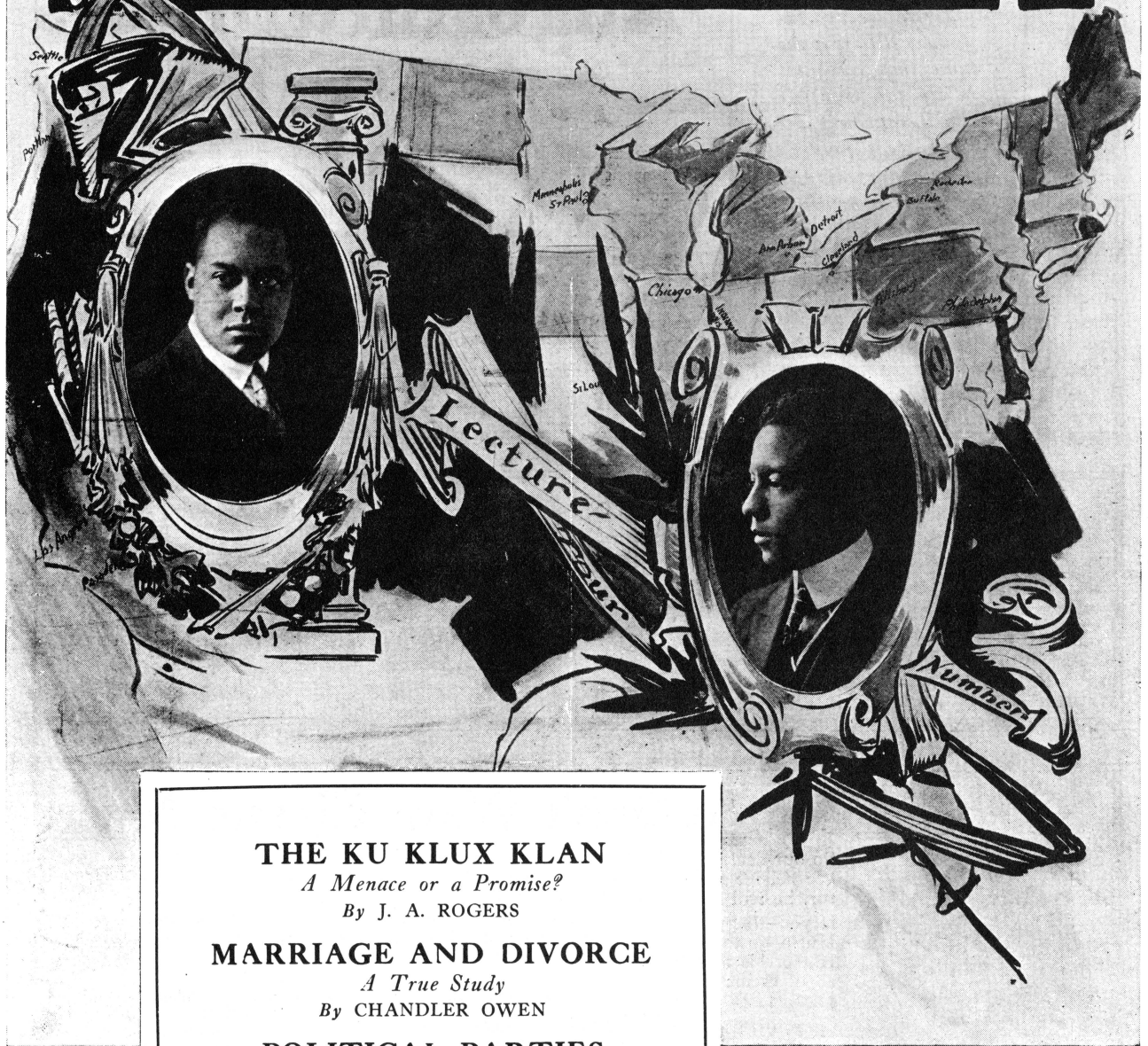


# The MESSENGER



## THE KU KLUX KLAN

*A Menace or a Promise?*

By J. A. ROGERS

## MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE

*A True Study*

By CHANDLER OWEN

## POLITICAL PARTIES

*A Lesson in Politics*

By WILLIAM PICKENS

## THE TRUTH IN ART

By J. COGDELL

## MADNESS OF M. GARVEY

By ROBERT W. BAGNALL

WEST INDIAN AND AMERICAN NEGROES

Volume V  
Number 3

MARCH, 1923

*Fifteen Cents per Copy*

READ  
WHAT  
HE SAYS:

Gentlemen:

*Dr. Siegert's Angostura Bitters is the tonic that keeps me in tip top trim. I use it regularly because it is nature's own tonic. Dr. Siegert's Angostura Bitters is to my mind a mighty good "pep" producer.*

*George W. Harris*

# Alderman Harris

of New York

INDORSES DR. SIEGERT'S

# Angostura Bitters



Alderman Harris is one of the Race's leading men. Big men with big responsibilities require perfect health. The first need is a good stomach.

Get an Appetite. Your food won't do you good unless you enjoy it. Before eating you feel the need of something to give you an appetite. There's one thing that never fails and it has been used for 98 years. Dr. Siegert's Angostura Bitters. It's right there when you feel the need of a good strong tonic. Recommended by Dr. W. C. Wile, former vice-president of the American Medical Association. Get a bottle today. Or write for free sample to J. W. Wuppermann Angostura Bitters Agency, Inc., 12 East 46th Street, New York City.

## NOTICE!

Mr. Floyd J. Calvin is no longer connected with THE MESSENGER

## "Colored People Don't Want Classic Music!"



So our dealers write us. "Give 'em blues and jazz. That's all we can sell." We believe the dealer is wrong. But unless we furnish him with what he has demand for, he will not handle our goods.

If you—the person reading this advertisement—earnestly want to do something for Negro Music, go to your record dealer and ask for the better class of records by colored artists. If there is a demand he will keep them. Try this list of the better class. Buy one or all of them:

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| \$1.00 7101—Caro Nome (Rigoletto), Antoinette Garnes, Soprano.       | .75 60005—Swanee River, Violin Solo, Kemper Harreld; Souvenir.        |
| 1.00 7102—Ah Fors'E'Lui (Traviata), Antoinette Garnes, Soprano.      | .75 2001—At Dawning, Revella Hughes, Soprano; Thank God for a Garden. |
| 1.00 7103—The Bell Song (Lakme), Florence Cole Talbert, Soprano.     | .75 2015—The Rosary, Marianna Johnson, Contralto; Sorter Miss You.    |
| 1.00 7104—The Kiss (Il Bacio), Florence Cole Talbert, Soprano.       | .75 2013—Since You Went Away, J. Arthur Gaines, Tenor; Who Knows.     |
| .75 60004—Autumn Leaves, Piano Solo, Donald Heywood; Operatic Dream. |   |

You will enjoy these and you will encourage us to make more and more of this kind of a record. We have a special proposition for music teachers. Write for it. Agents wanted in every community.

**BLACK SWAN PHONOGRAPH COMPANY, Inc.** HARRY H. PACE, President

2289 SEVENTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y.

# The Messenger

Published Monthly by the  
MESSENGER PUBLISHING CO., INC.

2305 Seventh Avenue, New York  
Telephone, Morningside 1996

## Editors:

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH and CHANDLER OWEN

## Contributing Editors:

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

## CONTENTS

Editorials .....	621
Economics and Politics.....	625
Education and Literature.....	629
Who's Who .....	638
Open Forum .....	639

Vol. V. MARCH, 1923 No. 3

\$1.50 per Year 15c per Copy  
\$2.00 Outside U. S. 20c Outside U. S.

*Contents copyright, 1923, by the Messenger Publishing Company, Inc. We do not object to quotations and reprints, on the following terms: Editorials partially quoted or reprinted in full must be credited to this journal; signed articles may be quoted or reprinted to the extent of 500 words, giving credit to both the author and this magazine; reproduction of signed articles exceeding 500 words forbidden without a written permit from this office. Unsolicited manuscripts must be accompanied by return postage to insure the author's regaining them in the event they are found unavailable.*

Entered as Second Class Mail, July 27, 1919, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under Act of March 3, 1879.

## Editorials

### Harvard's New Policy

President Lowell of Harvard says that the school does not intend to prohibit Negroes studying at the university, but only to disallow their residence in the Freshmen dormitories. We think this position is as bad for what it portends as for what it immediately inaugurates. For instance, a colored man in a dormitory may not come in contact with other students there except when passing in halls or meeting in lavatories and bath-rooms. In the dining room a colored student would come in contact with fellow white students at best (or worst) only three times a day—normally about fifteen or twenty minutes at each meal, and seldom more than a half hour. This would be, at the maximum only one and a half hours per day. In the class room, however, the students will be touching elbows from three to five hours per day. It is obvious then that if President Lowell's contention is sound with respect to the dormitory residence, it would apply with greater force to the class rooms. His is an evil and indefensible position which, like a snake, must be scotched at once and then killed, or else it will, with its venomous bite, poison our entire educational system.

### A New Negro Labor Exodus North

Negro workers are coming North, even during winter. It is the first new definite exodus since the war. The cause, of course, is the increasing demand for

labor in the basic industries, such as steel, coal, building, etc.; high wages relative to those Negroes received in the South and more freedom and more educational opportunities for their children in the northern centers. Phil H. Brown, Commissioner of Conciliation in the Labor Department, in a release of Feb. 1, says:

Payrolls of a number of districts in northern and central western industrial points are being slightly swelled by the employment of these workers who come directly from southern states, with Georgia yielding the greatest number of migrants.

Philadelphia, Pa.; Portsmouth, Akron and Youngstown, Ohio; Milwaukee, Wis.; Argo, Ill.; Indiana Harbor, Ind.; and Trenton and Newark, N. J., are specific points into which an appreciable influx of Negro labor has come for absorption into industrial life.

Note that the largest exodus is from Georgia, where the largest number of lynchings occur, the Estate of John Williams' "death farm" notoriety. Let the migration keep up. Negro labor is the basis of southern agricultural, industrial and commercial wealth. Such is the economic chain: no Negro, no labor; no labor, no wealth! Thus, by the Negroes' leaving, they are hitting southern industry a mortal blow. It will make conditions better for those that remain in the South; for the "white South" will begin making concessions to the Negroes in the form of more and better schools, higher wages—yes, even the eventual abolition of peonage, lynching, disfranchisement and the jim-crow car, in order to retain Negro laborers. *Profits are dearer to Southern plutocrats than mobocrats.* Besides, if industry is paralyzed by the lack of Negro labor, there will be no huge profits with which to finance the campaigns of such political Negro-phobists as Pat Harrison, Cole Blease and Vardaman. Banks will fail because southern businesses of all kinds, manufacturers and farmers, will have no money to deposit with them. Money is the issue in the South as well as the North. Look at Harrison, Arkansas, where a white citizens' vigilantes committee lynched a white worker because he struck for more wages! This, by the way, is the same Arkansas—Elaine is the place—where Negro share-crop-tenant farmers were murdered because they dared to hire a lawyer to protect their interest in the cotton which they produced. The white farm owners sent out the alarm that the Negro farm-tenants were planning an insurrection to murder all the white people. So did the railroad bosses in Harrison claim that the railroad strikers (white) were burning down bridges, destroying property and endangering the lives of the citizens. Capitalists frame white as well as black workers; and they lynch both. But the exodus is one of the Negroes' most effective remedies.

### Labor Banks

Labor unions have hundreds of millions of dollars deposited in capitalist banks in the United States. These vast deposits are being used by the very enemies of labor to starve, to crush the workers whenever they strike for more wages, shorter hours of work, and better working conditions. Many a strike has been lost on account of the funds of the workers having been attached in their enemies' banks. Besides, hundreds of millions of dollars in profits are being made by the bankers through the employment of the unions' deposits in loans to railroads, coal, oil and manufacturing magnates, who hire gunmen, thugs, detective agencies

and hoodlums to "beat up" the workers when they strike for a living wage. But the workers are happily, if belatedly, realizing the folly of supplying the employing class with a club to break their own heads. Banks of, by, and for the workers seem to be the slogan now. The lesson of mobilizing the workers' dollars and votes, as well as their industrial power through the strike, is being learnt after a long, painful and bitter class war. Workers, like most other groups, have more hind-vision than fore-vision. Theirs, as yet, is more an unconscious than a conscious movement forward. They must be pinched, prodded, stung,—yes, well-nigh destroyed, ere they awake to the fact that their struggle, their organization, their life, is in peril. It will be interesting to watch these experiments in co-operative working-class banking. Harry Godfrey, staff correspondent of the Federated Press, reports: "The labor bodies which are preparing to establish banks here are the Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, and the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union." These banks will provide organized labor at convenient locations throughout the city with banking, checking, savings, and foreign exchange facilities. The distinctive characteristic of these banks is that their profits will be distributed among the depositors in the form of additional interest on their deposits. Labor will display great constructive vision also by coming to the financial rescue of all agencies, educational and propaganda, that are fighting the cause of the workers. This is just what the big capitalist banking institutions are doing for their press, schools, churches, screens, and stage. May labor wield this new weapon of organized money-power with courage, idealism, and class-conscious forethought!

### The World As It Is

This is a winter of reaction. It is a back-wash of the high tide of promise, hope and idealism reached during the stirring and terrible days of the Great War. Doubtless it is the inevitable resultant of our social physics. *The conscious improvement of society—by society—is yet a distant dream only "devoutly to be wished."* Man, in the main, the higher order of the beast of the forest, settles his differences through the old, brutal, bloody tooth and claw, beak and fang, method. Civilization calls it war; war which breeds, engenders and fosters hate and strife, misery and squalor, bigotry and intolerance, poverty and pestilence, famine and death. Such is the bitter heritage of our times. No towering, transcendent genius has arisen who can introduce order, light or sanity into this black night of chaos; and who knows whether one will arise or not. Does present-day society embrace the dynamic potencies of a renaissance? Or are there cycles of social devolution as well as cycles of evolution. Are our creative and resistant energies slipping into utter exhaustion, yea, extinction? Or will the glorious summer of a reborn world rise out of the ashes, the wreckage, the ruins of the old? These perplexing queries have exercised the minds of peoples throughout the long, tortuous course of human strivings. From Tutankhamen to Lenin, the questions *what, wherefore, why and how*—of physical, political,

economic and social phenomena, have bobbed up ever and anon, giving rise to divers creeds, cults, isms and schisms. And to the answer of these questions some Delphic oracle, mystic, wonderful, vague and uncertain, has ever been summoned. Hence, our "new freedom," our "normalcy," and the flaming and burning slogans of democracy for plutocracy under every flag.

None will soon forget how the high seats of the "mighty," in London, Paris and Washington, rang out in eloquent and compelling tones, "no punitive indemnities, no annexations, self-determination of smaller nationalities"; "we are fighting to make the world safe for democracy."

But what is the consequence of it all? The Entente is shattered. Ismet Pasha, Mustapha Kemal's emissary at Lausanne, wielded the straw that broke the camel's back. He deftly played France against England, seeing that reparations for the former and Mosul-oil for the latter, were their Scylla and Charybdis. Tchicherin, the brilliant and astute delegate of Soviet Russia, bearded the inflexible Lord Curzon of England and warned of an inevitable impasse. America still remains silent and inactive, save to insist upon her "pound of flesh."

Meanwhile, France thrusts her sabre through the very heart of Germany by occupying the Ruhr, which augurs intent of dismembering the nation, of crushing the German people.

All Europe is being Balkanized, being turned into a veritable cockpit out of which a bigger and a more devastating conflagration is destined to flare forth. Against this dreadful contingency, the League of Nations which, in truth, is merely a league of victors, is impotent—of no avail.

In every capitalist country, imperialism, drunk with power, on his steed of black reaction, is riding high, heedless and impatient of cries of the impending crisis. Blood, more blood; war, more war; hate, more hate; is the savage mania of the age, the gospel of the elder statesmen, who frantically cling with palsied and feeble hands to the reins of power. Such is the painful and wretched sore of a wounded world.

*If some comet does not come along and sweep the whole grotesque "phantasmagoria" into the limbo of oblivion, an end must surely come to this nameless orgy of seeming chronic disorder.*

What will the end be? More reaction or revolution, or a relapse into barbarism, a world-wide collapse, another Dark Age?

The class-conscious, awakened workers alone sound the one clear note in the din—co-operation for social service, not for private greed.

### Spies

Spies honeycomb all labor, radical and liberal movements in America and Europe. They are the product of a system of oppression. They existed under slavery and feudalism. Under capitalism agents provocateur cover movements for reform and revolution like the dew the earth. Today, capitalists plant their spies among the workers and the workers plant their spies among the capitalists and their paid agents. But the employing class go farther than the workers in that they not only plant spies among the workers in order to get information about their doings, but they plant

"bombs" in factories, buildings and streets with a view to "framing up" the workers, thereby affording a pretext for the arrest of the most aggressive, militant and radical amongst them where the explosions occur. Note the following:

CHICAGO.—"Make a bomb and get the radicals to throw it. Then we'll have them arrested."

This was among the instructions given to one of their employes by the Burns detective agency immediately after the Wall St. explosion in October, 1920.

The employe was Albert Bailin, alias Balanow, who gave the above testimony at deposition hearings here by Frank P. Walsh, chief counsel for William Z. Foster and 20 other labor men, alleged communists, who are to stand trial for criminal syndicalism in St. Joseph, Mich., Feb. 26.

Bailin testified that he drew pay from both the Thiel and Burns agencies at the same time and that he had, under the orders of their "radical departments" joined the Young People's Socialist League, the I. W. W., the Communist party, the Socialist Labor party and the Workers' International Industrial union. His orders from the Burns and Thiel agencies had been, he said, to take the most extreme radical position in these organizations and to urge them on to violence. He was recommended by former State's Attorney Maclay Hoyne of Cook County to the intelligence division of the war department and got a job spying on workers in the construction of Camp Grant for a time.

Bailin spent a good deal of time relating how T. J. Cooney of the Thiel agency and Allen O. Meyers and William J. Burns of the Burns agency worked up the mythical Knights of the Red Star, a fake revolutionary organization, conjured up by the agencies to make the bankers and packers of America contribute more money to the agencies combating radicalism. The membership lists of the imaginary Red Star, Bailin told, were made up from the names of radicals arrested in Palmer's red raids.

