:

"There is no method of reasoning more common, or more blameable, than in philosophical dispute to endeavor the refutation of any hypothesis, by a pretense of its dangerous consequences to religion and morality."

Why? Because Hume knew, what all wise people know, that whenever religious opinion, or any other kind of opinion, finds itself in direct opposition to truth and fact, the opinion ought to, must, and always does finally, give way.

Whoever fights for reason and frankness of opinion in the church, fights for the ultimate good of the young of the church. The young are not fools. They may sit quiet and be afraid to speak, but they are think-

#### **CO-OPERATION**

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CO-OPERATIVE LEAGUE OF AMERICA 167 West 12th Street, New York ing. And if we compel them to swallow our dogmas literally and uncritically in their childhood, they will not forgive us when they are grown. As soon as their mammas quit sending them to our churches, they will quit coming. But if we play them honest and fair, and allow them to preserve their self-respect, they will stick by and help to foster the "things of the spirit." I was brought up in Sunday school; I cannot remember the first time when I went to Sunday school. And it is my conviction that there will be more children in the Sunday schools, if they are allowed to discuss the lessons frankly and critically as they do their lessons in day school. I have noticed that the pupils immediately showed more confidence in the teacher when he bravely admitted that the essence of the Bible is spiritual and moral, and not scientific, geographical or archeological.

Do not use fear. Nobody is afraid any more. The doctrines of fear have lost power with real men. The kingdom based on fear is a lost kingdom. For thousands of years man has made progress in religion—why should this progress stop with us? We are not the last word in progress. The human will never reach the PERFECT. But every age thinks it is perfect, especially in religion. The priests of Baal and the chaplain of Pharaoh's palace thought that there was nothing further.

Science is of God, and reason is as sacred and divine an attribute as the soul of man has. That religion will last longest which finds itself from age to age more nearly in accord with reason and science.—If this be heresy, then the brain of MAN foredooms him to heresy;—every appropriation by the state for the school is a heresy fund;—every dollar raised by the church for education is a contribution to heresy.

There is no prospect that man will ever be without religion, but there is every prospect that he will soon be beyond our present religious conceptions and beliefs.

The letter killeth— The spirit maketh alive.

Some people think the world's a school, Where labor is the only rule;
But I'll not make myself a mule,
And don't you ever doubt it.
I know that work may have its use,
But still I feel that's no excuse
For turning it into abuse;
What do you think about it?

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# Who's Who

#### **BLACK MAMMIES**

By CHANDLER OWEN

NE writer has said: "The existence of monuments is justified on but two grounds—as works of art and that for which they stand." We do not agree with his first proposition. We do not believe a mere work of art justifies a monument. We think that a monument ought to be erected to some idea or ideal and that that ideal should be portrayed through a work of art. In other words, art should be made the hand-maiden of truth and justice.

To illustrate: At the present time the Ku Klux Klan is planning to erect in Atlanta a monument which will probably be one of the greatest works of art in America. They have secured the services of sculptors of world-wide reputation. Yet the monument they erect will necessarily be condemned by the sober opinion of the present and the future, on account of the vicious principles which the statue will be designed to commemorate.

The Daughters of the Confederacy (Jefferson Davis Chapter No. 1650) have asked Congress to grant them permission to erect a statue in Washington in memory of the "Black Mammies." They want to bring back memories of the slave days when black mammies toiled in the cotton fields, cleaned the houses, cared for the children, nursed them at their bosoms. They want to bring back what (to them) Bert Williams would call "those wonderful days"—days when the pay for Negro Labor was the "cruel lash of arrogant idleness upon the naked back of patient 'toil'." They want a memorial of the Southern white's good times gone. To the Southern bourbons these memories are like the photo of a choice and fond friend who has passed away. Though we cannot bring back the friend, we may often look upon and kiss the picture.

Now we don't want any "mammy" statues anywhere. We want the children of this generation to abhor and forget those days when the white madam had leisure and the black mammy had labor—when the white lady loitered and the black mistress toiled. We want to orient ourselves—turn our faces from the dark and discouraging past, and direct it toward a bright and hopeful future.

In fact, people erect monuments for things of which they are fond, and in order to perpetuate the ideas for the future. And that is just what these Daughters of the Confederacy are doing. The "black mammies" made it soft for them and they made it hard for the "black mammies." They are justified in wanting the "black mammies" to return, but we Negroes are justified in fighting to say that these "black mammies" will be like Poe's Raven—"never

more." What one person desires to memorialize, another person may want to forget. For instance: you will not find in Alabama, Florida or Georgia, the statues of Grant or Lincoln; nor will you find in Boston the statues of Jeff Davis, Stonewall Jackson or Robert E. Lee. It would be quite impossible to find in Paris a statue of Hindenburg or Ludendorff, nor would you find in Berlin a monument erected to Foch or Sir Douglas Haig. Why? Because in these respective cases the persons referred to had used their power to injure their opponents.

The writer favors having some statues and monuments erected in this country. We favor one erected to the 200,000 Negro soldiers who fought to wipe out slavery and to unfurl the flag of freedom and let it float like a cloud over this land. We favor a statue to these men who helped to save the Union, who indeed were a great factor in crushing out the iniquitous viper—slavery—which vitiated the entire American atmosphere with its venomous and poisonous breath. We favor a monument to the runaway slaves who had the courage to dash for freedom.

We favor erecting a monument to the New Negro, who is carving a new monument in the hearts of our people. We favor the erection of a monument to the Negroes of Washington, Chicago, Longview, Texas, Knoxville, Tenn., Tulsa, Okla., and Philadelphia, who rose in their might and said to the authorities: you cannot protect us, we will protect ourselves—if you cannot uphold the law, we will maintain constituted authority." We favor erecting a monument to the Negro artists and poets, the Negro inventors and discoverers, the Negro scholars and thinkers, who have gone without food, clothing and shelter, in order to lay upon the altar of progress the Negro's meed of achievement. We favor a monument to the Negro women who have risen above insult, assault, debauchery, prostitution and abuse, to which these unfortunate "black mammies" were subjected. Yes, we favor erecting a monument to these women, who have almost wiped out this chasm of caste, who have broken the cordon of chains and are now trying to throw them

Let this "mammy" statue go. Let it fade away. Let it be buried in that blissful oblivion to which the brave sons of this nation have consigned it; and when it rises again, let its white shaft point like a lofty mountain peak to a New Negro mother, no longer a "white man's woman," no longer the sex-enslaved "black mammy" of Dixie—but the apotheosis of triumphant Negro womanhood!

This is the New Negro's View of the Black Mammies' Monument

#### Walter H. Cohen

In deference to the wishes of the senators from Louisiana, the Senate turned down the appointment of President Harding of Walter H. Cohen as Collector of Internal Revenue of the Port of New Orleans.

Our redoubtable, golf-playing Warren Gamaliel doth not protest. Another slap in the face for the colored Republican brethren! Still, for the rank and file it is a blessing, for we are relieved of the encumbrance of one more reactionary, hat-in-hand, me-to-boss job holder, who can be of no earthly service to the race. On the contrary, such appointments are

a positive menace, for they tend to make Negroes think that they have got something when in reality they have got nothing. It lulls them into a false sense of security. FIFTEEN MILLION TOILING NEGROES CAN RECEIVE NO BENEFIT FROM ONE OR TWO BIG NEGROES RECEIVING FAT JOBS. A rational political policy will concern itself with the economic and social life of the LITTLE NEGROES, those who sweat from sunrise to sunset for a bare existence.

Better that there be no Negro job holders at all than that the interests of the masses be ignored as a consequence.

