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Volume V

Number 8

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**A Psychoanalysis of Ku Kluxism**

By Robert W. Bagnall

**The History of the Ku Klux Klan**

By J. A. Rogers

No. IV. in the Series on

**“These Colored United States”**

**Maryland**

The Seventh Heaven of Rotarians

By Theophilus Lewis

No. II. in the Series on, Lights and Shadows of the Underworld

**“The Folk Farthest Down”**

By George S. Schuyler

F. N. F. Notes

Interesting Correspondence

A Cartoon on

“The Menace of the K.K.K.”

By Henry Brown

Nailing a Canard

On the Editorial Grill:

The Negro Communists

Kelly Miller

Du Bois—Garvey

Harding

The U. N. I. A.

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**The Anti-Ku Klux Klan Number**

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## COLORED PRIESTS

THE ordination on June 13th last of Rev. Joseph A. John, colored, member of the Lyons African Missionary Society, gives encouragement to all who are concerned about the conversion of the colored people of the United States. He finished his preparation for the priesthood at St. Anthony's House of Studies, Highwood, New Jersey, an institution founded by Very Rev. Ignatius Lissner, L.A.M., to educate white and colored boys for the missions in the South, and in a short time he will begin to exercise his ministry in the State of Georgia. The advent of this colored priest may be viewed as bringing to a crisis the question of a native clergy in this country, and, no doubt, controversy will rage for and against it. Opposed will be the timorous, the stand-patters, the prejudiced and the ignorant of history or those who deliberately close their eyes to the lessons it teaches. In favor of it will be the plain doctrine and the practice of the Catholic Church and the earnest words of many Popes of Rome. Going back to the very first Vicar of Christ on earth, St. Peter had to contend with race enmity in himself and in others. When Cornelius, the Centurion and a gentile, came to him seeking baptism, St. Peter, speaking for himself, said: "You know how abominable it is for a man that is a Jew to keep company or to come unto one of another nation; but God hath shewed to me to call no man common or unclean," and later speaking to the Jewish converts who wanted the gentiles kept out, he said: "If then God gave them the same grace, as He gave to us who believed in the Lord Jesus Christ; who was I, that I could withstand God?" There we have the answer to every objection made by the learned or the ignorant, the pious or the wicked, the malicious or the timorous. If God has given to the colored youth the same vocation to the priesthood as He gave to me, "Who am I, that I could withstand God?" And as spoke the first of the Popes so have spoken his successors at various times till we come down to our day and listen to the words of Pius Xth and Benedict XVth counselling and commanding missionaries

in pagan countries to strive prudently but with all possible speed to provide a native clergy. A few years ago, when Father Lissner was in Rome the Cardinal Prefect of the Propaganda, after consultation with the Holy Father, charged him to foster among the Negroes of the United States vocations to the Catholic priesthood. It is woefully late to begin that work now; it should have been started sixty years back. At the close of the Civil War an American Negro was studying at the Propaganda in Rome whose ordination was held up on the word of some ecclesiastics in the States who asserted it would be very inopportune to bring a colored priest into this country at that particular time. Thus a super-abundance of worldly wisdom, a lack of spiritual foresight and a cowardice combined to bring about a blunder whose evil results go beyond all calculation. Had a start been made then and had the liberated slaves been permitted to see one or more of their own race in the ranks of the Catholic clergy, there would never have arisen, as it did arise, a feeling that they were not wanted in the Catholic Church, and nowadays priests and religious who are working among the descendants of these people would not have to be making, to such a large extent, excuses which do not excuse and explanations which do not explain.

Of course we are perfectly frank to admit that here in the United States the matter of a native clergy for the colored people presents many difficulties which are in every way exceptional and that it must be handled with great prudence and a long suffering patience, but, taking into consideration all the objections which may be offered and estimating all the impediments which, naturally and unnaturally, may be expected to be placed in the way, we hark back to the words of St. Peter: "Who am I, that could withstand God?" If He give the vocation the last word is said, and though the nations rage and faint-hearted friends forsake, ours is the duty to go ahead with the task of providing a native clergy supported by the conviction that we are obedient to the teaching of the Catholic Church and that we are following the example she has shown all through the centuries. O'K.

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# The Messenger

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## CONTENTS

Editorials .....	781
Economics and Politics.....	785
Education and Literature.....	786
Open Forum .....	792
F. N. F.....	799

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## Editorials

### United Against Ku Kluxism

Unions, Catholics, Jews, Negroes and Foreigners, the victims of the Ku Klux Klan, should unite to destroy it. Make no mistake about it, the Klan spirit in this country is growing. Let alone and in the very near future, like the Fascisti of Italy, it will attempt a violent seizure of the Government. Already it has defied the laws of New York State. Catholic churches, Negro homes, Jewish business and labor unions are at the mercy of this ruthless, murderous band of midnight riders. Thus the call is imperative: Unite, and fight without stint or limit until this noxious growth is killed, root and branch.

### Elaine Negro Peons Freed

The Negro share-crop-tenant-slaves have at last been released. Robbed of their crops, denied their day in court and lynched if they protested, such was and is the wretched and miserable lot of the Southern Negro farmer, farm-tenant and farm-laborer. Aptly has it been said that in "no man's land"—the Black Belt, the only thing the Negro is certain of is *debt* and *death* of which the former is the *arch devil*—the greater menace. Debt reveals the economic foundation of the entire hellish system. Peonage is debt slavery. Most indus-

try in the South thrives on it. But happily the Negroes who were charged with instigating an insurrection when they demanded a fair price for their cotton have been acquitted. It is a tribute to the persistent propaganda of the Negro, especially the work of the N. A. A. C. P., Mr. Moorfield Storey and Mr. Scipio Jones. It must also be remembered that the economic pressure of Negro migration played a significant part in softening the flint hearts of the most "upright judges."

### Garvey Believes Conviction Just

Garvey has been convicted and sentenced to five years imprisonment for using the United States mails to defraud the public. Before the verdict brother Marcus declared that if he did not think the verdict was just, he would go on a *hunger strike*. Latest reports have it that the appetite of the Provisional President of the whole continent of Africa has not abated in the least. Hence, the only conclusion is that he believes his imprisonment just. Still he continues to make appeals for bail and a new trial, and some stupid fanatics rant about making Garvey's case a political issue, whatever that means. Such arrant nonsense! No one hears of the white people trying to make the imprisonment of the notorious swindler Ponzi a political issue or seeking to invest him with the livery of a martyr. Even some well-meaning souls talk of the dangerous precedent set in a Negro leader being jailed. What is the difference between a Negro leader-crook being jailed and a Negro crap-shooter being jailed? Both are a menace to the race, except that the Negro leader-crook is the greater menace, because he has betrayed the confidence of his followers. As a group we are too sentimental and credulous. We are loath to judge Negroes by universal standards. We want to change the multiplication tables for the benefit of Negro incompetents. This is childish, silly and preposterous. The hope of the race does not lie in the policy of making excuses for Negro failures, but in preparation through education, organization and agitation to prevent embarrassing, damaging failures. Gullibility is one of our worst enemies. We need to become more critical of our group efforts. Every little two-by-four schemer, white and black, looks upon a Negro settlement as a harvest only waiting to be reaped. We shun and distrust the genuine, but rally to the quacks, imposters and demagogues who palm off on the public everything from snake oil to shares in a windy, fantastic, lineless Black Star Line. We have no tears for Garvey. We have only concern for the thousands of old, hard-working Negro working women who were duped and skinned by him under the impression that they were advancing the cause of their race.

### Du Bois Hedges on Segregation

Dr. Du Bois has blundered again. In the Philadelphia Negro papers he is reported as having advocated jim-crow schools for Negroes. But Dr. Du Bois denies it. He claims that he only advised Negroes to stop fighting Leslie Pinckney Hill, the principal of Cheyney on the grounds that he, Mr. Hill, didn't start the school. Such reasoning is about as sound as it would be to maintain that Negroes should not fight John Sharp Williams on the grounds that he didn't

start disfranchisement, the jim-crow car and lynching. In other words, the Editor of *The Crisis* recognizes segregation as a menace but objects to fighting the persons who are the instruments through which it is carried on. All principles are executed through individuals. Certainly brother Du Bois would not contend that they execute themselves. *Soldiers don't shoot down war; they shoot at those who are carrying on war.* This segregation argument of brother William E. Burghardt is about as brilliant as his notorious "close ranks" classic. Queer antics this for the leader of the Talented Tenth. But what more can one expect from Darkwater who wrote in 1920 that he thought the Black Star Line was feasible and that Marcus Garvey was honest? Negroes, watch this segregation poison! Condemn and destroy it from whatever source it comes and however innocent it may appear, for it sounds the death knell of the New Negro Manhood strivings.

### Federated Farmer-Labor Party

New radical parties are ever in the making. Though the Farmer-Labor party called a convention at Chicago to unite the workers politically, the convention gave birth to a new political child, the Federated Farmer-Labor Party. It is supposed to be the handiwork of the Communists or Workers Party who are notorious for boring from within, which usually results in their boring on through and landing on the outside again. At least such was the case in Chicago. Charged with being tools of Moscow and deputed to wreck the existing non-communist labor unions, they have succeeded in shutting themselves off from contact with the wide masses of American workers. As the *New York Call* wittily said, the sum total of their gesture was to "capture themselves." It will be remembered too that the Communists, who claim to be the ultra-radicals, had no resolution on the Negro worker adopted. The word Negro is not mentioned in the entire literature of the convention. What will the Negro Communists say to this?

### The Ruhr

Without the Ruhr canard, the French bankers would have a helluva time keeping the French peasants and workers in line. But its failure is apparent. Already the franc is falling. The Ruhr gesture is the last desperate gasp of a decadent, bankrupt French imperialism. Of course, Poincaré cannot afford to admit its failure by capitulating to the passive resistance of the Germans and the insistent demands for a modification of the terms of reparation by England. To be sure, England is up to her old trick of creating a balance of power-European-system, and, apparent friendship for Germany at present is her trump card. This is how the abominations of the Versailles Peace and the Plague of Nations are building up the tinder box for the next world war. Only the enlightened organized workers can arrest this mad race to world ruin. Are they ready?

### Magnus Johnson

The dirt farmers of Minnesota have defeated the bankers in the election of Magnus Johnson, the Farmer-Labor party candidate. Lean years among the

farmers usually produce a crop of insurgents. Magnus Johnson says that he wants the price the farmers receive for the goods they sell to equal the price they pay for the goods they buy. Of course this will not solve the farmers problems, still this wave of agrarian revolt against hard times for the farmers is useful in training the people to break away from the Demo-Repo political combine. Nothing comparable to it has been seen on the political horizon since the eventful days of Populism of the '90's. Now the state of Minnesota can boast of two senators in the "rich men's club" who are neither Democrats nor Republicans. With Brookhart, La Follette, Shipstead, Magnus Johnson and Ladd the Farm Bloc is well represented. Magnus' value does not consist so much in what he will advocate as in the educational value of the revolt against the hide-bound, reactionary Republican and Democratic machines.

### The U. N. I. A.

Much has been said anent the future of the U. N. I. A. since the incarceration of its leader, Marcus Garvey. The question seems to be: Should it be saved or destroyed? We hold that the U. N. I. A. represents Garveyism or the spirit of segregation, of the Ku Klux Klan, that the United States is a white man's country and that hence Negroes should migrate where there are no white people, wherever that is. If Garvey is a menace, his spirit is a menace, hence the U. N. I. A. should be destroyed. It demoralizes the spirit of the Negroes' fight for economic, political and social betterment, for it accepts the dictum of Chief Justice Taft, viz.: "that a Negro has no rights which a white man is bound to respect."

### Kelly Miller on the "Hire Learning"

Dean Kelly Miller in his weekly column to the Negro press of July 8th laments THE MESSENGER'S use of the term "hire learning." Queries the Prof. of the Messrs. Editors, "Did you originate—or are you mouthing the term 'hire learning'?" What has that got to do with the price of green apples? You didn't originate the alphabet but still you use it. Were the good Dean confined only to the use of things which he originated, he would doubtless be stripped of everything of any use—value. But Brother Kelly goes on with his characteristic generalities that are as clear as mud. Listen to this gem: "He has the highest authority that a servant is worthy of his hire." Now there! The sweated, exploited millions of Negro workers should go into ecstasies and bless the sage of Howard University for this classic formula for their emancipation. No doubt about it, Brother Miller is a wonder! But even some wonders wander in the paths of the erring. Now as to "hire learning." It means what it says, learning that is bought and paid for; not in the interest of the learner but in the interest of those sinister financial forces in the country that would educate the people to maintain the *status quo* or a system under which the few live off the labor of the many. That is what the term means and not that a teacher is not entitled to pay or that the "higher" learning is useless. Watch out, Dean, for the nickel under the foot! It is a pretty reliable determinant of human actions and human institutions.