The New York office of the Burns agency copied the lists and when Bailin protested to William J. Burns that this was useless because the list was imaginary, Burns replied, according to the testimony, "My boy, most of the detective game is imaginary."

Threatening letters to make wealthy Chicago men give the agencies more money to put down incipient revolution were mailed by Bailin from New York during the William Cross Lloyd communist trials here, he said, under instruction by his detective employers. The letters bore the forged signature of Alfred Wagenknecht, a radical. Indicted for sending them through the mails Bailin threatened to expose the post office inspectors who had permitted the private agencies to tamper with letters going through the mails. The indictment has never been pushed because, it is alleged, the trial would implicate Wm. J. Burns too deeply. Among his instructions, Bailin declared, were orders to "get" Foster.

Both the Thiel and the Burns agencies deny the charges of Bailin. The several Burns agents, however, got their stories mixed in the hurry of denying the accusations. Sherman Burns, son of Wm. J. Burns, stated in New York that Bailin had been employed by the agency both in Chicago and New York but had been discharged as a faker. G. C. John, the Chicago manager of Burns, said, on the other hand, that Bailin had never been employed by the agency in any capacity.—*CARL HAESSLER (Federated Press Staff Correspondent).*

Is not the foregoing a revelation? There are spies planted in Negro organizations, too. The Ku Klux Klan has Negro spies. Why should Marcus Garvey hold interviews with King Kleagle Clarke and refuse, after promising to do so, to publish the contents of the interview? Note that the policy of the spy is to take the most extreme position in order to invite persecution of the group of which he is a part. What could injure the Negro more than the blatant ravings of Garvey against all white people? He has made great capital out of condemning social equality, Negro Socialists as Socialists, and every effort of the Negro to fight for manhood rights in America. Spies are not all white. Garvey's movements are suggestive.

### The Farm Bloc

Senator Smith W. Brookhart, of Iowa, is making history as one of the most militant members of the Senate and leaders of the farm bloc. Already the die-hard Republicans and tory Democrats call him the "red," although he is not a Socialist. You get a slant of the man from the following:

The workingman, said Senator Brookhart, of Iowa, to the Farm Bureau Federation in Des Moines, is the great consumer of farm products, and the farmer is the greatest consumer of the products of labor. The worker gets 35 cents out of each dollar which is paid for the products of his toil by the consumer, and the farmer now gets about 37 cents out of each dollar which is paid for the food he produces by the consumer.

Forty per cent of the people of this country are engaged in agriculture, 35 per cent are engaged in labor with their hands, and another 15 per cent are brain workers. This 90 per cent is entitled to a far larger share of the products of its toil. The remaining 10 per cent is attempting desperately to keep this 90 per cent busy fighting each other, in a foolish attempt to reduce the meager share which both the farmer and the worker now receive for their products.

Add to this the Brookhart Bill on the railroads which provides for:

- 1—Repeal of the Esch-Cummins law.
- 2—Elimination of \$7,000,000,000 of watered stock from the railroads and reduction of their recognized net value to not more than \$12,000,000,000.
- 3—Abolition of the railroad labor board.
- 4—Giving interstate commerce commission greater power to regulate purchases and expenditures by railroads.
- 5—Restore to separate states their original right to regulate rates for intrastate commerce.

Thus you have the reasons for the Railway Review's including him with such mild groups and individuals as the A. F. of L., People's Legislative service, Farmers' National council, the railroad brotherhoods, the Conference for Progressive Political Action, Senators La Follette, Congressman Huddleston, Basil M. Manly, William H. Johnston and Frank P. Walsh, in what it styles as a "communist lobby." But that is not all. Brookhart is a rebel against social conventions also. He even denounces the social lobby of senators' wives, a lobby which snubs by "cutting" out invitations to "swell social events" in Washington, to the wives of the radical-liberal senators who refuse to line up with the rotten "money-bund." And it is rumored that he looks askance at the "top hat." What a senator! Let us hope that he stays "red."

### Repeal Gag Laws

A national drive to repeal the "criminal syndicalist" and peace-time sedition laws existing in thirty-five states, is afoot.

Part of the letter which is being sent the governors of states that have such laws, by the Civil Liberties Union, reads as follows:

Your state is one of a number which has upon its statute books a "criminal syndicalism" law, the object of which is to punish persons who advocate certain prohibited doctrines. The law is aimed at utterances alone, and was passed in order to jail certain types of radicals against whom there was considerable popular feeling at the time.

In our judgment, such laws violate the American tradition of free speech. That tradition has always drawn the distinction between word and deed, and has never regarded words in themselves as proper objects of punishment.

We are interested to see these laws repealed in their entirety. In our judgment, no good purpose can be served by their

enforcement. That has been amply demonstrated by the fact that in very few states has there been any effort to enforce them. Such an effort would only drive underground into secret conspiratorial channels the advocates of these radical doctrines, who now speak more or less openly without attracting either many followers or much attention.

This far-seeing, public-spirited move deserves the whole-hearted support of every liberty-loving man and woman in America. All power to this new campaign for civil liberty!

### Waist and Dress Makers Strike

In New York City a fight is being waged against piece work, an uncertain source of a decent living, by men and women, black and white, Jew and Gentile, native and foreigner, who help to clothe America. The struggle is led by the militant Waist and Dress Makers' Joint Board of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. We have addressed the enthusiastic meetings of these workers, white and black, and observed a flint-like *will to win* written upon their very faces. We have watched their matchless discipline and burning devotion to their organization, their able and loyal leaders. We have heard them cry the death-knell of industrial autocracy in "Long live the solidarity of the workers!" We have seen them beaten down on the picket line by the brutal hired gunmen of the bosses and we have seen them, their faces gashed, streaming with blood, rise again to take their places in the vanguard, fighting desperately for the right to work, to think, to live.

Piece-work is an abomination! It is a sentence to perpetual want, to a miserable, exhausting speed-up, soul-racking drudgery. Week-work is the demand. It will save the workers' life's blood. It will lengthen their life's span. It will afford more work for the workers.

### The New York F. N. F. Forum

The FORUM of the New York Council of the FRIENDS OF NEGRO FREEDOM is the most unique and most outstanding public educational center in Harlem. Since the appearance of Monsieur Jean Longuet of Paris, an unbroken line of able and prominent speakers have followed in succession.

Mr. Walter F. White, assistant secretary of the NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE, spoke on "*Will White Nations Continue to Use Colored Troops to Fight White People?*"; Dr. Norman Thomas, director of the LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY, spoke on "*What's Wrong With the World?*"; Mr. Algernon Lee, director of the

RAND SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE, spoke on "*How Shall We Fight Ku Kluxism?*"; Mr. James O'Neal, editor of the New York Call, spoke on "*American Imperialism in Latin America*," and Attorney Henri W. Shields, Negro Democratic member of the New York Legislature from Harlem, spoke on "*Pending Legislation at Albany*."

A very select group of intellectuals and forward-looking men and women have made the forum what it is. Some few have tried to inject prejudices and arouse nationalistic bias, but their efforts have been to no avail. However, in order to maintain the policy of fairness and the spirit of free speech, on February 26, Mr. Chandler Owen discussed "*The American and West Indian Negro Problem*."

For March, the list of speakers includes Miss Ernestine Rose, head of the Harlem library, and Mr. Harry H. Pace, president of the Black Swan Phonograph Company.

*The following editorial appeared in the Philadelphia Public Ledger, February 5, 1923. The Open Letter to the Attorney General, which it approves, was also given front page consideration by the Washington Post:*

### GARVEYISM

Garveyism is the counterpart, among the Negro populations of America, what the Ku Klux Klan is among the white people. It is in its essence an appeal to prejudice and passion, and if unchecked will bear fruit in the horrors of racial conflict. The formal protest, therefore, addressed to the Attorney General by a representative group of the leading educators, business men and publicists of the Negro race will be read everywhere with approval and sympathy by order-loving and humane people of whatever color.

The significance of this protest lies in its origin and in its manifestation of a growing realization among intelligent and educated Negroes that their liberation from injustice and oppression can only be brought about by a more perfect understanding between the white and colored races and by a co-operation in which the latter must take an equal part.

Great as are the evils growing out of the spirit inculcated by Garvey and his "Universal Negro Improvement Association," a spirit of hatred, distrust, violence and revenge, and important as it is to protect the ignorant and gullible from robbery and cruel exploitation, the graver injury that is being done by the Garveyites is the false impression their activities create in the minds of the white people as to the real aims and purposes of those Negroes who are striving earnestly and sanely for the advancement of their race, the elimination of prejudice and unfair discrimination in industry and in civic life.

While the Negro needs to be protected from the enemies to progress in his own race, the community at large in a greater degree needs to be safeguarded against an evil propaganda sowing the seeds of bitter antagonism and strife. This is why the letter to the Department of Justice should receive thoughtful consideration and preventive action in the interests of order and racial harmony.

**NEXT MONTH: PROFESSOR WILLIAM PICKENS will answer**

**"Preachers Who Defend Hell"**

This fire is drawn from Mr. Pickens because of the sensation created by his article in the February MESSENGER, entitled "Things Nobody Believes."

# Economics and Politics

## POLITICAL PARTIES AND THE NEGRO

By WILLIAM PICKENS

THERE have been, besides the present Democratic and Republican Parties, fifty-six other and minor political parties in these United States. There is nothing sacred or inviolate about a political party; it is but a machine, a convenience, and is certainly no more deserving of reverence than a church denomination or a theological dogma.

Some of the best known of the minor parties have been:

Abolitionists	Prohibitionists
Black Republicans	Socialists
Lily Whites	Union Labor
Populists	Woman's Rights

And in more recent times:

Communists (if we can call them a party in U. S.)  
Farmer-Labor  
Progressive, etc.

PARTYISM is a religion with some people, hedged in by all the bigotry of superstition and taboo.

Like all oppressed groups who find little help on earth, the Negro, both as slave and as ex-slave, was always looking for miracles in his behalf, for intervention from the sky, and for other mystery-born assistance. He knew nothing of the economic causes that drove the North to intervene in the matter of his enslavement,—so that to him the "North," the "Yankee soldiers," and the blessed "Republican Party" were unrelated to the passions, the greed and the choices of mere man. In politics, therefore, the Republican Party was a heaven-chosen arrangement. All else was infernal.

Both the personnel of the Democratic Party and its attitude toward the Negro tended to increase his belief in the divinity of the Republican Party. To the average Negro the Democratic Party was the only "other party." Somewhat like his Baptist and Methodist arrangement, his world was divided into Republicans and Democrats, and the latter represented the Anti-Christ of the political universe. The difference was, that in the Baptist-and-Methodist arrangement Negroes were on both sides, while in the Democratic-Republican universe the Negroes had seen a great light and were the only people so favored of God as to be *all* on the right side.

Politics was a great religion to the Negro, and one just had to be all right or all wrong, according to the side he was on. He went about his politics religiously; at his political meetings he "opened with prayer," and between the little dirty deals he sang hosannas. The Republicans were the saviors of the world,—the Democrats were the rebellious and unregenerate. And just as to the Baptists all Methodists were hell-bound, and to the Methodists the Baptists were a bit ahead on the same road going in the same direction, while to both of these

denominations the communicants to all other isms were not even respectable candidates for hell,—so now, when Negroes find themselves in both of the larger parties, those same Negroes are inclined to look upon such things as Laborites, Socialists and What-not as idiots or criminals.

Frederick Douglass summed it up in his day: "The Republican Party is the ship, all else is the sea"—and at that time there was some force in the saying, when one considered the anti-Negro attitude of the Democrats and the impotence of the other minority parties. The Democrats were the re-incarnated Rebels,—they constituted the membership of the old Ku Klux Klan—wherever they were in power they had tried to re-enslave the Negro as nearly as possible through the barbarous "Black-Laws"—and they extended to the Negro no invitation and no hope.

This tied the Negro to the Republican Party for fifty years and more. For him Republicanism was an orthodox religion, or a patriotism and a loyalty, and those who entered other parties were infidels, or deserters and traitors. Black mothers taught their baby boys that the mileposts to heaven were: To repent, believe, and be baptized,—and "'jine' the Republican Party."

To-day there is very little difference in fact for the Negro between these two major parties,—and yet the superstition persists, especially in the minds of some of the older colored men. There is a sectional difference which is more exaggerated: Southerners, whether Democrats or Republicans differ from other whites, whether Democrats or Republicans,—and there can be little doubt that if a Southern state to-day should be controlled by a government of Southern Republicans, its attitude toward the Negro would not essentially differ from that of the Southern Democratic governments,—just as it makes very little difference in New York State (to the Negro) whether a Republican or a Democrat is the governor. And yet many of the older colored men have been so tied to the *mere names*, rather than to a consideration of economic causes or sectional and traditional differences, that they still attach much potency to the mere syllables of these two old words. They see nothing outside of Republicanism but the "deep blue," and the good old-time religion "is good enough for them," even if its sanctuaries are now full of Baalim.

Because of the party alliance of the South, the Democratic Party in national control is still a greater evil to the Negro than the national power of the Republicans, but when it comes to local and state politics the one is "six" and the other is a "half dozen"; and nearly everywhere to-day their

biggest and most passion-stirring difference is: That one is *out* and the other is *in*,—and when a “third party” gets in or even threatens to get in, this difference disappears or is minimized and there is an easy and simple and natural “coalition” of Democrats and Republicans.

The Republican Party was born in 1854 and triumphed in 1860. It was then a radical party; it had a mission; it took this new party to lift the Negro out of his physical slavery. It will take another new party to complete his political, economic and social emancipation. It seems that only radical parties can serve in a radical need,—and that all parties are radical when they are new. In fact it is the *need* that produces the party. The two dominant parties of the present have been so long associated together that, like two old married people, they have become just alike in all their ordinary aims, desires and ambitions, and are capable of no greater differentiation from each other than in an ordinary family fuss.

For my own part I feel that it is at present best for the great masses of the Negro vote to join the non-partisan *independents*, always casting their vote for any man and with any party (Republican, Democratic, Socialists, or what-not) making the best appeal to their group interests and their good judgment in any election. That may put them in position from time to time to join forces with some triumphant party that may advance their status. Such a course, however, while good for the *group*, will be poor pickings for the job-holding politicians. For they can no longer promise to “deliver”; performance, ideas and guarantees will have to do the delivering.

In merely local politics, the Negro voter should certainly be guided by local opportunity and the character of local men.

One thing is plain: That the present Negro appointee-jobholder of the Republican Party is but a doorkeeper for the party bosses, taking orders from them and saving them the annoyance of dealing with the more aggressive Negro. Such appointees cannot be leaders of a group, and they have a legitimate function only as individual adventurers. Where the Negro race can elect colored men to office, without the dictation of party bosses, it will have political leaders.

Religious and superstitious regard for any party must disappear. In the battle of ballots there is nothing more sacred about a political machine than about a type of gun in military battle. The thing is useful only so long as it is useful, and it should never be served for its own sake. “Gratitude” for a political machine or a party is out of reason. Past performances have nothing to do with present political machines. There can be such a thing as gratitude for an individual; the personality of the individual remains, but the character of any political party can change with its personnel or with economic or other conditions. Sometimes it changes after election.

The minority Negro vote attains its highest potential power in American politics only when it assumes an open-mindedness toward all parties and appeals. Once it is preempted and owned, its power disappears. It becomes serviceable, when it is owned, chiefly among the maneuverings of the corrupt politicians *within the party*.

It can be a weapon in the hands of the unscrupulous to down the more conscientious. It becomes a potential factor and an object of respect in the eyes of all parties when it is independent and open to intelligent and fair appeal.

The present ultra-partisan Negro politician can only serve his masters and save his hide.

## 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.*

### Introduction

THE reason generally given for the origin of the Ku Klux Klan is that it came into being in order to protect the white people of the Southern States against rascally Northern whites and Negroes in the period immediately following the Civil War. This reason, right or wrong, would appear to be justified, because it is that given in the majority of the popular sources of information. For instance:

Woodrow Wilson, in his “History of the American People,” Vol. V, says of the Klan: “The white men of the South were aroused by the instinct of self-preservation to rid themselves by fair means or foul of the intolerable burden of government by the votes of ignorant Negroes and conducted in the interest of adventurers.”

The Encyclopedia Britannica says: “The object was to protect the whites during the disorder that followed the Civil War, and to oppose the policy of the North toward the South.”

Henry P. Fry, who took a leading part in the exposure of the present Klan by the New York *World* in 1921, says in his book, “The Modern Ku Klux Klan”: “They were organized as a matter of necessity for the purpose of policing a section of the country where political madness and hatred ruled supreme.”

Thomas B. Gregory, former Attorney-General of the United States, in an address to the Texas Bar Association in 1906, said: “Did the end aimed at and accomplished by the Ku Klux Klan justify the movement? The opinion of the speaker is that the movement was fully justified, though he, of course does not approve of the crimes and excesses incident to it.”

During the exposé by the New York *World* of the present Klan it was asserted repeatedly by correspondents and others opposed to the present Klan that the



reason for the formation of the original Klan was a just and worthy one. This also is the view of the majority of American historians.

Henrik Van Loon, author of "The History of Mankind," says in the New York *Evening Post*, September 2, 1922, in "America for Little Historians":

"With the Negro voters and their unprincipled friends the Northern carpet-baggers in control of political affairs there was no chance for the better white element in the South to accomplish anything in the way of building up their fallen fortunes. Their only hope was in some way to deprive the Negroes of their votes and thus make way for a white majority. As they could not do this legally in face of the Fifteenth Amendment they set about it in another way."

Are the above statements regarding the origin of the Ku Klux Klan grounded on the recorded facts of American history?

The history of the Ku Klux Klan is to a great extent that of the South in the decade following the Civil War.