#### **DRAMA**

By LOVETT FORT-WHITEMAN

FEW years ago, about 1915, marks the first A serious efforts of the Negro in drama on the legitimate stage. The vehicle was the one-act play, and began at the Lincoln Theatre, Harlem, New York City. Although simple in structure, jejune in their poetic purpose, these one-act plays constituted an unusual attraction for the Harlem theatre-goers. Firstly, because of the novelty of the enterprise; secondly, they were a source of much delight to many who had hoped to see the Negro actor essay a depiction of the more serious side of human character and circumstances than theretofore had been the case. Other local producers caught the trend of the new enthusiasm, and with alacrity began the presentation of a train of passé Broadway successes with Negro casts. The venture was met with the wildest enthusiasm on the part of both public and artists. One corporation went to the extent of procuring a small chain of play-houses, and organized three or more Negro dramatic companies! Things went well for two or three seasons for both artists and producers, when the theatre-going public began to show deep symptoms of an altering taste; a rather indifferent taste that had now been stimulated toward a healthy and independent growth, and which had begun, however slowly and confusedly, to evolve its own dramatic ideals and values. Box-office receipts progressively fell low, and approaching failure was apparent. Yet this illsatisfaction on the part of the Negro public was without articulation. None troubled to analyze and give true expression to its feelings and inarticulate desires! Although there were those of prostituted sections of the Negro press who interpreted the Negro deflection from this stage of transplanted drama as a sorrowful condition of cultural defi-

ciency; and who were quite often ruthless in their criticism thereof. And especially when the Negro's fundamental love for his own musical-comedy yet remained, and became even assertive.

The end came when the Negro theatre-going public began to evince almost complete indifference to these plays. And there followed an avalanche of scathing criticism of Negro histrionic taste.

But where lay the fault? Was it that the Negro was inherently devoid of dramatic instinct, or lacked a refined appreciation of what was regarded as the higher art of the theatre? No, it was not that. The fault was with those who had so unwisely believed that drama, the flowered sentiments and emotions of a social group, and growing out of its history, tradition, and group experience, is a thing that can be transplanted and fastened on the feelings of any other group regardless of that group's history, tradition, and outlook.

Today, the Negro dramatic stage can hardly be said to exist. And this is due almost wholly to a dearth of Negro playwrights; dramatists who may be able to strike a trenchant truth and give honest and artistic reflection to Negro life and manners.

There are expressed longings for an art of the theatre whose essence would be an embodiment of the Negro's spiritual sufferings, aspirations, and withal his rich, colorful imagination and warmth of soul. Negro tradition and social history are as yet an untouched field for the creative artist. But to-day is of ripest occasion, fraught with the most propitious circumstances for the establishing of a genuine Negro play-house, and humble beginnings made toward imparting some Negro spirituelle to our growing American dramatic literature.

THE MESSENGER Is Now in a Drive for 100,000 New Readers Before July Fourth. We Must Have Them. We Will Get Them! Won't You Help Us?

# Open Forum

#### THE WORLD WAR VETERANS

By EUGENE V. DEBS

The World War Veterans, representing the true interests of the ex-service men and carrying on an active, intelligent and courageous propaganda in their behalf, is an organization deserving the approval and support of the working class in particular and the American people in general. This organization is not recognized or subsidized by the powers of Wall Street that organized the American Legion and is directing its policy of reaction and its program of deadly hostility to every progressive idea and to every liberal movement.

But while the American Legion and its promoters and henchmen who affect to stand for "Americanism" by screaming "RED" at anything and everything that bears even the semblance of a suggestion of a change in the present graft-ridden system, the World War Veterans are engaged in opening the eyes of the ex-service men and of the toilers and producers generally to what base uses they are being subjected in the so-called "educational" and "Americanization" propaganda of their Wall Street masters, and in pointing out and preparing against the real menace to this country and to the liberties of

the American people.

The proclamation and warning against the impending Fascisti movement now being insidiously promoted in this country, just issued by the World War Veterans, and bearing the signatures of Jack Bradon, the national president, and Herbert A. Suman, acting national publicity director, should be read and pondered by every working man and woman, as well as by every American citizen who has interest enough in this country next to wish to see the last vertice of its liberties. his country not to wish to see the last vestige of its liberties crushed beneath the iron heel of military despotism, as is being done today under the infamous Fascisti regime in Italy and threatened in other European countries.

The national commander of the American Legion has already

publicly announced that the Legion of militarists he represents stands ready to take control of the government in an emergency and to enforce its Fascisti rule of blood and iron

upon the American people.

It is this that the World War Veterans, the real representatives of the boys who fought and fell and who sacrificed and suffered for the benefit of the Wall Street profiteers on European battlefields, would guard the people against and prevent from coming to pass in the American republic. These boys, these ex-soldiers, are our friends and the friends of the common people. Their organization is on the blacklist of Wall Street and for that very reason should have the loyal support of the toiling and producing millions of this nation. They of the toiling and producing millions of this nation. They can not be bought or bribed or browbeaten; they have their eyes open and they understand perfectly what they are fighting for and against in the present struggle for the preservation of American liberty. They know, too, what they fought for in Europe, and they are determined not to be buncoed out of it by the ruling robbers who promised them everything to get them into the bloody trenches, hailing them as heroes as they marched to their own destruction, and kept their promises by giving them nothing when they returned from the slaughter save the "one hundred per cent American" right to beg for a job and the privilege, if failing to get it, to become tramps

The World War Veterans are urgently in need of funds to carry on their very important work in the labor movement. They face all the hostile powers of the profiteering masters and they depend accordingly upon the small contributions coming mainly from people with meagre purses, and organizations with

limited funds.

Contributions are earnestly solicited from all who wish to help these ex-service boys in defending themselves, their class, their nation and the liberties of the people against the destructive agencies that are being insidiously employed to crush this republic and set up a Prussian militarism on American can soil. EUGENE V. DERS.

EDITOR'S NOTE: This organization does not jim crow the black ex-service men. It is also fighting to destroy the Ku Klux Klan.

MY DEAR DR. PICKENS:

I have just read your article, "Things Nobody Believes, a Lesson in Religion," in the February issue of The Messenger, and take it from me, "it's the right stuff, although you didn't say half enough."

I have had a little training in science, and realize that any

attempt on rational lines to prove such impossible phenomena, contrary to all principles of nature, is only a loss of time and

Next time, Dr. Pickens, tell all.

Respectfully, KELLY MILLER, JR.

Plateau, Ala., Feb. 22, 1923.

PROF. WILLIAM PICKENS, 70 Fifth Avenue. New York City.

My DEAR PROFESSOR:

I was given a most gratifying surprise when I read in a colored paper your adverse views on religious matters. greatest surprise is that you are a southern-born Negro with such advanced liberal ideas, and not afraid to publicly express them. I have found all southern Negro educators decidedly narrow and cramped on religious matters. I would be pleased to obtain a copy of The Messenger magazine in which your article is published. I am handicapped by not knowing where The Messenger is published, nor the price of it. Will you send me the address of the magazine or mail me a copy containing your article, and I will forward you payment in stamps on receipt of magazine. Wishing you continued good health, and a continued elevated mind.

Yours truly.

J. W. GLOVER.

Editor, THE MESSENGER:

After reading the article in the recent issue of The Messenger by Dean Pickens on "Things Nobody Believes," I was prompted to make a few notes in comment on the same. have written them out, and am sending them to you, requesting that if in your judgment they are of any literary value, or that they would help anyone who may be trying to form a positive faith in the universe and God, and if it is in accord with the policies of the journal to publish material of that nature, I shall be glad if you will give it space in the next issue.