### President Harding and the Tuskegee Veterans' Hospital

According to newspaper reports, the Tuskegee Veterans' Hospital controversy is growing more complicated daily. The Alabama whites are becoming more intolerant and threatening, the Negroes of the country more aggressive and President Harding, away on a political morale jaunt, fighting desperately to keep out of the lame duck brigade, faithless to his word and apparently heedless and unconcerned about the consequences, allows both groups to snarl at each other to their hearts' content. So far as we know, the latest developments up to date are the parading of the Ku Klux Klan before the school, threatening of the life of Major Moton and the fleeing of Dr. Kenny, for twenty years the superintendent of the Tuskegee Institute Hospital. And what is it all about? The Alabama whites in obedience to dollar diplomacy, which for the nonce seems to be doing violence to the sacred Nordic law of no contact between Negroes and whites, are fighting desperately for the right to minister to wounded Negro World War veterans. These, too, are the very same whites who lynch and burn, disfranchise and jim-crow black World War veterans. Of course, we regard the demands of both whites and blacks as unreasonable, undemocratic and unsound. For the Negroes it is a dangerous precedent to demand a jim-crow government institution. The hospital should be mixed with white and black porters, black and white physicians, nurses and maids. We are not impressed by the arguments that it can't be done. A yearly budget of \$1,250,000 will make strange bedfellows. If the rustic Harding administration had the guts to take a firm stand in the matter, it could be very readily demonstrated that white Southerners will not pass up a few fat jobs even though they be in contact with Negroes in similar places. A special dispatch to the *New York World* dated July 18th, reports Director-General Hines as saying that "already 60 per cent of the personnel of the hospital are Negroes." This may be so. But we suspect that they are maids and porters who preside over the cuspidors and washtubs. The heads of the departments are white. This is the rub. Unless Negroes can hold some of the executive, administrative and technical offices of the hospital, they should refuse to hold any. Mr. Hines has doubtless yielded to the threat of the Klan. It will be remembered that he stated that, "he will not be a party to any movement that might bring disorder to that community," which was tantamount to inviting the Klan to parade and threaten disorder if Negro doctors were installed. But what can be done? Dr. Du Bois says tear the hospital down. This is nonsense. It is a cowardly capitulation to the Klan, besides a dangerous admission that the Negroes are willing to abandon anything or place which the mob spirit of the South is unwilling for them to hold. It will also arm the government with an excuse for withdrawing protection from the Negro during a crisis on the grounds that trouble may be avoided by his leaving the scene of the trouble, even though his property is sacrificed thereby. If Negroes don't continue to insist upon the protection by the government of their life and property in the South, and, more take measures to give themselves the necessary protection, all of our strivings are in vain, for nine-tenths of the race are in the South and will remain there for some time to come.

Any race policy which is not calculated to safeguard and advance the interests of the Southern Negro in the South is a bankrupt policy. What does Brother Warren Gamaliel propose to do about it? Nothing. His policy of Normalcy as applied to the Negro means that Negroes should be content with the normal conditions of the South: normal lynching, the normal jim-crow car and normal disfranchisement. Our remedy is to continue to migrate; to agitate for a mixed hospital; to demand military protection for a mixed hospital, Dr. Moton and his aides.

### The War of the Drys and the Wets

The Scylla and Charybdis of American politicians are the Drys and the Wets. Ever alert and wary, the political opportunists so trim their sails as to escape the danger zone of both. It is difficult to find a 100 per cent dry or wet politician. "Er"—"ra"—"but" or "if" is the introduction to the reservations that they all have, indicating the unwisdom, from the point of view of getting access to the proverbial "pork barrel" of accepting or rejecting either, completely. Some politicians, the more sophisticated variety, would rationalize this on-the-fence policy as the Aristotelian Mean of practical politics. The political moderns must have their high-brow pretexts for their sordid job-seeking, their quest of the fleshpots. Both camps, Drys and Wets, from their viewpoints, are the advocates of the only great, enduring principle of mankind. According to the lamentations of the *New York World*, the journalistic weeping willow of the Wets, the 18th Amendment was a shameless assassination of the God of Personal Liberty. Of course, this sentimental gush is frowned upon by the irrepressible bootlegging fraternity. On the other hand, the Anti-Saloon League and the W. C. T. U., paint moving pictures of sobbing mothers, broken-hearted wives and wrecked homes as the fruits of wayward sons and husbands enmeshed in the vicious toils of Demon Rum. Meanwhile, it may not be amiss to suggest, though, doubtless the essence of downright *lèse-majesté* to the Puritans, that the Prohibition movement reflects the economic interests of its backers, Big Business, which realizes that a sober man is a much more efficient worker than a drunken one. He is the victim of less accidents, causes less fires, and is more profitable. Needless to say that these cold arguments of the efficiency engineer fail to slake the thirst of the yokels who yell lustily the national anthem: "How Dry I Am." Incidentally the Dry and Wet fiasco is not the least useful canard in diverting the attention of the producing class from the more fundamental problems of wages, hours of work, free speech and war.

### Twelve-Hour Day

When will the United States abolish the twelve-hour day? is the question which millions of people are asking. Is the worker entitled to any leisure? Is life to the wide masses to be nothing more than a sordid, brutal grind from sunrise to sunset? Judge Gary, the monarch of the steel mills, has been asked to answer these questions by both religious and secular bodies. His reply is, not until he can get 60,000 new hands. This has been riddled by labor economists. They point out that the reason he cannot get them is because of his slave workday of twelve hours. Brother Gary

counters that the eight-hour day will increase the cost of production 15 per cent. This is denied by industrial engineers. But suppose it did? What of it? Is not human life more sacred than property rights?

### Migration Will Stop Lynching in the South

A veritable flood of Negro workers is flowing North. Why? Not because of lynching, disfranchisement, the jim-crow car, bad schools and housing facilities. No, not at all. For these things have existed in the South ever since the Negro and white people have been there. But no great movement of the Negro population to the North has taken place before the war migration and the present one. Hence the cause for this movement must be sought somewhere else except the South. The cause is attractive not *coercive*. It is in front, not behind. It is the high wages offered Negro labor which never before existed in the history of the country. This situation is largely due to the limitation of immigration both during the war and after. How is it affecting the South? It is destroying the economic possibilities of the South. Where there is no labor there is no business, and where there is no business, there are no *profits, the God of the modern world*. In order to retain profits that come through exploitation of Negro labor, the Southern planters, railroad, lumber, coal and banking magnates will sacrifice even the fetish of social equality. Surely protection of life and property will be accorded the Negro if that be the price of his remaining there. Better and more schools; better and more houses; the right to vote and the abolition of the jim-crow car and lynching are a bagatelle beside the mountains of fortunes that will go a-flying if the hegira of Negro workers continues. Yes, we will have no lynching if the migration goes on, not because the South hates the Negro less but because it loves wealth more. But the white South is not alone disturbed over the Negro movement North. The Negro *bourgeoisie* is also annoyed, especially the Negro preachers, doctors and undertakers. The reason is clear. If the Negroes keep on leaving, the preachers will have less souls to save; the doctors less of the sick to cure; and the undertakers fewer bodies to bury. "But it is a *poor* wind that blows no one any good," is a pretty wise old saw. For though the preachers, doctors and undertakers of the South will weep, their cousins of the North will rub their hands in glee, rejoicing at the children coming out of the house of bondage into the land of promise. But problems, social and labor, are certain to follow in their train. Lynchings and race riots will be transferred to the North unless intelligent effort is made to unionize the Negro worker. East St. Louis will be repeated on a larger scale unless the black and white workers unite. This will put a weapon in the hands of the bosses. The white workers must be shown this. It is no use pleading for justice and fair play. Nobody acts upon those things. Organized labor is out to improve its standard of living. If keeping the Negroes out of their unions will prevent that and that fact is demonstrated to them, they will throw race discrimination overboard. High wages, shorter hours of work and better working conditions are dearer to the white worker than snubbing the Negro. Now, according to recent reports of

the Department of Labor, something like one-fourth of the Negro workers coming North are skilled mechanics. This is something new. This is the nemesis of white organized labor unless it reads the handwriting on the wall and takes the black worker into their unions on a basis of equality. Negroes, too, should concern themselves more with the labor phase of the problem, as all other aspects are secondary and generally derivative.

### The Menace of Negro Communists

Negro Communists are a menace. They are a menace to the workers, themselves and the race. Why? Because they are disruptionists, seeking with irrational and romantic zeal to break down the morale, to confuse the aims and ideals of the New Negro Liberation Movement. So utterly senseless, unsound, unscientific, dangerous and ridiculous are their policies and tactics that we are driven to conclude that they are either lunatics or agents provocateurs, stool pigeons, of the United States Department of Justice. Their preachments and antics about r-r-r-e-volution, the Third Internationale, the dictatorship of the proletariat, are so inane and childish that they would be amusing were they not so tragically disastrous to the aggressive, independent and rationally radical manhood efforts of the Negro. Just as spies have been planted amongst the white Communists, so spies will be, if they have not already been, planted among the Negro Communists, whose policy is to preach doctrines of extremism. This is calculated to attract the persecution of the Department of Justice to all Negro movements working for race and economic justice. On the grounds that they are petty *bourgeois*, Negro Communists seek to wreck all constructive, progressive, non-Communist programs. Thus the Negro Communists are a menace whether they are paid tools of W. J. Burns or are mere ignorant, credulous fanatics, believing that they are serving a holy cause. For Communism can be of no earthly benefit to either white or Negro workers in America. It is even being replaced in the interest of the Russian worker in obedience to the material exigencies of the situation by State Capitalism by Lenin and Trotsky, after recognizing its impracticability at the present stage of economic development of Russia. How foolish, then, is it to advocate Communism to the Negro workers before they have even grasped the fundamentals and necessity of simple trade and industrial unionism! Nor are we impressed with the sincerity of the Negro Communists, for their statements have revealed that they are utterly devoid of any respect for fact, truth, or honesty.

### Abram Harris

Abram Harris has been added to the staff of contributing editors of THE MESSENGER. Mr. Harris has done extensive political science work. He was recently connected with the Department of Research and the official organ, *Opportunity*, of the National Urban League. His recent brilliant article on Negro leaders in *Current History* magazine has evoked considerable comment.

# Economics and Politics



## 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.

(Continued from June Number)

AS for the few Northern historians, who have been interested, the attitude of the most of them may be expressed thus: "Oh well, the Southerners were white men, like ourselves, after all. We gave them a good licking and can afford to be easy on them now." Northern historians, too, get their viewpoint from the Southern ones. Van Loon is an example of this. It is a melancholy truth, moreover, that history is usually written to harmonize with the views of the powers that be. As will be shown later, the North, after 1876, proceeded rapidly to forget the Negro. But at that time it was a case of white men dealing with white men. Negroes, then, were most unwelcome in the North.

Nearly all the great Northern leaders, religious and political, spiritual and scholastic, like Henry Ward Beecher, Wendell Phillips, Charles Sumner, Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Emerson, Lowell, Whittier, Lyman Trumbull, Thaddeus Stevens, Benjamin Wade, Horace Greeley, William Fessenden, Carl Schurz, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, President Grant—the saviors of the nation—were strongly opposed to the Klan throughout the entire period of its existence. If these leaders were right then, how happens it that they are adjudged wrong now?

The sum and substance of the whole history of the Klan, and the attempts to justify it, is that the white men of the South were bad sports. Luck had been gloriously with them and grievously against the slaves for two hundred and fifty years. But the North and the Republican party had interfered, not because they had at last heard the cry of the slave, but because slavery was interfering with their business, with the result that events had turned against the Southern whites and slightly in favor of the slave. And here were the Southerners squealing, and going around dressed up in their bed-sheets. They were poor sports and remind one of the fellow who, having lost his money in a game, waylays the winner, mask on face.

The Klan, even without its violence, was not justified at any period of its existence. Its express purpose was to defy the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution. Those who maintain it was are clearly the spiritual predecessors of those who justify or wink at the Ku Kluxers of the Eighteenth Amendment—the bootleggers.

If each individual or party were justified in breaking that part of the Constitution he or it does not like what a state of affairs there would be!

### Continued Activities of the Klan

To return to the Klan. The devil that had been aroused would not be downed so easily. The Klan had now swollen to enormous proportions, perhaps over a million in number. This most formidable aggregation of cutthroats, thieves and rapists in the history of western civilization could not be dissipated by a few words. This great menagerie of midnight rattlesnakes and human tigers grew more unmanageable than ever, and began to attack their former comrades. Starting with the goal of white supremacy the Klan soon passed it. Now the objective was "klan-nish-ness." White men, regardless of racial or other bonds, have always had differences one with another, and when an outsider, regardless of color, offended a klansman, he was regarded as having offended all klansmen. As in the case of the Germans and the English in the last war, the bond of color was obliterated in that of klan-ship, or nationality. The Klan thirsted for plunder. Rich Southerners and former klansmen who refused to pay tribute were murdered or driven from the state. Their homes, in many instances, were burnt, and their wives and daughters outraged.

Most historians attempt to create a difference between the period prior to the withdrawal of Gen. Forrest and that after. It is clear, however, that one period grew out of the other as noon out of forenoon, or as the older viper out of the young. Forrest, moreover, did not withdraw until February, 1869, the same month and year that Tennessee had begun military action against his "empire." In other words, he was a klansman only when it was safe to be one. In this he ran true to nature: masked bandits are usually less brave than unmasked ones.

Lester and Wilson, two of the original six, who, in spite of their gingerly attitude towards the Klan, may be regarded as its champions, say in their book already mentioned: "Nothing is more certain than that a part of the evil the Klan was combating at this period of its history grew out of its own methods."

