

# The Messenger

NEW OPINION OF THE NEW NEGRO

Vol. V

OCTOBER, 1923

No. 10

## WASHINGTON, D. C.

*A Paradise of Paradoxes*

By NEVAL H. THOMAS

## Garveyism and the K. K. K.

*An Economic Interpretation*

By GEORGE S. GRANT

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### Announcement

To Our Readers, Subscribers and Advertisers.

The Negro Business Achievement Number of THE MESSENGER will not appear until November 1st, 1923. This is undoubtedly a great disappointment to all concerned and a source of great annoyance to the editors of THE MESSENGER.

However, we are not responsible for this unfortunate delay. It is due solely to the fact that many Negro businesses who contracted specifically for space in the Negro Business Achievement Number failed to send in their matter in time for us to use it. Rather than break the contracts and bring out the Negro Business Achievement Number without these advertisers benefiting from it, we decided to defer the number until November 1st. There was hardly any alternative left us but to do so. All sensible and right thinking people will thoroughly understand and approve our course.

It is our desire to have the forthcoming Negro Business Achievement Number reach as many people as possible. To that end we are requesting all readers, subscribers and advertisers who live in a city, town or district where THE MESSENGER is not being sold from newstands or by individuals, to aid THE MESSENGER in getting dependable persons to do so. The terms are very liberal and an energetic person can realize considerable profits from the agency. If you know of a young man or woman, friend or relative, in any Negro or mixed school or college who would be interested in this work, you will be doing them and THE MESSENGER a great service by having the person or persons write us, or by sending in their name or names yourself.

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OCTOBER, 1923

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## Editorials

### The American Federation of Labor Convention

The real American Labor Movement will be represented in this Convention. It is unfortunate that it does not embrace all of the organized labor groups in the country, but such is impossible at present. There is no unified labor movement anywhere in the world—not even in Soviet Russia. In this convention diverse problems will arise, one of the most important of which is the Negro worker. What about it? The exodus from the South is on. What can be done to organize the mass of black labor ought to be fearlessly met and discussed. The answer is: cover every industry with Negro organizers and prosecute a vigorous campaign of education through the written and spoken word. The A. F. L.'s Conventions have passed some very splendid resolutions. The only question is execution. Mr. Gompers has placed the issue before the workers very concisely and clearly in the September number of THE MESSENGER. What will the various internationals do to give a concrete realization to his message, what will the Convention do? Talk is not sufficient. The Negro workers are sceptical. They distrust their white brothers and justly so. But this must not always be, for such can only react to the injury of both groups, black and white.

### White Labor and the Black Exodus

The migration of Negro workers continues. The white capitalist South, facing a loss in hundreds of millions, is doing its utmost to check it. The Northern capitalists, on the other hand, are placing every inducement before the Negro laborer to leave low wages, poor housing, lynching, jim-crowism and disfranchisement in Dixie. It will be a great menace to the labor movement unless intelligently directed and organized. This task is up to white and black organized labor. Neither can shirk its duty and responsibility. Both will be the beneficiaries or the victims according as some rational and constructive program of organization and education is or is not adopted. To this end the editors of THE MESSENGER are calling a two-day inter-racial labor conference in the very near future to discuss the problems arising from the exodus of the Negro workers in relation to the white workers, with a view to formulating some fundamental policy to meet and solve such problems.

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### Johnstown's Mayor Is "Be John-Browned"

Johnstown, Pennsylvania, is saved. Mayor Cauffel was defeated last week. He ran so far behind that this writer believes he wanted to run out the Negroes immediately to prevent their voting against him. His high-handed Ku Klux methods were thoroughly repudiated. He will now retire to private life—to that oblivion and obscurity from which he ought never to have emerged. He must have seen his end. His foolish and reckless action is typical of one who sees the end of his career. Indeed, some writer has said: "The nearness of any ruling class to the end of its reign may be determined by the severity of the measures to which it resorts." Another hath said: "Whom the Gods would destroy they first make mad." And Bert Williams would say: "Mayor Cauffel must be crazy."

Governor Pinchot is to be commended for his prompt and vigorous action. He is too farsighted a citizen to allow a little peanut politician to blacken the already too dark reputation of that state as the result of the Coatesville riot.

The Johnstown people now know how small their Mayor is. They found it out by elevating him. It was Plutarch who said: "To place a small man on a pedestal only serves to emphasize his littleness." This puny politician of Johnstown must have exclaimed upon his defeats: "I'll be John-Browned." He was "be John-Browned" by the Governor and "be John-Browned" by the voters. May he go home in peace and sin no more!

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### Wanted: An Earthquake to Order for Dixie

Because we write about everything there is an idea prevalent in certain quarters that we can probably control the course of events. For instance, recently an earthquake spread death and destruction over a large part of Japan. Such a catastrophe was the blind force of nature—neither moral nor immoral, but unmoral. Yet a flood of letters have deluged this office inquiring whether we could not bring an earthquake in Georgia, Mississippi, Texas, or the whole south to wipe out the southern lynchocrats and Ku

Kluxers. Some letters suggested an earthquake which would kill all the whites and leave the Negroes unharmed—a selective earthquake, or one which selects its victims! Other letters suggested a willingness to sacrifice all the Negroes in the south provided all the white people in Dixie were killed—a phantasmagoria! There were letters suggesting that we bring on an earthquake which would stop strictly at the Mason-Dixon line. One man suggested that while he lived in Arkansas he agreed with William Pickens that “this state might just as well not have been,” so he would be willing to go in the shake “if no d—n cracker was left.”

Now we have no power to produce a physical earthquake. We wish we did. And if we did, one thing we would surely want done before we started to shake up Georgia, Mississippi, Texas and South Carolina. We should like to see that certain great and glorious statesmen are not on their vacation in the north. For instance, such gentlemen as James K. Vardaman, Cole Blease, Hoke Smith, Pat Harrison, William J. Simmons and Billy J. Bryan. This country could get along very well without these “stained men”—sometimes self styled as statesmen.

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### The Sanhedrin

The conference idea is a good one, however fruitless some conferences may be. A discussion of basic problems of race, class, sect and nation is always a worthy desideratum. In order to be creative and constructive, however, its agenda must be vital and comprehensive, surveying the entire gamut of the race's economic, political and social interests and hopes. This we hope Dean Kelly Miller, to whose credit be it said is the father of the idea, the irresponsible Crusader News Service, the agency of the African Blood Brotherhood, which according to the *International of Johannesburg*, South Africa, is the official Communist organization among Negroes, to the contrary notwithstanding. It is to be hoped that the Negro public will be too sensible to allow the Communist leaders of the A. B. B. to disrupt the All Negro Conference, which they have already striven to do by circulating the impression that its founder is not its founder. It is much better to make the conference worth while through constructive criticism than not to have it at all. This we hope our Communist brethren will come to appreciate. Perhaps the A. B. B., in obedience to the edict of Moscow, is planning to hold a World Negro Conference with its six members. If so, we bid them God speed. But we warn them that whatever conference is held among Negroes it must be a la Negroes and not according to the gospel of St. Zinoviev of the Third International of Soviet Russia.