When the Civil War ended in April, 1865, the North pardoned all who had fought against the Union. Instead of an indemnity, it asked of the Confederate leaders only an oath of obedience to the Constitution. In the matter of reconstructing themselves, it gave the defeated states a free hand, stipulating only that the process accord with the Thirteenth Amendment, which had abolished slavery, and which had passed Congress three months before. When reconstruction had been accomplished on these lines the states were to appear before Congress to apply for readmission to the Union. When the Southern representatives appeared, however, some of them as early as December of the same year, Congress not only promptly rejected them, but decided to give the Southerners a free hand no longer.

### What Had Caused Congress to Make This Decision? The Black Code

Congress had refused readmission because of certain laws that had been made by these states contrary to the Thirteenth Amendment, which had been ratified by all of them, except Mississippi. Some of these laws applied to the freedmen directly; others included the whites, but in intent affected the freedmen only.

In Alabama, Mississippi, and Florida, for instance, a white person could declare a Negro "stubborn" and "refractory." The latter would then be brought before a justice of the peace before whom his word counted for nothing, and fined fifty dollars. In default of payment he was to be "hired," that is, sold at public auction for a period of six months to anyone desiring labor.<sup>1</sup>

James G. Blaine, a member of that Congress, a speaker of the House, and a candidate for the presidency, says in his "Twenty Years of Congress," page 94: "No fair man could fail to see that the whole effect, and presumably the direct intent, of this law was to reduce the helpless Negro to slavery for half the year—a punishment that could be repeated whenever desired, a punishment sure to be desired for the portion of each recurring year when his labor was specially valuable in connection with the cotton crop, while for the remainder of the time he might shift for

himself. By this detestable process the "master" had the labor of the "servant" for a mere pittance; and even that pittance did not go to the servant, but was paid into the treasury of the county, and thus relieved the white men from their proper share of taxation."

In Mississippi, by the provisions of the Black Code, as these enactments were known, all were called upon to provide comfortable homes for themselves and families within twenty days or be sold for the remainder of the year. The freedmen, it will be recalled, had been discharged penniless, and most of them had been evicted from their homes, which was the property of their former masters. The punishment could be repeated at will at the expiration of the sentence, virtually making the victim a slave for life. In Alabama, Louisiana and Mississippi, sheriffs were ordered to report all minors under eighteen years of age whose parents were considered unable to provide a decent home for them. These minors were to be bound to employers of labor for a period of six years, with the provision that "former owner of said minor shall have the preference." Anyone, parents included, caught enticing away a minor was to be fined \$500, and be sold if unable to pay.<sup>2</sup> Negroes who met in any assembly were likely to have their gathering declared "disorderly" and be fined fifty dollars each.

In South Carolina Negroes were forbidden to follow any occupation, except field-labor. "No person of color," ran the law, "shall pursue or practise the art, trade, or business of an artisan, mechanic or shop-keeper, or any other trade, employment or business (besides that of husbandry, or that of servant under contract for service of labor) on his own account and for his own, or in partnership with a white person until he shall have obtained a license therefor from the Judge of the District Court, which shall be good for one year . . . and upon payment by the applicant to the Clerk of the District Court of one hundred dollars. . . ." (Statutes at large, S. Carolina, 1865, Vol. XIII, p. 269.)

That is to say, a freedman, regardless of ability, was not only compelled to follow field-labor, but must sell his labor to a white person. To work for himself, he was compelled to pay for the privilege.

In Mississippi no Negro could lease or rent land. Chap. IV, Sec. 1, of the laws of Nov., 1865, said: ". . . the provisions of this section shall not be so construed as to allow any freedman, free negro, or mulatto to rent or lease lands or tenements, except in incorporated towns or cities, in which places the corporate authorities shall control the same."

The intent of this law may be explained thus: Crops were grown on shares with the master who owned the land. Through inability to get land otherwise Negroes were thus compelled to share. The purpose of this law was essentially the same as the one just quoted above: to compel the freedmen to work for their former masters.

Laborers were compelled to make contracts during the first ten days of the year for the remainder of the year. For breaking a contract so made there was a severe penalty.<sup>3</sup> In Florida, among other discrimina-

<sup>1</sup> Laws of Alabama, Dec., 1865, No. 112, Sec. 4.  
Laws of Mississippi, Nov., 1865, Chap. VI.  
Laws of Florida, 1865, Chap. 1467, No. 4, Sec. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Laws of Alabama, Feb., 1866, No. 120.  
Laws of Louisiana, 1865, Nos. 16 and 19.  
Laws of Mississippi, Nov., 1865, Chap. V.  
<sup>3</sup> Laws of Mississippi, Nov., 1865, Chap. VI.  
Laws of Florida, 1865, Chap. 1470, Sec. 2, No. 7.

tions, no Negro was permitted to have a gun or other weapon of any kind.

And so on with the Black Code of the other states. The laws of many of the townships were even more drastic. *These laws, it will be seen, were enacted either in 1865, or early in 1866.*

Blaine, in the volume already mentioned, says (p. 94): "That which was no offense in a white man was made a misdemeanor or heinous crime if committed by a Negro. Both in the civil and criminal code his treatment was different from that to which the white man was subjected. He was compelled to work under a series of labor laws applicable only to his own race. The laws of vagrancy were so changed as, in many of their provisions, to apply only to him, and under their operation all freedom of movement and transit was denied. The liberty to sell his labor at a fair market rate was destroyed by the interposition of apprentice laws. Avenues of usefulness and skill in which he might specially excel were closed against him, lest he should compete with the white man. In short, his liberty in all directions was so curtailed that it was a bitter mockery to refer to him in the statutes as a "freedman." The truth was that his liberty was merely of form and not of fact, and that the slavery which was abolished by the organic law of a Nation was now to be revived by the enactment of a State.

"There may have been more cruel laws enacted but the statute books of the world might be searched in vain for one of meaner injustice.

"A form of servitude was re-established, more heartless and more cruel than the slavery which had been abolished."

Woodrow Wilson, speaking of the Black Code, says of the Southerners: "They were but 'white-washed rebels' at best, and in nothing showed their unchanged temper more clearly than in the treatment of the freedmen."

A wave of indignation stirred the civilized world at this new enslavement. The Northern States, with their tremendous loss in men and money still fresh in their minds, saw slave labor becoming again a menace to their industries and made vehement protest. They urged their representatives in Congress to immediate action. The reply to the Black Code was a strengthening of the Freedmen's Bureau, through which aid and military protection were given to the Negroes. Finding this inadequate, however, Congress drafted and passed the Civil Rights Bill (Apr. 9, 1866), decreeing that "there shall be no discrimination in civil rights or immunities among the inhabitants of any state or territory on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude."

The Black Code was nullified. The penalty for violation of the Civil Rights Bill was a fine of \$1,000, or imprisonment for one year.

The Southerners were exceedingly angry at this check. The passions that had been excited by the war again arose to fever heat. Their reply to the Civil Rights Bill was a reign of terror. Union men, loyal Southern whites, and Negroes were shot down indiscriminately by the hundreds. On July 20, 1866, a Union convention at New Orleans was raided by the Confederates. Two hundred and sixty Union men were slain.<sup>4</sup> On Sept. 3, 1866, the white loyalists of the South met in a convention at Philadelphia and de-

manded protection from Congress. Every original Unionist in the South, they declared, was ostracised. "More than one thousand devoted Union soldiers," said the petition, "have been murdered in cold blood since the surrender of Lee, and in no case have their assassins been brought to justice."

Congress found, in the meanwhile, that one effect of the Civil Rights Bill had been to increase the representation of those states that had been re-admitted, thus giving them a freer hand at oppressing the freedmen. Negroes formerly had only counted as three-fifths. Now under the Civil Rights Bill they were quasi-citizens and counted as one. Seeing this, Congress decided on a still more effective measure to ensure the Negro's freedom. It planned a momentous step: It decided to make the freedman a citizen.

The stirring incidents of this period were intensified by a bitter struggle between the President and Congress. President Johnson, a Southerner by birth, stolidly maintained that the South should be permitted to pursue its own methods of reconstruction, Black Code or not, at least for a time. The President's motive was to get the Southern States back in the Union, and he was willing to give them the ex-slave as a peace offering. Congress, obedient to the prevailing sentiment of the North, was firm in its demand that the South should be reconstructed now, according to the decree of emancipation. Johnson had vetoed the Civil Rights Bill as he had done the Freedmen's Bureau Bill, and Congress had as promptly passed them over his head. During the wordy contest which lasted for nearly four years, murder, rapine and destruction ruled in the South. How the President was finally impeached and escaped conviction by the margin of a single vote is a matter of history.

### South Placed Under Military Rule

Congress now saw no hope for the restoration of order in the South and on March 4, 1867, it passed the Reconstruction Act, over the veto of the President, placing the refractory states under martial law. They were divided into five military districts, and were each to be ruled by a Union general until "said rebel states shall have formed a constitution of government in conformity with the Constitution of the United States." This step, it would appear, should have been the one taken at the start.

Congress, as was said, had decided on the radical step of making the freedman a citizen. It was indeed a radical step, as the North and the majority of the Northern Congressmen were opposed to it. Most of the Northern states barred Negroes from voting and had severe jim-crow laws. Blaine says: "Only a minority of Republicans were ready to demand suffrage for those who were recently emancipated, and who, from the ignorance peculiar to servitude, were presumably unfit to be entrusted with the franchise."

Congress had to choose between establishing military rule in the South or giving the vote to the freedmen. It chose what it believed to be the lesser evil, and passed the Fourteenth Amendment. Some of the Northern states refused to accept the new amendment, but it finally became a law in July, 1868, over the veto of the President.

Henry Ward Beecher, who played a prominent part in the affair, said in a letter to the *Louisville Courier-*

<sup>4</sup> Rept. No. 261, 43rd Congress, 2nd Session.

*Journal, March 30, 1885:* "Suffrage was given to the negroes not from a belief in their fitness for suffrage, but from a conviction that it was necessary for their defense."

Blaine, speaking of the Fourteenth Amendment, says emphatically (Vol. I, p. 266): "As a matter of historical truth which has ingeniously and continuously, whether ignorantly or malignantly, been perverted, this point cannot be too fully elaborated, nor too forcibly emphasized: *The Northern States, or the Republican Party which then wielded the aggregate political power of the North, did not force Negro suffrage upon the South or exact it as a condition of re-admitting the Southern States to the right and privilege of representation in Congress until after other conditions had been rejected by the South.*"

Thus, but for the attempt of the former slaveholders to re-enslave the Negroes, the latter might have remained like the Indians, wards of the nation.

Congress now gave as a condition for re-admission to statehood the acceptance of the Negro as a citizen. Awed by force of arms the South yielded for the second time. On the 2nd of February, 1870, nearly two years later, Georgia, the most refractory of all, ratified

the new amendment and was re-admitted to the Union in July of the same year.

The newly re-admitted states, however, were still determined to exploit the freedmen, and had been using various ruses to keep them from the polls and out of the state legislatures. Georgia, for instance, had been excluded before for refusing to seat Negro members in her legislature, in pretty much the same way that in recent years the legislature of New York State refused to seat Socialist members, and was compelled to do so by the Supreme Court. The new amendment had guaranteed the vote merely on the basis of representation. To remedy the evil, Congress now decided to take the last step and give the vote directly to the freedmen. Accordingly, it passed the Fifteenth Amendment, again over the veto of the President. The Fifteenth Amendment became a law of the Union on March 30, 1870, and was finally ratified by Georgia.

With the re-admission of Georgia to the Union, the North recalled the greater part of the army, confident that it had seen at last the closing incident of a great war. Great was the rejoicing among the loyalists, North and South.

(To be continued)

## Education and Literature

### MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE

A TRUE STUDY OF THE WAY COUPLES MEET AND PART

By CHANDLER OWEN

**M**EN do not marry men. Nor do women marry women. Men marry women only, and women always are married to men. Women may look for types of man to marry—but always some kind of *man*. Man may seek a tall, slender, bright blond, or vice versa, as his choice of woman for a wife—but always some kind of *woman*. Seldom does the same sex seek the same sex. The craving is for opposites. It is the expression of that comprehensive law which rules both biological and physical life, namely: *like poles repel and unlike poles attract*.

At different periods of human society, marriage has assumed different forms. There was polyandry (many men), the name for the marriage institution under which one woman had many husbands. There was polygyny (many women), the name for the marriage institution when one man had many wives. Then there was polygamy (many marriages), the name which implies that institution under which men have many wives and women many husbands, at one and the same period. These are the oldest forms. These are the most primitive, most natural ones. These are the ones toward which society constantly tends to revert.

Polygamy, like all social institutions, had its value. De Candolle says: "Polygamy—which should be called polygyny—is a natural consequence of the abuse of power. Along with many bad effects, it has this ad-

vantage—that the population of the wealthy class is physically improved by a continual choice of women endowed with beauty and with health."

Darwin recognized the part which polygamy played in male, sexual selection. He writes:

"Man is more powerful in body and mind than woman, . . . therefore it is not surprising that he should have gained the power of selection. Women are everywhere conscious of the value of their beauty; and when they have the means, they take more delight in decorating themselves with all sorts of ornaments than do men. They borrow the plumes of male birds with which nature decked this sex in order to charm the females. As women have long been selected for beauty, it is not surprising that some of the successive variations should have been transmitted in a limited manner; and consequently that women should have transmitted their beauty in a somewhat higher degree to their female than to their male offspring. Hence women have become more beautiful, as most persons will admit, than men. Women, however, certainly transmit most of their characters, including beauty, to their offspring of both sexes; so that the continued preference by the men of each race for the more attractive women, according to their standard of taste, would tend to modify in the same manner all the individuals of both sexes belonging to the race."

During this period of polygamy, we are told by historians that women were subjected to seizure, capture, rape, enslavement and barter. Men were merely selectors of what they wanted, and they took it unless hindered—*not by the women*—but by other men who

wanted the same women. The lot of woman was horrible. The lot of the "poor" man was but little better. It was a period of general unhappiness except for the few. Conjugal love could not exist. A change had to come about, so when the necessity arrived and the time was ripe—it came. It was what we know today as monogamy—the prevailing marriage institution conventionally opposed among all civilized peoples.

Lester F. Ward makes the illuminating observation:

"It must be obvious that conjugal love cannot . . . exist under polygamy. It is therefore even more unknown to all the ages during which polygamy prevailed than is romantic love. The forms of monogamy that preceded that epoch were chiefly economic in their purpose. They were based upon the conception of natural love and its satisfaction as an economic commodity, and grew out of the increasing equality in power of individuals. Polygamy is essentially a monopoly of that commodity, and as fast as the spirit of liberty gave power to more and more men in society they revolted against that monopoly and secured as far as possible an *equal distribution of property in women*. Owing to the substantial numerical equality of the sexes this could only be attained by limiting every man to one wife. Every man who laid claim to more than one woman deprived another man of his claim to a woman. Although it is difficult to find any direct announcement of this principle as the basis of monogamy, still it is one of those spontaneous, self-executing laws that operate silently and perpetually until they work out the inevitable solution, and the transformed society accepts the result without knowing why and crystallizes it into an institution (monogamy), which is first generally accepted, then surrounded with legal and religious sanction, and finally defended as something existing in the nature of things, or as 'ordained of God' or both."

The above statement is a forceful presentation of the evolution of monogamy. It is in harmony with the entire social trend. It is a product of the new attitude toward distribution. Production of wealth is not the cardinal issue any longer; it is distribution—a fairer division of the product of labor and capital. The creation of more knowledge is not the problem of education; it is the distribution of existing knowledge. So the distribution of women, the distribution of men (if one woman had several of those), became the paramount question. Nor is it different from the preceding issues of distribution. Women were considered property. And, *vice versa*, women consider their husbands as property in those men. In demanding a more equitable distribution of women and men—of wives and husbands—mankind was demanding a more equitable distribution of property. Moreover, the men who had many wives were men of wealth. A poor man could not care for one woman—to say nothing of many. Therefore, along with the demand for a better distribution of women, came the retroactive cry for a better distribution of property—of wealth. A man could be heard to say, "I must get a living for my work." A living meant sufficient to support a wife and family. Wage scales had to take this factor into consideration.

So reasonable was this claim that many questions arose. First, should wages be increased or should families be decreased? Second, if families are decreased, what will be the effect upon social institutions? Capital and employers wanted a large supply of labor in order to keep down wages. The state or government wanted a large population for military purposes so that the grandiose military schemes might be carried on out of the surplus population. The church desired a large number of communicants, who must be ignorant to be held, and who would be ignorant if

the supply was large, because education could not be given to so many. *Predatory wealth, the Church and State—this trinity of power—stood for large families.* They did not have to bear them. Besides, they were beneficiaries of large populations, and the beneficiary of an institution cannot be relied upon to overthrow the institution from which it benefits.

Women were willing to have large families, but the economic question continually pressed upon them. *They found it easier to decrease families than to increase wages.* They decided to follow the line of least resistance, namely, *birth control*. The extent to which marriage is quasi-economic may be seen in the fact that marriages increase during good times and decrease during industrial panics.

There are a few questions which we want to answer here. Why is it the "popular doll" never marries, marries late, or usually unsatisfactorily from her point of view? Why do people kiss? Does absence make the heart grow fonder? What about nearness?

By "popular doll" we mean the popular girl in a community. She is loaded down with engagements. Her house is constantly crowded by suitors. She is never seeking but always being sought. A dozen men are picking her. Why does she not marry, marry early, or to advantage? In the first place, she feels, quite naturally, that she does not have to hurry; she has time to select. A person with a market, in demand and growing, will not hurry to sell; on the contrary, he will haggle and bargain to get the highest price. This is the position of a popular girl. She does not want to rush off, then later see something better, and regretfully say to herself: "If I had not hurried, I could have gotten that." Or in Whittier's words: "Of all sad words of tongue or pen, the saddest are these: *it might have been.*"

The "popular doll" marries late because she is deliberating, considering, selecting, rejecting, choosing. Why does she marry undesirably, as a rule, or never marry? The answer to these questions is the same. While the popular girl is taking her time to select, she is also getting older—less desirable. Her market is depreciating. And unlike a house or a piece of land, where value may be increased by the unearned increment, she has no unearned increment to make up for youth and beauty. Ere she realizes, her market may be so depreciated that no one will ever want her, or as a compromise, she will take what she can get—that is, marry undesirably or below her ideal in earlier life. Why do people kiss? Is it so innocent? Why do men kiss women instead of men? Why do women desire to kiss men only? (Of course, it is recognized that women kiss each other as a matter of form, about like husbands and wives kiss when they have been married more than six months—or is it six weeks?) The reason for kissing is not unlike sex association. The lips are fairly studded with erectile tissue. These cause the yearning for osculation as well as the thrills which follow the act. How about holding hands? Nothing to it? Well, there is erectile tissue there too, which sends, like a radio or wireless telegraphy, the electric thrilling that enthralls the body when a warm, rich hand-clasp is given by one whom we normally like.