Very truly yours,

J. C. CARROLL.

Office, THE MESSENGER, DEAN WILLIAM PICKENS New York City, New York. MY DEAR DEAN PICKENS:

February 26, 1923.

Please accept my many, many most cordial thanks for your very recent article in the February Messenger, "Things Nobody Believes." I am so glad that you have so mercilessly exposed the allegorical character of many of the literary productions of the Bible, subscribed to by so many and for such a long, long time as axiomatic truth from which dissent, how ever respectful and logical, could never be tolerated without

bringing down upon the head of the dissenter the organized and efficacious rebuke and excommunication of the priestcraft

of the country.

The article will doubtless evoke endless discussion—a very much desired mental status—to the end of finally arousing that spirit of inquiry which alone makes the discovery of truth possible. Great and illustrious freethinkers and truthseekers in every age and clime have not hesitated, even while the stake, the guillotine, and other inquisitorial methods were in vogue, to advocate mental freedom and inquiry, so essential and indispensable to the proper appreciation of the relative status of any people in their organized fight for liberty. For, I submit, Dean, it is perhaps a proposition of the most incongruous and irreconcilable proportions to entertain the possibility of harmonizing a celestial monarchy with a terrespondent of the most incongruence and irret what is more than the quintersence of democracy. And, just what is more than the quintessence of

democracy. And, just what is more than the quintessence of absurdity is the nauseating and disgusting assumptions of dominant racial groups of Christian belief.

Hitherto, observing the matchless adherence and blind devotion of the masses of our intellectual elements and their proverbial lack of courage in attacking and reducing the current errors and assumptions of priestcraft, I have refrained from active identification with any of the proposed ways and means of eradicating existing ills, peculiarly racial, in my day and generation. For it is, I think, to be very generally conceded that until there is obtained upon the part of our so-called leaders a justly logical and mental intellectual status, qualifying them scientifically to appreciate the problem in all its natural proportions, it is next to idle and useless to expect natural proportions, it is next to idle and useless to expect that anything of a very permanent and valuable nature can result from the many desultory and illogical effusions proposed for the amelioration of existing ills everywhere predominant in this medley and bedlam of beliefs and creeds in America. Again, Dean, if there is (and there is) such apparently hopeless mental attitude among the erstwhile Negro Leadership, just by what inth degree of despair is to be appreciated the countless horder of superstition and higherty of our ciated the countless hordes of superstition and bigotry of our masses I confess I may not assume to nominate or describe. And, yet, I would not counsel, neither refrain nor desist in the dogged resistance or opposition to obtaining conditions. On the other hand, it is my view that just in proportion that there is secured methodical and scientific elimination of traditional superstition and bigotry among the masses of our intellectuals and mediocrity, there will be facilitated the ardentness of the espousal and adoption of reasonable formula for the amelioration of existing ills, national, racial, economic and otherwise. In fact, Dean Pickens, I cannot appreciate the possibility of any real and permanent remedail accomplishment in the absence of genuine mental freedom upon the part of the majority of the citizenry of the country. Not among the very least of the complicated problems of our times is the prevailing ignorance and superstition among the millions of Caucasians who have for such a long period of time enjoyed requisite and enviable conditions for the perfection of that mental freedom from the dogmas of both Church and State as would best qualify them to appreciate the beauty and logic of this secular experiment in self-government founded by the freethinking statesmen of the early decades of the 19th century.

Again, Dean Pickens, I beg to most heartily commend you for the courage and understanding in the publication of the article before mentioned. Its future good is, of course, incalculable; and, if, perchance, in the hands and distorted conceptions of the clergy, it receives the accustomed lack of appreciation and endorsement it should, my observation is that you know the ways and careers of all devotees of truth, and the persecution which in all history has been heaped upon those who would benefit mankind.

With the kindest and best wishes for your success and a just appreciation for your honest endeavors in behalf of truth and the progress of mankind, I have the very good fortune, I

assure you, to remain,

Cordially and respectfully, JNO. H. CLINTON.

#### Things Everybody Believes

Editor, THE MESSENGER:

In the last issue of THE MESSENGER Dean Pickens essayed to set forth the things nobody believes. In this article, I was reminded of an incident that occurred a few years ago, with reference to two very distinguished gentlemen, professors at the University of Chicago, and the University of Michigan. Professor R. W. Sellars, of Michigan, who is professor of philosophy, published a little book entitled "The Next Step in Religion." The author, with much ingenuity, pointed out in Religion." The author, with much ingenuity, pointed out the fact that the next step in religion would be to do away with dogmas and supernaturalism, and put religion on a more rational basis. Professor E. S. Ames, of the University of Chicago Divinity School, reviewed the book and replied to Mr. Sellars, telling him that he was late, that that

Mr. Sellars was. Mr. Sellars was abreast with philosophical movements, but he was not well acquainted with the progress of religious thought, hence he offered a theory long after the real problem had been solved. Dean Pickens is one of our best informed men, he knows the race question, is a fine linguist, but when he attempts to discuss religion he is out of his field, and thus his ignorance of progressive religious thinking was apparent in every line of his article. The purpose of this article is to point out the things that every-body does believe. We agree with Mr. Pickens that no intelligent person believes all the dogmas of the Church; that has should have done was to set forth the thing that everybody

can and ought to believe.

In the first place, everybody believes that the Bible is a record of the religious experiences of Jews and Christians, and it ought to be studied, and used as a guide in order that we may be able to meet and solve our religious problems of the twentieth century, in the same manner as the Jews and Christians of antiquity met and solved theirs. As for the miraculous element of which Dr. Pickens speaks so disparagingly—everybody believes when properly interpreted and rightly understood. Much of the Bible is written in figurative language and was never intended to be understood and inter-preted literally. Take the figurative element out of language and it would lose half its beauty and charm. Speaking of the Negro hero of the Revolution, I have heard orators say that the English soldiers opened an ink-well in his bosom in which Thomas Jefferson dipped his pen and wrote the Declaration of Independence. And Mr. Pickens nor no other intelligent person would call the modern orator a liar because intelligent person would call the modern orator a liar because he vividly and dramatically states a historical fact. Yet when the pious imagination of an Old Testament writer vividly and dramatically tells of the Hebrews' liberation from Egyptian bondage Mr. Pickens objects, and thrusts it aside with the remark that nobody believes it. Just as surely as a Negro died in defence of American liberty, so did the Hebrews cross the Red Sea. Modern travelers tell us that when the tide is low and the wind blowing strongly in one direction the waters of the Red Sea will hank up like a wall direction the waters of the Red Sea will bank up like a wall, so that the sea can be waded with ease. It may be that is what happened, or they might have crossed by boats, but by whatever means the sea was crossed does not matter, the purpose of the writer was to exhort his fellows to believe in the power of Yahweh. It matters not whether these stories are facts or myths, but the important thing is that they serve their purpose.

Again Mr. Pickens contends that nobody believes that the Again Mr. Pickens contends that nobody believes that the whale swallowed Jonah, except those who could just as readily believe that Jonah swallowed the whale. Thus far Mr. Pickens is right, and we agree with him, but on the other hand everybody does believe that the book of Jonah is one of the finest pieces of religious fiction to be found anywhere in literature. Nobody believes that the Uncle Tom in Mrs. Stowe's book represents a particular person of a certain height and weight. But everybody knows that Uncle Tom is a vivid personification of an actual social condition. Tom is a vivid personification of an actual social condition. So it may be that there was no such person as Jonah, but the book represents a state of bigotry into which the Jews had entered. It was intended to teach the chosen people that God loved all men, and that he chooses no nation or individual but for to perform a certain mission for Him. Thus when seen and understood rightly everybody believes the book

of Jonah.