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### A Lesson in Tolerance

We do not like abstract definitions. We prefer concrete illustrations. What, then, for a lesson in tolerance? Well, we would say to have a Knights of Columbus baseball team play the Knights of the Ku Klux team, with a Negro umpire, and the proceeds to go to a Jewish orphan asylum.

That would be good old-fashioned Americanism.

### Can Any Good Thing Come Out of Oklahoma?

A few weeks ago this question might have been asked in all sincerity. Nor would a person have needed to be a cynic to have answered in the negative. At least he could have stated without fear of refutation—that nothing good has ever yet come out of Oklahoma. And what was most annoying to those who had to stay there was that nothing bad would come out of the state either. In Oklahoma the worst always seemed to remain. As Shakespeare said through Mark Antony in Julius Caesar:

“The evil that men do lives after them;  
The good is oft interred with their bones.”

So it was with Oklahoma!

Recently, however, Oklahoma has given to the whole country a welcome angel in the person of its governor, J. C. Walton. This rugged man has set an example in courage which other state executives might do well to emulate. He has declared martial law in Oklahoma to curb the mob violence inaugurated by the Ku Klux Klan. He has served warning that the Ku Klux must go! The state militia is maintaining law and order in Tulsa and Oklahoma City. The military court martial is prying into the floggings, mutilations and murders of these midnight marauders. Several have been sent to the penitentiary. The Klan head has been arrested.

The governor has also warned the people to arm in self defense; to shoot mob members and to shoot to kill! He further promises to pardon any one convicted for killing members of such mobs. It is hard to find a better prescription for ending mob depredations than the above one. It approximates a panacea. It is one which all good citizens can approve. Negroes and white people, Protestants and Catholics, gentiles and Jews may all join hands in helping along this one good thing which has come out of Oklahoma.

Governor Walton's recent statement is worthy of close attention. He says in part: “What have I done? Have I interfered with the operation of any corporation, or any business institution in the state?”

There is something to be read into this apparently innocent statement. It suggests that big business and corporations are backing the governor. Which of course is all right. A thing is good or bad according to the use to which it is put. The state of Oklahoma is very rich. It is especially rich in oil. The Standard Oil Company and other concerns have invested considerable capital there. But capital is no good without labor to work with it. If life is not safe, if men are in constant danger of being flogged and mutilated by unrestrained mobs, labor will either leave or not go there. Capital, too, will be withdrawn or not even invested in such a place. Such a location is no good for business. It is simply the habitat for the stork and hideous hyenas who compose the Ku Klux Klan. It is a fit abode for this motley crew of hook-wormed crooks and crackers who make up the tar and feather fraternity. Yes, Oklahoma has been a delightful abode for this litter of medieval moccasins and lecherous rattlesnakes that infest the invisible empire.

But they must go—and they are going. Every organization of Negroes, except the U.N.I.A., or the black Ku Klux Klan, should send telegrams and letters to Governor J. C. Walton, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, commending his courage and tendering him any

reasonable support in his fight against this putrid pack of wicked wolves. We are too reticent when our friends are helping us. We take it too much as a matter of course. The various economic and civic organizations should get busy right now.

Something good at last has come out of Oklahoma. Let us utilize it now before it is too late. Let us send flowers to Governor Walton while their fragrance may be enjoyed. A man has been found—even in Oklahoma!

### Scrapping U. S. Navy or Scrapping the Scrap?

Col. Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., in a recent article published in the *Chicago Herald-Examiner*, tells how Uncle Sam is preparing to destroy over half of the navy. The superficial pacifists and naïve sentimentalists may go into ecstasies over this announcement. To us it is ominous. It bodes evil. In short, the submarine has made the battleship useless—a good target. It is good tactics, therefore, to cater to pacifist sentiment from time to time by destroying an obsolete battleship or so. Nor will big appropriations be made for new ships. The appropriations will be made for chemical research—the euphonious and nice sounding name for inventions and discoveries in the production of poison gas, a far more deadly weapon than all the battleships could ever be.

Yes, the water navy will be replaced by the air navy, whose equipment will be aeroplanes, poison gas and aviators in place of battleships, cannons and sailors. Yes, scrapping the navy does not mean scrapping the scrap!

### The Worker

The Communist paper, known as the *Worker*, probably misinformed by its Negro comrades, in one of its recent numbers, charges that THE MESSENGER is fighting more for Socialism than for the Negro worker. If this is the type of misinformation the *Worker* is giving the American workers, we pity them. Before writing on such an important subject, it would appear that an editor, as intelligent as a Communist editor is admitted by the Communists themselves to be, would, at least, take the trouble of finding out whether his facts are true. THE MESSENGER is the only organ which has steadfastly fought the cause of the Negro worker. But, of course, we are not only interested in the Negro workers; we are fighting for the emancipation of all workers without regard to race, creed, color or nationality. In the future, we would advise the brethren of the *Worker* to examine the files of THE MESSENGER on the great issues that have agitated the world during the last six years, war, peace, the Russian Revolution, the labor movement, race riots, nationalism, etc., before they write so knowingly about its policy.

### "No School"—Ku Klux

A press dispatch says: "Klan Won't Take School." Valparaiso, Indiana, University will continue to operate by itself.

A wise decision this for the Klan. Why should a fool want a school? Why should an organization which exists by virtue of so many fools adopt any

rules which would establish schools? Only one sitting would be necessary for the professor of lynching to teach the Koo Koo morons the science of tarring and feathering. And tying a rope around a Negro's throat ought to be easy dope for a Ku Klux goat.

The beneficiary of a system cannot be relied upon to overthrow the system from which he benefits. Brewers don't enact prohibition laws. Masters don't issue Emancipation Proclamations. Undertakers don't grieve over epidemics. And even the moronic emperor of the Invisible Empire realizes that light will put his dynasty to flight. The knights of night—midnight marauders—not only need physical darkness for their business, but intellectual darkness as well. Stygian night is the most fertile soil in which the Ku Klux lice can vegetate.

These "(k)nuts of (k)night" like all vermin and germs, flourish in filth and grow most prolifically in the dark. If there is anything which they do not want—that thing is a school!

### The New York Leader

This paper is the successor of the *New York Call*. It is essaying the role of the new voice of the workers in the East through the medium of the English language. Several progressive trade unions, and a group of liberals, own and control it. Norman Thomas, former associate editor of the *Nation*, is its editor. It aims to become an up-to-date daily, giving not only news and opinions vital and valuable to the labor movement, but also the general news of human interest. It has a great task ahead. We shall watch its course with interest. Our salutation to the *New York Leader* is: Onward, Upward, Forward!

### The New York Call

The *New York Call* is no more. It carried on for fifteen years as the only English daily in the East championing the cause of labor from the Socialist angle. But labor was not intelligent enough to support it; and hence it died. Its record is brilliant as the uncompromising guardian of the rights of the oppressed of every race, creed, and nationality.