Does *absence* make the heart grow fonder? Does *nearness* endear? We are now about to discuss divorce since both of these forces produce it.

Lester Ward says: "One of the happiest traits of human nature consists in the fact that, where there are no repugnant elements, the mere personal proximity of individuals leads to attachments that cannot be otherwise explained and have no other basis, to a degree of appreciation and natural valuation that is wholly disproportionate to real worth. But, as in so many other of man's vaunted qualities, this one goes back far into the animal world:

A mastiff dog  
May love a puppy cur for no more reason  
Than that the twain have been tied up together.

Tennyson, "Queen May," Act I, Scene IV.

"Nay, such natural enemies as cats and dogs become fast friends and affectionate companions when raised together."

We all know that people in the same community generally marry each other. Even the apparent exceptions to this rule are not real; there are cases, most likely, where persons have met in other places, been thrown together no doubt for a time, during which friendships were formed and followed up by memory and correspondence. Truly, *proximity is the basis of affection. Contact is the key which unlocks love's door.*

Yet all forces are relative. Fire may be used to heat a building or to burn it down. Water may be requisitioned to quench thirst or to drown a man. Electricity may be used to light, heat and ornament, or it may be used to electrocute human beings. It is good or bad according to the use to which it is put. Proximity yields to the same monistic law. It is a relative thing: too much is bad—enough is good. We can do no better than to quote from ourselves as early as 1918. We then said:

There is a law in economics called the law of diminishing returns. It means that the more you use a commodity or goods, the less you care for it. In a word, a thing has less power to satisfy you the more it is used by you. But this is no more true in economics than in any other field. In common usage, we would call it "the passing of novelty."

To illustrate: You like steak, but if you have steak for every meal you soon get tired of it.

You have a beautiful suit. You have worn it several times. Its quality is not impaired at all, but you want a new one. You are tired of seeing the same one and, more important, you think others are tired of seeing it.

You have a favorite actress or singer. You have no criticism to pass on her but you want to hear and see another—a new one—one with novelty.

Your house is painted beautifully, yet you desire to change the color. Its old hue has lost its charm.

Thanhauser's "Evening Star" is sweet, melodious and rapturous. The musician plays it with perfection. But continuous playing of that thrilling production becomes monotonous. Its novelty goes a-flying.

This law of diminishing returns—this passing of novelty—is a most havoc wreaking force in human society. It is the wringing test of matrimony, and upon the shoals of this heartless law monogamy is about to be wrecked.

Talk with the husbands of today; and what is their opinion? Why marriage is a failure. The wife is not the sweetheart of those courtship days. The fire and passion and thrill no longer accompany the caresses which are kept up more by habit or forced formality than by that spontaneous zeal which once made the man dream dreams of the future. Oh, what a burden it is to go to theatres, dances and card parties with his wife! And how pleasant it is for him to do all those things with some other woman!

And how about the wives? Talk with them and the counter charges are equal quite. The wife is so disappointed with married life. The life that is, is not the life that was to be. All is disappointment. She can tell you how attentive her husband was before he became her husband. He wanted her

to go to the theatre tonight; to dance tomorrow, autoing next day; dinner this evening; and tomorrow they would chat and dream and build air castles all alone at home. What thrilling days—and how they have fled! He once brought in a box of candy, a basket of fruit—anything he thought would please her, but, "Quoth the raven—nevermore!" I have frequently heard wives complain that their husbands will not even caress them, kiss them and fondle them.

Something seems radically wrong about all of this and the question is incessantly asked—What is the matter? It is the same old "law of diminishing returns" at work. It is the passing of novelty. It is the love of, the desire for, the longing and the yearning for variety.

To the husband, I want to say that you cannot expect for your mere presence to satisfy your wife. She gets tired of that. She is not a whit different from the old days. Saying "I will" leaves her humanly and naturally identically as she was; she still loves the dances, the theatres, the joy rides, the boxes of candy and the evening parties. She still loves to flirt as in the days of yore. She still loves the electrifying caress when the cutaneous chills thrill the body and consciousness abdicates for the moment. She still likes the variety. You may go to the club, but you must spend some time at home.

To the wife I would say—that old Adam has not changed a whit either. He still likes his variety. He likes to see your hair attractively arranged as he once saw it. He likes to see that variety, that neatness and novelty of dress characteristic of the olden days. He likes your many sides and one side soon wears out.

To both the husband and wife I would say that this monotony must be met by making yourselves many-sided. You must know as much as possible about everything and fill your lives with variety. At best it will require a great deal of patience, a fund of self-sacrifice, a good bit of toleration. You must remember that happiness is the gratification of desire, and after that desire is satisfied, the happiness ends temporarily. It is these intervals that make life so trying to live. It is here that each of you must try to create new desires in the other and these desires you must strive to satisfy.

Neither of you has any intrinsic merit, but only so much as will satisfy some wants. For after all, love is nothing but desire—a derivative desire of the reproductive appetite. Like any other desire, when satisfied, the pleasure ends and no more pleasure attaches thereto until some new desire arises to be, and is, satisfied.

So it must be remembered that novelty passes quickly and variety is needed continually to present some new novelty. Nature is perpetually changing and we all like a change. We like light and we like darkness—the sunshine and the shadow. We love life, but we desire death, too. In fact, the great paradox of life is that "we live only as we die." We want dry weather, but we want rain also. We want different colors; we want varieties of music. We love new faces, new forms, new souls. We revere the old, but we still admire the new. We love rest, but ennui sets in and we want exercise. Summer is pleasant, but we tire of the heat, and long for the coldness of winter. The quiet life grows weary. The calm sea is dead. We crave storm and stress—a billowy sea.

In truth, a thing may be ever so charming, ever so attractive, but the charm ceases, the attractions lose their drawing power and under the corroding tooth of time they wear away and cease to be. The novelty passes and we yearn for something new. The old adage "familiarity breeds contempt" is nothing more than a recognition of the principle of diminishing returns. Familiarity wears out the novelty.

## "Chords and Discords"

To those who are inspired by the beauty of poetic expression, we recommend "Chords and Discords," by Walter Everette Hawkins, the Washington poet.

Order from the Author  
1322 W. STREET, N. W.,  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

The LONDON TIMES-REVIEW says: "The author possesses a gift of musical and striking language, and may yet make the world feel the thrill and understand."

The BROOKLYN EYE says: "He puts into poetry what Douglass put into oratory, and what DuBois puts into prose."

PRICE, \$1.00

# CHANDLER OWEN

Editor of "Messenger" to Travel from  
Coast to Coast and from Mexico to Canada

**E**DITOR CHANDLER OWEN, renowned writer and public speaker, will leave New York March 18 on his second annual lecture tour to the Pacific Coast, on which he will fill numerous engagements before mass meetings, clubs, labor councils, forums, college students, lyceums, church benefits and other special occasions.

As a leader of the New Negro, Mr. Owen is prepared to discuss various subjects in the realm of modern economic, social and political controversy. He has dates for lectures on the following subjects:

**THE RISING TIDE OF COLOR AGAINST WHITE SUPREMACY.**

**A NEW SOLUTION OF THE NEGRO PROBLEM.**

**THE KU KLUX KLAN—A CHALLENGE TO CIVILIZATION.**

**WHAT MUST THE NEGRO DO TO BE SAVED?**

**ARE FOREIGNERS A MENACE? BEING THE TRUTH ABOUT IMMIGRATION.**

**CAN THE NEGRO TRUST ANY WHITE PEOPLE?**

**IS SALVATION REALLY FREE?**

**WHAT'S WRONG WITH ORGANIZED LABOR?**

**THE GREAT HUMAN TRIANGLE—LOVE, MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE.**

**IS IMPERIALISM A BENEFIT TO WEAKER PEOPLES?**

**NEW PROBLEMS IN MEDICINE.**

Mr. Owen will spend four weeks in Southern California, during which time he will reside at Los Angeles, famous health resort. While in Los Angeles the lecturer will be the guest of prominent attorneys who will take him on a trip into Mexico for a first hand study of economic conditions there.

# ON LECTURE TOUR

A Trip of Ten Thousand Miles,  
Including Engagements in Mexico

After California is thoroughly covered Mr. Owen will go up the Coast to Portland, Oregon, and Seattle, Washington. In this section he will speak chiefly before white labor organizations.

Beginning Sunday, March 18, the trip is outlined as follows:

PHILADELPHIA	DENVER, COLO.	SEATTLE, WASH.
PITTSBURGH	CHEYENNE, WYO.	SPOKANE, WASH.
YOUNGSTOWN, O.	SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH	HELENA, MONT.
CLEVELAND	LOS ANGELES, CAL.	BUTTE, MONT.
TOLEDO	SAN DIEGO	MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.
AKRON	MEXICO	ST. PAUL, MINN.
MANSFIELD, O.	PASADENA	MILWAUKEE, WIS.
DETROIT	RIVERSIDE	CHICAGO
CHICAGO	WATTS	INDIANAPOLIS, IND.
ST. LOUIS	SAN FRANCISCO	DAYTON, O.
KANSAS CITY, MO.	OAKLAND, CAL.	SPRINGFIELD, O.
KANSAS CITY, KANS.	SACRAMENTO	COLUMBUS, O.
TOPEKA, KANS.	PORTLAND, ORE.	HARRISBURG, PA.
SALINA, KANS.	TACOMA, WASH.	

Meanwhile a circulation drive is on for The Messenger. Subscriptions will be taken at all meetings. Councils for the Friends of Negro Freedom will be established and memberships will be accepted.

*Address:*

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

THE MESSENGER

2305 SEVENTH AVENUE

NEW YORK CITY

# TRUTH IN ART IN AMERICA

By J. COGDELL

[The following article comes from the Pacific Coast. At least the East doesn't "know it all."]

First, what is Art? It is a mirror that reflects the world of thought and action colored by the individual character of the artist who holds the mirror. Truth is necessary to Art since that which is Art must have a universal appeal, and only the verities are universal. Art has four different methods of expressing itself; literarily (poetry and prose), pictorially (engraving, carving, painting, sculpture), musically (voice, instrumental), dramatically (tragedy, comedy), each division and sub-division serving varying sets of senses in an effort to express the phenomena of life.

## The Qualities of An Artist

On their positive side the Arts help to clarify and intensify Life, thereby emphasizing the experience of existence. On their negative side they are a means of balance and expression to artist and public alike. In essence, it may be said, they are not only radically individualistic but radically social as well; all the "art for art's sake" to the contrary. The artist differs from other men in the strength of his emotions. The average man has only sufficient energy to steer his own craft; the artist manages his own craft with enough remaining energy to steer the world besides. Two, seemingly opposed, fundamental human qualities drive him forward to concrete expression; a strong feeling of individual power and a desire to exhibit this power; and a strong feeling of insufficiency and a desire for security; both in their formal result are Social since they require participation of others for proper demonstration. The artists in general have repudiated the label of "Social" upon Art—understanding in its limited sense to mean the morals of their particular epoch. But a work of art may be immoral in its period and essentially social in its reach. In France, Rousseau was "immoral" religiously and politically during his lifetime, ostracized and exiled for his opinions, though these opinions formed the morals of the succeeding epoch. The artist is obsessed by the Perfect and the Absolute, and therein is Social. Always restless under any given form of society because of its clumsy inadequacy he is always the progressive pioneer of his time, in seeking a better way. He is the Pathfinder and should be allowed to stride unshackled in his search. But in every age there are always those who are comfortable and wish to maintain their comfort at any cost since they are usually also selfish, for comfort does not sharpen the acuteness of pity. And these Comfortable Ones, possessed of economic power, either try to seduce the artist by gifts into celebrating the Comfortable, or failing, pile obstacles in his path to discourage him. The more this discouragement succeeds the blacker is the night in which that particular civilization stumbles. The Middle Ages in Europe are a terrible example of the suppression of artistic liberty. Life does not stand still and the civilization that refuses to see itself in the mirror of artistic truth retrogresses. The thwarted genius of the Middle Ages turned his energy from love of the Perfect into hate and capricious destruc-

tion of all life. The People having no healthy expression of their instincts secretly indulged themselves in Witches' Sabbaths, and those who had not even this outlet became mad or epileptic. That liberty, civic health, progress, and art are closely related is obvious.

## "Old Maids" Make Art Backward

It may be said that America is still restrained by vestiges of the Middle Ages. The Puritans brought with them here, to our misfortune, the narrow cramping morals of the Middle Ages, the inquisitive methods of the church from which they had revolted, and more bigotry and ignorance of nature than the Church of Rome ever possessed, lacking even a Witches' Sabbath. Modern America still labors under these taboos. Moral prohibition falls most directly and heavily upon the feminine sex here, then rebounds onto the artist and the general public. The part of our populace who have the time and money to cultivate themselves, and in so doing encourage or restrict Art we find are mostly women; middle-aged wives and spinsters are our "Leisure Class." Perhaps this is the reason Art is considered effeminate in America. These women, forced by custom to suppress their natural instincts are, because of their very respectability, almost without exception neurotic, and in turn relentlessly force their unnatural taboos upon Art, in consequence soldering fast the door by which they, and more agreeably their children of the next generation, might escape into a healthier existence. Thus they perpetrate their weakness. Our literature, painting, drama, and shadow stage are censored with fanatic intolerance by the male sex brought up on the fears of these neurotic mothers. That most magnificent and powerful instinct, the Reproductive urge, must walk among us masked and only in the laboratory or saloon may it ever be lifted with impunity, in the one for sterilization, in the other for brutalization. The Artist whose business it is to beautify life for Mankind, by purifying its instincts with palatable truth and glorifying them with passion, must keep his hands off.

## The Curse of Censorship

In Literature we find abortive censorship. For passages describing and interpreting everyday facts of life mailing privileges are denied and the authors even face imprisonment. Take Theodore Drieser's "*Genius*," suppressed mainly because it describes the phenomenon of the male's interest in the well-formed limbs of the female, although this fact supplies the material for one-half of our vaudeville jokes, and is substantiated by every "Girl Show" in the country, where the only possible attraction is supplied by the exposed limbs of the chorus. But *that* is a different matter; our average business man who, knowing nothing of culture and art despises and ignores them—is interested here, so for his delectation the bars are let down. Besides, too, a chorus in no way disputes the prevailing moral standard, in fact affirms it; for what average wife or business man does not regard the chorus girl as on the "other side of the line"? Also we admit the sale of foreign masters who



have already achieved great reputations, and who, like Rabelais and Boccaccio, or moderns like Anatole France and Gabriel D'Annunzio, furnish us realistic descriptions of the most intimate human proclivities. These are permitted because otherwise we fear to be styled "boors" by Europe should we publicly refuse to admit literary masterpieces; but most of our libraries are "protected" from them by carrying the original and not the translation. That which has not yet attained the stamp of the mighty, but is nevertheless truthful and perhaps more vital to us, is forbidden, or sold secretly at exorbitant prices, making their reading a sort of Upper-Class vice; money here as elsewhere forming a class barrier. Putting such historical records as "*The Worship of the Generative Powers*" by Knight under the ban of secrecy is a dastard act of bigotry since the book effectually clears up many otherwise puzzling customs of today. Psychoanalytic text books are sold at such prices that the public, who is in need of them, never see them. Only "Physicians" may purchase certain books, while if the public were permitted them the former might largely be dispensed with. Although we are thankful for the European masterpieces suffered us, we would prefer to hear what American artists have to say about the vital functions of life. M. Anatole France speaks for France but not for America. D'Annunzio strikes the Roman chord, but it is not the scale of America. What are the hopes, fears and desires of America, what has it to say on Love and Individualism, the two pivots of existence? But our corseted middle-aged purity squad cannot bear the undisguised mention of either. A remarkable book has lately been secretly (or "privately") published in America; only the very rich can afford the forty dollars for which it sells. But it is a book which every adult not only should be allowed but forced to read. Wealthy perverts will wallow in its frankness, although the book far from being amatory is a revolt against all sex. However, they will see only the details and their meaning will entirely escape them. The book was written by a well known American, the Purity Squad cannot arraign the author of "*Ulysses*" but it can that of "*Fantazius Malare*," and so I believe, has already been the case. The author's penetration into human instincts, the uncompromising strength of his style and his audacious self-assertion mark this book as a departure and a new beginning in American literature. For, though forced underground, its influence will be manifest sooner or later.

#### Nude Paintings

The plastic and pictorial arts are in the same dilemma as are the literary arts. The incoherency of "Modern Art" is something like revenge. What truth may not this scrawling confusion utter with no one the wiser? It is an unconscious effort at freedom comparable to hysterics, the result of an age of standardization and repression. A free age would not think in such terms. It is interesting psychologically and it is possible that fantastic and mystical subjects which do not lend themselves gracefully to the formal touch may now possess a medium. Our savage ancestors employed a similar method of symbolization of the "unutterables" which later evolved into orthography. Certainly if some of them are not pictures some indeed make very agreeable designs. The nude is allowed—properly removed—because it is tradi-

tional; describe the same nude in literature and you run a risk. "Why are our censors so afraid of the body?" one asks. "Because they fear themselves," says Freud. Now that we know that even the mental processes take place throughout the body and are not centered in the brain, what are we going to do?

#### Handicaps of the Stage

The stage has much more to put up with. Drama, which should surge with the pulse of the people since it is more directly connected with them, limps along twenty to fifty years behind literature. The closer the Tree of Art grows to the People the faster fly the pruning scissors of the purity maniacs. It is amusing to note that the Opera is permitted many of the "un-conventionalities" in plot denied the speaking stage—but no one understands, so where's the harm?