Mr. Pickens objects to the doctrine of the general resurrec-Mr. Pickens objects to the doctrine of the general resurrection. The modern theologian, or anyone for that matter who has kept abreast with progressive religious thought, knows that belief in a physical resurrection is history. But everybody, even Pickens himself, believes in the resurrection of George Washington and Abraham Lincoln. The early disciples could think only in physical terms; the science of psychology was not born, hence they had to present spiritual truth in physical terms. The apostle Paul, the most learned

of all the early Christian thinkers, thought of the spiritual rather than physical resurrection of Jesus, likewise he thought of our resurrection as being of the same type as that of Jesus. His views are clearly set forth in the famous fifteenth chapter of the first letter to the Corinthians. Closely bound up with the idea of the resurrection are the ideas of heaven, hell, and immortality. Mr. Pickens says that the very idea of hell is a "helluvanidea." Of course nobody believes in a material hell that burns with fire, nor a material heaven with gold-paved streets, long white robes and so on. But everybody believes in the survival of human personality. All reasonable persons believe that human souls that it took the universe millions of years to produce, will in some way survive physical death. The only question in the minds of rational human beings is what kind of immortality is desirable, not is there an immortality. Likewise, the question of heaven and hell is concerning kind, not to their reality. The state has a place for delinquents and criminals, hence we believe that in the divine economy there is a place for the wicked as well as for the righteous. The writer's personal view of the matter is this All human personalities are finite aspects of the infinite personality, God. At death we go back to the infinite, and without losing our identity we continue our existence in the Infinite God. Heaven and hell will be stated, or mental conditions, rather than material places. The souls who lived in harmony with the will of God and did their best to make the world a better place in which to live, will recall the fact that they were once co-workers with God, and that recollection will be heaven. On the other hand, the souls who lived for self, retarded social justice and righteousness, and thus made the world a worse place in which to live, will likewise be conscious of the same, and a consciousness of having lived out of harmony with God will be hell. These selfish souls will be discords in the eternal harmony of the blest.

In his article, Mr. Pickens negatively stated his beliefs, but nevertheless gives us to understand that he is on the side.

of Dr. Grant. The writer is more in sympathy with Dr. Grant than with Bishop Manning. The good Bishop represents that old-fashioned, outgrown, antiqued type of orthodoxy which makes one say that he believed that which makes one say that he believed that which the doxy which makes one say that he believes that which he knows is not true, in fact that is about all any orthodoxy means. Dr. Grant represents the new theologian who believes in calling a thing by its right name. The only point on which the writer takes issue with him is in respect to methods. The task of the modern theologian is a restatement of religious faith in terms of the twentieth century culture and learning, rather than holding up to public ridicule the mistakes of the

JOSEPH C. CARROLL, Virginia Theological Seminary and College, Lynchburg, Va.

Editors of THE MESSENGER:

I am happy to renew my subscription, and you will find cheque covering the same enclosed. In this day of universal disorder and sweeping world-change it is refreshing indeed to find two young colored scholars among the leaders of the latest and best thought in the world.

Very truly yours,

NEVAL H. THOMAS.

DEAR EDITORS:

Did you note my letter on the "Mammy" statue, in the New York World?

N. H. T.

Editor, THE MESSENGER:

May I tell you how much I was interested and pleased by William Pickens' splendid article, "Arkansas: A Study in Suppression," in your recent number? The whole number was admirable, but this essay was more than that. It was suffused with truth, of a needed sort: more understanding of the medieval dry rot that possesses our Southern states will certainly aid in forcing a tardy nation to live up to its 14th and 15th Amendments to the Constitution, and to grant to the Negro race the delayed half-justice of full equality in matters economic, political, and legal, and an equality of opportunity in all matters.

Such an article should be read by every white man and every Negro, North and South, East and West. If it is read and pondered, both races will be prepared for the next step—the white, to cease treating the race question as a group matter, and treating every Negro's acts and relationships as an individual matter, judged on the sheer standpoint of manhood; the Negro, to labor in every way to wipe out the current stereotype of white thinking that the Negro is an uncivilized brute, and replace it by the truer stereotype that the Negroes are a race rapidly acquiring culture, and with their own fine cultural background. Sincerely,

CLEMENT WOOD.

45 Ashland Place, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Editors of THE MESSENGER:

I feel that the following announcement will be of interest to

your readers, and that, therefore, you will wish to publish it:
Alpha Beta Chapter of Delta Sigma Theta Sorority announces a prize essay and short story contest open to the High School girls of Greater New York. For the essay, one of the following two subjects may be

American Negro in the Fine Arts.
 Contributions of Negro Women to Racial Progress.

The essay shall not exceed 1,500 words.

The short story must have a background of either racial or local life, and must not exceed 3,000 words.

The papers must be written neatly in ink, or typed, on one side of the paper only. Manuscripts may be mailed at any time before May 10, 1923, to Miss Jessie Fauset, The Crisis, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

A prize of \$10 in gold will be awarded the girl handing in the best essay, and the same amount to the writer of the best short story.

short story. Very truly yours,

FRANCES GUNNER. Vice-President.

Y. W. C. A. Secretary.

Editors of THE MESSENGER:

DEAR COMRADES:

Enclosed find literature covering our anti-Fascisti drive, as the Colored brother is more than anybody else a victim of mob rule, and we have time and again published the fact that they are received into our organization on the same basis as anybody else, and further that some of them are today members of the W. W. V., I call upon you to aid us, to inform them of the campaign we have undertaken.

Trusting that you will do all within your power to get as many of them as possible who are ex-service men to respond to the call to organize for their own defense along with us,

I am,

Fraternally yours,

EMIL E. HOLMES, National Secretary.

#### Is America Civilized? No, Because of Lynching, Says Holmes

John Haynes Holmes preached a sermon at his Community Church in New York City, February 11, in which he asked and replied to the question, "Is America Civilized?," coming to the conclusion no country is civilized in which lynching is tolerated, according to the N. A. A. C. P. press service. Dr. Holmes is a Vice-President of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. He said in part:

"Is America a civilized country? One phenomenon, absolutely unknown to any other portion of the so-called civilized world today I venture to offer as the answer to this question. I refer, of course, to the specifically American horror of

lynching.

"Lynching now takes place in the North as well as in the South—in Pennsylvania, Illinois, North Dakota, as well as Texas, Georgia and Mississippi. White men are now lynched as well as Negroes—in 1922, for example, seven whites and fifty-three blacks were thus put to death. Lynching, in other words, is no longer sectional or racial, but national; it is the great American atrocity.

"As such it is 41-

As such, it is the supreme indictment of our civilization. It is the triumph of savagery in its most ugly and brutal form. Therefore, I offer lynching as the test of our society. So long as this crime is practiced by some and tolerated by all—so long as it is politically impossible to get a law through Congress which will destroy it—so long this nation is a barbarism, and we ought to be ashamed to live. Only when it is wiped out by an enlightened and determined public opinion, can America lay claim to civilization.

#### "Fo' Why?"

Editor, THE MESSENGER:

Back yonder when I was a boy down in Dixie, "Uncle George," to whom all we boys, white, black or colored, looked to as wise in many matters, and whose advice we often sought in our troubles, used to begin all his explanations to us with the following observations: "You wants to know de reason uv dat? Well, Ah'll tell you. Fo' why? Here am de 'splanation uv de trouble.'

A great man was "Uncle George" and often a very present help to us in trouble, and so, now when I've got no one wiser than myself to go to when tribulations oppress my soul, I often think of him and long for him to come back and advise me as to the "Fo' why" of things.