### James Oneal

In the ranks of the labor, radical and Socialist movements, there is no more able, uncompromising and fearless spirit than Oneal. Under his editorship the *New York Call* reached a high water mark in its scientific, penetrating analysis of current events, economic, political and social. Jim Oneal is a scholar and a gentleman. His "Workers in American History" is a masterly piece of philosophic, economic and sociological interpretation of the struggles, triumphs, defeats and aspirations of the American workers. Verily, he is the true historian of the American workers. On the Negro question, he was four-square. His "Next Emancipation," a tract which every Negro and white American should read, is one of the most original and valuable pieces of literature on the subject. He is one of the very few white men who can be trusted to deal logically and fearlessly with the Negro problem; whose writings and life are unblemished by any of the ubiquitous, supercilious Nordic slant or

nauseating paternalism of the uplift intellectual philanthropist. Indeed, it is a sad comment on the labor and radical movements of America when such a man, who has given his best days to the cause of the emancipation of the workers, that when he is approaching the evening of a life of unselfish service to the creative and constructive toilers' world, he should be left to seek a new chance to win the bare necessities of existence. If labor would speak more valiantly and forcefully against the iniquity of its exploitation, it, too, must cease exploiting the labor of its own champions.

#### Firpo Knocks Out Dempsey

This title explains the fight accurately. Only the sense of fair play of an American public will view it otherwise. Of course, Firpo is a foreigner—and a half-breed, at that. Surely it would never do to allow the Nordic fiction of superiority to be so rudely disturbed by that wicked right of the "Wild Bull of the Pampas"—the blow which tore through the champ's defense and landed him through the ropes into the laps of the newspaper fraternity, who, against the rules of the game, saved him a knockout by pushing him back into the ring—a phase of the fight which the fight newspaper reporters religiously edited, and the camera failed to focus. It is also generally conceded that whenever the referee's counting was against Firpo, it was rapid, but whenever the tables turned against Dempsey, it was like a funeral march. Is there any hope for Wills—a Negro—getting a fair chance at the title in so prejudice-beladen an atmosphere as this?

#### Spain

Another dictator struts on the stage of Europe. This time, he emerges from the soil of Don Quixote and the notorious Inquisition. The "man on horseback" is General Primo de Rivera, who, it is alleged, has already signified his sympathy with the Mussolini *modus operandi*. The sporting King Alfonso has enthusiastically welcomed the bloodless overturn. Doubtless there was nothing else for him to do, for the master of the army is usually the master of the nation. The coup will involve no vital and broad change in property relationships. It is merely dynastic—giving play to a new set of political parasites who will gouge the superstition bedeviled workers no less but perhaps more efficiently.

#### Unemployment in England

The greatest problem of the British workers is unemployment. Nearly a million and a half are now workless. This, too, in the face of Winter. No solution is offered save by labor. But labor's remedy is scoffed at because of its encroachments upon the so-called sacred rights of private property. But according to the British Trade Union Congress, in a recent session, something must be done and done quickly. Obviously the capitalists must give up some of their swollen profits. But this requires a statesmanship far different from that as expressed by the present masters of British policy. British bread lines in the dead of a bitter Winter may sound the death knell of the present capitalist ministry as well as be the signal for the institution of a conscious plan of gradual super-

cession of capitalism with an economy of socialized public property. This task, perchance, may fall to the adroit hands of J. Ramsey MacDonald, the leader of His Majesty's Opposition—the British Labor Party.

#### Civil War in Germany

With the passing of *passive resistance* in the Ruhr, civil war in Germany impends. To the capitulation of Chancellor Stresemann, to the French industrialists, Adolph Hittler, the Bavarian leader of reaction, raises the banner of Fascism on the one hand, while the Communists await their hour to seize the reins of power and establish a dictatorship of the proletariat, that is, a Communists' proletariat. Meanwhile the mark goes to hell; Poincare stands upon his bond; the League of Nations, the once "white hope" of Europe, is elbowed aside; England pleads for a more rational reparation policy toward Germany; while Uncle Sam, in his sad peacefulness of an imagined isolation, views it all with a nonchalant, innocent complacency. Will another Bismarck rise to lead a movement of German unification? Is unification the key to the miserable debacle? Who knows? Germany is the agent and the victim of world imperialism—a struggle for power to exploit weaker peoples. Imperialism is the child of a grab-it-all system of society—a system, which, as long as it lasts, will give birth to recurrent periods of chaos and disorder, wars between nations, civil wars between peoples, conflicts between races, struggles between classes, silhouetted withal by the shadows of intermittent and devastating pestilences and famines.

#### Italo-Greek Debate

The issue is macaroni versus grease. Yes, the stakes involved are just so commonplace, but not so harmless. The "Yes, we have no bananas" premier, with Machiavellian directness, essays to clean up little Greece, the proud descendants of Plato and Phidias. Speaking of taking advantage—well, the brigand Mussolini has put the old hard-boiled pirates to shame. The deed is only comparable to a heavyweight pugilist slugging a three-year-old orphan below the belt. However, "All is fair in love and war." In the "put and take" game of modern imperialism there is no sentiment—no place for the pious shrieks of the sob sisters. Corfu represents a natty piece of real estate which the Italian bankers covet. Thus, what boots it though an Italian general or so, or a village of innocent Greeks be slain? It's a good pretext for raising the hypocritical cry of irredentism to the Fascist ridden and intimidated Italian workers at home, and, the shibboleth of national honor, to the world beyond. Is there no power to stay the hand of this madman who defiantly waves a torch over the magazine of Europe—the Balkans' hodge-podge? The answer is: No. Europe is weary and helpless. The workers are hopelessly distracted and divided. It may be that the historians will soon write, unless, by some miraculous turn of fate, the recuperative powers of Europe should outdistance the destructive ones, that: "And the rain descended, and the flood came, and the winds blew, and beat upon the house; and it fell: and great was the fall of it." And if Europe, the center of modern culture, fall, the fall of the white world is not far behind.

# Economics and Politics

## THE KU KLUX KLAN

A MENACE OR A PROMISE?

By J. A. ROGERS

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

IS THE PRESENT KU KLUX KLAN A MENACE OR A PROMISE? THE BEST ANSWER, WITHOUT A DOUBT, IS TO BE FOUND IN A READING OF THE HISTORY OF THE FIRST KLAN.

*(Continued from August Number)*

### Opinions of Leading Eyewitnesses of the Activities of the Klan

**JAMES G. BLAINE** says: "In prosecuting their purposes these clans and organizations hesitated at no cruelty, were deterred by no considerations of law or humanity. They rode by night, were disguised with masks, were armed as free-booters. They whipped, maimed or murdered the victim of their wrath. White men who were co-operating with the colored population, politically, were visited with punishments of excessive cruelty. It was difficult to arrest the authors of these flagrant wrongs. Aside from their disguises, they were protected against inculpatory testimony by the fear inspired in the minds of the portion of the white race who were not willing to join in their excesses. It was well said of the leading members of the klans that murder with them was an occupation and perjury a pastime!