The most radically worthwhile recent plays have been: "*The Circle*," where for once the man who "breaks up" the home actually is not a villain at all but a delightful lover, and the heroine dares to do what the courageous woman always does; "*The First Fifty Years*," showing what everyone knows to be the average lot of marriage these days; "*The Hairy Ape*" and "*The Fool*," the one brutal and the other idealistic, but both powerfully dealing with present social conditions; "*Heart Break House*," the best thing Shaw has ever done; Kolb and Dill's "*Give and Take*," inartistic and inaccurate, but appearing a sincere effort to solve the industrial problem; "*The Passion Flower*," revealing the jealous enmity between mother and daughter where the affection of a man is concerned, a general phenomenon; and "*The Emperor Jones*," chiefly remarkable in that it is written about a Negro of virile masculinity and individualism, with the difficult rôle portrayed by a Negro. The significance of this is sweeping; it opens up an entirely new field to literature and the stage. The tenor of the "*Emperor Jones*" is not flattering to the Negro race, but it is the necessary intermediary step. The dramatic feeling of the Negro is sadly needed on the American stage. For years he has dominated the minstrel and comedy in spirit; he was even permitted to "Personally" make a fool of himself—as long as you can laugh at him he is harmless! The ability of Bert Williams was no challenge, but Mr. Gilpin challenges subtly behind the lines of his part.

These, our most advanced dramas, are yet, philosophically speaking, far behind our literature, and are merely the recounting of what we all already know.

#### The Decadent Movies

Last is the youngest of the dramatic arts, the cinema, and the most starved for truth, at present exceptional in that it is the only known sphere of existence where virtue is always rewarded. It runs parallel with the newspapers in the dishonesty of its methods; likewise everything it touches comes out changed and cheapened. History and the most sacred literature is twisted to suit current propaganda. The tenth-rate scenario and magazine writers, who supply its plots, search frantically among the great masters for material that may serve them without condemning them; in the pursuit of swiping they are dexterous; nowhere else. Everything must have a happy ending (evidently they feel America needs encouragement), and but for the Bolsheviks, Germans, and Darker

Races, this is the "best of all possible worlds"! The fabrication of the "Nationalization of Russian Women" although refuted by the United States Government, has, notwithstanding, been used several times, spreading this false idea among the Public who innocently but restlessly swallow all they are told. Miss Norma Talmadge lends her presence to the glorification of such falsehood. One expected better things of her. Even the Ku Klux Klan unblushingly idealizes its absurdities and brutalities for public consumption. "*Hungry Hearts*," for instance, whose vital significance dwells in its tragedy is given a happy ending; thereby converting it into a mere character and dialect study. Or take "*Tess of the Storm Country*," admirably acted by Miss Pickford; but what about all those "Tesses" who, lacking Miss Pickford's beauty, are unable to charm rich men into liberality? How many "Squatter's Villages" not possessing a Miss Pickford are permitted their poor existence against the wishes of a wealthy antagonist? These tales are untold. Even Omar Khayyam must be sacrificed; he who is magnificently pagan in spirit must be Christianized to agree with the idea that nothing could possibly be great that disagrees with popular religious notions. In fact, censorship, direct and indirect, has reduced the cinema to such puerilities in thought and plot, and such subterfuges in action, that even the average intelligence, in the habit of accepting everything, begins to criticize them. The foreign pictures brought in are so popular because of their greater integrity that they have seriously damaged the American product in its own field. The German company producing the series of pictures, among them "*Deception*," was brought to America because of the popularity of these films, but here they produce "*The Loves of Pharaoh*," which is a dismal failure; in fact, absurd in the extreme. Oh, the spectacles are magnificent, much money was spent upon them, more than on the European productions; but remark its philosophy?—and the "Loves," where are the "Loves"? There weren't any! No, that would be *a-little-bit-riské!* But then, in titles more liberty is allowed; that endangers nothing and bait is necessary, and the public doesn't know the difference until after its money is spent. *A little piece of American hypocritical meanness was observed in the character of the Ethiopian King and his daughter; they were intentionally made ridiculous.* In "*Caberia*," the Italian picture, there is a noticeable difference; the two main male parts are Ethiopians and are portrayed with all the strength and pride of Ethiopia. But what can you expect when even the "Sheik" must be half-English; and the "Young Rajah" half-"European," although the Arabs and Hindus are of Caucasian stock. But their color is darker and here is the prick! Credit must be given Mr. Valentino for bringing passion into cinema love; even the censors cannot take the feeling of this away from his pictures. Anglo-Saxons are ashamed of emotion; proper young business men love—but with caution and economy! Much to their chagrin it has been found that American women prefer Valentino.

#### The "Divinity of Jazz"

Only at Comedy may we gaze without becoming intellectually nauseated. Much is permitted the laugh that is denied the tear. The laugh ends with itself; the tear is a scorching reproach.

Music in America, because it speaks another language, is given license where the other Arts are denied truth. Our prohibited instincts riot disgustingly here like thirsty men in a desert oasis; we revel in "Jazz." This "lets off steam" but it deplorably cheapens our instincts and corrupts the true spirit of music. Jazz is essentially a capitalistic production, it steals its melodies from all sources, the Masters, the Negroes, the Orient, with naive greed and unconcern, then proceeds to ruin them. It is as noisy and rapacious as the system that creates it. (*Broadway jazz* must not be confused with *Negro Folk Music*, the only real music America has yet produced.)

*Are we to remain a nation of "Peeping Toms" and "Jazz Jumpers"? We cannot suppress Nature; we can only pervert it. Where is the Culture that our politicians tell us we must fight to save? The Movies? The Newspapers? The Jazz? Art and Truth are outlawed. Would it not be far wiser and nobler to admit life as it is and then glorify it with our tenderness and passion?*

[*"Age can sometimes learn from youth." The author of the above is only twenty-three. Now let the "Society for the Suppression of Vice" answer.*]

## BOOKS

### Keep the African "In His Place"

**The Black Man's Place in South Africa.** By Peter Nielson. Juta & Co., Ltd., London, England.

There has come to my desk this slim volume, whose author gives as his credentials thirty years' residence among the blacks of South Africa, and an ability to speak their language equal to the native. He ought to know something of what he writes. He realizes that there is a growing race consciousness and restlessness among the natives, accompanied by an advance in civilization, and that soon their demand for equal opportunity must be heard.

What shall be done depends on whether the native is equal in capacity to the white man or not. If inferior, he must be kept in an inferior place; if equal, his demand should be recognized. The author believes the native to be equal in capacity—physical, mental and moral—to the white. This and the other query—what response shall be made to the natives' demand—furnish the reasons for the book.

Mr. Nielson is a strong protagonist for the equality of the native, and arrays cogent arguments, striking illustrations, and impressive scientific citations to prove his point. However, after making a strong case for the equal physical, mental and moral capacity of the native, he gives as his solution of what should be done to meet his demands—that he be territorially segregated because of the prejudice of the white man arising from jealousy about his women. Quoting probably without consciousness from Finot's "*Race Prejudice*," Mr. Nielson answers the usual argument that the Negro belongs to a lower order than the white; that he is nearer our simian ancestry. Using the facts Finot has so ably marshalled, the author proves that whites are more like the simian than the Negro. He also treats of the familiar theories used to prove inferiority—prothagnous jaw, sutures of the brain closing at adolescence, skull smaller in cubit capacity, skull thicker—answering each of these in a capable manner, which those who have read "*Race Prejudice*" will readily recognize.

Discussing the odor of the Negro—he remarks that each race has an odor objectionable to other races. And then he makes this rich comment about the odor of the Negro: "*It does not seem to affect the large number of white men of all nationalities who have found, and still find pleasure in continued and intimate intercourse with African women.*"

Writing of the mental and moral qualities of the native, the author gives many illustrations to prove that the mental processes of the black are the same as those of the white, and that his moral reactions are no different—subject, of course, to his culture and environment. "After thirty years among them," the author states, "I am convinced that there is no such thing as a native mind, but just a common human mind. There are no inherent racial minds—only different national and racial cultures." Here I cannot refrain from quoting a passage which answers a very familiar and frequent challenge of the American Southern white man—the familiar query—"the white race has had thousands of years of culture. How can you expect your race to be accounted equal in sixty years?" The person who says this is always justifying repression of the Negro. This is what Mr. Nielson says on the subject: "The average white man has a more or less vague notion that his own proud position at the top of human society is the result of the continuous and assiduous use of the brain by his forefathers in the struggle for existence under the rigorous conditions of a northern climate, during thousands of generations, by which constant exercise of the mental faculty of his race it grew and increased till it became, in course of time, a veritable intellectual endowment; whereas the natives of Africa, by failing always to make use of whatever brain powers they might have been blessed with in the beginning, have suffered a continued loss of mental capacity. But science, as a body, does not support the view that bodily characters and modifications acquired by an individual during the life time are transmissible to his offspring. In other words, science does not, as a body, accept the theory that the effects of use or disuse in the parent are inherited by his children." He continues: "Prof. Herbert Donaldson, of the University of Chicago, gave it as his opinion that in comparing remote times with the present, or in our own age, races which have reached distinction with those which have remained obscure, it is by no means clear that the grade of civilization attained is associated with an increase in the mental capabilities of the best representatives of those communities."

The author has an interesting viewpoint also on the familiar query: "If the African is equal to the European, why hasn't he produced any great civilization?"

In his opinion, two things have prevented larger native progress—African ancestor worship under a strict priesthood, and the African climate. But we do not know, avers the author, that the Negro has not in prehistoric times produced great civilizations. Further, lack of achievement does not necessarily prove lack of capacity. It may prove merely lack of ambition. Besides, we do not yet wholly understand the forces that produce civilization. A backward people suddenly leaps to the vanguard, as Japan. A forward people becomes arrested in its progress, as China, or the Arabs.

The early Scandinavians lagged behind while the inhabitants of warmer climes produced civilization. At this point the author strikes at Gobinism and the theory of the Nordic race so largely proclaimed by those pseudo-scientists, Madison Grant and Lothrop Stoddard. He says: "The blond Northman gave nothing to the world but puerile gods in a stupid Valhalla and bloody warriors, while the dark Mediterranean type discovered the unknown God, invented art and philosophy, and developed law and government."

Discussing the reasons the Negro is not accorded equality in every sense, Mr. Nielson says: "Race prejudice based on physical dissimilarity and jealousy of the male white, is the reason equality is denied the Negro. The so-called Latin races have far less prejudice against black people than the blond races of northern Europe, because their physical dissimilarity is not so great. Racial repugnance is not naturally inherent in children, nor in women towards the men of a different kind, nor in men towards the women of another race, but it arises through the feeling of jealousy in both men and women by fear of losing their natural mates to rivals of both sexes from another and disparate race. It is also a truism of history that the fair-skinned women of a conquered country, as a rule, will yield themselves easily to the swarthy barbarians who have killed or overcome their husbands and brothers. That many women who, in British seaports and in the German towns occupied by French colored troops, have lived and cohabited with African men, proves that they have no instinctive, racial hostility against them. Competent witnesses report, and this is corroborated by the German newspapers of good standing, that the black troops have a very

marked attraction for a large number of German women, and that the German men hate the black men because the German women do not. White women in South Africa and in the Southern States of America refrain from association with black men [?] only because of social conventions imposed on them by jealous masters. This is evidenced by disappearance of aversion which has been inculcated from without when pressure lapses.

"This racial feeling of jealousy is the reason why white men will allow themselves to cohabit freely with black women to whom they feel themselves naturally attracted, but will 'see red' and commit murder as soon as they find a black man attempting to gain the favor of a woman of their own color. It is born of fear of losing something valued. This may be instinctive or it may be acquired, but as a whole, the whites feel far from sure about the permanence of their cherished pride and prejudice of race."

Speaking of mixed bloods, he expresses the opinion that a dash of colored blood makes a superior stock, and there is no reason for alarm in the growing percentage of colored people in South Africa. Claims about their vices or their disabilities are not founded in fact. The author hastens, however, to say that he does not advocate interbreeding, because of the social proscription and denial of opportunity inflicted on the mulatto in South Africa. He expresses a belief (which has no evidence to bolster it) that blacks and whites alike will develop an instinct against intermixing of blood. The book ends with these halting words:

"The difficulties in the way are many and serious, but if we of the power-holding race remain true to the great principles of justice and fairness (!) which have guided our forefathers in their upward path, we shall not go astray. So long as we remember the lesson of history, voiced in the saying of the Romans—'As many slaves, so many enemies'—we shall refrain from the means of oppression which have always reacted adversely on the repressors."

Here follows the feeble and miserable conclusion—that although Negroes are the equal of the whites in capacity, prejudice, based on their physical appearance will prevent social equality lest it result in intermarriage—and that, therefore, the best solution for South Africa is territorial segregation of the natives. This, he confesses, the educated and younger natives oppose, among other reasons, because it would result in constant encroachments of whites, unfair partition of land both in quality and quantity—as already is the case under the Botha act. He, however, justifies his proposal by saying a majority of the natives approve it; confessing, however, immediately that *most of them do not understand it at all!*

Does not the author know that men always refuse to learn from history? Why does he suppose the present repression will not continue, until it cannot? The author has not drawn the inevitable conclusion from his argument. It is this. The native, equal in capacity, will learn fully, sooner or later, the lesson of civilization, and the end will be social equality or expulsion of the whites. The book has its grave weaknesses, especially towards the end, but is in the main an honest examination of a question of world-wide interest.

ROBERT W. BAGNALL.

This land is ours by right of birth,  
This land is ours by right of toil;  
We helped to turn its virgin earth,  
Our sweat is in its fruitful soil.

J. W. J.

## CO-OPERATION

For information on organizing  
co-operative societies apply to

CO-OPERATIVE LEAGUE OF AMERICA

167 West 12th Street, New York

# Who's Who

## THE MADNESS OF MARCUS GARVEY

By ROBERT W. BAGNALL

**H**ISTORY tells the stories of a number of notable madmen who played quite a part for evil in their day. Nero, Caligula, Alexander are notorious instances. Literature furnishes us with a number of cases of madmen who thought themselves destined to do great things. The most striking of such characters is Don Quixote. This mad Knight tilted at wind-mills and thought them to be dragons and confused flocks of sheep with damsels in distress. The world has laughed at Don Quixote, but this old mad Knight was comparatively harmless. As mad as Don Quixote, the much advertised Negro demagogue Marcus Garvey appears to be, but is by no means harmless.

The following is a pen picture of this notorious character which those who know him say is an accurate likeness:

A Jamaican Negro of unmixed stock, squat, stocky, fat and sleek, with protruding jaws, and heavy jowls, small bright pig-like eyes and rather bull-dog-like face. Boastful, egotistic, tyrannical, intolerant, cunning, shifty, smooth and suave, avaricious; as adroit as a fencer in changing front, as adept as a cuttle-fish in beclouding an issue he cannot meet, prolix to the 'nth degree in devising new schemes to gain the money of poor ignorant Negroes; gifted at self-advertisement, without shame in self-laudation, promising ever, but never fulfilling, without regard for veracity, a lover of pomp and tawdry finery and garish display, a bully with his own folk but servile in the presence of the Klan, a sheer opportunist and a demagogic charlatan.

Until recent years many laymen supposed that a madman was violently irrational at all times and in all things. We now know that an insane man may be seemingly perfectly sane in many ways and at many times; his insanity being revealed only when certain choices, decisions and acts are presented to him. Often his insanity is confined to his reactions to certain departments of life. Our asylums are filled with individuals who can talk lucidly, intelligently, and sanely on many questions, but who will reveal their condition to you by suddenly, calmly and assuredly announcing that they are Napoleon, or Cæsar, or a mighty king, general or magnate.

When Garvey was found guilty at a recent trial, Judge Panken of New York excoriated him, ending with these words—"There is a form of paranoia which manifests itself in believing oneself to be a great man." In this he infers that Garvey is afflicted with this form of insanity.

### Is Garvey a Paranoiac?

We may seriously ask—, is not Marcus Garvey a paranoiac?

He certainly manifests many of the characteristic symptoms of this form of insanity. It is hard to under-

stand many of the man's actions except on the assumption that he is insane—that he is a paranoiac. Let us examine the symptoms of paranoia and see how Garvey manifests them.

A paranoiac is afflicted with *Egomania*. His world is interpreted in terms of self. The first person of the personal pronoun is ever on his lips. One hears from him a succession of *I, Me*. The world revolves around *him*.

Read the *Negro World*. See how its pages are thick with the words "*I, Marcus Garvey*" in every issue. See the self-laudation and egoism manifested there. Listen to Marcus Garvey as he speaks. Then you will think that the description I gave above of a paranoiac is one of Garvey. No sane man would be so gross in self-laudation as Garvey.

A paranoiac has delusions of grandeur. He thinks himself great.

### False Imagination

The paranoiac will imagine himself a great leader or ruler or wonderfully gifted in some art; a genius. He thinks of himself always in the superlative. All others dwindle in comparison. He imagines that he has done great things. He craves acknowledgment of this from others. He has lost all sense of perspective. He can never receive enough fawning and flattery. Marcus Garvey when a soap boxer years ago in New York advertised himself as "the world's greatest orator." This title he still proclaims. He compares himself boastfully with Du Bois, James Weldon Johnson and others—claiming far greater attainments with nothing to substantiate his claims. He makes a mockery of the solid accomplishments of these gentlemen. He regards himself as an empire-builder, a divinely inspired leader of 400,000,000 Negroes (although no such number exists in the world).