I do not know why I thought of him when reading over the February Messenger, especially the articles dealing with the Ku Klux Klan, but it was probably because I was dis-turbed and, being so, I instinctively, as always, sought the friend and philosopher of my boyhood days.

He used to say: "Chile, when you loses yo' money you loses yo' frien's, en, onless de po' folks whur does de labor uv de worl' stan's by each yuther, dheys gwine eat dirt, en dat's all dhey is to hit. De rich stan's by each yuther, en so should us." Time and experience has long ago proved to me that there was much truth in all this, cynical though

the observation on friendship may have been.

It is, however, the remark about the rich and poor that I am king of here. In his article, "The Only Way to Redeem Africa," Philip Randolph says: "No Jew would drop so low as to join the Klan, and especially, no leader." Now, I am not disagreeing with Comrade Randolph's argument. I agree that he is right in his analysis of the folly of Garveyism, but I think he is away off in this sentence I have quoted. In witness whereof I call his and your attention to the fact that the Jewish leaders did exactly what he declares "no (Jewish) leader" would do, as behold the active support given the infamous Polish and Hungarian governments by American Jewish leaders, such as Morgenthau, Morgan, Ochs and company, in their attacks on the Russian and Hungarian Sovieth Paperblics. Both these republics and especially the Purcing pany, in their attacks on the Russian and Hungarian Soviet Republics. Both these republics, and especially the Russian, while doing all mortal men could do to put an end to the pogroming of the Jews were viciously blocaded by the "civilized governments" of the world, invaded and shot up by Hessian armies of all descriptions, and their territories laid waste. While all this infamy was going on, while the "White Guard" government were slaughtering the Jewish government were slaughtering the Jewish populations Polish government, were slaughtering the Jewish populations wholesale, where did the Jewish leaders take their stand for Russia that was protecting the Jews, or with Poland that was massacreing and torturing them? Let history answer where they stood.

Then, speaking editorially of the fact that the K. K. has already begun to reach out for the "foreigner's" coin, the editor of The Messenger says: "Of course, no sensible Catholic, Jew or Negro will be deceived by these 'konfidence krooks kry'." I am not so certain of that, but, anyway, the Klan is not founded on sensibleness. It is founded, first, on religious prejudice; that is to say, its rank and file are recruited at present ostensibly for a Protestant jehad. The Railsplitter and other Klan papers boast that "the Klan is the Protestant

Church in action." Until the Protestant churches, and especially the Methodist Church, repudiate that allegation, there is no reason to question its correctness. This religious fanaticism being the cohesive power of the Klan, what is there to prevent the "men behind the men behind" the Klan from broadening it to take in, first, Protestant "foreigners," as it is already doing, according to the Railsplitter, in the "Royal is already doing, according to the Railsplitter, in the "Royal Riders of the Red Robe"; second, the Negro Protestants in, say, the "African Uhlans of the Invisible Empire" (just imagine how gloriously the Marcus Garveys we know could strut then!), third, declare Christianity itself imperiled, broaden some more, and take in all "true Catholics" in, say, the "Regal Riders of the Black Robe of Kolumbus" (Note: monarchistic language must be used, it seems, if the "Republic is to be preserved"); fourth, broaden some more, and take in all Israelites, not "Kikes," in, well, say, "King David's Legionnaires of the Invisible Empire"—what's to prevent this "broadening" process as long as the supply of suckers holds out? Nothing that I can see. out? Nothing that I can see.

Further, there's nothing unusual in the secret conference that took place between the "Imperial Lizzard" and the "Black Blizzard" recently. The entire bourgeois order is collapsing in the Southern states, if it has not already done so. After two generations of "Democratic" rule, the mass of Southern farmers, both black and white, have been reduced to destination. to destitution; more than 80 per cent of them are today helot tenants, mortgaged to the third and fourth generation to come, while peonage, the most brutal and damnable form of slavery men has ever suffered, is the fate of hundreds of thousands of white and colored workers down in Dixie. That is the cconomic cancer, tenantry and peonage, that is cating out the heart of Dixie, and until that cancer it cut out, there is no hope for its people, white, black or colored.

It was this cancer, and the inability of the Southern capitalists and landlords to cure it and, at the same time, hold on to their privileges and power, that really gave birth to the Ku Klux Klan—the Klan is, in other words, the last desperate attempt of an intellectually and spiritually bankrupt ruling (?) class to do by terror what it could no longer do by cajolery—keep the workers and farmers of the South enslaved in peonage and tenantry.

To accomplish this end, to maintain tenantry and peonage, all the "best people" of the South, regardless of race, religion, and the best people of the South, regardless of fact, rengion, nationality or color will unite, and are uniting, and they will be and are being backed up by the "best people" everywhere. In more than one skirmish I have seen the "Supermen" thus line up against the "Undermen," and all we are now seeing

is a line-up on a grander scale.

is a line-up on a grander scale.

The preservation of tenantry and peonage—that is the "fo' why" of all these "100 Per Cent American" organizations, and it is high time the "Undermen" were using their brains more and muscles less, for the bitter experiences suffered by the "Aristocrats of Labor" at Harrison, Arkansas, is but a warning of what is to come if they do not get together and stand together in ONE BIG ECONOMIC INDUSTRIAL AND POLITICAL UNION OF THEIR CLASS, for that ECONOMIC UNION is the only conceivable power that can now save the farmers and workers of this country from abject now save the farmers and workers of this country from abject and utter slavery, industrial, political, social and spiritual.
Yours for the liberty of man, woman and child.

CORRINGTON HALL.

#### The Ku Klux Klan

(Continued from page 663)

#### Origin of the Ku Klux Klan Proper

One evening in May, 1865, or 1866,\* six young men, veterans of the late war, met according to their daily custom in a lawyer's office in Pulaski. After the excitement of war they were being consumed by boredom in the sleepy little town. On this evening, one of them suggested, as a way out of the monotony, the formation of a secret society on the model of his college fraternity. The others welcomed the idea, and the Greek word "kukloi" (circle) was suggested as a name. "Call it 'Ku Klux'" said another. "Why not Ku Klux Klan," suggested a third. The alliteration and the

mysterious effect made an instant impression and the last name was immediately adopted. Officers were elected and the ritual and the oath of secrecy were composed. The main idea was to create a society, different from those in vogue—one whose aim was solely fun and frolic. Because of the prevailing belief in ghosts, it was decided that the greatest fun could be had by playing upon the superstitions of the townsfolk.

J. C. Lester and D. L. Wilson, two of the original six, in their book "The Ku Klux Klan," say: "Each member was required to provide himself with the following outfit: a white mask for the face with orifices for the eyes and nose, a tall fantastic card-board hat so constructed as to increase the wearer's apparent height; a gown or robe of sufficient length to cover the entire person. Each individual was left free to choose his own color and cut and each endeavored to make his robe as fantastic as possible."

The greater part of the fun, it was expected would be furnished by the initiation ceremony and that was made as ridiculous as possible. Strange names were used in order to add to the air of mystery.

The young men began to throw out veiled hints of their society and of the amount of fun to be had in it. Others clamored for admission. The questions put to the candidates were absurd and designed to provoke great mirth. When a candidate was accepted the Grand Cyclops, or president, would say:

"Place him before the royal altar and adorn his head with the regal crown."