Mr. ROGERS

"The white man who should give testimony against them did so at the risk of seeing his house burned, of himself being beaten with many stripes; and if the offender had been at all efficient in his hostility he was, after torture, in many instances doomed to death."

Gen. Holden, Governor of North Carolina, in his annual message to the legislature in 1870, said:

"The members of the klan, under orders of their chief, had ridden through many neighborhoods at night and had punished free citizens on account of their political opinion and had so terrified many of them by threats of future visitations of vengeance that they fled from their houses and took refuge in the woods."

The document goes on to tell how state representatives were murdered or driven from the state, how white women teachers were whipped; how sheriffs and judges were shot, how the Stars and Stripes were torn down; how Negroes were thrown into the river with stones around their necks. "Some of these victims," says the governor, "were shot; some of them tortured; some of them had their mouths lacerated; one of them had his ears cropped, and others of both sexes were subjected to indignities which were disgraceful, not merely to civilization, but to humanity as well.

"In fine, gentlemen, there was no remedy for these evils through the civil law, and but for the use of military arms, to which I was compelled to resort, the

whole fabric of society in this state would have been destroyed, and a reign of lawlessness and anarchy would have been established."

Albion W. Tourgee, judge of the Superior Court of North Carolina (1868-1875), says in his book, "A Fool's Errand":

"Of the slain there were enough to furnish forth a battlefield and all from the three classes, the negro, the scalawag, and the carpet-bagger—all killed with deliberation, overwhelmed by numbers, roused from slumber at the murk midnight, in the hall of public assembly, upon the river-brink, on the lonely woods-road, in simulation of the public execution—shot, stabbed, hanged, drowned, mutilated beyond description, tortured beyond conception. And almost always by an unknown hand! Only the terrible mysterious fact of death was certain. Accusation by secret denunciation; sentence without hearing; execution without warning, mercy or appeal. In death alone, terrible beyond utterance; but in the manner of death—the secret, intangible doom from which fate springs—more terrible still; in the treachery which made the neighbor a disguised assassin; most horrible of all the feuds and hates which history portrays. And then the wounded, the whipped, the mangled, the bleeding, the torn! men despoiled of manhood! women gravid with dead children! bleeding backs! broken limbs! Ah, the wounded in this silent warfare were more thousands than those who groaned upon the slopes of Gettysburg."

Horace Greely said in the *New York Tribune*, June 16, 1871: "The real leaders of the Klan are the courthouse and tavern politicians, and the rank and file is composed of the idle, ignorant, worthless, poor white element, which is unquestionably the worst class of people to be found anywhere in the United States. They are deplorably ignorant, but have no desire for education for themselves or their children. They are wretchedly poor, but the desire for wealth never stimulates them to steady labor. They are without ambition to better their condition. They are coarse, cruel and vindictive, and in every way deserve the appellation of 'low-down' people."

When the klansmen were brought to trial the ablest counsel in the South were provided for them. Reverdy Johnson, U. S. Senator from Maryland, and a bitter foe of Negro suffrage, was senior counsel. During the trial occurred one of the most astonishing spectacles that has, perhaps, been witnessed in a court of justice. So atrocious, so staggering and revolting were the cruelties proven against, and confessed by, the klansmen, that Reverdy Johnson not only refused to plead for them, but denounced his own clients in the

severest language, in open court. Addressing the prosecution, he said:

"I have listened with unmixed horror to some of the testimony which has been brought before you. The outrages proved are shocking to humanity, they admit of neither excuse nor justification, they violate every obligation which law and nature impose on man; they show that the parties engaged were brutes insensible to the obligations of humanity and religion."\*

Some forty to fifty thousand persons were put to death by the Klan, and a greater number outraged.

Such is the organization that is whitewashed by most Southern historians under the assumption that there was a justifiable period of the Klan's existence. It is this same band of cut-throats, unparalleled, that was served up to the nation by Thomas Dixon and David Wark Griffith, in their motion picture, "The Birth of a Nation," and made to appear as the most chivalrous knights of all the ages.

A fact not generally known is that there were thousands of Negro klansmen. These were used as spies on other Negroes and on Northern whites.

#### Aim of the Klan

The ostensible aims of the Klan were to keep Negroes in near-servitude, to oppose the new amendments to the Constitution; and to prevent Northern whites from settling and trading in the South. Forrest, in his testimony, says: "Its objects originally were protection against loyal leagues and the Grand Army of the Republic." It came to have a more sinister motive: it aimed to accomplish by invisible methods what the Confederacy had failed to do on the battlefield. What would have happened had the South been victorious? Slavery, without a doubt, would have been re-established in the North. Black slavery first, and then white slavery, unless England had permitted the re-opening of the slave trade. Slavery once re-established, the white race would have fought its way back to savagery.

When the Klan, which was but the Confederacy in its night-caps and night-gowns, once controlled the South, it planned to get control of the army, the navy, the Treasury, and other instruments of government. When the government, that had been so painfully and laboriously built up by the people of the nation, had once been undermined, a monarchy would have been set up, as note the absolute power that was wielded by the Grand Wizard. The Ku Klux Klan was a formidable conspiracy against the liberties of the American people.

Everything, however evil, has its good side. The Klan had at least one virtue; it talked little.

How the federal troops protecting the Negroes were withdrawn by President Hayes, in 1877; how the klansmen finally won their struggle to reduce the freedmen to near-slavery; how the Negroes were kept from the polls by shot-guns, jim-crow laws, and grandfather clauses; how it took the Supreme Court of the United States thirty-nine years (1876-1915) to pronounce these methods illegal; how the Northern people, all except a few philanthropists and lovers of justice, either forgot the Negro or made one with the klansmen when Northern big business invaded the South

and began to exploit Negro labor itself; how the Republican party betrayed the freedmen; and how tens of thousands of them were done to death in the meanwhile; are all a matter of history.

#### The Klan Today

The klan of today is running true to form. Since its revival hundreds of citizens, white and black, of both sexes have been killed or outraged by it. The New York *World* has published a long list of its proven atrocities. Awaking again, in 1915, for the purpose of preventing Negro migration to the North during the war, it selected as its next task the intimidation of returned Negro soldiers, who had tasted of freedom in France. Starting, as in 1865, with the goal of "white supremacy" it has extended its activities to include not less than one-third of the white population of the North. In addition to being anti-Negro, it is now an anti-Semitic, anti-Catholic, anti-foreign-born, anti-liberal, anti-labor—a one hundred per cent American organization. The Negro question furnished too limited a field for its activities, it invaded the North and, with the shrewdness of the born trickster, so adapted itself as to take in the leading hatreds of the various sections of the country. For instance, it is, anti-Catholic in the South, anti-Jew and anti-foreign-born in the North, anti-Japanese in the West, and so on. It says, in effect, be a member and be free to indulge your particular hate.