He imagines miserable failures to be great successes and a credit to him. He confesses the loss of nearly a million dollars of poor people's money and that there is nothing left but debts. He confesses the utter loss of every vessel of his "Black Star Line," and then boasts of the success of his shipping line. In one breath he says that all three of his ships are gone; that there is nothing left out of nearly \$1,000,000 but debts. In another breath he states that "if it hadn't been for our enemies, we would now have twenty vessels instead of three." He still seems under the delusion that he has three. He has a court reception, divides Africa in which he or his movement hasn't one foot of ground into duchies and makes "knights" and "ladies" and "dukes." Those presented to him must bend the knee before him. Arrayed in royal garb, he and his court assemble on an elevated dais

(Continued on page 648)

# Open Forum

## THE POLICY OF THE MESSENGER ON WEST INDIAN AND AMERICAN NEGROES

W. A. DOMINGO VS. CHANDLER OWEN

### Mr. Domingo's Letter

Editors, THE MESSENGER:

It is upon the principle that "a man's best friend is one who tells him his faults" that I am moved to write you this open letter. I have debated with myself the expediency of so doing since last October, and hesitated upon the supposition that reason would conquer pique and sound public policy outweigh personal prejudices. But as there might be misunderstandings as to my attitude towards some of the newer policies of the magazine on which I am listed as a contributing editor, I am compelled to state my position as clearly and uncompromisingly as possible. I refer to the fight that THE MESSENGER is waging against Garvey and the doctrines that have flowed from his oblique intellect. No one who knows me privately or publicly can accuse me of being in the remotest sense a subscriber to the illogical, race-injuring and dangerous ideas of Mr. Garvey. It is public knowledge and a matter of record that in New York City, as early as the Fall of 1919, I raised my voice in protest against the execrable exaggerations, staggering stupidities, blundering bombast and abominable assinnities of our black Barnum, culminating in Thomas Potter and myself being assaulted, kicked, and placed under arrest by Garveyites in the Spring of 1920. Not a bit daunted by my experiences which brought me no fame as a leader, scholar, martyr or orator, I persisted, published and edited *The Emancipator* (for which you both wrote), and have not let up a single instant in my unequivocal opposition.

My position is, I think, clear. Garvey's doctrines are dangerous to Negroes everywhere, but more so to those in the United States and Africa; his doctrines and many disgraceful failures have resulted in giving partial confirmation to the Negrophobists' claims as to our essential inferiority and have been the means of weakening us politically, financially and racially by driving away white friends and importing schisms into our ranks.

But I am not discussing Garvey's doctrines, for we are agreed as to their intrinsic worthlessness. I am concerned about the doctrines of THE MESSENGER.

I am a West Indian. I am so through no act of mine, and am neither proud nor ashamed of what is purely an accident. It is not the fault of Mr. Randolph that he was born in Jacksonville and not Rosewood, Florida. Mr. Garvey was born in Jamaica, but according to him, he had rather been born in Africa. Despite his Jamaican birth, I, a Jamaican, find myself differing from him even as most native Negroes no doubt differ from Perry Howard, whom you have bracketted with Garvey as being of the same sinister sort. Difference of opinion is purely a mental quality, and may exist between twin brothers and the closest relatives. Opinions are personal, not national.

Since THE MESSENGER began its belated fight to rid the race of the disgrace of Garveyism, I have noticed that many of the articles dealing with that subject have stressed Mr. Garvey's nationality. I have ascribed this to the early reactions of human beings who are engaged in a controversy with an unscrupulous antagonist, but the persistent and regular recurrence of this particular emphasis forces me to ignore past relationships and register my emphatic protest. Behind the unnecessary emphasis, the Cato-like repetition, there seems to lurk a national animus that finds a convenient vent in this particular subject. Believing that the Editors of THE MESSENGER who wrote an editorial as recently as last summer protesting against the *Chicago Defender's* irrational assaults upon Garvey's nationality, are amenable to unemotional, dispassionate

argumentation, I desire to draw their attention to phases of the question that they may have overlooked.

In your righteous denunciation of Garvey you excoriate his demagogy, but with a strange inconsistency resort to the very methods you condemn. If Garvey is guilty of imitating white people with his black this and black that, aren't you emulating him when you adopt his own reprehensible methods of popular appeal without regard to principle? Isn't this a case of the oppressed becoming oppressors and the lynched becoming lynchers?

In the January MESSENGER there is an editorial entitled "A Supreme Negro Jamaican Jackass," which reads in part: "Of course, no American Negro would have stooped to such depths. . . . It was left for Marcus Garvey from Jamaica, etc." Yet in another editorial, "The Dyer-Johnson-Howard Triangle," speaking of Perry Howard, of Mississippi, U. S. A., you say, "Negroes of this country . . . should hereafter class him along with Marcus Garvey." Elementary logic records an inconsistency here. If Howard is equal to Garvey in infamy, then Jamaica is not the only place to produce Jackasses of Garvey's type! And to give Jamaica a monopoly in the production of Jackasses after placing Perry Howard in parity with Garvey is to involve yourselves in a contradiction! No; traitors and fools may be found anywhere and everywhere!

Youth can ever learn from age, and I refer you to your last issue and advise you to ponder over the reply of Kelly Miller to your own questionnaire, which, by the way, elicited a majority of answers that were a complete repudiation of your own policy on the question of deportation of Garvey.

You argue for equality with white people, yet by giving their nationality unfavorable emphasis you deny equality to West Indians, and insinuate that only a West Indian would be guilty of the things you charge against Garvey! Consistency, thou art indeed a jewel!

In the past you have called the 90 per cent white people of this country cowards for their oppression of the 10 per cent Negroes, and yet you advocate a policy, and practise a method, that, carried out logically, will mean the oppression of 90,000 foreign-born Negroes (many of them citizens and fighters for your rights) by their 12,000,000 native-born brothers! Which is the greater oppression, nine oppressing one, or four hundred oppressing three? Suppose Garvey were an American, would you emphasize that fact? If not (and you could not), why emphasize his foreign birth?

I will not point out that it is incompatible with your professed Socialist faith for you to initiate an agitation for deportation or to emphasize the nationality of anyone as a subtle means of generating opposition against him, but I certainly maintain that to oppose Garvey on the score of his birthplace is to confess inability to oppose him formidably upon any other ground. By the penalties you advocate and the arguments you stress against Garvey one can determine what you regard as his greatest offense, namely, his nationality. Certainly there is enough error and weakness in Garveyism for you to find a more intellectually dignified method of assault; and certainly the people you hope to rouse against this monstrous thing are sufficiently intelligent as to be entitled to a higher form of propaganda!

What is the object of emphasizing the nationality of an offender; to build up a feeling against the offender or against his nationality? The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is interested in creating an unfavorable public opinion against Perry Howard, but do the leaders, Johnson, DuBois and Pickens, always refer to their quarry as

a Mississippian? Emphasizing nationality unfavorably can have only one result, whether it is desired or not, namely, extend public hostility from an individual to his group. Need I amplify this further when it is remembered that one of the greatest grievances of American Negroes is against white newspapers forever stressing the race of colored criminals? Need I point out that the policy you are now pursuing will logically culminate in dissension within the race, and if sufficiently disseminated, make the life of West Indians among American Negroes as unsafe or unpleasant as is the life of American Negroes among their white countrymen?

THE MESSENGER for which I wrote and which I loved, prided itself upon its internationalism, and valued this quality as its hall-mark of superiority; but today it seems to have fallen from its former high estate. So international was it that it formulated plans for the guidance of Negroes everywhere and catered to foreign subscribers; today its policy is one that is more intolerant and aggressively anti-West Indian than even those papers that it formerly condemned. Comparisons are odious but they can serve to drive home a point. *The Crisis* is no less opposed to Garvey, but neither Mr. Johnson, Mr. White, nor Dr. DuBois has forgotten the instincts of fair play, chivalry and *noblesse oblige*, and appealed to popular prejudices. Instead, Dr. DuBois has registered his gentle protest against wholesale denunciation of West Indians for the sins (!) of one of their group.

How can THE MESSENGER reconcile its demand for the deportation of West Indians then unconvicted of crime, made in the November and December issues, with its fight against the deportation of Alexander Berkman, the Russian anarchist, in 1919, a man who had served nearly twenty years in prison for attempting to murder Henry C. Frick, the Pennsylvania steel magnate? How can it reconcile its opposition to a group of Negro aliens while soliciting and accepting financial support from white aliens? And what of the financial, moral and intellectual support these black aliens gave the MESSENGER and its editors from 1916 to the present time?

And aren't these the same West Indians whom you praised during that period for their independence, radical tendencies, and lack of enervating traditions? Must I conclude that you only admire these traits when they coincide with your interests or promote any cause you espouse? Suppose those who now support the Universal Negro Improvement Association joined the FRIENDS OF NEGRO FREEDOM? Would that sanctify them and render them acceptable to your new-born chauvinism? *E tu Brute!*

It is surprising to learn at the FORUM of the FRIENDS OF NEGRO FREEDOM that West Indians are a menace to the progress of American Negroes. Perhaps such careful, modest, and reliable scholars as W. E. B. DuBois and Carter Woodson, Ph.D., are in error when they stress the part "played by West Indians" in the upbuilding of the race in this country. Have you ever read the famous passage in "THE SOULS OF BLACK FOLK" in which the author refers to the contributions by West Indians in the early portion of the last century in formulating the manhood policies of native Negroes? Would the progress of American Negroes be greater without the achievements of foreign-born Negroes like Nathaniel Dett, Bert Williams, Prince Hall, Peter Ogden, Claude McKay, Straker, Crogman, Matzeliger, Russwurm, Marcus Wheatland, M.D., Bishop Derrick, Denmark Vesey, Dr. M. A. K. Shaw, Margetson, E. Burton Ceruti, Giles of Ocala, Fla., and hundreds of teachers, doctors, ministers, lawyers, dentists, business men and progressive folk in other walks of life? Since when has meritorious achievement become a detriment

to progress? And what of those like James Weldon and Rosamond Johnson, William Stanley Braithwaite and Robert Brown Elliott with foreign-born parents? And Du Bois with his Haitian-Bahaman ancestors? If THE MESSENGER is ignorant of these elementary facts, its knowledge of the race it affects to speak for is comparable only with the more complete unacquaintance with facts revealed by its *bete noir*, Marcus Garvey. The sober sense of THE MESSENGER must deprecate anything that tends to destroy racial unity upon essential questions like lynching; and viewed by their consequences, would anyone seriously argue that Garvey's ravings are as dangerous to American Negroes as the unspeakable and despicable treachery of Perry Howard? Are his words more truckling than Moton's "be modest and unassuming"? If not, why emphasize the former's birthplace and ignore that of the latter? Or is discrimination inside the race another newly acquired policy of THE MESSENGER?

Let us face certain fundamental facts regarding Garvey. Only so can we arrive at the truth and thus evolve a sound policy. Who are the bitterest and most persistent opponents of Garvey? Aren't they West Indians like Cyril V. Briggs, R. B. Moore, Frank R. Crosswaith, Thomas Potter and myself? Who caused his arrests and his indictments? West Indians: Grey, Warner, Briggs and Orr! Who conducts the *Crusader Service*, Garvey's veritable Nemesis? Briggs, assisted by the writer. The January *Crisis*, in justice to truth and elevated journalistic principles, concedes part of the work I did in unmasking Garvey.

Let us view the question from another angle: Who are the journalistic janissaries of Garvey, his intellectual bodyguard who play the role of his *diabolus advocatus*? "Sir" John E. Bruce (Grit), "Sir" R. L. Poston and "Sir" W. H. Ferris! Of what nationality are a majority of those be(k)nighted by Garvey? His Dukes, Ladies and Clowns? Who subscribed the larger portions of his many funds? (Read the lists in the *Negro World*.) Are West Indians numerous in strongholds like Pittsburgh, Cincinnati and Cleveland? But these facts do not constitute an indictment of American Negroes. Not a bit. One can understand how a people burdened with the naked and bitter realities of race prejudice and with traditions of despair and suffering will embrace something as chimerical and unsubstantial as the Black Star Line and an empire in Africa. It explains why they respond to Garvey's appeals even as they responded to those of Chief Sam, Bishop Holly, Bishop Turner, and the others related by Woodson in his book on Negro migration. It explains, too, to a degree, the gullibility revealed by William Pickens in his article in the *Nation* a year ago. Mr. Pickens, migrating from South Carolina to Arkansas, where he had to be acclimatized, had, buried somewhere in his subconscious self, some of the pioneer's optimism and became so enthusiastic over Garvey as to describe him as being "as brave as a Numidian lion." Mr. Pickens has seen the light since.

In the light of the foregone facts, historical and otherwise, is it hoping too much for me to expect that THE MESSENGER will change its new policy of shifting personal responsibility to a group and penalizing a people who, despite their many faults and their misfortune in not choosing to be born in Mississippi or Alabama, so well described by Mrs. Ratliff and Clement Wood in the *Nation*, or Arkansas, whose eloquent description by Pickens in the January MESSENGER I richly enjoyed, are, when all is said and done, just as human as their brothers in the United States?

New York City.

W. A. DOMINGO.

## MR. OWEN'S REPLY

IN the first place, Mr. W. A. Domingo gives as the reason for his writing the preceding letter his apprehension lest "there might be misunderstandings as to my [Domingo's] attitude towards some of the newer policies of the magazine [THE MESSENGER] on which I am listed as a contributing editor." This is a novel reason to say the least. We have never heard that contributing editors were responsible for all the policies of a publication. Even the editors, as a rule, do not stand as sponsors for the articles of the con-

tributing editors. THE MESSENGER editors require the following conditions only from their contributing editors: They must steer clear of libel, keep within the bounds of civil decency, maintain a reasonable dignity, know *all* they write, but not write all they *know* (otherwise we would lack the space, and people would not have time to read it), write well, using the King's or the Queen's English, and make their presentation with cogent logic and comprehensive information.

### "I Am A West Indian"

Mr. Domingo continues: "*I am a West Indian. . . . Difference of opinion is purely a mental quality and may exist between twin brothers and closest relatives. Opinions are personal, not national.*" Apparently, however, Mr. Domingo places some emphasis upon nationality, as shown in his utterance: "I am a West Indian." Probably one of the real reasons for his letter. Again, while difference of opinion may be purely a mental quality from the point of view of effect, national influences are frequently the causes of those differences. And Garvey's case is just about as good a citation as could be summoned. For instance, Garvey is from Jamaica, British West Indies. The British are the leading shipping and maritime nation; hence the natural suggestion of some form of shipping by a British subject, namely, the Black Star Line. The British Empire has a royal court, so Garvey imitates with his royal black court. The British potentate, as it were, creates Knights, Dukes, Peers, Counts and Ladies, so Garvey makes black k(nights), dukes, peers, counts and ladies. In his cabinet Garvey again mimics the British. To illustrate, America has a Secretary of the Treasury, but Great Britain has a Chancellor of the Exchequer; so Garvey creates a chancellor of the U. N. I. A. exchequer. Even the so-called "Provisional President of Africa" is a British counterfeit. It grew out of the existence of De Valera, then provisional president of Ireland. De Valera represented the president of a British possession who was not in the country over which he was supposed to preside. Hence Garvey decided that he, also a British subject, and desirous of claiming control over territory held largely by Great Britain, would copy the title of De Valera. Sir Ferris, Sir Bruce and Sir Poston are British "Sirs," and there is no other way by which to explain the Garvey schemes without a resort to nationality. His opinions may be personal, but they are produced by national influences.

Next Mr. Domingo remarks: "Since THE MESSENGER began its belated fight to rid the race of the disgrace of Garveyism." . . . Let us stop right here. The Editor of THE MESSENGER was the first person to suggest and inaugurate the fight upon Garvey's nebulous schemes and dreams. Too often we have heard Domingo stress this. In fact, our systematic, unremitting opposition to Garvey is a matter of record which may be easily verified by referring to THE MESSENGER files.

### "A Supreme Negro Jamaican Jackass"

Mr. Domingo's national bias is evident in his objection to an editorial in the January MESSENGER entitled: "A Supreme Negro Jamaican Jackass." There is no objection to our referring to Garvey as a jackass; none to his racial identity as a Negro; but mention of his nationality is taboo. Here our contributing editor is more concerned about nationality—the great island of Jamaica—than the entire Negro race. Is Jamaica a more sensitive and tender darling than the Negro?

Mr. Domingo has set himself up as the high priest of logic and is sure he finds an inconsistency in our editorial on Perry Howard (from Mississippi, U. S. A.—don't forget the state or the nation!) where we say: "*Negroes of this country . . . should here-*

*after class him (Perry Howard) along with Marcus Garvey.*" Commenting upon this sentence Mr. Domingo proceeds as follows: "*Elementary logic records an inconsistency here. If Howard is equal to Garvey in infamy, then Jamaica is not the only place to produce Jackasses of Garvey's type!*" The fault here is with Mr. Domingo's logic. There are degrees even among classes. There are jackasses and jackasses! To illustrate: Students in Columbia University who make from 90 to 100 are put in Class A; those who make from 80 to 90 in Class B; those from 70 to 80 in Class C, while all below that are dropped. It is obvious that one student may make 90 and another 99, but both would be in class A, even though the student making 99 would have made the higher average. Likewise one student may make 68 and another 34, to use an extreme case. The student making 68 will have an average twice as high as the one who makes 34, yet both will fall under the "dropped" class. So with Garvey and Perry Howard. *Both are racial outlaws*, but again there are outlaws and outlaws! This, of course, is no argument against Jamaicans; it is simply a puncturing of Domingo's "*elementary logic.*" America is certainly capable of producing Negro and white jackasses. She has produced enough for centuries to come. Still it can hardly be gainsaid that Garvey at present holds the unenviable distinction of having handed the *palm* to Jamaica, B. W. I., which is certainly no more of a reflection upon Jamaicans like Domingo and J. A. Rogers than Perry Howard's coming from the United States reflects upon the Editors of THE MESSENGER.

### "Age Can Often Learn From Youth"

Mr. Domingo advances to the epigrammatic abstract argument in saying: "Youth can ever learn from age, and I refer you to your last issue and advise you to ponder over the reply of Kelly Miller to your own questionnaire, which, by the way, elicited a majority of answers that were a complete repudiation of your own policy on the question of deportation of Garvey."

Naturally he falls now into fallacy after fallacy. To say that "Youth can ever learn from age" is too sweeping. It is more nearly correct to say that Youth can sometimes learn from age, and age can often learn from youth. Indeed the reverse of Domingo's assertion is more nearly correct. Lester F. Ward says: "In every generation the children of twelve can teach their parents."

What idea does Mr. Domingo intend to convey by saying: "I refer you to your last issue and advise you to ponder over the reply of Kelly Miller to your own questionnaire, which, by the way, elicited a majority of answers that were a complete repudiation of your own policy on the question of deportation of Garvey"?