The royal altar was a large looking-glass; the regal crown was a huge hat bedecked two huge paste-board imitations of donkey's ears. In this headgear the novice was placed before the mirror and made to repeat the couplet:

# "O wad some power the giftie gie us To see oursel's as ithers see us."

As the last words were falling from his lips, says Lester, the Grand Turk, or marshal, jerked the bandage from his eyes, and before him appeared his own ludicrous image in the glass. To increase his discomfiture the removal of the bandage was the signal for uproarious laughter from the members who were all masked and dressed in hideous fantastic garb. Many wore the devices used for concealment and for rendering the costume as ferocious in appearance as possible.

The youths chose the ruined mansion as their lodgeroom. Sentinels were posted and made to stand on stumps over which flowed the robe, thus giving the appearance of unusual height. The hollow of the death's head was filled with phosphorus, while skeleton arms of cardboard rubbed with the same substance were held in the hands. All moved about on stilts con-These were the spectres the cealed by the robes. lonely traveller had seen.

Talk of the mysterious society was soon on everyone's lips. The newspapers of other states took it up, and it soon became the leading topic of discussion in the South. New lodges sprang up everywhere. The klan spread by sheer mystery, and as it grew, the impression was deepened that this new society was preparing some mighty coup in the interest of the South.

The former slaveholders, ever on the alert for some means of re-enslaving the Negroes, saw the reaction of the Negroes toward the "ghosts" and began to make use of it. They told the freedmen that the white-robed prowlers were the ghosts of their former masters and overseers. Hell, they said, had frozen over and the 'ghosts" had come back to inflict a terrible punishment on the stubborn. Tales were told of how such-andsuch "a bad nigger" in another town had died in great agony because he had not done as he was told.

For the bolder Negroes the following ruse was used: An apparition, whose hollow skull flashed fire, mounted on a horse draped in white and shod with felt or rubber, would call at the cabin for a drink of water. When the trembling occupant brought a cupful the "specter" would demand a bucketful which putting to his head he would drain at a draught, saying as he returned the empty vessel: "This is the first drop of water I have had since I was killed at Shiloh." The

water went into a rubber-bag concealed beneath the costume. The terrified man was then told to do as the white men bid him, or on the next visit he would be carried off to hell.

Another trick: the horseman would hold out his bridle, with a skeleton hand and command the Negro to hold it. He would then lift his detachable head, and make a motion as if to remove it altogether, upon which the man would be sure to run away. Sometimes the horseman would enter the cabin and lay a train of gunpowder which he would ignite with his heel. One of these visits were usually enough to cow all but the boldest.

On Independence Day, the citizens of many of the leading towns of the South awoke to find the sidewalks littered with slips of paper with the words: "The Ku Klux Klan will parade tonight." The Klan, says Lester, had been avoiding publicity, now it had decided

to get all it could.

That night the people of Pulaski thronged the streets in the hope of learning at last something of this mysterious association. The klansmen met by signal in the woods and rode through the town in soldierly formation and perfect discipline. Their hideous costumes, the flaming torches, the terrifying appearance of their draped horses, and the uncanny silence of their movements created but greater mystery and terror. Scrutinize, as the bystanders would, they could not recognize a single man or horse. For more than two hours the hooded horsemen rode by in deathly silence. numbered only four hundred, but arriving at a lonely spot they would wheel and march back, giving the impression that they were tens of thousands.

The ex-soldiers of the Confederacy rushed to join the Klan. In 1869 its membership was estimated at 550,000. The members in all the societies totalled over a million. By 1870 almost the whole Confederacy was again in arms, this time unseen-The Invisible Empire.

Gen. Nathaniel B. Forrest, an ex-slave broker, was chosen as head. Forrest was the Confederate leader responsible for the massacre of Fort Pillow, where hundreds of captured Northern soldiers were shot down in cold blood. J. B. Gordon, G. W. Gordon, A. H. Colquitt and other Confederate generals held high commands.

#### Extent of the Invisible Empire

According to Section 1, Art. 2, of the Constitution of the Invisible Empire "the jurisdiction of the Order shall be co-terminous with the states of Maryland, South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas, Missouri, Kentucky, and Tennessee." It was, in short, an empire which included all the states of the Confederacy and those states with a strong proslavery sentiment.

The Invisible Empire was divided into so many realms, equivalent to states; the realms into dominions, that is, congressional districts; the dominions into provinces, corresponding to counties, and the provinces into dens, or local centres.

The Empire was ruled by a Grand Wizard, and ten Genii, that is, the Emperor and his staff. Gen. Forrest had succeeded Jeff Davis. Over each realm was a Grand Dragon and eight Hydras; over a dominion was a Grand Titan; over the den was a Grand Cyclops, and The Grand Wizard ruled with absolute power. Art. VII, Sec. 1, of the prescript of the Klan reads: "Any member who shall betray or divulge any of the matters of the Order shall suffer death."

"The members of the order," says Lester, "considered themselves bound by the supreme oath of the Klan and other oaths, if in conflict with it, were not hinding."

The Invisible Empire was a monarchy in the fullest

sense of the word.

# Tactics of the Klan When Ghosts Ceased to Frighten

The Klan began its intimidation by mummery. But "ghosts" do not frighten for long. Seen often enough they soon become normal to the most timid. Negroes would now and then shoot a ghost to learn its identity. Northerners also had to be reckoned with.

The next step was threat and then force. Members of the Grand Army, white Republican leaders, and Negroes were found mysteriously slain. Negro schoolhouses were an especial object of attack. Members of the Klan were found as mysteriously slain. Southern loyalists, or scalawags, as they were called, aligned themselves with the Negroes and then re-commenced a series of disorders that convulsed the South for the next three years. The Civil War had broken out afresh on a smaller but a more vindictive scale.

Negro leaders, Grand Army men, Republicans (then called Radicals), white teachers of Negro schools, and Southerners who had accepted the new amendments were regarded as enemies by the Invisible Empire. All were grouped under the term "abolitionists" which in the parlance of the "Empire" meant "one who favors and seeks to promote Negro equality, miscegenation, rape, arson and anarchy."

In the reign of terror that followed, white Unionists and Negroes were lynched by the thousands, white women teachers were murdered, whipped and raped; women, black and white, were outraged; and pregnant women ripped open. There has probably existed, in no other nation, such lawlessness as that which then

existed under the Invisible Empire.

In judging the character of the klansmen, it is necessary to remember that the majority of its members were ex-soldiers, men inured to cruelty by four years of war, and likely to stop at no excess.

It was almost impossible to punish such of these midnight assassins as were caught. Judge, jury and sheriff were likely to be klansmen. Witnesses were intimidated. All that was necessary to acquit a murderer was a sign. When the crime was so bad as to compel attention the verdict usually rendered was that death had been inflicted by the deceased himself or by

Negroes.

The Invisible Empire did not stop at terrorizing Northerners and Negroes. Murderers, thieves and thugs found in the secret method of the Klan convenient cover. Donning its disguise they merged their crimes with those of the klansmen. This terror that stalked disguised at midnight began to grow unmanageable. In September, 1868, the legislature of Tennessee decided to suppress the klan and passed a law against it. On February 20, 1869, the governor of that state declared martial law, and called out the militia to hunt down the klansmen. A similar action was taken by North Carolina. Upon this the more timid and law-

abiding members rushed to withdraw. Gen. Forrest, Gen. Gordon, and other leaders, at the prospect of facing the Union Army again declared that the purpose of the klan had been accomplished. Gen. Gordon issued orders for its disbandment and endeavored to wash his hands of the whole affair.

Woodrow Wilson, who may be regarded as a defender of the original Klan, says in Vol. V, p. 94, of his history: "Their work grew under their hands and the zest for it. Brutal crimes were committed, the innocent suffered with the guilty, a reign of terror was brought on, and society was infinitely more disturbed than defended."