The Klan makes a great pretense—a pretense that is almost a protest, of its loyalty to the United States, precisely as the old Klan. It is a military organization, and endeavors to entrap as many legislators, government officials, officers of the army and navy, and the police as possible. The Invisible Empire is a monarchy. The ruler is styled "emperor," is addressed as "his majesty" and holds office for life. The subjects of this invisible empire operate with masks on their faces, after the manner of burglars and highwaymen.

The Klan appears to be on the increase, particularly in the Northern States, in spite of the fight being waged against it by newspapers and liberal organizations. On July 20, 1922, at an initiation ceremony in Chicago, Ill., there were present over 4,800 novices and 25,000 klansmen from the local klan. There may be at the present time in the United States from a half a million to five million klansmen. Because of the abundance of hates of various sorts in America, the Invisible Empire has a profitable field for its activities.

A great deal of the blame for the revival of the Klan must be laid on the popular historians.

A nation, being but the individual multiplied, functions in fundamentally the same manner. Once permit the course of a disease in any part of one's body, because that part is thought to be not vital, and the blood-vessels will carry the germs to the heart, which will in turn send them to the other parts of the body, where they will at once lay siege to the weaker parts. Similarly, once permit the course of an injustice to any group in a nation because that group is little thought of, and in time, the evil will be conveyed by the arteries of trade, politics, and other inevitable intercourse throughout the nation, where it will attack the weakest of the favored group and the next weakest, and the next, accumulating power until it becomes the dominant force in the nation. Prejudice for the Negro

\* Official Report Ku Klux trials, Circuit Court, Columbia, S. C., 1871, p. 129.



has exerted a profound influence for evil on the political, social, and economic life of the white peoples of the United States—particularly of those who have indulged most in it—the poorer ones.

Secret societies in the past have dominated the organized government of nations. One called the Vehmgericht practically ruled Germany for more than a century, committing atrocities similar to those of the Klan. What has happened may happen again. If the present Klan becomes a more active menace, it will be the fostering of hatred for Negroes by some

of the very ones it is now opposing, that gave the Klan a new lease of life.

The present Klan thrives largely because many of those whom it opposes sympathize with it in its attack on certain groups. For instance, many foreign-born Protestants think the Klan does well to fight the Catholics; many Catholics that it does well to fight the radicals; the radicals that it does well to fight the Negroes, and certain Negroes that it does well because it creates a division among the whites.

[The End]

## GARVEYISM AND THE KU KLUX KLAN

By GEORGE S. GRANT

**T**HERE is a biological principle that an organism will develop a tendency with which to compete with its environment; it is also a fact that this tendency will survive the necessity which occasioned it.

In prehistoric days, when the ancestors of the present races of men lived as beasts by preying upon other animals, the antipathy toward other species, or even toward strangers of the same species, was necessary for existence. This necessity continued until perhaps the end of the first stage of savagery.

When we consider the fact that this period of the development of the human race was many times longer than the latter period of savagery, barbarism and civilization all put together, we can realize the enormous effect or impression this impulse or tendency must have had on the mind, and the immense difficulty of eradicating it, even after the first necessity for it had passed.

Another reason for its long continuance is found in the construction of society. When the tribe succeeded the family, and man, through the discovery and development of methods for utilizing Nature's resources, became able to produce a surplus above his needs, a new class came into being—THE RULERS OF MEN—who instinctively and intelligently realized that their position, their power, depended upon the preservation of the tendency among men to hate others of different tribes; as a consequence, using the differences of physical characteristics, language, customs, etc., as excuses, they developed a tribal spirit, and through its operation sustained and justified their position and power.

When the Nation succeeded the Confederacy of Tribes, a new situation developed; the Nation sometimes included different tribes with different physical characteristics, customs, or even languages. National enemies were not so easily recognized. So the ruling classes, to reinforce their position, utilized another impulse which was universal among men—THE FEAR OF THINGS UNKNOWN—and the various religious beliefs were moulded and controlled, to form the national substitute for the TRIBAL SPIRIT—PATRIOTISM.

The ruling classes included the priests and other custodians of religion, and the distribution of wealth produced by slaves and other workers was so arranged that the worker got only a bare living, all the surplus being appropriated by the upper classes. With this surplus they maintained themselves, their families and

retainers, also the armies, navies, the machinery of government, and the corps of religious manipulators. These upheld by persuasion, deception, mandate, fear and force the "Divine Right" of aristocracy and property, and through the operation of the LAW and PATRIOTISM, sustained the atmosphere of thought favorable to the existing order. All these changes and developments supervened upon each other, and even unto this day we have all phases of our historical evolution, represented or indicated in present-day society.

The inevitable discontent of the workers who produced all, yet were denied an equal chance for happiness by the unequal distribution of wealth, increased with the increasing intelligence and reasoning power of the workers, and the exploiting class was constantly on the alert to put down disaffection, revolt and revolution.

This was accomplished in two ways: by the cultivation, through religion and educational propaganda of the atmosphere and ideals favorable to the existent order, and by the expedient of pitting group against group within the lower classes, teaching and encouraging hatred because of race, color, religion, customs, and so forth. This latter furnishes the explanation of GARVEYISM and of the KU KLUX KLAN.

At the outbreak of the World War, the discontent among the lower classes was greater and more universal than at any previous time; also it had assumed a more logical form; working people in all countries were analyzing and tracing the source of wealth to human labor, questioning the fallacies of religion and the sophistries of patriotism, and protesting more and more emphatically, even violently, against the uneven distribution of wealth which denied their chance for happiness.

The war was a great opportunity to develop hatreds among the peoples; all kinds of propaganda was scattered, all kinds of emotional, illogical prejudices were stirred up and cultivated; but the people were beginning to think and reason, and we saw Russia, in the midst of the excitement, making a wonderful effort to escape from oppression and establish a government that would function for the workers; we saw Socialist movements, and Workers' movements, both during and after the war, gaining momentum everywhere.

In the United States, immediately after the war, the unrest was very great. Entering the war ostensibly to uphold the ideals of Democracy, but really to at-

tempt to retrieve the wealth which the financiers and money-lenders of one group of capitalists had spent or imperiled to destroy another group, the rulers found it very difficult to keep the truth from the people, so every opportunity to divide them into groups hating each other because of race, color or religion, was utilized by the capitalists through their kept press, preachers, and army of other propagandists and dupes.

This served to keep the workers' minds off the main issue, to divert their thoughts from the ever-insistent, ever-clarifying problem of "Why is it that we are able to produce twenty times more than we can use, yet most of us are in poverty?"

The Black people of the United States, differing so radically, and also just emerging from chattel slavery, were an easy target for the hate-propagandists, and the just resentment which they, as a people increasing in intelligence, felt against this hatred, found expression in Garveyism.

Happening upon the scene at the time the Black people, feeling very keenly the injustice of having to labor, fight and suffer to support a system which put them at the bottom of the scale, made them the pariahs of civilization, were desperately searching for some thing with which to fight this situation, Garvey—a man of unbounded egotism, unlimited energy, well versed in the art of appealing to the emotions of an emotional people—offered a plausible plan.