THE MESSENGER certainly did not and does not expect a majority opinion upon its position on most things. Why, our political philosophy, Socialism, would receive an overwhelming repudiation in such a symposium. And as for Domingo's political philosophy, *Communism*, that would be even more overwhelmingly repudiated, since to the others would be added *our own*. What does that prove? Is it the test of the sound point of view? Such reasoning would place the soundness of contents of the New York *American*, with a million readers a day, above that of *The Nation* with only about 25,000 a week.

### Kelly Miller's Letter

Just what part of Kelly Miller's letter is referred to we do not know, so vacillating, compromising and balancing is his attitude. His utterance, which reads: "I do not believe that any individual should be banished from America or put in the penitentiary because of his belief or the expression of it. I do not believe in the imprisonment, expulsion or suppression of ideas. Freedom of speech is the bulwark of the weak; suppression is the weapon of the strong. If Garvey's doctrines are false, combat them with the truth; if his dealings are devious, correct them with the law; if he misleads the simple, show them the more excellent way. But by no means should the oppressed become oppressor nor the persecuted turn persecutor"—meets with our substantial approval. For the mere expression of views (so long as those views do not advocate violence or libel) we would not only not *deport* but neither would we *imprison*. Our position is based upon no such grounds and Mr. Domingo knows it. We urge the deportation of Garvey for reasons as sound as those for which we both urge the *imprisonment* of Garvey. It is sheer demagoguery and humbuggery to say that because the writer urges his deportation that then he urges Garvey's deportation for free speech. It would be quite as logical to infer that because Mr. Domingo urges Garvey's arrest and imprisonment, he therefore urges his imprisonment for free speech. Kelly Miller's position on free speech is exactly right, provided the speech is free. Of course you cannot fight free fists, free bullets, free razors, and free black-jacks with free speech. It is asinine to mention fighting Louisiana "crackers" lynch ropes with free speech, meeting howitzers with free speech, opposing tanks, poison gas, submarines, torpedo boats and destroyers with free speech. When "Domingo and Potter were assaulted, kicked and placed under arrest in the spring of 1920," they had to plan to meet free assaulters with other weapons. Indeed there can be no free speech unless *each side is free to speak*. *When one side uses force to stop the other from freely speaking, it is a farce to mention free speech*. The only time free speech can be a proper weapon is where all parties are free to speak, such as is demonstrated by the publication of the above letter along with our reply. Indeed, Thomas Jefferson was correct in saying: "Error of judgment may be tolerated *so long as reason and logic are left free to combat it*." A wholesome condition, this latter clause.

### "Should Marcus Garvey Be Deported?"

*It is not incompatible with Socialist faith to advocate deportation any more than it is to urge imprisonment.* That there was no evidence to that effect which Mr. Domingo could find is evidenced by his not referring to it, despite his having searched for some since August 27th, when we first presented our reasons on that question. It might be well here and now too, to make our position crystal clear: *Even if it were against alleged Socialist principles to advocate what we regard just and right, we would still advocate it, because we accept no Bibles or creeds even in Socialism.* We support Socialism because of our faith in its general principles, but do not accept it with every dot of the "i" and crossing of the "t" as our objector does the tenets of Moscow.

Socialism recognizes that a tool is good or bad according to the use to which it is put. It opposes the imprisonment of men for expressing political and class war views, but urges the Democratic district attorney of New York City to arrest and imprison the ballot thieves who robbed their candidates of election. Socialists oppose injunctions against peaceful picketing of labor unionists, but not the injunction secured by Morris Hillquit (prominent Socialist attorney) for the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (largely a Socialist union) against the Clothing Manufacturers of New York. Socialism opposes the deportation of I. W. W., Communists, Socialists and others, for the expression of political and war-time opinions, but *not* the deportation of Charles Morse (banker and shipping magnate) from France, to be tried in the United States for defrauding the government and using the mails to defraud. Our answer, therefore, is that Mr. Domingo is in error in believing that Socialism favors deporting a white man who is indicted for using the mails to defraud, but against meting out similar punishment to our "black Barnum," Marcus Garvey, also indicted for using the mails to defraud. *Moreover, if we regard our position correct, no fealty to creedish faiths of any kind would permit us to falter and swerve in the performance of our recognized duty.*

### The Question of Nationality

We agree with Mr. Domingo that "one's nationality ought not be emphasized as a subtle means of generating opposition against him." As a means of explaining a certain situation, however (such as already described in the beginning), it is often indispensable. Sometimes it is connotative of certain things which should be expressed. For instance, in the January MESSENGER, referred to by Mr. Domingo, our absence of special national prejudice is manifested in a way which is crushing to Mr. Domingo's logic and illustration. In speaking of Perry Howard (Mississippi Negro who urged the defeat of the Dyer anti-Lynching Bill) we clearly state: "That a Negro from Mississippi like Perry Howard, etc." Why do we refer to his home state? For several reasons. *Here is a Negro from a state with more Negroes than white people almost wholly disfranchised, lynched without let or hindrance—going out of his way to urge Senators to defeat an anti-lynching bill.* It shows this Negro either so obtuse as not to realize the situation or else so venal (which we think it is) as not to care so long as his petty, personal spite is served.

While on this question of nationality, we cannot forego the delicious bit of repartee in pointing to a release of the *Crusader Service*, gotten out, as Mr. Domingo admits, by Briggs and himself, both West Indians. It is part of a statement on the decision of Judge Jacob Panken before whom Garvey's civil suit for fraud was tried last Spring. The third paragraph of Mr. Domingo's release reads in part: "When on the stand, Garvey, who admitted he was *not a citizen*, said the Black Star Line represented an investment of \$600,000, which was all gone." Why the reference here to citizenship? This: Domingo and Briggs realized that it is usually easier to bring pressure against a non-voter than a voter.



### "The Messenger's" "Clean Slate"

It is not difficult to oppose Garvey on formidable grounds. We do not have to answer this because reference to our record will show that the most far-reaching analysis of the Garvey movement, its philosophy and its consequences, has been made by the MESSENGER. Mention should be made of Ernest Rice McKinney of the Pittsburgh *American*. Moreover, the MESSENGER editors have a clear slate in opposing Garvey, which neither DuBois nor the *Crusader* group can boast, because we never went off on the "African tangent" as did the *Crusader*.

And DuBois, too, in an almost inexcusable piece of *naïveté*, stated in his first article upon Garveyism that he thought Garvey was sincere (shades of credulity!) and the Black Star Line practicable. ("O judgment thou art fled to brutish beasts and men have lost their reason!") It was this childish credulity of DuBois which gave John Mitchell a "peg to hang on" in support of Garvey and to oppose DuBois a short while later.

Mr. Domingo again runs into a stone wall. He continues: "Comparisons are odious [not to us] but they can serve to drive home a point. *The Crisis* is no less opposed to Garvey but neither Mr. Johnson, Mr. White nor Dr. DuBois has forgotten the instincts of fair play, chivalry and *noblesse oblige* and appealed to popular prejudices." Our answer here is so crushing that we really hate to make it. Nevertheless, here we go. All is fair in love and war, they say.

First, let us temporarily eliminate Mr. Johnson (James Weldon Johnson) and Mr. White (Walter F. White) since they are not editors of the *Crisis*, and have nothing to do with the editorial policy.

### Du Bois and "The Crisis"

Secondly, we cannot accept DuBois as an example to be emulated for his journalistic equity. On the contrary the *Crisis* policy, controlled by Mr. DuBois, is about the most narrow and illiberal of any Negro publication of which we know. Not even the *New York Age* is excepted. The *Chicago Defender*, *New York Age*, *Philadelphia Tribune*, *Pittsburgh Courier*, *Baltimore Afro-American*, *California Eagle*, *Chicago Whip*, *Amsterdam News*, yes, even Garvey's *Negro World* and *Negro Times* stand head and shoulders above *The Crisis* in liberalism of policy. We have decided to let Mr. Domingo express our feeling on this by quoting his editorial on page 84 of the September, 1920, MESSENGER. The title is "A Record of the Darker Races," and reads as follows:

*The Crisis* proclaims itself as "a record of the darker races" and as such we expect it to chronicle current happenings of importance to Negroes. Being a monthly and published by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, it is natural to expect it to record such political, social and industrial events as are calculated to advance the interests of the racial group the association claims to serve.

There should be no bias, no petty meanness. Indeed the magazine has editorially decanted on the viciousness of petty meanness. And yet it is guilty of what it condemns in others. It does to its opponents exactly what Negro-hating Southern newspapers have done and are still doing to the *Crisis*—suppress facts pertaining to the N. A. A. C. P.

Upton Sinclair in his recent book on American journalism points out that suppression of important news is a favorite method of misrepresentation employed by the press of the country, the Associated Press and other news distributing agencies. And this is the method of the *Crisis*. It affects a superiority that scorns to mention those with whom it disagrees.

In 1918 a Negro of prominence, Dr. Geo. Frazier Miller, of Brooklyn, was the candidate of the Socialist party for

Congress in the 21st congressional district, New York; but the *Crisis* "knew" nothing of the affair.

During last summer a sensation was created in the entire country over certain alleged dangerous documents written by a Negro radical which were found by members of the Lusk committee in a raid on the Rand School of Social Science in New York City. Scarcely a prominent Negro or white paper failed to mention the incident; but the *Crisis* was strangely silent.

This year the Socialist party has nominated A. Philip Randolph, one of the editors of the MESSENGER, for the fourth highest office in the State of New York, Comptroller, besides three Negroes for the Assembly, and one for the State Senate but, so far, the *Crisis*, a record of the darker races, is silent.

It is about time that the *Crisis* got in touch with the true sentiment of the race; cease falsifying its information by conscious suppression of important events which are truly advancing Colored People.

The policy then complained of by Mr. Domingo is still pursued. Mr. Randolph ran last year for a higher office, *Secretary of New York State*, receiving 30,000 more votes than the candidate for governor, but to quote Mr. Domingo, "the *Crisis*, a record of the darker races, *knew nothing of it.*"

The only change, so far as we know, for Mr. Domingo's new light is that Dr. DuBois mentioned *him* in the January *Crisis* as having made in the *Crusader* an analysis of Garvey's membership. We cannot refrain from noting that DuBois did not mention this analysis when it was *first made*, even though it was *more necessary* since Garvey's strength was *greater* and therefore a *greater menace*. Is the reason for mentioning it now because the *Crusader* is no longer *published*—no longer a *competitor of the Crisis*?

But we are not through with the DuBois, Johnson, Pickens, White comparison. "Comparisons are odious but they drive a point home," says Domingo. We, however, have told of the handle of the pointed instrument—this time the pointed argument. While we were writing this reply a release came in from Mr. James Weldon Johnson, which reads in part:

"United States Negroes repudiate 'Back to Africa,' says W. E. B. DuBois.

"The bubble of Garveyism is burst in the United States, according to Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, editor of *The Crisis*, who writes in the February *Century Magazine* on the "Back to Africa" movement of Marcus Garvey. *American Negroes have not joined the Garvey movement in large numbers*, asserts Dr. DuBois, and the Garvey movement represents a *West Indian rather than an American Negro* attempt to deal with the race problem.

"The Garvey ventures have cost his followers, chiefly from the British Island of Jamaica, close to \$1,000,000, estimates Dr. DuBois, of which about \$800,000 was lost in the failure of the Black Star Line of steamships.

"Of the attitude of *American Negroes* toward the Garvey movement, as of the Booker T. Washington program relinquishing political action, Dr. DuBois writes:

"It is no ordinary tribute to *American Negro* poise and common sense and ability to choose and reject leadership, that neither of these programs has been able to hold them. One of the most singular proofs of this is that the latest support of Garveyism is from the notorious Ku Klux Klan. When Garvey saw his Black Star Line disappear, his West Indian membership fall off, and his American listeners grow increasingly critical, he flew South to consult the Grand Cyclops of the Invisible Empire. Whether the initiative came from

him or from the Klan is not known, but probably the Klan invited him. They were indeed birds of a feather, believing in titles, flummery, and mumbo-jumbo, and handling much gullible money."

This is an intelligent discussion of Garveyism made in the *Century Magazine* (Feb., 1923), by DuBois, and Johnson is calling attention to important parts of the article. We agree that Mr. Johnson and DuBois are correct here, realizing that all of us will now probably be dumped into the Black Star Line junk ships by Domingo as equally hopeless and the subtle effort at trying to drive a blunt wedge between us will be discarded as too transparent for success among intelligent Negroes. Consistency, thou art, indeed, a jewel!

With respect to Alexander Berkman, like other radicals and liberals, we opposed his deportation because it was for his opposition to war. Certainly we could not oppose either his imprisonment or deportation for murdering or attempting to murder a man, whether a capitalist or a communist.

#### Can Garveyites Join the F. N. F.?

Mr. Domingo asks: "Suppose those (West Indians) who now support the U. N. I. A. joined the F. N. F. (FRIENDS OF NEGRO FREEDOM)? Would that sanctify them, etc.?" Good question. *The U. N. I. A. members are not solicited by the F. N. F. except in rare instances where such Negroes were regretfully misled. Why? This, the Garvey members belong to two classes—those who are sincere in such a humbug are too ignorant for the F. N. F., while those who were intelligent would be too venal, since they could only have had in mind fleeing the uninitiated.*

#### Hail Them When They Hit, But Don't Mention Them When They Miss!

Mr. Domingo also shows that he is strongly nationalistic in pointing out the large number of West Indians who have achieved. This is perfectly correct. The only trouble about Domingo is that he would *hail the West Indians when they hit, but not mention them when they miss!*

In this same connection is to be explained another common error which is infixed in Domingo's mind, when he says in part: "One of the greatest grievances of *American Negroes* is against white newspapers forever stressing the race of colored criminals." This is only a half truth. What American Negroes object to is not the stressing of the race of colored criminals, but the failure to stress Negroes' achievements. Their policy too often is that virtue in any Negro is peculiar to that Negro, while vices in any Negro are common to all Negroes. Herein lies Domingo's error. He is one of the most intensely nationalistic West Indians, Jamaica West Indians, in particular, that we know of.

For instance we refer to Claude McKay as the brilliant Jamaican poet, speak of J. A. Rogers as the Jamaican author, who wrote a series of articles for the MESSENGER on the West Indies, in which he expressed himself just as he chose; point to the musical talent of Mr. Dett; the rare legal talent of E. Burton Ceruti from Jamaica. That is all right; they are virtues; Domingo not only favors that policy but insists on it with all the intensity a Klansman insists upon white supremacy. With Domingo it is this: "*If you are talking of virtues in a West Indian, by all means say he is a West Indian; if discussing vices, for God's sake, let the nationality slide!*"

We promise you *not* to do this. We are going to discuss the *vices and virtues* of West Indians just as we do the American Negroes. *We are going to hail them when they hit and also mention them when they miss.* It may be objected that we mention misses more often than hits. True enough; it is the natural incidence of society. In the world's human baseball game, like its kindred athletic sport, there are more misses than hits. The strike-out is the rule, but the just and impartial umpire must call the strikes *and* the hits.

#### Who Are Garvey's Opponents?

Domingo urges with a show of certainty that Garvey's "*bitterest opponents are West Indians.*" We grant it. The West Indians are probably the bitterest opponents because they are more emotional than the American Negroes. Moreover there is no exact measurement of the intensity of feeling. Again we are not concerned so much with the bitterness of Garvey's opponents!

But who are Garvey's most formidable opponents? That is the question. Here we are on firmer ground and facing easily ascertainable truth. The answer to this question is unquestionably that *American Negroes* are Garvey's most formidable opponents. Why?

In the first place, to use the humor of Bert Williams, a brilliant West Indian comedian, "*the money is good but it ain't enough of it;*" so the bitter West Indians are good, but there "ain't" enough of them. There are *more* American Negroes opposing Garvey. Second, the American Negroes opposing Garvey are citizens and voters, on the whole, whereas most of the West Indians opposing Garvey are *not citizens*, and in this political minded country votes count for much. As Mr. Dooley says, "*Even the Supreme Court follows the election returns.*"

Third, American Negroes have for opposing Garvey, the physical and material media which the West Indians have not. The chief organ of publicity which the West Indians have are the *Negro World* and the *Negro Times*, both of which Garvey controls. Whereas the American Negroes have the *Chicago Defender*, issuing over 250,000 copies per week; the *Crisis* magazine, The MESSENGER magazine, the *Philadelphia Tribune*, the *Pittsburg Courier*, the *Pittsburg American*, the *Baltimore Afro-American*, the *Chicago Whip*, the *California Eagle*, the *New York News*, the *Amsterdam News*, the *New York Age*, and most of the American Negroes' responsible journals.

Fourth, certain American Negroes who lecture and speak before large audiences are indeed formidable opponents. Among these are William Pickens, Roscoe Conkling Simmons, W. E. B. DuBois, Robert W. Bagnall, James Weldon Johnson, A. Philip Randolph, and the writer.

In view of the preceding facts, it would be presumptuous indeed for anyone to claim that Garvey's most formidable opponents are West Indians. And that Garvey understands who his chief opponents are is shown by his attacks upon them.

#### Who Are the Garveyites?

Domingo asks: "Who subscribed the larger portion of his (Garvey's) many funds?" Let Dr. DuBois answer: "In justice to truth and elevated journalism," he says, "*The Garvey ventures have cost his followers, chiefly from the British Island of Jamaica, close to \$1,000,000.*"

Domingo asks again: "Are West Indians numerous in strongholds like Pittsburg, Cincinnati and Cleveland?" (It's a shame for a man to try to get by the Editors of the MESSENGER with that sort of effete argument.) Suppose we ask a question in answer to Mr. Domingo: *Are West Indians numerous in strongholds like New York, Philadelphia and Boston?* Of course, Domingo knows New York alone has one-half of all the West Indians in the United States. And there are more West Indians in Boston and Philadelphia than there are Garvey members in the world.