Ryland Randolph of Alabama, editor of the *Independent Monitor*, organ of the Klan in that state, says: "At this late day (1901) I am gratified to be able to say that my company did much good service to Tuscaloosa county.\* Had these organizations confined their operations to their legitimate object, viz.: Punishing impudent Negroes and Negro-loving whites, then their performances would have affected only good. Unfortunately, the Klan began to degenerate into a vile means

\*His klansmen, he says, "thrashed" Negroes "in the regular antebellum style until their unnatural nigger pride had a tumble, and humbleness to the white man reigned supreme."

(Continued on page 795)

# Education and Literature

## IV. MARYLAND

### THE SEVENTH HEAVEN OF ROTARIANS

By THEOPHILUS LEWIS

*This is the fourth of a series to be published under the title of "These 'Colored' United States." A brilliant representative from each State that has a goodly population of Negroes will speak out, as Mr. Lewis has done, and say to the world in plain language just what conditions they face.*

**Y**OU don't have to go far to run across wealthier and more populous states than Maryland, and here and there you can point to one with a more dazzling history behind it; but when it comes to locating a commonwealth richer in the high ideals, fine spirit, and pep and go that make America the greatest and grandest country on earth you will find precious few states that outclass the old Panhandle. In fact, you can count them on the thumbs of one foot. I mean they don't exist. As I see it, the Marylanders deserve a lot of credit too; they started off with a bigger handicap than any other state and they've had to overcome greater obstacles all along the way.



Mr. LEWIS

In the first place, the soil and climate were against the Maryland men. Up in New England, for example, the Pilgrim Fathers started out with the country on their side. The land is poor and stony, the summers are short and cool and the winters long and severe. The settlers up there, in the words of a funny fellow, had to hoe corn all summer in order to have strength enough to dig clams the next winter, and dig clams all winter in order to have strength enough to hoe corn the following summer. A country like that could not fail to harden the muscles and bring out the stamina of a people.

But the country of the Chesapeake basin seems to have been especially designed to discourage the development of the good American spirit of progressiveness. There is a great diversity of good, well watered soils down here, and the summers are sufficiently long to ripen even the slowest crops. Besides that, when the founders landed here the streams were teeming with fish and the marshes and forests were fairly alive with game. It was the kind of a country that tempts people to work a little and loaf a lot, while it assures them of plenty to live on. Mr. James Wright, in his book called "The Free Negro in Maryland," says it was so easy for laborers to become proprietors that pretty soon there was hardly anybody in the colony willing to work for wages; and slavery, black and white, was the only way out. Then there's something in the air that makes a man lazy and dreamy, enchants you like, so you haven't any heart for useful work, but just want to lie out in the grass and gaze at the multi-colored landscape while the humming-birds flash in the sun and the orioles and bluebirds deluge the world with song.

Thank God! the pioneers had the right kind of

stuff in them. Otherwise they would have succumbed to the blandishments of the country right off, like they did over in Virginia before the right men got in power. But they had the good old Anglo-Saxon grit in them, and didn't give in to the country one bit. No, sir. They pitched right in and thinned out the forests and killed off the game and scared most of the birds away and started things to moving in the right direction.

Unfavorable natural conditions presented only a few of the difficulties the settlers had to struggle with. The big problem they had to solve was how to put down the radicalism that cropped out almost as soon as the colony was founded. You see the Calverts wanted the colony to be the home of religious liberty. That idea had never before been proclaimed in Christendom. It was something new and it went big. But a new idea must be managed in the right way; otherwise it will work more harm than good and never amount to anything. Well, there were a lot of bolsheviks here, wolves in sheep's clothing, right among the founders, who could not understand the difference between liberty and license, and it seems that they almost persuaded Leonard Calvert to their way of thinking. The Calverts were Catholics, you know, and Catholics are always rather romantic and inclined toward mysticism and hardly ever able to get the simon-pure American spirit. Or maybe Leonard Calvert succumbed to the spell of the climate. Anyway, he lost his control, and for a while things were in a pretty bad way. But eventually good solid men came over from Virginia and joined with the right thinking people here and put things in order. We've been plugging along onward and upward ever since, and the result of it is we've developed the finest bang-up American State in the Union.

Take our metropolis, for instance. Baltimore is bigger than any city in Europe, except half a dozen capitals, and when it comes to being wide awake and enterprising, I'll bet there's not a town over there that can class with it. We've got a fine big harbor that's crowded with shipping from all over the world, and we've got some of the biggest steel mills in the country down at Sparrows Point; and at Nobles Point we've got great fertilizer warehouses that stink something grand. Our manufacturing district is a beehive of the busiest sweatshops you can imagine, and we have miles on miles of factories containing marvelous machinery that can crush a child's finger off just beautiful. I won't bother to describe the big way we carry on banking and insurance and mining; you might think I'm just bragging. If you're interested in those things, read the reports of the Department of Commerce, or write to our Board of Trade or ask the secretary of the local Kiwanis Club.

(Continued on page 796)

## LIGHTS AND SHADOWS OF THE UNDERWORLD

STUDYING THE SOCIAL OUTCASTS

## II. THE FOLK FARTHEST DOWN

By GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

GEORGE BERNARD SHAW oversteps the truth by thirty-nine years when he avers that all men over forty are liars. Truth at best is only relative. Most people live or tell lies. Absolute honesty in speech and action is quite as non-existent as that other myth—Freedom.

Nor is this strange to the social student, though others may lament the fact. In order to live together with the smallest degree of friction, the group lays down certain laws, written and unwritten, to which the individual must conform under pain of ostracism, degradation or death. Without this social control, no

group could carry on. In order to enjoy the benefits of gregariousness, the individual must subordinate himself to the will of the group and be prepared to sacrifice a certain amount of personal liberty. He must suppress and control certain primitive impulses inherited from his gymnastic ancestors.



Mr. SCHUYLER

Honesty, the dictionaries inform us, is fairness and candidness in dealing with others; freedom from fraud; openness and frankness. Even in the most primitive groups, the individual is prevented from being absolutely honest in speech and action by the totems and taboos erected by his fellows. In our highly developed and intricate modern society it is out of the question.

In normal individuals all honest but anti-social ideas and actions are jammed down into the subconscious mind where a special creation of Nature, the Censor, stands guard, and prevents them from emerging during the hours of consciousness and getting the owner "in Dutch." At night, when we are wrapped in the arms of Morpheus, these primitive impulses are allowed to come out and exercise themselves. When we awake, if the Censor does not obliterate all memory of the excursion, we say we have dreamed. In proportion as society becomes more intricate industrially, the morals and ethics of the group grow more complicated, and contradictory. For instance, it is considered disgraceful for a girl to receive gentlemen callers in her nightgown at her home, though it may reach from her chin to the floor, but it is perfectly all right for her to receive them in a wet bathing suit at the beach.

The more complicated the moral code, the harder the individual, and the Censor have to work to suppress the primitive impulses. If the individual is adaptable and intelligent he can divert most of these suppressed energies along other lines. The poorer he is, the more difficult it is to do so. Hence we find more primitive outbursts, anti-social conduct, among the poor and ignorant than among those with a more plentiful supply of this world's goods. There is greater temptation to anti-social acts among the poor by reason of their poverty. The environment in which the poorer classes vegetate in our large cities is admirably adapted for the turning out of prostitutes, perverts, criminals, drug addicts and bums.

Morality is largely a matter of geography. A savage from the wilds of Borneo, while perfectly normal in the jungle, would soon find his way to the psychopathic ward in a modern city. In some barbaric localities it is considered perfectly proper to settle all hot discussions with a dirk or a pistol shot, and the group applauds. In other places, the penalty for shuffling one's neighbor off this mortal coil is usually a wooden overcoat. Among some savage peoples the barbecuing of itinerant missionaries and troublesome neighbors to replenish the tribal larder, is in great favor, while in the southern part of the United States, a group may roast their neighbor, but their moral code prevents them from eating him. (A good example refuting the theory of economic determinism. Why pay Armour exorbitant prices when there are plenty of healthy Negroes around to be had for the broiling?)

All men are NOT created equal. No two individuals are alike, mentally or physically. Even members of the same family differ in appearance, height, color of eyes and hair. In the mental make-up there are hundreds of gradations from the boob who thinks the League of Nations is a group of baseball clubs, to the individual who understands the Einstein Theory. As the maze of customs, conventions, ethics, morals and laws grows more intricate, the more difficult it is to adjust the newcomer to this vale of tears. The job of the parent: injecting the moral sense into the unmoral child, becomes harder and harder. The necessary lessons in hypocrisy must be taught early and well. When the parents perform this duty properly the child grows into manhood or womanhood, giving vent in speech and action to certain uncensored impulses, and suppressing others that are frowned upon by the group. These suppressed impulses can find an outlet in art, music, literature, social activities, sports and religion (which includes all of the philosophies and cults such as: Christianity, Spiritualism, Bahaism, Communism, etc.). This is true when the environment has been fairly normal. An unhealthy and abnormal environment offers abnormal outlets for these primitive impulses, and we have the sexual pervert, the over-sexed, the psychoneurotic, the criminal and the auto-erotic. It is not strange, then, that where there exists the greatest poverty, congestion and lack of privacy, there can be found more of the scum of our social order.

Virtue is the lack of opportunity and the fear of consequences. Society attempts to make the former absolute and the latter universal. Individual control can be taught by knowledge and fear. The latter has been far more extensively used by all in authority from parents to priests and police, to keep the individual in step with the herd. Threats of hell, imprisonment, ostracism, disease and death are poured into his ears. In fear of consequences the majority of people are conformists. Through various means the group also attempts to lessen the opportunities for the individual wandering from the path of virtue.

Chaperons. park and beach police are largely for this purpose. Hence the good, honest, moral and virtuous individual is the one who is able to keep step with the herd, adapt himself to all the intricacies of the contemporary moral code, find healthy outlets for his inherited impulses, and carefully conceal any backsliding. Knowledge is being used to a greater extent than ever before, and people are learning more about the mind; its possibilities and limitations. Yet, frankness in discussing many things of vital importance to the individual is still frowned upon by the self-appointed moral arbiters.

The majority of parents are not capable of training their children for life in our modern communities. They either use methods calculated to defeat the very ends they seek, give the child a bad example, or neglect it altogether. Most of them wait until a boy or girl is fifteen or sixteen before they tell them anything about their bodies, when statistics show that the average child learns a coarse, vulgar version of the truth when eight or nine years old. The poorer parents are doubly handicapped because "home" for them has been largely destroyed by the capitalist system with its overcrowded tenements, adult roomers, lack of privacy, and streets or alleys for playgrounds.

It would be well to note here that a large number of the parents as well as the children are mentally and physically defective. Adequate adaption to the environment and normal behavior is only possible with a healthy, adequate functioning of every organ in the body, and a thorough understanding of the various deviations from normal behavior can only be obtained by an appreciation of the part played by pathological changes in causing abnormal behavior. If all the people who are mentally defective were exiled from the United States, the job of carrying them away would tax the shipping of the world for the next decade. There are few people who are not fanatics on some one thing. An individual will appear perfectly normal until some one mentions theosophy, Garveyism, the Ku Klux Klan, the Third Internationale or whatever may be the particular mania, and then he or she becomes immune to reason or facts. Often the monomaniacs group themselves into little crowds or sects and bombard the rest of society with tiresome propaganda tracts. Often they resort to force, as in the case of the Fascisti, Ku Klux Klan, and other semi-political organizations. Often, like the Anti-Saloon League, they succeed. However, these people are of some value to society because they tend to focus attention on certain social maladjustments.

With healthy environment and proper instruction, we could cure most of the mental defectives who now roam at large, crowd the movie theaters, "fall" for the "sucker" lures at Coney, are swept off their feet by Ku Klux Klan propaganda, and devour the boresome Communist tracts. Much is being done through various mental clinics and hospitals in the more enlightened centers of the country, but it is only a drop in the bucket. As long as the great mass of people must live (?) under the conditions that exist today, we must look forward to a steady increase in the number of mental and physical defectives, and a consequent growth in the underworld population.

These mental defectives who are subject to anti-social conduct are by no means restricted to the ranks of the proletariat. The "better" classes are well rep-

resented. However, the mighty bulwark, money, protects most of them from suffering the penalties meted out to the anti-social among the common people. Many a poor man is in jail who should be in a sanitarium, and many a rich man is in a sanitarium who should be in jail. For a long time the word "crazy" was applied to the mentally defective who were violent and an obvious menace to society. We have since learned that this definition was too narrow. The vast majority of the non-violent mental defectives are right in our midst, which accounts for the success of P. T. Barnum, Coué, Conan Doyle, Emperor Simmons and Marcus Garvey. Many of these folk never do anything of an anti-social nature, especially if they are removed from the temptations that poverty offers. Most of them do, but they evade recognition.

We have seen that the great line dividing vice from virtue is recognition. The mental and physical defective is more likely to turn away from the current conception of virtue because his control of the primitive impulses is slighter than obtains with a normal individual. He is more likely to develop an antagonism to the group and deliberately commit criminal acts in a spirit of retaliation for fancied wrongs or because "society owes him a living." Some of the normal, though, often let their feet slip, are recognized and ostracized by the group. Too, many normal individuals turn to lives of prostitution and crime because an "honest" living is so difficult for them to make. These folk are cut off from the decent people and shunned by them. They gravitate to the poorer centers of the community, the imitation "Latin Quarters" and the "bright light" districts, depending on their intelligence and physical attractiveness. The stronger live upon the weaker; all are supported by society and share their spoils with the police, lawyers, bondsmen, politicians and drug peddlers. These folk are the nucleus of the underworld in every city of considerable size.