Garveyism argues chiefly that the White man is the Black man's natural enemy, has always been, always will be. That it is desirable that we should hate our enemies, love our friends. That all Black peoples should unite on a basis of common origin, as their interests are identical, and not in harmony with the interests of white peoples. That the Black peoples of the United States and other countries should always seek to promote the interests of Black folks—which are naturally and inevitably opposed to those of white folks. Finally, that as the white people are firmly entrenched in most of the Northern countries, the Black peoples can hope neither to enjoy their natural rights among them nor to dislodge them, but must work to establish a nation of Black people in Africa, which is their original and natural home, and where white people cannot live because they are unable to stand the tropical climate.

Unfortunately ignorant of the fundamental economic reasons which underlie race prejudice, Mr. Garvey was unable to see the fallacies his mistaken premises gave rise to; and though possessing great capacity for leadership, this ignorance, this lack of necessary vital knowledge, permitted him to be made the tool of the classes who profit by scattering the forces of the workers and by keeping them divided.

To the Black people, desperately seeking escape from the bitter persecution they suffered, "fighting fire with fire," seemed logical enough. They failed to realize that fire does not cease because it meets other fire, but because it suffers from loss of fuel. In other words, if the fires of race prejudice are continually fed by hate thoughts, hate propaganda and education, they will burn continually.

The capitalists, recognizing this fact, welcomed Garveyism and encouraged it, giving it all kinds of publicity in their newspapers and periodicals, pretending concern, or even fear, at the growing popularity of the Black Moses. They fanned the excitement, stimu-

lated the imagination of the people, and made many converts for Garvey.

But the Black people were only a small portion of the workers who had to be kept busy hating other workers, and directly after the war many organizations were promoted among the white workers, which were calculated to keep their minds off the problem, "Why is it we can produce twenty times more than we can use, yet most of us are in poverty?"

Chief among these was the Ku Klux Klan. In resurrecting this ancient order, the powers that be "killed two birds with one stone." To its program of white supremacy, or hatred of races not white, was added a jealous hatred of Jews, and a religious hatred of Catholics. On the other hand, its members were pledged to uphold the ideals of "Americanism," which were understood to be the existing laws and order of society and the system of distribution of wealth.

Of immense value to the exploiters, this movement was greatly encouraged, and in a few months had swept the entire country. A large part of the energy of the working classes who were directly exploited, the better-paid employe and small business man, who indirectly felt the increasing pressure the system exerted upon the "small fry," was turned from intelligent inquiry by the vicious Negro-baiting, Jew-baiting, Catholic-baiting propaganda of the Ku Klux Klan, and the subtle sophistries and false ideals of "Americanism."

The Ku Klux Klan, however, threatened to develop into a Frankenstein. Its more ambitious members attempted to include in "Americanism" some ideals very inconvenient to capitalists. Big Business felt the control of this very powerful organization slipping into the hands of the "petite bourgeoisie" (small business man). In certain sections the power of the Ku Klux Klan was even used in favor of strikers against the capitalists.

Again, the Jews and Catholics, being largely represented in Big Business, the personal hatred the Ku Klux Klan exhibited against them brought a personal response.

The reaction against the Ku Klux Klan had the effect of lessening or stopping the propaganda against Jews and Catholics, shaping the ideals of "Americanism" more and more nearly to protect the interests of the exploiter.

It was not killed, it must not be killed. Only through such an organization could the rulers hope to cope with the imminent industrial crisis.

The immense value of its division-creating hatreds, and its soporific platitudes on Americanism, compelled the emperors of industry to run the risk of being destroyed by the monster they had created.

On the other hand, Garveyism, while it never reached the importance of threatening anything or anybody, except the pocketbooks of its ignorant, credulous supporters, likewise suffered a depression.

After the first excitement, the first emotion, had begun to wane, the Black people began to reason, and quite easily perceived the stupidity of a plan which proposed to develop more hatred with which to fight against the effects of hatred itself.

The failure of Garvey's commercial and financial schemes helped to destroy the illusion. Open graft, all kinds of tricky manipulation of funds, were proved

(Continued on page 842, column 2)

# Education and Literature

## "THESE 'COLORED' UNITED STATES"

### VI. THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA—A PARADISE OF PARADOXES

By NEVAL H. THOMAS

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

"A PARADISE OF PARADOXES," is the description given to the District of Columbia by a New England traveler when visiting here some sixty-five years ago. This phrase would accurately describe it at any time of its history, from its very foundation in 1800 to this very hour, for the leading men who conceived the plan of locating the capital of the nation here and were the controlling forces for sixty years were slaveholders, and today with the Fourteenth and



MR. THOMAS

Fifteenth Amendments, easily enforceable in this Federal territory, the great colored population with thousands of them among the most useful citizenry are only half free. The great leader after whom our beautiful city is named lived, grew rich, and died a slaveholder. He could "wish for some means of abolishing slavery," yet he could become the

lone-millionaire of his day from slave labor, send the manly Negro Tom to a worse slavery in the West Indies in exchange for rum and "the residue in good spirits," and as the Father of his country could leave a Farewell Address warning the coming generation against "entangling alliances" and minor dangers without a word against slavery, the crowning infamy and most deadly social sin of the ages.

It was in the administration of Washington that the location of the capital was ordered here. The slave power was entrenched in the seats of power. The location of the capital near the estates of the great land barons would greatly enhance their holdings, and help to keep the control of the central government in their hands. So valuable is the proximity of a capital to any community that there was the bitterest fight, and most important compromises made to secure the prize in Virginia and Maryland, and these two states gave from their public treasuries large sums of money for the erection of some of the public buildings, and the slave power had to agree to let Philadelphia have the capital there for nine years before removing it here in May and June, 1800. It is interesting to read the expense accounts of the *high* officials for their trips from Philadelphia here, a distance of 136 miles, ranging from \$338 to \$729. John Adams came with his slaveholding secretary of state, the learned John Marshall of Virginia. He could fill the judiciary with judges from the dying Federalists, naming Marshall for the Chief-Justiceship of the Supreme Court which he held ably for thirty-five years, and could even spend

his last night in the White House signing commissions for his "midnight judges," and then leave the city the next day without even speaking to his successor, Thomas Jefferson.