Finally, Domingo to the contrary notwithstanding, the Garvey movement is a *British West Indian Association*. It does not have a large following even of ignorant American Negroes. This is not an indictment of the West Indian Negro. It is simply an explanation of their psychology which grows out of nationalistic conditions, namely, the West Indians are British subjects; they live on islands; they communicate with the outer world by shipping; they are mistress of the seas. The subjects imitate their rulers, which means the West Indians think English (British), so it was more likely that they would follow the shipping (Black Star Line) appeal than the American Negroes. *That explains largely why Garvey got a large following of West Indians while Chief Sam, Bishop Holly and Bishop Turner had only a handful following of American Negroes.* Then, too, West Indians here are immigrants; they are away from home. *Going back home makes an appeal to them which could not be made to one who is already at home.* To go back home the West Indian had to take a boat; not so the American Negro. Surely such an explanation may be made without laying one liable to the charge of national prejudice.

In view of the foregoing, it is expecting too much to expect that the MESSENGER will change its policy on the Garvey question. We mention Booker Washington from Virginia, Perry Howard from Mississippi, Henry Lincoln Johnson of Georgia; DuBois, Johnson, Pickens, Moton, everybody white or colored when we want to. We shall continue to hail both West Indians and Americans when they *hit* and to *mention* both of them when they *miss*.

*If this be treason, make the most of it!*

### "Down Yonder"

(Continued)

After visiting "Colored Town" (that's what the local papers call it) three times, I am at last able to tell you "something" of Miami—relative to the Negroes, of course.

The main part of the Negro section is about 15 squares from the downtown district, and there are no street cars or jitneys for the colored part. The street cars were removed, through malice, a long time ago, with the remark, "Let the 'niggers' walk," and so they walk to work or ride bicycles. They never ride street cars unless they work out very far in the suburbs and then they sit on the very *last* seat or stand up. Of course, there are plenty of cars for hire, but too expensive for ordinary use.

Day before yesterday a fire broke out in a small house in the Negro section. Before the fire department could get there, from downtown, the first house burned completely down, a second caved in, and a third caught. Even before they could get control of the fire, four houses burned beyond repair. And to make a bad job worse, the Chief remarked loudly, that the "niggers'" fires were costing so much that he wished they'd all move away. No remarks from the crowd!

Last night for the first time in my life, I visited a cabaret. It was called "The Garden of Joy." The "garden" was a big barn-like store, decorated scantily with red and yellow crepe paper. There were about 15 tables with broken chairs back against the wall and a two-piece orchestra (?) near the center of the floor, where two wild-looking fellows played the most "wicked" "blues" I have ever heard for a still wilder looking crowd. At the tables almost everyone was drinking sodas which were more than half gin or something stronger. Toward eleven o'clock the crowd began to drink more openly; men filled their glasses in plain view instead of under the tables; girls held tight in their partners' arms—were no longer careful and didn't care who saw their kisses; while the "blues" still rose above the shuffling feet and the light and coarse laughter of intoxication. The girls I was with had long forgotten my existence and I was just feeling bored and glad no one knew me, when I felt a tap on the shoulder and there stood two boys whom I knew in Jacksonville. They found me a cab and that ended my wild night. I don't regret going; it was thrilling; but just the same I won't go again. It thrilled me as "Batouala" did; very little difference between them.

Most colored people seen on the streets here look far more intelligent than those seen frequently in Jacksonville—due, I think, to the large number of waiters and their families from the North. I don't mean to say that these Southerners aren't intelligent, but like everywhere else, the ignorant outnumber the intelligent. Most of the waiters here are highly educated and very refined. I never dreamed of seeing so many really cultured waiters. This F. E. C. H. Co. (Florida East Coast Hotel Co.) employs about 2,000 waiters in Florida alone. All of them come from New York, Pennsylvania and other northern states.

## HOTEL OLGA

695 LENOX AVENUE NEW YORK

(At 145th Street Subway Station)



TELEPHONE:  
AUDUBON 3796

ED. H. WILSON, Proprietor

A Select Transient and Family Hotel  
Hot and Cold Water in Each Room  
Reasonable Rates

## LETTERS

### "Garvey Must Go"!

*Editors, THE MESSENGER:*

I got my January MESSENGER and sent it at once to a friend who is trying to convince these folks Garvey is wrong. A month ago they were getting ready to sail [to Africa?—Ed.]. I appeared on the scene with my MESSENGER and now every one to a man is looking for a rope to hang him with (figureatively speaking).

*Bozeman, Mont.*

FRANCIS MILLER.

### Love

*Editors, THE MESSENGER:*

Congratulations to you on your article on LOVE in the January number. I shall look forward with much interest to the next installment. I knew that you had thought very keenly on many subjects and I really am not very much surprised that a bachelor like yourself has become such an authority on this one.

*Chicago, Ill.*

J. MILTON SAMPSON.

*Editors, THE MESSENGER:*

I enjoyed your last article on LOVE very much. You were discussed in the library class. The girls are much interested in your subject and debate it *ad libitum*.

*Washington, D. C.*

GEORGIA DOUGLAS JOHNSON.

*Editors, THE MESSENGER:*

Our New Year wish is that your lives will be long spared to carry forward through the columns of your inestimable organ, THE MESSENGER, the vital work of interpreting men and movements, politics, literature and industry, in terms that every alert mind can understand and profit by.

*Philadelphia, Pa.*

CLARA R. PATTERSON,  
ROBT. M. PATTERSON.

*Editors, THE MESSENGER:*

I wish to compliment you on the January issue.

*Chicago, Ill.*

W. A. NORRIS.

*Editors, THE MESSENGER:*

I have read the January number with great interest. It seems to me about the best number I have read.

*Washington, D. C.*

ANGELINA W. GRIMKE.

*Editors, THE MESSENGER:*

Please find enclosed check for subscription to the invaluable MESSENGER. If there be anything we can do in this "neck o' the woods," just issue the command.

*Mebane, N. C.*

P. J. AUGUSTUS COXE.

*Editors, THE MESSENGER:*

We wish to congratulate you on the mechanical as well as literary excellence of THE MESSENGER, and we do hope that you may maintain its present high standard in the future.

*Belize, British Honduras, C. A.*

H. O. EGAN.

*Editors, THE MESSENGER:*

That journalistic achievement—THE MESSENGER for January, 1923—has just been handed on by me, after my usual thorough perusal. "*Day by day in every way, it is getting better and better!*" With each number I imagine perfection has been reached, only to be thrown into transports of intellectual joy by the next issue.

An ass was created to be ridden. Keep on riding Garvey by all means. Remember the much-quoted maxim of Mr. P. T. Barnum and don't let up on Brother Marcus as long as he continues in business, lest more foolish Negroes be taken in by this sable Ponzi.

I am enthusiastic over the idea of a series on "These United States" from the viewpoint of those "Behind the Veil." The articles along similar lines in *The Nation* have not been entirely satisfactory to me. Pickens' "ARKANSAS" is the real thing.

Countless printing presses have imprinted millions of miles of paper with endless rot about LOVE. It has remained for Chandler Owen to pull the subject out of the clouds of unreality, snatch off the drapery of hypocrisy, and reveal "the critter as she is." All who read his article will be better off by a long sight. I have long held that LOVE is nothing more than sexual craving, dressed up in more or less concealing draperies, depending on the school of thought of its interpreters.

Mr. Randolph's articles on the "Redeeming of Africa" are devastating. How much longer can *King Koal* survive under the fire of such heavy guns?

THE MESSENGER is a great mental stimulant—a refreshing fountain.

*"To which the fainting traveler springs,*

*As springs the trampled herbage of the field."*

*New York City.*

GEORGE S. SCHUYLER.

*Editors, THE MESSENGER:*

I wonder if you are feeling as justly elated as would I, were I able to give to the world of thinkers a magazine made up of such excellent typography, plus excellent paper, and best of all—due to its exceptional mental status—a powerful instrument which most surely molds and strengthens the greatest weapon a people can use toward emancipation—awakened *think-factories*.

Loaned THE MESSENGER to a group of African thinkers, who were astounded to know at first hand that their very own race could and did produce such excellent material. They gazed its goodness and clamored for more.

*Philadelphia, Pa.*

LILLIAN CHARB.

In me the muttered curse of dying men,

On me the stain of conquered women, and

Consuming me the fearful fires of lust,

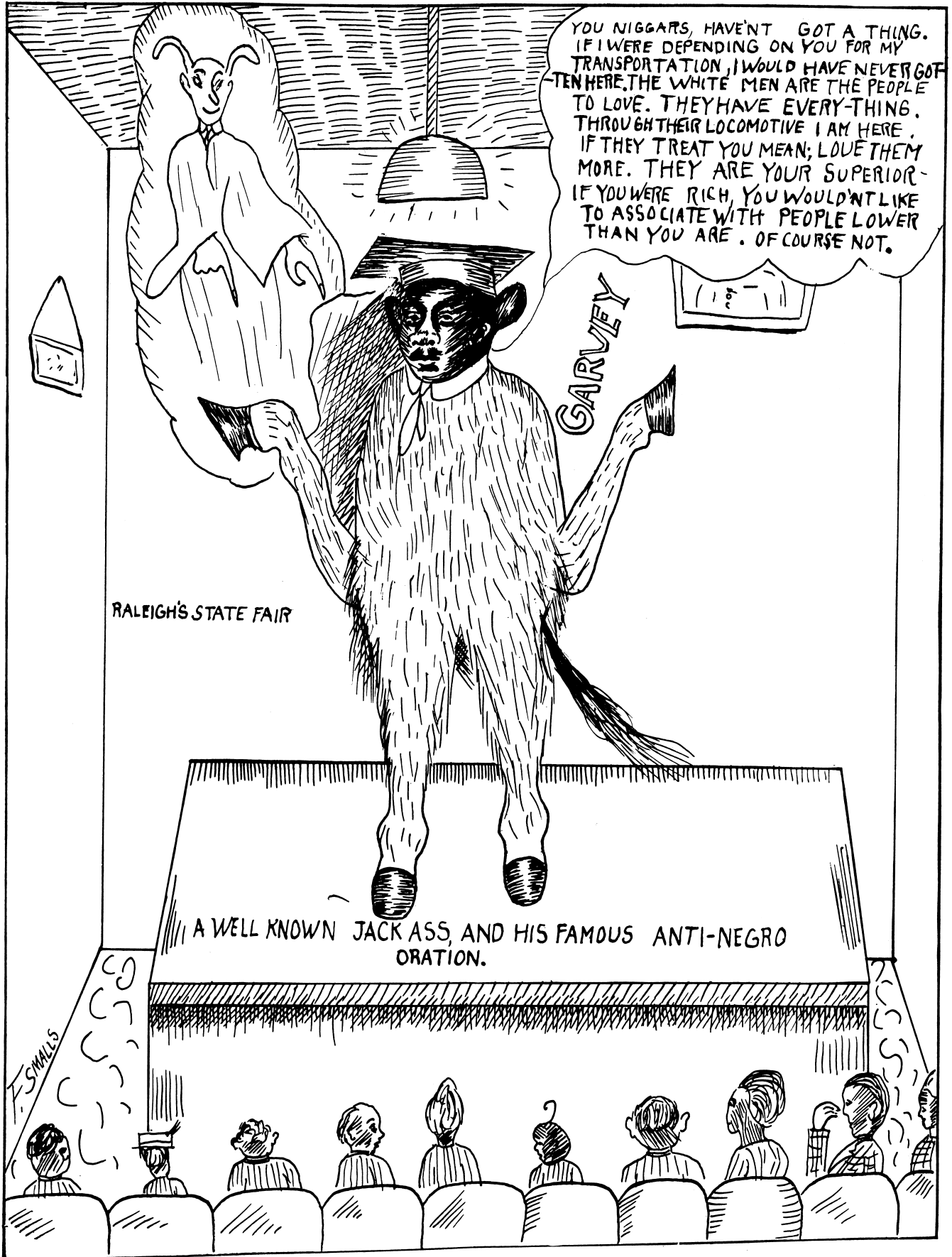
Lit long ago, by other hands than mine.

# TABB'S QUICK LUNCH

140TH STREET AND LENOX AVENUE

NEW YORK CITY

A modern, up-to-date restaurant that is not excelled by any business of its kind in Harlem. A standing example of careful management and first-class service.



## The Madness of Marcus Garvey

(Continued from page 638)

while the common people are below, kept away from him by armed guards. Here is clearly a case of delusions of grandeur. Could a symptom be more characteristic?

The third symptom of a paranoiac is delusions as to fact. He suffers from exaggerated, distorted, perverted views of things. A paranoiac imagines an emaciated figure to be hale and sturdy and vice versa. He sees three people as a great crowd. Observe this trait in Garvey.

Marcus Garvey testified in court that the Yarmouth made three trips in three years, losing on one of these from two hundred and fifty thousand to three hundred thousand dollars (\$250,000 to \$300,000) and on another trip \$75,000. Luc Dorsinville, the Haitian agent of the line, states that on another voyage the Yarmouth took three months to go from New York to Cuba, Haiti and Jamaica. The trip, he states, cost between \$20,000 and \$30,000 without enough cargo to pay half of that. Passengers booked were left waiting and \$30,000 worth of cargo awaiting shipment was left on the dock in Haiti.

In spite of all this, Garvey in the *Negro World* of July 26, 1920, giving a report, states no losses whatever on his shipping lines.

In the *Negro World* of March 5, 1921, he says: "Nothing engineered by Negroes within the last 500 years has been as big or as stupendous as the Black Star Line. Today we control three-quarters of a million dollars (not on mere paper but in property value) and money that can be realized in twenty-four hours if the stockholders desire that their money be refunded to them. We can sell out the property of the Black Star Line and realize every nickel."

Less than eight months afterwards it was revealed that the line had nothing, that everything was gone.

He states that his organization has 4,500,000 members and is all over the world. An analysis of his financial report of 1921 reveals that he has not 20,000 dues paying members, and that his paying membership is much smaller than the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

He stated that 150,000 delegates would attend his convention. No more than 200 delegates were present as revealed by a careful analysis of the vote, day by day as given in the *Negro World*, his organ. Is it not clear that fact and fancy are sadly mixed and twisted in Garvey's mind?

### Unduly Suspicious

A paranoiac is unduly suspicious. He suffers from the delusion of persecution. He is always looking for treachery. He imagines someone is always trying to harm him.

Garvey's speeches are shot through with statements showing that the above is his frame of mind. He is continually talking of conspiracies and plots. His delusion is that he is the victim of persecution. Listen to these utterances of his and see if they are not the characteristic utterances of a paranoiac.

In the *Negro World* of January 21, 1921—"All the troubles we have had on our ships have been caused

because men were paid to make this trouble by certain organizations calling themselves Negro Advancement Associations. They paid men to dismantle our machinery and otherwise damage it so as to bring about the downfall of the movement."

In the *Negro World* of May 13, he describes what is clearly a delusion of a great conspiracy. He says: "Millions of dollars were expended in the shipping industries to boycott and put out of existence the Black Star Line." He further says, "Bolshevists are paying for attacks on the line." (We wonder, in his insane delusions, how he gets capitalists and Bolshevists all against him.)

He continually changes his cabinet group. He finds traitors all about him. Everybody, he imagines, is his enemy. He brooks no criticism. He tolerates no adverse opinion.

### "Castles in Spain"

Another symptom of paranoia is that the victim imagines that when he desires a thing to be, it has come to pass. "Castles in Spain" to him are stone and mortar castles here. There is no clear differentiation between the ideal and the actual.

So Garvey sees himself president of the Republic of Africa, sees his government established. Year before last, at his convention, he promised that ninety days afterwards, he would have embassies at the court of St. James, in Paris, Petrograd, Rome, etc.

He has no conception of the gulf of difficulties between a plan and its fulfillment.

And in paranoia these delusions are fixed. No circumstances, logic or arguments can change them. So it is with Marcus Garvey.

There is much reason to believe that if Marcus Garvey were examined by alienists, he would be pronounced insane—a paranoiac.

*If he is not insane, he is a demagogic charlatan, but the probability is that the man is insane. Certainly the movement is insane, whether Garvey is or not.*

[ROBERT W. BAGNALL is Director of Branches of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, New York.]

### Give 'Em a Chance

*Opportunity* is a new Negro magazine. It can best be understood when its background is explained.

*Opportunity* is edited by Charles S. Johnson. Charles S. Johnson is the Director of the Department of Records and Research of the National Urban League. The National Urban League is an organization devoted to social service among Negroes. "Social service" is wide in its scope. It deals primarily with the business of making an honest living. So then, *Opportunity* is essentially a manual of practical helpfulness and enlightenment for the mass of Negroes, since the mass are practical working people.

Charles Johnson, as head of the League's investigations, is just the man to edit such a magazine. He is continually posted on actual conditions among our "everyday" class, and perforce, he is eminently fitted to best serve a group whose greatest need is "not alms, but opportunity."

# PREPARE *to* DEFEND YOURSELF!

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

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

*The* FRIENDS *of* NEGRO FREEDOM  
*offers a way out.*

THE F. N. F. PROGRAM *for* 1923:

*Organize 100 Councils; Help Unionize Negro Migrants; Protect Tenants; Push the Co-operative Movement Among Negroes; Organize Forums for Publicly Educating the Masses.*

---

You should have a Council of the Friends in your town or city. For particulars, write

*The* FRIENDS *of* NEGRO FREEDOM

2305 SEVENTH AVENUE

::            ::            ::

NEW YORK, N. Y.

# Brown & Stevens

## *Bankers*

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

**W**E offer as a special investment attraction our 6% Certificates of Deposit. These Certificates of Deposit are issued in denominations of \$100, \$200, \$500 and \$1,000, and bear interest at the rate of 6% per annum. They are redeemable if the owner desires, at any time after one year, upon thirty days' notice.

We know of no better investment for conservative people than Certificates of Deposit—they combine safety with splendid interest returns.

Banks will lend money on Certificates of Deposit.

These Certificates are issued by the largest colored bank North. A bank that has One Hundred Thousand Dollars deposited with the Banking Department for the protection of depositors—a bank that has just finished paying out Ninety-eight Thousand Dollars to its Christmas Club members.

Certificates of Deposit may be purchased on the partial payment plan.

Start today—it will be the wisest, safest and most profitable investment you have ever made.

### *Address*

**E. C. BROWN**  
c/o Brown & Stevens, Bankers  
Broad and Lombard Streets  
Philadelphia, Pa.