The larger cities of the United "Hates" have been blessed with aggregations of these underworld folk for many years. In fact, many of the "founding fathers" were denizens of the European slums, and were dumped in America as a good riddance. The unsettled character of the country and the tenacious "get rich quick" traditions, were not calculated to make social control very easy. There was always a paucity of women. In a land where Puritan and Cavalier bartered in bootleg rum and black and white slaves six days a week, and on the seventh prayed for the unchristian savages, there was ample opportunity for the individual to exercise his primitive impulses.

For years the underworld of the large American cities had the worst sections of the European towns looking like a picnic of the Epworth League by comparison. Cities vied with each other in producing the "fastest" "red light" district. One Pacific coast city went so far as to print a booklet which aided the transient cotton salesman, cloak merchant or fraternal delegate in finding "French Annies," "Dutch Marys," "the Creole House" or "Chinatown." Prostitutes were transported like luggage from place to place. The business became trustified. Police, politicians and

*(Continued on page 796)*

**NEXT MONTH WILL BE  
OUR LABOR DAY NUMBER**

# THE THREE FALSE GODS OF CIVILIZATION

By ROBERT W. BAGNALL

SAYS H. G. Wells: "Make men and women sufficiently jealous or fearful or drunken or angry, and the hot red eyes of the caveman will glare out at us today. . . . We have tamed the beasts and schooled the lightning, but we are still only shambling towards the light. We have tamed and bred the beasts, but we have still to tame and breed ourselves."

## II.

Civilization is merely a thin veneer that covers the savage. It cracked in 1914 and the caveman emerged. Wars stimulate the atavistic impulses. Man reverts



Mr. BAGNALL

under this stimulus to the law of brute force. He returns to the homogeneity of thought which characterizes the savage. He becomes hostile to new thought and intolerant of a minority opinion. He is moved to destroy such by force. He easily organizes terroristic bands and murder-bunds and deludes himself into thinking them good and excellent. So we have our Fascists, our Black Hundreds, our White Guards, our Right Royal Legion, and our Ku Klux Klan. They are all one in spirit, although the Ku Klux is more savage because of its masks and its ridiculous mummeries. Each wants to be above the government, and a law unto itself and to all others. Each creates prejudices and fattens on it. Each produces disunion, strife, hatred, and—in the end—ruin. But the Klan is more comprehensive in its prejudice, which is directed against Catholic, Jew, foreigner, radical and Negro alike. So much is this true that one might call the spirit of intolerance and bigotry which we now witness in the western world the spirit of the Ku Klux Klan.

## III.

This spirit is found among the most cultured—even in our seats of learning. Witness the attempt of the President of Harvard University to bar colored and Jewish students from that institution. In Columbia University the other day a noted radical was invited to speak. Some students did not care for his utterances, so they hurled rotten eggs at their guest. In the same university, and in the same week, a student who was a veteran of the Marne was beaten because his fellow students thought some remark made by him unpatriotic. But at the State University of Missouri they do not believe in such mild measures. There the students lynch a Negro while their co-eds look on, the man proclaiming his innocence to the end. Big business too, has the spirit of the Ku Klux. This is why Judge Gary lauds Mussolini, whom he likens to Roosevelt. The action of the Fundamentalists among the Presbyterians and Baptists makes it clear that the church also is a victim of this spirit.

## IV.

The results in this country are apparent. Division, hatred, strife and discord on every side; Protestant against Catholic, native against foreigner, Gentile against Jew, conservative hating radical, whites hating

blacks—this is the story. But it does not even end there—*whites are divided against whites*; fair whites, or Nordics, being arrayed against dark whites, or Mediterraneans. Mobbings, beatings, lynchings, burnings, naturally follow all this. If allowed to grow, this spirit of the Ku Klux Klan will eventually ruin any land.

## V.

What are the causes of this spirit of the Ku Klux, and is there a remedy? That it is not merely a temporary result of the war is evident—for it antedates the war. The war only accentuated it. Some pessimists state that because man is only a veneered savage this savage spirit will persist in him.

We find, however, three fundamental beliefs as the cause of this spirit. They are held sacred, taught to children, treasured and glorified, but to them can be attributed the majority of human ills. They are three devils masquerading as gods, and we have held them holy. They are:

1. Race Pride or Race Arrogance,
2. Patriotism or Nationalism,
3. Class Pride or Caste Pride—

the three false gods of civilization.

The first of these when let loose produces intolerance and prejudice against other races and peoples. It produces a false evaluation both of one's own and of other races. The second when sent forth provokes international jealousy, strife, friction, and wars between nations. It is pictured as a lily, but it is a blood red poppy. The third works between group and group, dividing men into capitalist and worker and produces a caste system, exploitation, chattel and wage slavery—class war.

## VI.

A certain type of personal and race pride is valuable. Every individual, group or race, must evolve self-confidence, a consciousness of worth, before the individual group or race makes progress. This type of pride is a virtue in an individual, group or race. This type is useful especially to all minority and oppressed groups. But when an individual regards himself as better than anybody else he becomes an egocentric, obnoxious boor and a nuisance. So it is true that a group or a race which regards itself as the centre of the universe, the favored of God, the superior of all others, becomes a menace to society and to all honorable peace. It is this type of race pride which is the basis of the spirit of the Ku Klux—a false god which should be destroyed. The people who possess it become afflicted with a blind spot. Science, history, literature, politics, business, industry—all of life, it distorts. No other race is properly evaluated—all others are inferior. They are therefore to be treated as inferiors, denied equal opportunities, equal rights or equal status. They are to be exploited and kept subservient; science, religion, custom, are to be made the sacred weapons to serve towards this end, being twisted and interpreted in a wonderful way. Everywhere the

whites hold this type of race pride with reference to darker peoples, but the Nordics or fair whites hold it most intensely of all. We see this in the attitude of the white man towards the colored races wherever he comes into contact with them in numbers. But nowhere is it more apparent than in the United States. The white child in this country is taught race prejudice often before he is five years old. He is instructed in the belief that the white race is inherently superior to all other races and, especially, to the Negro. A foolish desire to segregate one race from the other accentuates this prejudice and increases misunderstandings. Taught to worship the god of race pride, he grows up in the opinion that darker races should be repressed when they seek equality of opportunity. In the name of the necessity of preserving race purity when grown, he commits every kind of intolerance cruelty and injustice, indulging in savage orgies of mobbism, burnings at the stake, and lynching. Meantime he diffuses his blood through the darker race, and fails to perceive that thousands, tinged with a bit of colored blood are absorbed into his group. He ignores all facts as to the absurdity of imagining that there exists any such thing as a pure race. White supremacy to him is a God-given belief, and he is as utterly impervious to all logic or science or history that controverts his dogmatic opinion. He will fight and die for it.

Of course this is absolutely absurd. No pure race exists except in myth. Every race has absorbed the blood of other races. The 70,000 black slaves that disappeared in Rome, absorbed into the Latin race, form no isolated example. South Europeans and South Americans with a tinge of Negro blood, and Negroids who have crossed the line, have so intermingled their blood with American whites until it is impossible for any number of them to absolutely know that they have no Negro blood. It is common rumor that many prominent Southern families are not "pure white," and it has been whispered—with or without reason—that two of the chief executives of the nation had the blood of colored people in their veins. It really matters not at all. Certainly the original human race was not white, and the white race is but a derivative. The only real race, as Finot says, is the human race, and race pride, or arrogance, is madness.

The law of brotherhood cannot become the guiding principle of man so long as race arrogance is taught. If as much time and attention could be given to teaching the essential oneness of humanity as is spent in teaching race arrogance, one generation would witness a marvelous progress among men of tolerance and brotherhood.

The alternative is a steady widening of the gulf between the races until it results in a war, besides which the late world war will be like two boys playing at mimic battle—the war of the white and colored races of the world.

It is well for the whites thinking of this to remember that the mechanistic civilization of the whites is rapidly becoming general and must inevitably become the common property of all races, and that not only are there 1,150,000,000 colored people in the world and only 550,000,000 whites, or more than two colored to every one white, but that the ratio in favor of the colored races is steadily increasing.

## VII.

The second false god whose worship produces the spirit of the Ku Klux is also a menace. The belief in this false god, which we term *patriotism*, is held as sacred. Song, story, symbol, poetry, exalt its worth. School, home, church and press teach its holiness. Yet it is the principal cause of international jealousy, strife and war. Because of it the blood of the sons of men have watered this old earth like rain; man has played the brute, and brothers have eagerly slit each the throat of the other. Because of it young maidens have been ravished by the hundreds of thousands, and the pages of history have been made to reek with the odor of rotting human carrion.

Even now wealth which could end all the ignorance in the land, wipe out in a generation almost all devastating disease, and produce in a century brotherhood—if wisely used—is being expended in the name of this menace called holy—to prepare for future wars and pay for past ones.

Even today our children are being trained that they may be offered as a sacrifice to this god—when the next war comes—and the wise men of the world tell us that the next war is quite imminent.

Civilization rocks and totters, and it is seriously doubted that it can be saved, because this false god has been served.

One more war and civilized life must end. But we continue to teach that the thing which produces war is sacred.

We call it nationalism, but men like better the "hallowed" word—patriotism. It is not the high sentiment we commonly suppose. "It belongs to the same class," says Lester F. Ward, "as that by which animals become 'wonted' to the particular spot where they have been raised, with no respect to its superiority over other places. It may also be called collective egotism." Bagehot calls it "territorial sectarianism," and Dr. Johnson described it as "the last refuge of a scoundrel."

In a mild form, nationalism (for this name more fully describes this sentiment) tends to solidify the group and to fuse it into a social solidarity.

But why should civilized man regard a plot of ground owned by him as more sacred than all other, or think the town or state or country in which he was born, or in which he lives, more holy than all other parts of God's earth. That this is wholly the result of education is seen in an examination of the facts. Man leaves his home town by choice for another place in which he elects to live, and the sacredness of his home town becomes a mythical sanctity, a pleasant fiction.

In the thirteen colonies of America during the war of the Revolution each colony regarded that territory within its boundary lines as its country. Only as to that was each colony patriotic. They had broken away

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from a fictional patriotism for a country many of them had never seen—and rebelled. Their colony was their new country, and the other colonies merely their allies.

But when the United States of America was formed, the greatly enlarged unit, comprising all the thirteen colonies, became their country, the object of their patriotism. And this increased as the country grew until now the patriotism of America comprises the entire forty-eight states and territories. A majority of the devotees of this nationalism will never see more than a small part of this country. It is made up of diverse peoples, many of whom have differing customs and some of whom hardly speak the language of the land—but it is the object of their nationalism. They will fight for it and gladly die for it—because this they have been taught that they should do.

Now, I have no word against their devotion, but I decry *its limits*. Why not teach them to extend it? Why should river, mountain, lake, ocean or other natural or artificial boundary separate human beings, and make the land on the other side of the boundary to be coveted or feared, and the men on that side to be foreigners and potential enemies, with whom one may at any time go to war?

Why not have internationalism instead of nationalism; patriotism for all of God's earth? If one born in Rhode Island can be a patriot about California, why cannot one born in America become a patriot about India. He can if the forces that form public opinion are bent to that end. If one would object that the unit is too large for a devotion like patriotism, we would remind him that rapid transit and the telegraph and the cable, the press and the cinema have brought Calcutta today much nearer to New York in time, in knowledge, and in thought than San Francisco was to Boston in 1849. And until internationalism displaces nationalism, until patriotism comprises the world, not only will the spirit of the Ku Klux Klan persist, but man's continued existence remain in danger. For there now exist weapons of warfare which can wipe man off the face of the earth. And why should not a world federation come? History witnesses a steady growth of social and political units formed by men. Barely 10,000 years have passed since the largest unit man knew was the small family tribe of the Neolithic culture, and now we have vast unions—but yet too small. The printing press and the railroad came, and we have this great country. But with the telegraph and telephone, the wireless and radio, with the aeroplane, and continual improvement of rapid transit, there is needed a still larger political unit. This idea H. G. Wells has expressed in a most striking manner. In his "Outlines of History" he says: "The loyalties and allegiances of today are at least provisional loyalties and allegiances. Our true state—this state that is already beginning, this state to which every man owes his utmost political effort, must be now the nascent

Federal World State to which human necessities point. Our true God now is the God of all men. Nationalism as a God must follow the tribal gods to limbo. Our true nationality is mankind."

### VIII.

But there is a third false god whose worship develops the spirit of the Ku Klux Klan. This is class caste. This rests on an economic basis—as in fact do the other two evils we have discussed. It concerns the exploiter and the exploited. Must these forever exist in society? Must class war remain inescapable and eternal? It certainly cannot be ended by wages, no matter how high; nor by hours of labor, no matter how short; nor by conditions of labor, no matter how ideal. It cannot be ended while our present capitalistic system lasts, nor can it be ended by the creation of a communistic regime. In a capitalistic civilization you will always have the capitalist on top and the worker underneath. In a communistic civilization you will have the worker on top and the capitalist—now termed a parasite—underneath. In neither civilization will the other get justice. Neither is ideal, and both must give way to a new type of civilization where both the class war and classes shall end, and justice be accorded all. Those who think eternal class war inescapable will regard this as utopian; but I believe men capable of life above that of snarling dogs and that utopia is just around the corner, after all.