Jefferson was the first president inaugurated here, and, in accordance with his preachments, with democratic simplicity. A champion of democracy and admirer of the black astronomer, Benjamin Banneker, he could acquire his splendid culture and vast learning from the leisure that his slaves afforded him. He could pen the Declaration of Independence with its gospel of human freedom and equality, yet he could write when heavily in debt, "I am loath to part with any of my lands, but I *will* not part with any of my slaves, for out of their labor I can pay my debts." With his administration and with many succeeding ones the hated institution of slavery flourished. Within four years slaves made up one-fifth of the population. The White House, some members of the Supreme Court, many members of both houses of Congress, and many of the leading society people secured their menial service absolutely free from slave labor. The leading authority on the private life of President Madison is Paul Jennings, his Negro slave, who has left his *Reminiscences of Madison*, in which he draws a vivid picture of his master, and the story of the flight of the presidential family from the White House when it was burned by the British in the War of 1812. In several sections of the city there was an auction block where many a poor slave mother suffered the terrors of heart by seeing her beautiful daughter sold away to brutal slavers to be shipped to the far South. The District of Columbia is Federal territory, governed not by ballots of citizens, but by the national Congress, yet the cursed slave trade flourished for fifty years, and slavery for sixty-two, before Congress had the moral courage to assert its power to abolish them. No wonder our capital seemed "A Paradise of Paradoxes." The celebrated historian, John Bach McMaster, in his "Political Depravity of the Fathers," says of the Revolutionary Fathers, "in stealing a governorship, gerrymandering a district, giving patronage to whom patronage was due, in all the tricks and *frauds* which go to make up the worst of our politics, they were easily our masters." Madison, like Washington and Jefferson, and others whose lofty preachments are directly opposed to their practices, "could wish" that slavery could be abolished, yet when he was in Philadelphia and his Negro slave boy Billy had run away, he could write to his father in Virginia telling him that "I am not going to whip Billy for seeking the same divine thing I have, yet I am not going to return him to you, as he will teach the other slaves to seek their liberty. Instead I shall hire him out here for seven years."

The laws of Pennsylvania allowed no more. President Jackson was forced to give the Negro soldiers the credit for the victory of New Orleans in the War of 1812, yet as a slave-holding president years afterwards he welcomed the closing of the government mails to abolitionist literature which was seeking to give these poor blacks the liberty he said the war was fought for.

Save a few years of the Reconstruction, the national capital has been to the Negro a scene of sorrow. Even at this very hour the ghost of the slave power is stalking about seeking to perpetuate the aged master-and-slave scheme of society. The more cultured and ambitious the Negro, the greater is the delight in humiliating him, and in forestalling his progress, and since the World War for democracy the greater is that determination. There is not a theatre, restaurant, or other place of public accommodation where a colored man or woman can go, and even in the government restaurants segregation or exclusion is attempted while equality in the civil service, a reasonable number of Federal appointments, and a decent respect for manly complaint against social wrongs are unthinkable. We are excluded from public bathing beaches, the many recreational parks where the unworthiest white man is welcomed cheerfully, and a high governmental official, a pious North Carolina churchman, celebrated the glorious Resurrection Morn by placing segregation signs in the largest of our parks. Every one of us from the cradle to the grave is the victim of these American skin specialists who can determine every person's deserts, character and ability by the color of his skin. The glorious war for democracy, in which the draft boards took 43% of the conscripts from this District from the colored race when we were but 29% of the population, gave us a race riot and the Ku Klux Klan. Yet we must hear eloquent speeches on democracy in a capital where we are half a slave.

Prof. W. D. Nixon of the Dunbar High School, a constant contender for the rights of Negroes, has compiled statistics showing the shortages we suffer in every branch of our municipal service. His investigation discloses that we have but 36 colored policemen when our population entitles us to 320, entailing an annual loss of \$440,000; that we have but 17 firemen out of a total of 663, or 2.6%, when our population is nearly one-third of the total for the city, a discrimination by which we lose over \$350,000 per year. In our city library there is not a single colored employee, and the librarian, a native of Rochester, New York, told me plainly in reply to one of my protests that he would employ no colored person there save in the capacity of a charwoman, though every one of us is taxed 35 cents per year for the support of this institution. On the rent commission there is not a single colored representative, in spite of the fact that colored people are the chief victims of extortionate rents, while the Chamber of Commerce, Board of Trade, City Club, Board of Charities, and the so-called "white" universities would not even dream of admitting the best Negro who ever lived in this, our democratic capital.

Even Howard University, the great institution dedicated to the education of Negro youth, must have a white minister, instead of a great Negro educator, as its president; costing us \$11,000 per year, when Charles W. Elliot, the Dean of American educators and the directive head of 500 professors and instructors, 10,000 students, and 50 millions of educational equipment re-

ceived no more. This huge overhead expense is out of all harmony with the ridiculous under-pay of the teaching staff, who, with the alumni, containing many men and women of eminent achievement, and the student bodies struggling against huge handicaps to a place in the world, have given the University her high distinction among the great seats of learning in the land. Like several of his predecessors, he knows little of dealing with black men in high professional calling, and has little consideration for the ablest Negro members of the faculty who have done most to give Howard her fair reputation, but who dare to have a mind of their own. He has even demanded the removal of his colored superiors from the trustee board, because, as an alumnus of 45 years, and an overseer for a decade, this man desires to discharge his trust. He has hired a convenient Negro at \$4,000 per year and expenses to go over the country to offset the fight of the great body of the alumni for a place in the administration of their Alma Mater, and this Negro had the effrontery to rise in his church and say that Christ had called him to this princely salary, hence he must leave the ministry. More and more, the same opinion is growing that a black man or a black woman should head this, the finest experiment in education of its kind, for colored people know too well the marvelous success of Negro men and women in founding and administering important institutions of learning. On the board of education alone do we get a square deal, the judges of the Supreme Court of the District appointing three colored members out of a total of nine; but their estimates must pass through two other authorities before reaching congress, hence, in by far the majority of years, we fail to get our share of the school fund. During the entire Wilson administration the municipal fathers, young newspaper correspondents without executive experience, would recommend to congress that the colored schools have but ten per cent of the appropriations for buildings and grounds when we were then 31 per cent of the school enrollment. It has reached as low as 7 per cent. We are supposed not to complain, and the white spirit of the community calls us "radical" and even "crazy" when we call attention to this fundamental injustice to the future citizens of the nation. The white academic high schools have spacious recreation grounds, equipped with magnificent stadiums, tennis courts, fountains and running tracks, while ours has a slum and a noisy stone yard within sixty feet of the building, allowing no play space at all. The whites have three such schools in different sections of the city within walking distance to the white population, while we have the one to which ALL pupils of color must come with considerable expense of street car fare. Thus, our colored parents suffer the double handicap of lower income and higher educational costs. Again, out of 56 superior salaries in the high schools, the whites have 54 and the colored 2. The colored teachers are restive under this discrepancy, as they claim that since so many economic opportunities are open to whites, not one whit better prepared than colored, that are closed to us, there would naturally follow a better selection among the colored teachers. The presence of more students in the colored normal school than the white, though the white normal school must feed more than twice the number of teacherships than the colored normal school must supply, is cited in support of their claim of finer selection.