#### Psychic Factors of Reconstruction

#### Reaction of the Slaveholders to the Loss of Their Slaves

The question asked at the outset was whether the reason generally given for the existence of the Klan was based on the recorded facts of American history. Those facts have been presented. The psychic factors, or the state of mind of which these secret societies were the visible manifestations, have yet to be considered. Before proceeding with the history of the Klan, let us

pause to do so.

It will not be difficult to understand the feelings of the members of the defeated Confederacy when after four years of war and the utmost sacrifices they returned pallid, starved and broken, to find ruin and desolation staring them in the face. The North had been magnanimous, but what mattered that when they saw their towns destroyed, their thoroughfares covered with tall grass, their homes dilapidated or in ashes, their railroads ruined, their banking-systems demoralized, their currency a byword for worthless money, and weeds where fields of grain would have been? But harder than all to them was the fact that they found the slaves they had fought so hard to keep, and whose strong arms they needed now more than ever, not only taken away from them, but free to decide whether they would work or not. Instead of being able to command with the lash, they now had to bargain for labor with the creatures they despised with all their hearts. But they were poor and they must either have labor for nothing or as near to nothing as possible. The alternative was to do their own work. Centuries of slave labor, however, had instilled very deeply into them the conviction that certain kinds of labor, particularly the kind most needed then,—field-labor,—-was far beneath the dignity of a white man, and fit only for blacks. This conviction, in all its original vigor, exists in many parts of the South today.

Writers of Reconstruction days tell of the large numbers of Southerners, utterly discouraged by the war, and the thought of rebuilding, who had given up in apathy and refused to do work of any kind. They tell also of the large number of Southern gentlemen, habitually averse to work, who would pass the whole day on the verandas, shifting out of the sun, moving only to get refreshments and complaining that "the lazy nigger" wouldn't work. Many of the former masters did buckle down to work, however, even to field labor. But the majority were apparently in the position of the languid, spoilt darling of wealth, unaccustomed to earn a living who has been thrown on his own resources

for the first time.

The great problem before the Southerners was reconstruction. The fields must first of all be tilled. One

must eat. The answer to that problem they decided should be the freedmen, who they were still firmly convinced were their property.

A Congressional report of this period pictures the psychology of the Southern whites of that time thus:

"They were domineering, impetuous, impatient of restraint, unwilling to submit to any government which they, themselves, did not control, easily roused to fierce anger and when so roused both as individuals and masses cruel and without scruple. They had never learnt to respect human rights as such, or to tolerate the free expression of opinion which differed from their own, or to see dignity and manhood beyond their own class. It was such a people that engaged in the rebellion, and such a people who were required to live under a new order of things to which they had been led not by change of character or opinion, but mere force of arms.

"They had submitted to the national authority not because they would, but because they must. They had submitted to the constitutional amendments which rendered their former slaves their equals in all political rights, not because they would but because they must. The passions which led to the war, the passions which the war excited, were left untamed and unchecked except so far at their exhibition was restrained by the arm of power."—(Report No. 261, 43rd Cong., 2nd Session.)

#### Reaction of the Slaves to Emancipation

How did the slaves re-act to emancipation? Many of them would not work-many, but not all, as the former masters asserted or implied. A good many spent the time going from place to place, visiting old friends from whom very likely they had been forcibly parted. Freedom, they pictured as something like the heaven the white man had told them of—a place where one loafs forevermore. This impression was heightened by the Freedman's Bureau, which gave them free food and clothing. What good, they argued, was it to be in heaven if one was forced to toil as if on earth? When one arrived in heaven, they asked themselves, shouldn't he walk around to make sure that he had really arrived? If any man, white or black, had been forced to rise from his bed every day of his life, except Sundays and Christmas and to go to the fields to await the first faint streaks of dawn to commence his toil and there to remain under fear of the lash, till it became too dark to see, if such a man hated work it would be a most natural thing.

Again, if anyone had been cooped up in prison, barracks, or confined anywhere else and been liable to a severe whipping when caught outside, if such a man were set free it is natural that he should wish to wander around to see some of the places he had hitherto only heard of. The masters resented these excursions.

From force of habit they had come to regard the time of the black man as being exclusively their property.

The fact is, however, that the great majority of the ex-slaves stayed in their old localities while most of the wanderers soon settled down again. Benj. J. Trumbull, who had been commissioned by President Johnson to report on the freedmen said: "it was only a temporary impulse of their new-found freedom to wander away from their old homes and at last they returned generally wearied, hungry and forlorn."

Another important factor was the changed attitude of many of the former slaves toward work. The slave had always looked up to his master and imitated him. The master did not work. Because of that he was considered a gentleman. Those whites forced to earn a living were called "poor white trash." The more aspiring Negroes in consequence wished to live like the master. The response of the former masters to this, as was seen, consisted of laws, veiled or open, compelling all Negroes to do field labor, and nothing else.

The situation, in short, was that while the desire of the masters for slavery was greater than ever, that of the ex-slave was perhaps as great in the reverse direction. Some wanted to be "gentlemen," others to engage in the trades and the professions, while the vast majority, while willing to follow the occupation they had always followed—field labor—desired as most men do, to reap some of the benefit for themselves. On the one hand was the freedman, unprotected save for the verbal bulwark of the decree of Emancipation; on the other was the master, eager again to have him in his power. There was the wolf glaring at the lamb and prevented from pouncing on him only through fear of the shepherd, who, in this case, was hundreds of miles away. After the war, the North, as was said, had left the South free to rebuild itself.

Having decided that the freedmen must be made to do the work, the next question was ho to make them do so under conditions as near to slavery as possible. The reason for the existence of the Negro in the eyes of the majority of Southern whites, then as now, is LABOR. It was for this reason and no other that he had been brought from Africa; it was for this reason that the South had fought so stubbornly to keep him, and that it holds on so firmly to him today even to the lynching of white labor agents who come to induce him to go North, as during the last war. The innermost incentive to lynching, jim-crow laws, tales of the rape of white women, and all anti-Negro literature is the Negro's labor and how to get it at the lowest figure. Negro labor had been the real cause of the Civil War. Now. also, during the period of reconstruction it was the bone The answer of the Southerners, as to of contention. how to establish a condition as near to slavery as possible, was, as was seen, discriminatory legislation.

Thrifty, Industrious, Wide-Awake Agents Wanted Liberal Commissions Given on Sales and Subscriptions

#### Marriage and Divorce

(Continued from Page 665)

a few additional questions. Is the rotation of crops beneficial or injurious to the land or the crops? Or is it not beneficial to both? Is variety in food diets beneficial or deleterious to health? Is general knowledge, comprehensive information, injurious to the mind? Or is it developmental to the mental faculties?

The obvious answer to these questions is that rotation of crops is good for land and vegetation; variety in diets is an aid to health and alimentation; and comprehensive information is strengthening to the mind. Divorce is simply a legalized opportunity for rotation of the human crops, for change of biological diet, for securing a more general and comprehensive knowledge of emotional taste.

Do we think marriage—monogamy—has been a failure? No: it has been useful. So were slavery, war, imperialism, tonsils and the appendix. Slavery enabled man to pass from savagery to civilization without being annihilated. War was at one time the crusader of civilization. Imperialism was the most potent educator and developer of backward peoples. The tonsils and the appendix were once necessary organs of digestion.

But their day has about passed. They are vestigeal and now lurk to cause disease, pain and misery—social or physical. We do not believe marriage is yet obsolete—but it is becoming so. In other words, it is obsolescent. It will vary with different peoples. The more advanced and civilized people are, the more nearly obsolete marriage is for them. In the same nation, this can be seen by observing the greatest number of divorces and separations among the wealthiest and best educated members of the populations.