### IX.

But how shall it be brought to pass? The answer is found in one word. James Harvey Robinson in his wonderful book, "The Mind in the Making," defines that word as we use it. The magic word is *Education*. But the education must be such as "will open the seven sealed books of life." There must be a re-teaching and re-interpretation of history, casting aside the god of nationalism and arousing the yearning for a world state. The great destroyers of life must no longer be taught as great, but those who have aided life. War must be seen as evil—and imperialism as a slimy monster. Nation must not be exalted above nation—but all men thought of as brothers. Literature must be read with new vision. Geography must be taught with a new viewpoint—and man and his habitat pictured as varieties of the one race—all brothers. There must be no overlords, but instead fellow servants. Science and civics must be taught as those things which are to enlarge life in the great world state. "It must come to pass, or man must perish as the result of his own inventions. The time may be much longer than our hopes and much shorter than our fears."

But it must come. Ours is the high privilege to work for its coming.

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# Open Forum

## THE SOCIALIST PARTY AND THE NEGRO

Letter in New York "Call," June 26, 1923.

### A CANARD NAILED

Editor of The New York Call: It has been charged by some Communists and the capitalist press that in the recent national convention of the Socialist party a certain delegate from one of the Southern states rose and defended the old Ku Klux Klan, saying that it was formed for the protection of white women and children, inferring, no doubt, that the new one is for no dissimilar purpose. It is further charged that this view of the Klan was not combated from the floor by any of the delegates present. I would like to know whether this is true, and if so, I would like to hear the Socialist version and explanation.

Later on, I have been informed by the Communists and the "kept" press, an amendment went through concerning the wording of the resolution pertaining to the Socialist stand in regard to Negroes. It is said that it was moved and seconded that the word "co-operate" be inserted in place of the word "fraternize." I would like also to know whether this is true or false. If true, I would like to know the Socialist explanation.

As a Negro, a Socialist and a reader of *The Call* for years, I feel that I am due an explanation of the charges from the official organ of the Socialist party.

GEORGE S. SCHUYLER.

### AND THE REPLY

*It is true that one Southern delegate to the recent Socialist national convention said a good word for the old Ku Klux Klan, quite casually, in the course of a debate. It is decidedly not true that he inferred "that the new one is for no dissimilar purpose"; indeed, in commending the old K. K. K., he went out of his way to say that he vehemently opposed the present K. K. K.*

*If anyone charges that "this view of the Klan was not combated from the floor by any one of the delegates present" he is stating a deliberate falsehood. The moment the Southern delegate took his seat the floor was taken by Cameron H. King, delegate from California, who said, "The old Ku Klux Klan was a brutal, bloody and inhuman organization. The new Ku Klux Klan is a brutal, bloody and inhuman organization, and I object to the deletion of any phrase in deference to Southern slaveholders or their descendents." This sentiment was enthusiastically cheered, King being unable to proceed for several moments. If those who denounce the Socialist party were in the gallery they would have heard King's speech and the reception it received, as contrasted to the cold silence with which the defense of the old K. K. K. was received. If they had merely heard about it, reference to *The Call* of May 23 would have disabused their minds; that is, if they were sincerely seeking the truth of the Socialist party's stand on the Negro question.*

*The Socialist resolution on the Negro question was drawn up in consultation with Negro members of the party, and it was approved by a number of active Negro Socialists before it was presented. If there is any criticism of the party's stand upon the question, reference to the text of the resolution,*

*printed in *The Call* May 23, is a sufficient reply. If critics of the Socialist party do not like that resolution they are at liberty to withhold their support from the party. But decency should dictate that in attacking the party they stick to facts—especially when the facts are a matter of record, easily produced.—Editor.*

Another Letter, June 29, 1923.

### THE SOCIALIST PARTY AND THE NEGRO

Editor of *The Call*: Your informative answer to my letter in *The Call* of June 26 was read with much interest. While it is true that the matter referred to appeared in *The Call*, it is also true that since that time a considerable amount of pernicious propaganda has been circulated among Negroes by the enemies of the Socialist party in regard to the questions answered in your reply to my letter. The memories of people are pretty short, and it is necessary to repeat the facts of a situation from time to time in order to scotch any distortions of the truth. Then, too, busy people do not always have time to read everything in the paper every day.

This charge was first made by Communists in the Forum of the Friends of Negro Freedom. Frank R. Crosswaithe ably answered it. Now comes the widely read Negro magazine, *The Crisis*, edited by W. E. B. DuBois, with a similar charge. On page 126 of the July number, "The Record of the Darker Races" says:

"Is it not unfortunate that at this critical period in the history of the Negro voter the Farmer-Labor party is 'ducking' all the issues in which black men are primarily interested, and the Socialists are openly refusing to 'fraternize' with the Negroes?"

Because of the prestige and influence of *The Crisis* and its editor such statements are bound to have some weight with many thousands of Negroes throughout the United States who read the organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The files of *The Call* were also available to these journalistic critics, and as you say "decency should dictate that in attacking the party they stick to the facts—especially when the facts are a matter of record, easily produced." But evidently they did not read the facts in *The Call*, or they wished deliberately to mislead. Of course, this is to be expected of the Communists. Some people who should know better have repeated the story.

You can see, therefore, that it was necessary for someone to write to *The Call* and have them repeat the facts of the matter for the benefit of friends and the discomfiture of foes. Certain advocates of the ancient and simple policy of "rewarding friends and punishing enemies" are anxious to prevent the Negro worker from marching under the banner of the Socialist party in order that they or their "friends" may yank political plums from the Demo-Repo tree, as of yore. Then, too, the "bitterest enders" are busily trying to "bore from within" and stoop to any falsities to place obstacles in the way of our party's progress among Negroes, in obedience to the bulls from Moscow.

Your answer to my letter can do much to thwart the efforts of gentlemen of the stripe described above. I am,

Fraternally yours,

GEORGE S. SCHUYLER.

### REPLY

#### THE PARTY AND THE NEGROES

By W. M. FEIGENBAUM

Considerable discussion has arisen over the position of the Socialist party toward the Negroes as the result of attacks on the party since the recent national convention.

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While the Socialist party passed a resolution on the Negro question at the 1923 convention not dissimilar to resolutions at previous conventions, enemies of the party have undertaken to misrepresent the position of the party and have spread misstatements among Negro radicals.

The specific charges were mentioned in a letter printed in the *Mail Bag* on Tuesday of this week and answered then. In today's *Call* George S. Schuyler, author of the first letter, explains the nature and extent of the campaign of mendacity against the Socialist party, both on the part of the Negro "leaders" who seek to lead their people into the Democratic party and those who seek to lead them into Communism.

#### Call Reprints Resolution

In order that the stand of the Socialist party in the matter of the Negro question might be stated once and for all, The *Call* herewith reprints the resolution passed May 22 at the Socialist national convention.

The resolution was adopted unanimously and with considerable enthusiasm, but it represents no new principles. Resolutions similar to this have been passed by the party constantly since its organization. In addition, the Socialist party has done more than pass resolutions on the question of racial equality; it has practised it and lived it in spite of persecution and loss of opportunities as a result.

The resolution, which is the Socialist party's position on the Negro question, is as follows:

"The national convention of the Socialist party records its hearty appreciation of the Negro Socialists, who are doing so much to awaken the Negro workers to a knowledge of Socialism. The convention commends to the earnest consideration of all white wage workers the necessity of co-operation with the Negro workers, encouraging their organization in labor unions and breaking down the prejudices that still survive.

#### Demands War on K. K. K.

"Not until the white worker recognizes that the Negro worker is a part of the wage-working class and has problems similar to his will the Socialist movement and the trade unions acquire the power and influence that should be theirs. Every tendency that promotes sympathy and mutual understanding between the Negro and white worker must be encouraged for the purpose of strengthening the labor movement itself.

"Above all, the white wage workers should wage an unrelenting warfare of education against such bigoted and reactionary movements as the Ku Klux Klan, which aim to make of the Negro people a race of serfs, to be perpetually exploited by a white ruling class. Our Negro brothers are the special victims of Klanism. Their fathers had a terrible experience with this brutal and ignorant organized prejudice against color. This reactionary movement against the Negro workers is equally dangerous to the white workers, and both have a common cause against it.

"The convention especially commends the organ of the Negro Socialists, THE MESSENGER, as a scholarly publication of great value in educating Negro workers and fitting them to cope with the problems that bear with peculiar harshness on all Negro workers. The convention urges the white Comrades to aid our Negro Comrades in extending the circulation and influence of THE MESSENGER so that its service to the cause of emancipation may be increased manifold."

*Editorial, New York Call, June 29, 1923.*

#### SOME NEGRO "LEADERSHIP"

We have always entertained a high opinion of *The Crisis*, the monthly magazine of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and its editor, W. E. Burghardt Du Bois. For a number of years it has liberally quoted from these columns what *The Call* has said in behalf of the claims of the Negro race. *The Crisis* knows where *The Call*, the American Labor party, the Farmer-Labor party and the Socialist party stand on this question.

However, the July issue of *The Crisis* carries an editorial that reflects no credit for the magazine or its editor. Curiously enough, this issue is announced as the "Twelfth Annual Education Number." After more than two columns of matter, which are devoted to a consideration of what the Negro people may get from the two parties of capitalism or some of the "friends" they may nominate, the editorial concludes by observing:

"Is it not unfortunate that at this critical period in the history of the Negro voter the Farmer-Labor party is "ducking" all the issues in which black men are primarily interested, and the Socialists are openly refusing to 'fraternize' with Negroes?"

It is not too much to say that this is contemptible considering the fact that the sentiment above applies to the two major parties with which *The Crisis* editorial flirts and also the fact that the only parties that have squarely taken a stand for the claims of the Negro people are the parties which it claims are "ducking" and refusing to "fraternize."

We have entertained a high regard for *The Crisis*, but if this is the type of political leadership that is to guide the Negro masses out of the morass of social ostracism, political exclusion, lynching, and economic servitude, then the Negro has a thorny path yet to tread before he shakes off the chains that bind him.

*New York "Call," July 4, 1923.*

#### AN OPEN LETTER TO "THE CRISIS"

By FRANK R. CROSSWAITH,

*Member of the 21st A. D., Socialist Party.*

Since the recent convention of the Socialist party in this city the air has been thickened with many "poison gas lies" spread by those recognized enemies of the party, until now even those who should know better have become affected and are repeating these falsehoods.

It has been charged by these wreckers that the Socialist party is prejudiced against the Negro to the extent that it openly refuses to "fraternize" with Negroes; in other words, the attitude of the Socialist party toward the Negro is questioned. I do not think it worth while to waste any time in answering the Communists who make these charges, for their reputation as "aliens to truth" is a matter of universal knowledge. But when these falsehoods for some reason or other are taken up and repeated by people who should know better it is time then for us to call a spade by its right name.

In the July number of *The Crisis* magazine considerable space is devoted to a discussion of the probable attitude of the Negro voter in the presidential campaign in 1924. It is significant to note that in dealing with this question the writer very carefully avoids mentioning any other political organization but the two old parties of Wall Street. He also very subtly and conveniently steered clear of even a reference to those Negroes who were candidates on tickets other than the Republican and Democratic parties.

#### Quotes "Crisis" Statement

As a matter of fact, any unprejudiced reader before proceeding very far into the body of the article would become convinced that this "Negro political prophet" was making "goo-goo eyes" at the Democratic party. That, however, is not the chief offense. The crime occurs when in closing the article he mentions, for the first and only time, the Farmer-Labor and Socialist parties in these words: "Is it not unfortunate that at this critical period in the history of the Negro voter the Farmer-Labor party is ducking all of the issues in which black men are primarily interested, while the Socialists are openly refusing to fraternize with Negroes?"

It seems, indeed, a strange performance for any honest person to so charge the Socialist party or to question in any way its attitude in regard to the rights, all the rights, of the Negro; for history shows no record so persistently spotless in its stand on the Negro question as that of the Socialist movement, from the formation of the first International, under the guidance of Karl Marx, until today.

Every unprejudiced man and woman who reads and thinks knows that the Socialist party has always taken the right stand in regard to the Negro. In the dark and barbarous Southland

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the Socialist movement has made but little progress, due in large part to the fact that it must first break down barriers of prejudice, ignorance and hate, erected chiefly against the Negro. Most Southerners are bitterly opposed to Socialism and the Socialist party for no other reason than it has taken the right attitude on the Negro question.

#### Queries "Crisis"

The *Searchlight*, official organ of the Ku Klux Klan, in its campaign against radicalism, pointed out in its issue of September 30, 1922, as one of the greatest crimes of the Socialists the fact that they were appealing to Negroes to join with them on the plane of common equality.

But since *The Crisis* carries at its masthead the proud boast of being "A Record of the Darker Races," it might be well that this record be a clear one; and in order to assist in making it clear I desire to ask some pointed questions.

In 1918, in the midst of the world's slaughter, at a time when countless numbers of black and white workingmen were being offered up on the bloody altar of war and profit, a congressional election took place in this city. In Negro Harlem, a stalwart and fearless champion of the Negro race, George Frazier Miller, was nominated by the Socialist party to represent the 21st district in the U. S. House of Representatives.

The Socialist party nominated Comrade Miller and presented him to the Negro voters of Harlem, primarily because he stood staunchly for the economic freedom of all men regardless of race, color, religion or nationality, and to give Negroes the opportunity denied them by the Republicans and Democrats, to have one of their race in a position to voice the race's claims for social justice before the tribunal of the nation during and after the period of the war.

#### Randolph Ignored, Charge

May I not be bold enough to ask, Why did not *The Crisis* and the N. A. A. C. P. have something, no matter how little, to say in behalf of this Negro candidate who at the time was an officer of the association?

Again in 1920 the Socialist party nominated for Controller of the State of New York a Negro, a scholar, one of the most eloquent and dauntless fighters for Negro rights, in the person of A. Philip Randolph. Certainly that was a distinct advance in the political life of Negro Americans, but again the "record of the darker races" had nothing to say of this giant young Negro. Why, I ask?

In the election of 1922 the Socialist party again gave a place on its state ticket, as Secretary of State, to Comrade Randolph. This was indeed a milestone in the political journey of the Negro race. What could be nobler, what could lend greater courage and prestige to the claims of the coming generations of black Americans than the fact that one of their race was actually nominated by one of the major parties for the high office of Secretary of State of the greatest state in the very land in which their fathers had been slaves? Yet the N. A. A. C. P. and the "record of the darker races" completely ignored this historic fact. Again, I ask why?

I have noticed *The Crisis* going out of its way to record the nomination and election of Negroes on the tickets of the Republican and Democratic parties, while persistently ignoring like candidates on any other party's ticket. There must be a reason for this strange procedure, and I boldly ask *The Crisis* and the N. A. A. C. P. to state the reason.

Surely at this crucial hour in the life of the American Negro no one who essays to lead can afford to withhold from the masses truths which will enable them to find a way out of their present chaotic condition. Great questions are being answered in the world of men today; mighty and far-reaching decisions are being made; the human race is again girdling its loins in an effort to move forward in its never-ending march of progress.

The Negro's destiny is fatally and indissolubly united with the fate of all mankind in this dark hour. Never before has the need been so manifest as now for sound leadership, well-informed and open-minded leadership, and, above all, for honest leadership.

Never again must the entire Negro race be handed over body and soul to their oppressors; never again must it be recorded that all Negroes are of one political faith. The time has come when the light of reason and self-interest—"not custom," intelligence, "not prejudice"—should be the guiding stars to illuminate the Negro's path to freedom.

And, prompted by no other motive but a sincere desire to contribute something, no matter how insignificant, to the

enlightenment of my race, hoping in turn to be enlightened by those in the position to enlighten me, I boldly but respectfully ask:

**Is it or is it not to the best interest of the race to espouse the cause of Socialism and the social revolution; or, will the race's best interest be served by further aligning ourselves with the Republican and Democratic parties?**

EDITORS OF THE MESSENGER,  
2305 Seventh Avenue,  
New York City.

Detroit, Mich.,  
July 8, 1923.

DEAR SIR:

In the issue of *The Crisis* for July, 1923, the following statement appears under the topic, "Political Straws": Is it not unfortunate that at this critical period in the history of the Negro voter, the Farmer-Labor Party is "ducking" all the issues in which black men are primarily interested; and the Socialists are openly refusing to "fraternize" with Negroes?

Please advise me as to the truthfulness of the above statement, especially the section in regard to the Socialists.

Yours truly,  
F. W. CRAWFORD.

MR. F. W. CRAWFORD,  
3632 St. Antoine St.,  
Detroit, Michigan.

July 10, 1923.

MY DEAR MR. CRAWFORD:

Your query of the 8th inst. at hand. We have also read the article in *The Crisis* to which you refer, and after considerable investigation, it appears that there is no basis for the statement. In looking over the minutes of the recent Socialist Convention we found no evidence which would lead even the most prejudiced person to assume that the Socialist party is openly or secretly refusing to fraternize with Negroes.

We have gathered considerable data on the subject because we knew that the article in *The Crisis* would bring questions which would deserve an answer. We cannot send you this data, but you can write to the *New York Call*, 112 Fourth Avenue, New York City, for copies of the *New York Call* of June 26 and 29, and July 4, 1923, on the 7th and 8th pages of which are articles and letters dealing with the matter. Also in the *New York Call* of May 23rd you will find a full account of the action of the Socialist Convention in regard to Negroes. The *Call* is 3c. a copy outside of New York.

In our opinion, no other political party has done as much as the Socialist party to demonstrate the oneness of mankind and the necessity of international and interracial solidarity of labor.

Yours very truly,  
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH.

#### NOTE

THE MESSENGER's Popularity Drive starts in the world's largest community of Negroes, Harlem, this month. The territory will be extended each month until it covers "These 'Colored' United States."

By Christmas, 1923, the foremost journal of New Opinion of the New Negro will have 250,000 readers. CAN YOU AFFORD NOT TO READ THE MESSENGER? See back cover for subscription offers.

Mr. Owen will return to his desk the 1st of August from a successful 10,000-mile lecture tour from coast to coast.

Destroy  
the  
Klan  
before  
it  
destroys  
you



Keep  
the  
white  
light of  
publicity  
turned  
on it

(Continued from page 785)

of wreaking revenge for personal dislikes and animosities and in this way many outrages were perpetrated ultimately resulting in casting so much well deserved odium on the whole concern that about 1870 there was an almost universal collapse; all the good and brave men abandoning it in disgust." (Quoted from Lester and Wilson: "The Ku Klux Klan.")

The Klan had now become so great a menace that President Grant, who had been threatening the South with a third invasion of the Union army for some time, decided on direct action. In March, 1871, he asked Congress for power to act against the Klan. Congress replied by passing the Ku Klux Act, placing the army and navy at the disposal of the President, and making it a criminal offence "to go in disguise upon the public highway or on the premises of another." In October the President decided to make war on the Klan. He selected nine counties in North Carolina and began with them. After minor clashes with the Federal troops, two hundred klansmen were captured and brought to trial. The report of these and other trials and investigations in other states are deposited in the reports of the trial already cited and in the thirteen volumes of U. S. Ku Klux reports.

**Verbiage of the Klan—Forms of Threat Issued**

The mighty hob-goblins of the Confederate dead in Hell-a-Bulloo assembled.

Revenge, Revenge.

Be secret, be cautious, be terrible.

By special grant, Hell freezes over for your passage. Offended ghosts, put on your skates and cross over to Mother Earth.

Ye white men, who stick to black, soulless beasts! The time arrives for you to part. Q, W, X, W, V, U, and so on from Alpha to Omega.

Ye niggers, who stick to low whites!

Begone, begone, begone, the world turns around—the thirteenth hour approaches.

Enemies reform! The skies shall be blackened.

A single star shall look down upon horrible deeds. The night-owl shall hoot a requiem o'er Ghostly Corpses.

Beware! Beware! Beware!

The Great Cyclops is angry! Hobgoblins report! Shears and Lash! Tar and Feathers! Hell and Fury! Revenge! Revenge! Revenge!

Bad men—white, yellow, black—repent!

("Ku Klux Klan," by J. C. Lester and D. L. Wilson.)

(To be Concluded)

(Continued from page 786)

The big thing about all this is that we've achieved our prosperity without sacrificing our freedom and up-standing manhood. After all, the main thing that distinguishes us Americans from other nations is our love of liberty. And we Marylanders are the most liberty loving Americans in these States. Our history proves it. We fought and died for the old flag in the Revolutionary War, and in the War of 1812 we gave the country a great victory and the National Anthem. In the Civil War, when Massachusetts soldiers closed in on us before we could get a chance to line up with Jeff Davis and fight for the South's liberty to hold slaves, one of our citizens named Randall wrote another national anthem especially for us, so we could express our martial ardor vicariously, in a Freudian fashion. If there is another such rococo record of devotion to liberty in the annals of these States I have yet to hear of it.

There are captious people, I suppose, who will argue that the success the State has achieved in other lines is compromised by its failure to handle the Negro problem in a proper way. In answer to that I can only say that the Nordic go-getters who run the State are only human, and you can't expect them to be perfect in every respect. Besides, when you take a broad view of it, the way they're handling the race question isn't bad at all.

It is true that there are no nigger-read-and-run signs on the public highways, as there are in other places in the South; and in Baltimore City there are no dogs-and-niggers-not-allowed placards gracing the public parks. It is also true that the fine old pastime of lynching has fallen somewhat in decline; that is, compared with former standards. A disfranchising act, with a nifty grandfather clause and a property qualification clause and other up-to-date appurtenances, failed to go over; a ghetto law was passed once, but it wouldn't work; and the jim crow law is so imperfect that a Negro can ride in a white coach from one end of the State to the other if he wants to take the time and trouble. So far this looks like a flat failure to uphold the tradition of blond truculence in the presence of an "inferior" race, but read on and see how education and example have won the results coercion failed to obtain.

A Maryland Negro named Fred Douglas made quite a stir in the world once. He was born a slave, but before he died he made himself one of the foremost figures of his time, a renowned publicist, associate of diplomats and statesmen, and envoy of his government to a foreign country. One Northern city has named a public square after him and another has erected a monument in his honor. Do the histories we buy for our colored schools tell all about him, so little black Marylanders can be inspired by his example and emulate him? I'll tell the world they do not. And when we look beyond our borders for a hero to canonize we never forget to make sure his complexion was right. The reward of our constant vigilance is this: for every fifty Marylanders who know that Freedom shrieked when Kosciusko fell, you'll have a hard time finding one who knows that Toussaint L'Overture ever lived. So much for what is being achieved through education.

The results we're getting by making ourselves an example of sound Americanism are still more gratify-

ing. If you observe Maryland's sepia Society of doctors, lawyers, ministers and school teachers, you will find that it differs very little from Maryland's blond Society of bankers and merchants and their female satellites, except that the latter are richer and more accustomed to circumstance. And the denizens of Druid Hill Avenue are working three shifts and overtime to eliminate the remaining differences. It's really inspiring to see the enthusiastic way they're going in for Elks Lodges, Y. M. C. A. drives, sensational journalism and political crusades. They're branching out in business in a small way, too, being engaged in operating various enterprises ranging from drugstores to a steamboat line. The expansion of Johns Hopkins University has been matched by their enlargement of Morgan College. The black wards vote as wise as you can expect, and usually elect a sound colored man, sometimes two, to represent them in the Baltimore City Council. I could go on for hours describing how the black Marylanders are advancing along the main lines of progress where white Marylanders have led the way, but I guess I've pointed to enough instances already. There are still points of friction between the races, I admit, but their number is constantly diminishing; for when a black man sets a white man up for a pattern he can't help admiring him in his heart, and a white man can't help being flattered by seeing himself exalted to the rank of an exemplar. I don't think I'm stretching it a bit when I say that an era of good feeling exists among us, and I'll shout it loud that our way of handling the color question has the old system of antagonism and oppression beat a mile.

I'm glad I branched off on this color question now; it helps to illustrate what a sane and solid State we've developed. When I tell you that every year Negroes own more farms than they owned the year before it gives you an idea of how deep rooted our prosperity is. Keeping the whole population of a community saturated with prosperity like that is the best guarantee of stability you can have. Nothing makes a man a satisfied plugger and booster like owning a little property or being sure of a good job. Well, we've sold the American idea with so much success that even black Marylanders are on the side of normalcy.

(Continued from page 788)

lawyers were getting enormous "rake-offs." Quack doctors were reaping a harvest from worried patrons of the houses with the big numbers. Nearly every community was, like Philadelphia, corrupt and contented.

The national reform wave engineered about a dozen or more years ago by the "better" classes who are ever solicitous about removing the nonconformist mote from the moral eye of their fellow citizens, had as its object the obliteration of prostitution, liquor and drugs. Vice was to be banished, and virtue was to cast her mantle over the "thy woods and templed hills." Youth was to be protected, and tired business men were to be forced to spend their evenings at home or in the exciting atmosphere of the Y. M. C. A. The source of graft was to be dried up, and contractors were to mourn the slump in jail building. Carrie Nation and Anthony Comstock were to be the apotheosis of all that was fine in American life. The millennium was

just around the corner impatiently waiting to be ushered in by the sanctified legions of the W. C. T. U., the Purity Squads and the Vice Crusaders. The moral forces of the nation were greatly encouraged by the rally of the best people to the campaign as evidenced by the generous doles from superannuated plutocrats. The Anti-Cigarette League and the Prohibitionists gained a new lease on life and went about their self-appointed tasks with renewed zeal.

Section after section in various states followed the example of Maine and Kansas, swapping *Canadian Club* and *Old Green River* for *Bay Rum* and *Hos-tetter's Bitters*. Entire states in the southern tier hoisted the banner of the camel *rampant* and unan- imously decided to celebrate the semi-weekly lynching with Spring Tonics, Lemon Extract or "white mule." The Mann Act was passed, and an obnoxious Negro pugilist was about the only person ever convicted under it. If all the violators of this law were to die to-morrow, the undertakers would rejoice more than they did when the government decided to bring back the bodies of the boys who made the world safe for democracy. The Harrison Anti-Drug Act was also very effective in making the wholesale drug houses more careful in the falsifying of their accounts. There are only about two million drug addicts in America, so it is evident that the law had some effect. Hence the good work has borne fruit.