We will do well to remember, too, that this trend is social. The world is moving in this direction because it affords more enjoyment—more happiness—the end of all human effort. Progress means the increase in human happiness and the lessening of human miseries. For instance, as a new attitude toward property takes root, jealousy will subside. A man does not want a stranger to trespass upon his yard because he recognizes that as his exclusive property. Not so with a hotel. A stranger may walk into the hotel and no such feeling comes over another guest. Why? It is looked upon as a social utility held in common with all who qualify to use it. In the case of his private home or vard the man recognizes his partial proprietorship. To use another illustration: If I have a roommate, his presence in the room does not annoy me; but to find a stranger there may irritate me. In one case I recognize partial proprietorship; in the other I do not.

The social gain from the removal of jealousy will be incalculable. The following picture will give some idea of what most of us grown-ups have experienced at some time in our life:

Walking the floor, palpitating heart, suspense, contemplation, reflecting over one's human property, wringing hearts and hands, tortured with expectation, buoyed up with hope, redolent with anticipation, dreaming, doubting, lurid imagination, confident one hour, not so sure the next, seeking affection at one time, spurning it at another—stout heart, stiff upperlip, bold outward expression—breaking heart, racked mind, collapse within—this is jealousy at its worst! Wouldn't it be a blessing to get rid of it?

Finally, we should remember that the long habit of promiscuity has had its effect. Monogamy is comparatively late—new. Promiscuity is deeper, older and, ethically viewed, lower; monogamy is more shallow, but newer and ethically higher. Marriage, as an institution, will be here some decades yet, but like other institutions, it is passing. People anticipate more joy from marriage than it can give. The pleasures of anticipation exceed too often the joys of participation. We expect too much and get too little. Besides, the attainment ends the desire longer to attain that particular thing. This means that love will often lead to marriage and the marriage will more frequently end in divorce.

After all, love is the basis of marriage—and love is desire, and desire is pain. Human effort is constantly directed toward getting rid of pain, that is, getting rid of desires. You are too hot, so you seek the breeze, the soft drink or ice cream parlor to get rid of the desire to be cooler. You are thirsty, so you drink to get rid of the desire for water. You are hungry, you eat to get rid of the desire for food. You pray—what for? Because you have innumerable desires and you believe there is some being with power who will sometime, somewhere, somehow answer your prayers and help you get rid of these myriad desires which from birth to death—from the unasked cradle to the unwelcome grave—prick and prod and goad us on.

So in marriage and divorce men and women are seeking the same thing. In one case the sex desire is seeking to be satisfied; that is, to be gotten rid of. In the other case, satisfaction having been attained, the presence of the mate is boring—and divorce, like death, comes as a welcome angel to get rid of this irritant of a played-out wife or a joy-chasing husband.

The May Educational Supplement should be in every Negro's and white man's home.

Such Is the End of a Calm, Dispassionate and Philosophical Survey and Examination of Some of Our Most Fundamental Concepts on Love, Marriage and Divorce

### Thirteen Black Martyrs of Houston

#### In Memoriam

With respectful reference to an article on the same tragedy by Archibald Grimke, in the Messenger, October, 1919.

I stand in awe and . . . .
Bow my head in shame
That in this land of boasted.
Free, untrampled justice
And Christian Rule—so called—
Lynching—still holds sway!

Oh, ye! whose blood has . . . .
Not turned yellow, but—
Still runs crimson, as in
Mother's sacred womb,
Can ye, with inborn conscience
Give "unwritten" Lynch Law—room?

I darc say: "No!"
No self-respecting mortal
Who loves humanity and
Submits to white man's "written" laws,
Condones such jackal, cut-throat practice,
That chokes great Lincoln's aim with . .
"Hyena Claws!"

Yet, notwithstanding all, Our black boys fought like heroes To save this white man's country From an unknown foreign foe. Their noble deeds were heralded by allies In France, in Belgium and in England too.

The beaten foe himself, Feels conscience-bound to honor
The black man's valor and his daring deeds;
But Southland . . . Home!—with Houston—
Texas leading,

Insults parading heroes on return; Oh, Shame!

What then? Some heart-sick boys resented The unjust treatment meted out to them. When quickly organized a rabble, ready For record-breaking savage cruelty, And hanged the boys that risked their lives for them.

Thirteen souls of colored Martyrs, Freed and gone before their Master, Pleading Justice, Justice only! For their people, who, though black Gave their loved ones to the country; "Colored people do not slack."

God, who calls all men His children, Asking Race or Creed of none, Said, He made us in His Image! Surely! Justice will be done! Southland! Take the "White Voice" warning, Grant it, ere God's Curse has come.

I. C. B.

#### The Friends of Negro Freedom

Our Slogan

#### Economic Emancipation Through Co-operation

On the 18th of March, Chandler Owen, co-editor of The Messenger, and one of the Executive Secretaries of the Friends of Negro Freedom, left on a 10,000-mile lecture tour—all the way to Los Angeles, California. His first stop was at Philadelphia where he held a large and enthusiastic meeting. En route, he will address Labor and Negro bodies, liberal and radical clubs, university and college chapters, on a wide range of subjects. He will also establish Councils of the Friends of Negro Freedom where none now exist

On Monday night, March 19th, the Philadelphia Council of the Friends of Negro Freedom held a large and interesting meeting for the consideration of a number of plans for the purchasing of a home for the Council. Mrs. Lillian Fairfax, its able Secretary, reported of the splendid morale existing among the members. The Council is also planning to stage a debate on the segregation question in the public schools between some of the proponents of the principle of segregation and A Philip Randolph.

The New York Council is steadily making history. It held a get-together membership meeting, Monday evening, March 19th. There was music, dancing and dramatic reading. Refreshments were served. The Entertainment Committee, which is composed of Miss M. L. Lewis, Chairlady; Miss Mae Rogers, Secretary; Mr. Robert Eaton, Treasurer; and Misses Nora Newsome and Elizabeth Jones, provided a very entertaining and interesting program. Mr. J. B. Brown sang; Mr. Harold D. Simmelkjaer recited.

The Entertainment Committee is planning to give a Barn Dance, Friday evening, April 20th, at St. Mark's Hall, 138th Street, near Lenox Avenue. Prizes are to be awarded for the most unique costumes.

George S. Schuyler has been elected the new Secretary of the New York Council.

The Friends' Forum which is conducted every Sunday afternoon at 169 W. 131st Street, in the Lafayette Hall Building, is making wonderful progress. March 4th, Chandler Owen spoke on the "American and West Indian Negro Problem"; March 11th, Miss Ernestine Rose, Librarian, spoke on "The Library as a Cultural Force in the Community"; March 18th, Dr. Samuel Tannenbaum, a distinguished psycho-analyst, spoke on "Othello and the Merchant of Venice—A Study in Race Prejudice"; March 25th, Mr. Eugene Kinckle Jones, Executive Secretary of the National Urban League, spoke on "Race-Co-operation." Questions and discussion follow each address.

# PREPARE to DEFEND YOURSELF!

North. Already large numbers are here. It is foolish to think that they can come from the ignorant, backward South, where even white people are "far behind the times," and step right into a new heaven, as it were, in the highly complicated and specialized industrial system they find at their journey's end.

It is a fact that the North is better because of the higher standard of living and better educational facilities. But there is a certain way to come into possession of these advantages. You must simply use your head more. If you don't become unionized, you will be massacred just as white men were at Herrin, Ill. If you don't pay more attention to your children they will be segregated as in St. Louis and other centers. Northern white people haven't time to dally with you. You will find yourself set off in a corner and forgotten if you don't wake up.

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