The Anti-Saloon League salariat rubbed their hands with glee at the promising days ahead, and with re- newed energy from a generous infusion of Standard Oil profits, started their great campaign about three years before the Volstead Disaster. First, war-time prohibition, and then the much celeb(e)rated Eight- eenth "Commandment" dashed the hopes of the devo- tees of Bacchus. The last stronghold of vice and crime was taken, and only the imminent triumph of the Lord's Day Alliance was necessary to usher in the Puritan utopia of pink lemonade, austere counte- nances, psalm-singing and lollypops. The protuberant abdomen of Brother Bryan shook with triumphant glee and the soft-drink manufacturers sighed with con- tentment.

Yes! We have no Prohibition! The days of the "red lights" are gone. The era of the pocket flask is here. Much liquor has flooded the sewers of this land of "normalcy" since these great changes took place. Yet, with increasing misgivings, Uncle Sam contemplates in the mirror of reality the crown of virtue and aridity that graces his polyglot brow. Vice is still "among those present." The underworld types though somewhat scattered are still in our midst. There have been great changes. If we think of hon- esty in its contemporary sense of hypocrisy, pretense and fraud; there is more honesty.

The underworld denizens were distinguished in an earlier day by their brazen and forward manner, shameless conduct, disdain of the law, abnormal sex

practices, and lavish use of cosmetics. Nowadays they can be less easily pointed out. Saloons have largely been superseded by "delicatessen" stores and "pharmacies." Great numbers of "athletic" clubs have sprung up. There has been, in the realm of prostitution, a return to a less highly developed form of industry and control. Formerly great trusts and corporations owned hundreds of houses and controlled the lives of thousands of women. It is alleged by cer- tain muckrakers that the richest church in New York City did excellent missionary work with the rents from several such houses. This is undoubtedly false, since such a thing would be contrary to the tenets of the Christian faith. The venerated American eco- nomic maxim, "Every man for himself," now guides the activities of the "fallen" woman, and, outside of the usual toll extracted by the police and rooming house keepers, all surplus goes to her. Now let the Socialists rant about bourgeois destruction of indi- vidualism in the face of this concrete evidence! Pro- hibition enforcement and private detective agencies have lured many proficient gunmen and safe-blowers (*peter-men*), into their fold. Many gamblers and pickpockets (dips), have obeyed the mandate of re- form and entered the more respectable business of promoting "oil" wells. Many hard pressed counter- feiterers have taken to the hardly less lucrative pastime of reproducing Haig and Haig labels and revenue stamps. Invention, too, has aided the forces of law and order. The introduction of check protectors and burglar alarms has driven the desperate gunmen to the adoption of Jesse James methods. The "good old days" of isolated "wide open" vice have gone. A more clandestine, unrestricted vice has taken its place. Dice and pocket flasks were once banned by the best people. Now everyone with sufficient funds has his or her "Mississippi Marbles," and hip pocket or hand- bag oasis. Little boys and girls used to be warned off streets where "naughty" people lived. Such an injunction nowadays would make them recluses. In nearly every American city the old "red light" dis- tricts have apparently been abolished, though some cynical individuals aver they have been extended to the boundaries of the communities. The "Bowery" and the "Barbary Coast" are unrecognizable. Yet, all does not seem to be well. Recently the welkin has rung with the strident yelps of the purifiers concern- ing the "looseness" of the younger generation. Why the younger generation are singled out for this criti- cism we have failed to hear. One often wonders how much the progress of our wonderful machine "civiliza- tion" with its slums, congested "homes," lack of privacy, dehumanizing labor, and extremes of wealth and poverty has had to do with conditions as they exist today. No one will deny that the "breezy" type of "literature," curiously overlooked by the Sumner- ites, and the elevating "news" purveyed by our large "day-lies" has hastened the spread of virtue and

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morality; granted that the "spread" is thin. There is more sympathy shown for the folk farthest down than ever before; probably due to a guilty social conscience. A moral revaluation is going on constantly. Marx and Engels admirably sum up the situation in their "Communist Manifesto": "All fixed, fast-frozen relations, with their train of venerable prejudices and opinions, are swept away, all new formed ones become antiquated before they can ossify. All that is solid melts into the air, all that is holy is profaned, and man is at last compelled to face with sober senses his real conditions of life and his relations with his kind." Surprising changes in morals, manners and customs take place with amazing rapidity. We were absent from the United States at one time for a period of four or five years, and upon our return we were truly surprised to find the best people had imported the suggestive "dances" and "blues" from the levee resorts and the cellars of the "red light" districts. A lawyer friend invited us to an exclusive affair given for the "nice" people of a mid-western city. Only his repeated assurances prevented us from concluding that we had entered the wrong place!

There are certain distinct types among the folk farthest down: the prostitute, the pimp who lives off her earnings, the sexual perverts, the gangsters, gunmen, pickpockets, "queer pushers," and bums. Upon their shoulders sit the drug peddlers, like the Old Man of the Sea. They all feed upon the social organism. They infest the places of recreation, amusement and refreshment, both proletarian and bourgeois. Some are in rags and poverty. Others are in fine feathers, especially the new middle class (the bootleggers), the stock swindlers, and the "heavy sugar babies."

The seeming solicitude of the police for these underworld folk is probably due to the fact that a large number of convictions and a general clean-up would cause a diminution in the volume of revenue extracted for "protection," sometimes vulgarly termed "graft." This *must* not happen. Where would the campaign funds come from? There is as much or more "graft" to be drained from the profits of the underworld than formerly. It is a little more difficult to gather, but it IS gathered. Constitutional government and our democratic institutions must be preserved.

Homosexual practices and heterosexual perversions are almost universal amongst the folk farthest down, and many upper class perverts, unknown to their business and private associates, trip blithely down into the underworld to indulge in these practices. "He is a beast," says one female prostitute of a nationally known publisher. A prominent banker is nicknamed "Titanic" by the "fallen" women with whom he spends his time away from the fireside. The poorer perverts are forced to charge for their services, but those with large wads of *dinero* are spared the taint of commercialism.

The male prostitute affects and accentuates all the mannerisms of the female. He (?) uses the loudest perfumes, powders and paints lavishly. He (?) is known among the fraternity by such feminine cognomens as "Salome," "Madeline," "Nellie," etc. He (?)

\* Not a publication of the "radical" psychopathic phraseocracy in Moscow (whose every thesis is faithfully repeated word for word by their romantic dupes in the fruit cellars and sand dunes of America), but a pamphlet written in 1848 by scientific thinkers, who realized that social changes are not produced by parroting imported ritual.

announces his presence by exaggerated womanly expressions and stage titters. Some real men hanker to pummel him; others are more indulgent. They have not yet gained favor with the police, thus suffering a disadvantage not shared by their female competitors. When caught they are sent to the county jail among comparatively innocent youths, and following a short stay in one of our criminal training schools, they are turned loose upon society after their post graduate course in perversion is completed. In this way our far-seeing law makers are doing much to stamp out the practice. Any place where great numbers of men are massed with no ready access to the opposite sex, such as the jails, "reformatories," labor camps, isolated army posts, and the navy, are breeding places for these "queer" folk.

The female pervert who takes the aggressive role in homosexual practices affects and exaggerates the mannerisms of the masculine; bass voice, mannish walk, etc. Often they are maintained by a prostitute. They boast of their ability to "take any woman away from her man." A pimp generally becomes uneasy when one of these "bulls" engages his girl in conversation. The female homosexual pervert strives for the companionship of young, unsophisticated girls.

Few people are able to face the realities of life without a stimulant. Yet they cry with Omar:

"Would but the Fountain of the Desert yield  
One glimpse, if dimly, yet revealed;  
To which the fainting traveler might spring,  
As springs the trampled herbage of the field."

They are like Plato's cave people described in the "Republic," who saw only the shadows of passers-by thrown on the walls of their prison. To them, these grotesque silhouettes were the real thing. So, to those who have constructed an elaborate maze of mystical illusions about life, the reality is devastating. Only narcotics offer many of them an escape into the World As They Would Have It. Once in the grip of the octopus, Habit, there is little likelihood of escape as long as drugs can be obtained.

A large number of the folk farthest down have deliberately chosen the underworld life because there was no other way for them to obtain sufficient money to obtain drugs. Since most of them are poor, the cheaper drugs, heroin and cocaine, are more widely used. Heroin makes the user "dopey." Cocaine gives one "pep" and "nerve." Heroin is a manufactured derivative of opium, while cocaine is obtained from the coco shrub. The use of morphine, another opium derivative, is more general among the wealthier or better classes. Opium, if smoked (and most users smoke it), is the least dangerous of any of the drugs above named. One may smoke opium for years and retain one's physical and mental powers. Furthermore, it is the least habit forming of all the drugs. But opium, because of its odor, paraphernalia necessary to preparation for smoking, and difficulty of transportation, is very costly. Hence the poorer addicts have to restrict themselves to the cheaper drugs. Morphine, heroin and cocaine, in the order named, are much more dangerous. Most of the "cures" are just a waste of time because the addict generally returns to his "stuff." About the only solution to the drug problem is to place it beyond the reach of the addicts. So long as the business of drug importation, and the forces

regulating it, are privately owned, we can look forward to drug addiction, since most of the drugs used enter the country legally. The use of drugs is becoming universal. If the march of civilization continues, there will soon be as many addicts in Pekin as in New York.

Life is cheap amongst the folk farthest down. Both sexes often take life with the nonchalance of a society woman making herself a widow, or a United States Marine "restoring order" in a Caribbean Republic. During the war, many criminals were "freed" to join the army and die for their country, thus reducing the criminal population and saving electric current. One of the toughest gunmen in New York City who was freed from a murder charge in Sing Sing to fight for democracy, slaughtered so many Germans that a grateful country loaded him with medals and the governor of his state joyfully returned his citizenship.

There are about two or three million of these folk farthest down residing in "God's Country," and the number is increasing. Many of them are Negroes. What is true of the whites is true of the Negroes. There are the same drug addicts, dope peddlers, criminals, prostitutes, perverts and bums. Probably there is a disproportionate number of blacks in the underworld because economic opportunities are less, rents (levied by Negro agents!) are more exorbitant, which makes congestion a necessity, there are more women than men in the urban communities, while both men and women are paid much lower wages than the whites. This is true of every group that does not

enjoy economic and social equality. There is more mixing of the races in the underworld than elsewhere, but often, even among the bums, the social rot, one is liable to hear the American National anthem, "I am a white man."

All that was normal capitalism is making abnormal. All that was sacred is tainted with the spirit of the market place; even marriage. When the brawn and intellect of humanity are prostituted in the stampede for gold, can the body escape? In an unhealthy atmosphere we must expect unhealthy people, unhealthy ideas, an unhealthy and destructive set of conventions and customs. Capitalism creates an unhealthy atmosphere. It has profaned everything that was held sacred. It has splashed with gold the highest ideals and aspirations of mankind. Its insane hustle and bustle on the treadmill of machine production has caused all but an infinitesimal minority of mankind to cast aside all decency, all respect, all restraint in pursuit of the Almighty Dollar. From the Argentine to Alaska, from Hoboken to Hong Kong, all humanity cries in many languages, "In Gold We Trust." Capitalism with its gross inequalities, its brutalizing machine slavery, its elevation of the mediocre, its academic department stores, its bestial slums and hordes of misfits, must go ere the fumes of its rottenness asphyxiate it. Doubtless there will always be mental and physical defectives and social misfits, but we shall be treating them in psychopathic clinics instead of breeding them in slums and training them in prisons.

## THE FRIENDS OF NEGRO FREEDOM

### Fighting Segregation in Philadelphia

The Philadelphia Council of the Friends of Negro Freedom held its first big meeting in a crusade against segregation in the public schools of Philadelphia, in the Dunbar Theatre, Sunday, July 1st. A. Philip Randolph was the principal speaker. Short, interesting addresses were made by the Reverends John Logan and Chas. A. Tindley. The music was furnished by Prof. Carl Diton. Rev. Imes presided. The meeting was arranged by Miss Lillian Fairfax, Executive Secretary of the Council.

The Chicago Council has had a promising beginning. The council was launched at a reception tendered Mr. Owen in the beautiful drawing rooms of the University School of Music. Mr. W. D. Allimono was master of ceremonies. Mrs. R. C. Olee and Mrs. Olivia Ward Bush-Banks were elected President and Secretary, respectively.

The Barn Dance of April 20, the first large entertainment to be given by the Friends in New York, was very well attended by happy, interested and pleasure-loving Harlemites. The music was good and the refreshments very tasty, excellently prepared and well served. A slight deficit of \$3.50 was incurred.

On the 16th of June the New York Council held a Whist Party and Dance at the residence of Miss Elizabeth Jones, 414 St. Nicholas Avenue. This affair

was very well attended by a gay crowd of Friends. The credit for the success of the affair is due the Misses Arizona Jenkins, Elizabeth Jones, Nora Newsome and Mrs. Mae Rogers. The affair netted the Council \$20.90.

For any information concerning literature, formation of councils, etc., write to National Office, 2305 Seventh Avenue, New York City.

Bishop Cyrus Hawkins of Cedar Grove, La., has recently organized a large Council of twenty-five members who are all very enthusiastic about the Friends of Negro Freedom.

We are informed by Miss Kate White Harris, the guiding spirit of the Denver Council that things are going well. A vigorous membership campaign is planned. Denverites are looking forward to the establishment of the Denver Forum of the Friends next Fall. This Forum will be an innovation in that city.

Heads of all Councils are urged to begin their Forums as soon as possible. This form of educational work is invaluable. The greatest amount of freedom possible should be allowed in the Forums. As the boom in industry inevitably dies down, the necessity for a vigorous labor committee will become more and more apparent. The publicity work should be carried on at all times. Entertainment Committees should busy themselves now while the times are ripe.

On the 30th of June a Whist Party and Dance was held at the home of Mr. and Mrs. S. Simon by the New York Council. It was well attended by a happy and enthusiastic number of Friends. Mr. and Mrs. Simon, though not members of the Friends, generously gave their beautiful home for the affair, which netted the Council \$16.65.

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## WHAT THEY SAY:

Societe Des Nations.  
League of Nations.

Bureau International Du Travail.  
International Labour Office.  
Geneve,

DEAR SIR:

June 16, 1923.

. . . We are very pleased . . . and we look forward to receiving THE MESSENGER.

Yours faithfully,

G. E. DI PALMA CASTIGLIONE,  
Chief, Intelligence and Liaison Division.

The University of Wisconsin,  
Department of Economics,  
Madison,  
May 23, 1923.

DEAR MR. RANDOLPH:

Thank you for the May number of THE MESSENGER, containing the admirable review of my book, "The Social Trend." I congratulate you upon the high quality of the matter in THE MESSENGER and upon its splendid appearance. Everyone connected with it has a right to feel proud of it.

Sincerely yours,

E. A. Ross.

Editors, THE MESSENGER,  
2305 Seventh Avenue,  
New York City.

San Francisco, Calif.,  
July 13, 1923.

DEAR COMRADES:

I very seldom "write a letter to the editor," but I cannot refrain from telling you what a magnificent achievement your July number is. The spirit, fortitude and fine intellect of the women who contributed most of the articles to this number are enough to bring tears to the eyes of anyone who can think and feel.

As a white woman radical, I want through you to send my greetings and congratulations to my colored sisters and comrades who have spoken for their race through your pages. As for you, you have outdone even your splendid May number; and what more can be said in your praise?

Fraternally yours,

MIRIAM ALLEN DE FORD,  
Federated Press Staff Correspondent.

### Vagrant Thoughts

RECORD, n. 3. The authorized register of achievements.—*Funk & Wagnalls Desk Standard Dictionary.*

On page 173 of the August *Crisis*, "A Record of the Darker Races," we are informed that "All persons interested in the Negro's economic development should read the May issue of *The World Tomorrow*, which has the following articles:

"The Segregated Negro World" by W. Burghardt Du Bois.

"The Negro in His Place" by Leslie Pinckney Hill.  
"When the Negro Migrates North" by Charles S. Johnson.

"White Workers and Black" by Robert L. Mays.

"A Statement" by William Z. Foster.

"The Negro Farmer" by George A. Towns.

"The Focus for Negro Education" by Robert R. Moton.

"Poems" by Langston Hughes.

"The Divine Right of Race" by Robert W. Bagnall.

"The Foundation of Justice" by Moorfield Storey.

Curiously enough, a 1,500 word personal narrative by George S. Schuyler, Executive Secretary of the New York Council of the Friends of Negro Freedom and on THE MESSENGER staff, which appeared between the poems of Langston Hughes and the article of Robert W. Bangall, is not mentioned by the broad-minded editor.

MR. A. PHILIP RANDOLPH,  
Editor of THE MESSENGER.

\_\_\_\_\_ Ga.

DEAR MR. RANDOLPH:

As I have returned to the South as . . . I have a chance to study the conditions and effects during this vast exodus.

I am sending you two clippings from the \_\_\_\_\_, to show you just the method these crackers are using to keep the rural district Negro south, but Mr. Negro says, "I am from Missouri," and is not so easily frightened.

Rural Georgia is rapidly becoming a wilderness. The street corners on Saturday, which once held masses of country Negroes, are all silent and empty. To go into a country village is like entering into a den of ghosts, and crooked spirits. All the fields that were once beautiful with clusters of swaying cotton are now acres of weeds and thistles. Hogs and chickens have been left to their own freedom, while hundreds of jack rabbits swarm the fields hunting the green cabbage they once enjoyed.

The white people are wondering how so many Negroes get money to take their large families to such remote distances. They have been working for absolutely nothing but their rent and meals in certain sections, yet they all disappear.

I have found out many ways in which they go, but I feel that I am taking too much of your time. At another time I will get a list of the ways, and send them to you. They sure outwit the white man every time, and it is very comical, yet it works. I have come to the conclusion that even the most ignorant Negro is a natural philosopher, and when I write you of his methods in getting out of the South, you will agree.

Messenger Magazine Popularity Drive, "A Quarter Million Readers by Christmas."

**THIRD PRIZE, \$3.50. Number 2923**

If you have a green coupon with the corresponding number, clip this ticket and bring both to the Messenger office and receive award.

In my travels I will be only too glad to send you clippings and information that can hardly be gotten by the outside world, for I go into all those places.

Very truly,  
T. B. H.

T. B. H.

La.,

June 23, 1923.

To THE MESSENGER PUB. CO.:

This is the lois and durtish meanish Place on god Earth. I Dont think thir is Eney Place like hear in Louisina the white peapol Sum of them will doe veary Well While others is Bad to Colord man. But our Colord So caled Preachers is a Perfect disgrace to the Race. Thay Raise objection to Evry thin that thay see Will Build up the Black Man. Thay go to the White man to have him to Put a Stop to it. Now thay tell me this organization is a onlofel in the State So let me hear from you at your Erlest time. If its ganst the Law of the State I wish to hear from you just as soon you can. I wish to get out of hear.

I See if We cant com together and organize as a Peapol we not a free Peapol nothing but Bound men and Women and have no Power to help Ourselves. Its So bad to look at our young men Cant help themselves in nothing. the old men is afraid up he dont no eney thing but What his Pastor told him to doe bee loal to the White Peapol and colect money and Carry it to them to help take care of thir poore White Peapol, Poore Blacks live on Win.

Write Soon . . . I am

yours for my Peapol

B. C. H. H.

PIERRE RENAUEL,  
4, Rue Camille-Tahan  
Paris, 18.

23, 6, '23.

M. PHILIP RANDOLPH,  
2305 Seventh Avenue,  
New York City.

CAMARADE:

. . . Nous serons heyreux de faire connaitre votre mouvement aux travailleurs de France.

Bien cordialement,

PIERRE RENAUEL.

Monmouth, Ill.,  
June 18, 1923.

THE MESSENGER PUB. CO.,  
New York, N. Y.

DEAR SIRs:

I am sending in subscription for renewing my subscription. I notice in your letter which you wrote me you say unless black and white alike are educated to a better understanding, riots and bloodshed are being sown right now. If the great exodus of Negroes coming north do not take THE MESSENGER and read it any better than the Northern Negroes, conditions will not be cemented.

In going in the different towns in the State I find so many of the colored people who have only heard of THE MESSENGER but have never received a copy. A large number did not know that such a magazine was being published by the race.

We have here in Monmouth six or seven hundred colored people and I do not believe you would find a dozen who take THE MESSENGER. I have talked to a large number but not one takes it. If all your subscribers would do as I do, in time they would become better acquainted with THE MESSENGER. Just as soon as I am through reading mine I let it out to a family, then I instruct that family when they are through with it to pass it on to the next family. Sometimes it is a month before I get it back again. By this means I hope to be able to send you some subscribers from Monmouth in the near future.

The May number of THE MESSENGER was at high water mark. It should have been in the home of every Negro family and it would have brought about more race pride. We as a race are selfish with each other. Let THE MESSENGER tell how we can get close together as a race and if each sub-

scriber, after reading his copy, will loan it out as I do, in a short time some new subscriptions will be coming in.

Find enclosed One Dollar and Fifty Cents (\$1.50) for a year's subscription.

Respectfully,  
DR. G. W. JONES.

One of the finest triumphs in present day journalism affecting the Negro is the May issue of THE MESSENGER Magazine which is edited by A. P. Randolph and Chandler Owen, two of the most gifted of the younger schools of writers produced by the Negro in this generation. The May number of The Messenger is one that will measure up to a high and exacting literary standard, and will give the Negro a place in American journalism. It represents painstaking effort on the part of the editors, and shows in every detail a peculiar fitness for this exacting profession which is bound to bring to the Messenger the good-will and support of the thinking masses of the country. The May issue of the Messenger is The Educational Number, and never before in the history of the race has such a magnificent review of the literary genius of the Negro been presented as is found in the May Messenger.

The entire issue is given over to book reviews by leading and prominent writers of the race, representing all schools of thoughts and opinions.

Nearly every book touching the present day problems of the world are reviewed in The May Messenger and the fine array of men and women of the race who have sent in reviews show a fine literary background for their work. The magazine should be in every home, library, and school room, and should be studied by the English classes of universities throughout the country. It gives a fine evidence of how the Negro is thinking, and how he can express that thought in clear, elegant, and forceful English. In the May issue of the Messenger the Negro has passed on the judgment of the leading and foremost thinkers of the world, for the books that are mentioned in the Messenger review come from the most eminent thinkers of the day. It will be a long time before there will appear in any publication a finer testimonial to the education and culture of the Negro than what is presented in the May issue of The Messenger. Together with the reviews there are well written articles on education. The editorial page of the May number is refreshing with current notes and topics of the day. The frontispiece of the Magazine contains the picture of a Negro sitting in a reflective mood underneath which is written The New Negro.—By CLEVELAND G. ALLEN, in the *Southwestern Christian Advocate*, June 7, 1923.

### The "How Come" "Benefit" Performance

In order that there may be no misunderstanding on the part of friends and well-wishers of the organization, it is necessary to make a statement concerning the "benefit" performance given on June 29, 1923, by the "How Come" Company, at the Lafayette Theatre, for the Council of Greater New York, Friends of Negro Freedom, the entire proceeds of which were to be used for Fresh Air Outings for Harlem's Colored Kiddies.

We have not received one cent from this "benefit." Our Publicity Director, Miss Nora Newsome, states that Mr. Byas, publicity man of the "How Come" Company, promised to give 10 per cent of the receipts. Mr. Byas denies this, saying that only 10 per cent of the tickets sold by the Council was promised. According to Miss Newsome, the Friends' share was \$62.00. Mr. Byas' calculations would net us \$3.05. Meantime we have received nothing.

GEORGE S. SCHUYLER,

Executive Secretary,  
Greater New York Council, Friends  
of Negro Freedom.

# HANDS ACROSS The Sea

## le Populaire

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Mr. Philip Randolph,  
"The Messenger,"  
2305, 7th Avenue,  
New York City,  
U.S.A.

27th June, 1925.

Dear Comrade Randolph,

I was extremely pleased to get the two last issues of your fine magazine "the Messenger" and I want to congratulate most heartily our American Negro Comrades on its most remarkable achievement. It is both materially from the point of view of the paper, the printing, and morally and intellectually a periodical which can support most representatively the comparison with the best Reviews and Magazines of the International Socialist, Labour and altogether Radical movement. If I could be of any use to you I would do so with great pleasure and I think that your efforts to raise the intellectual level and develop the consciousness of the millions of oppressed, more or less, coloured men of America is worth encouraging by all means.

Believe in my heartiest sympathy in your great effort. Most fraternally yours,

*Jean Longuet*

M. Jean Longuet is the leader of the Socialist Party of France, a member of the French Chamber of Deputies, one of the world's foremost working-class leaders, and probably the next premier of France.

A letter from the grandson of Karl Marx to the MESSENGER.

FOR over six years the MESSENGER has carried to the toiling masses the economic and social truths that will free the enthralled black and white workers from the chains of wage slavery. We have been doing our bit toward getting the world "right side up again." Agitation, Education and Organizations have been our watchwords, and today THE MESSENGER is without a peer in its particular field, white or black.

We are trying to reach the workers of all races and climes in general, and the Negro worker in particular, with our scientific, practical, common-sense message of working-class unity and the advancement of the human race through enlightened selfishness.

In place of ignorance and hate, we are substituting knowledge and understanding. In place of economic and social strife, we would substitute the intelligent co-operation of producer and consumer. In every continent THE MESSENGER is read and appreciated by thinkers of all races and nationalities. We

want to reach more and more blacks, whites, yellows, browns and reds, with our message. Will you help us? We are on our way to 100,000 readers. Our biggest obstacles have been overcome, and our greatest desire is now to place THE MESSENGER in every black and white worker's home in the United States. What a tremendous change that would make!

### Offers to New Subscribers

*The Goose Step*, by UPTON SINCLAIR, with THE MESSENGER .....\$3.00

*Free with a year's subscription*

*The Next Emancipation*, by JAMES ONEAL, or *The Ku Klux Spirit*, by J. A. ROGERS, or *Wage, Labor and Capital*, by KARL MARX.

\$1.50

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