In spite of a century of wrong and suffering here.

though he has proved his capacity for the highest duties of a citizen by aspiration and achievement, the Negro is still determined to overcome his all but insurmountable obstacles. He glories in his history though the reward for useful living and contributions to the capital's greatness are denied him. He was here even before a stone was laid, for it was the great black mathematician, Benjamin Banneker, who, with L'Enfant and Ellicot, surveyed the howling wilderness out of which this beautiful city was born. His labor created much of its wealth, in slavery and during our partial freedom. He has been identified with that fundamental thing in democracy, popular education, for 117 years. It was then that three colored men purchased their freedom and built a school house for the education of Negro children. The brilliant Jefferson was in the White House, but these three unlettered Negroes, George Bell, Nicholas Franklin, and Moses Liverpool, laid the only foundation upon which a nation must rest her greatness. In 1836 John F. Cook founded a church and school combined to do the work the state should have done, and in the long history of the Negro's heroic struggle for knowledge, and better things for his children, in this city there are many names of extraordinary personalities who must take high rank in the educational history of the nation. We have hundreds of men in the professions (many in the front rank), a growing number in large business enterprises, prosperous banks, insurance companies, newspaper and printing establishments, theatres, real estate, drug stores, etc., a large cultured and intellectual class, and a great mass of laboring people, the bone and sinew of any state, whose long hours of labor at meager wages are given gladly to prepare their children for fields of higher endeavor. It is from them that every uplifting movement must receive its chief support; they have but one ambition—the betterment of family, race, and state. We have over 150 churches, many of them pastored by ministers of piety and vision, who understand social problems and preach the gospel of practical human service. Our people are grouped in numbers of organizations and clubs, some for social service, others for self-improvement, like book-lovers' clubs; and in beneficial societies. We have many forward-looking men and women who study the world movements from such able and progressive magazines as *THE MESSENGER*, *The Nation*, *The New Republic*, and *The Liberator*, and at the Bethel Literary society we hear messages from every thinking group in the world. Washington's social life is the most cultured in the country. To attend any social function is to see a marvel in self-culture, for we see women of various colors, without social contact outside the race, the equal in physical beauty, refinement of conduct, grace in manner and dress, and exquisite social charm of the highest bred Anglo-Saxon woman anywhere in the world. The white man keeps the full weight of his superior numbers, oppressive spirit, and unjust monopoly of political power, hard pressed against this suffering, yet beautiful little world of striving, but we grow to fuller stature in spite of it all. Though he closes such splendid educational agencies as the opera, and such refining experiences as the exercise of civil privileges, to this struggling people, we acquire culture, not *through* segregation and oppression, but *in spite* of them.

We glory in the Reconstruction days, in their oppor-

tunity for the Negro to prove his capacity for statesmanship, and in the cultural equality he showed by the side of the ablest statesmanship and finest white culture the nation has known. The names of Revells, Bruce, Pinchback, Bassett, Langston, Elliot, Lynch, Garnet, and, greatest of all, Frederick Douglass. James G. Blaine, one of the ablest men the nation has produced, says in his authoritative work "Twenty Years in Congress" that "the colored men were students of public questions, able in debate, and, in fact, would have done honor to any race in any generation." They were men of the highest sense of responsibility to their constituency. They walked among men offering no apology for existence; with head erect but not with chest out; knowing that color is the least of difference among men, in fact no difference at all; entering public places at will, since such privileges should be as free as the sunshine; rose to forgiveness of the unmeasured sins of the Rebel South in supporting the Amnesty legislation; and stressing the enactment of human-rights laws whose enforcement redounds to the good of white and black alike. They knew that it was as fitting that black men hold office as it was for white, that the exclusion of one establishes the old ante-bellum master-and-slave relationship which brought on the war and which the war destroyed; hence we have Hiram Revells taking the very seat in the Senate which Jefferson Davis abandoned when he put out to destroy the Union, and the black man filled it with greater honor; Blanche K. Bruce entering in 1875, with the Chesterfieldian Conkling offering his arm as escort to the bar of the Senate; P. E. S. Pinchback, fresh from the governorship of a sovereign state, with credentials for the Senatorship, with Bruce delivering an eloquent eulogy, in chaste speech for his admission; Elliot, Rainey, Menard, Lynch, and many others entering unchallenged their seats in the House. These men fought vigorously the first great set-back we have suffered in the "house of our friends," the withdrawal of the troops from the South whose presence was required there by the Constitution of the United States, the enlightened Force Bill, and the unreconstructed Rebels who make a mockery of democratic institutions. What a difference between representation by these able statesmen and misrepresentation by an ignorant political trickster who told Senators in the last congress not to pass the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill which was to protect his little children, and his suffering race from burning at the stake. What a difference between them and the self-patronage hunters who endorse such sentiments as, "The Southern white man is the Negroes' best friend." "Every Southern Constitution has placed a premium upon thrift and intelligence" (even the Grandfather Clause which was so odious that a Southern Supreme Court ruled it unconstitutional). "It is not for the Negro to fight the Jim Crow car, but to see to it that it is a man and not a beast riding in the car." "Colored people can't have nervous prostration, hence it is for the doctor to study, not nerves, but old hard chills and fevers" (a fine preparation for service to our wounded boys at the Jim Crow hospital at Tuskegee); reflections upon the higher education of Negro women which unfit them for their surroundings (Southern), and the ridiculing of the poor black boy, whose soul was fired like that of Lincoln and Douglass, for puzzling over a French book at his backwoods cabin door. The most reactionary element of whites stand unanimously be-

hind a local Negro, and cite him to us at every protest we make as a model colored citizen, because he is ever ready in their service. He opposed the exodus, asked that a certain colored member of the board of education be not reappointed because that member kept raising the race issue on the board, fought the sending of colored men to the peace conference at Versailles, said that when colored servants and their white mistresses fall out the servant is in the wrong, and has refused to fight a single wrong during his long life here. He openly boasts that he gets his influence from white people and cares nothing about the opinion of Negroes. When he had his house wired with electricity he refused to let colored workmen even bid on the contract, though we have two of the best firms of electricians in the city, and gave it to an inferior white firm. When the Capital Savings Bank failed, with him as the responsible officer, carrying down the life savings of poor washerwomen, he hired an inferior white lawyer to defend him, while giving *cheers* to the colored profession. Whenever he is attacked in THE MESSENGER and other publications he buys copies and sends them to the white element who recognize him as our leader, telling them how much we are making him suffer in their service. He is solid with them, and no amount of protest can dislodge him from their consideration. The highest conception of leadership some of these *misrepresentatives* of our race have is dodging racial issues, getting along with our white enemies, manipulating delegates at national conventions, begging and dispensing insignificant patronage, paying the press to publish their pictures, and sitting on the platform at public meetings. President Taft said that he showed his inaugural address to three colored leaders before delivery, and they all endorsed it, yet that is the message that removed all Negro officers from the South, and proclaimed to the world that the Negro is at the complete mercy of the white man, a second Dred Scott Decision pure and simple. We long for the return of the Negro to the halls of congress where he belongs, and we look to the great industrial centers of the North, increased in voting strength by this happy and historic exodus, to send him here. With this coming will mean the merit system in the civil service, West Point and Annapolis, and high offices from the White House. It has been said that "the destiny of nations is decided over the tea table." Nothing is truer, for over the official tea table and in the secret official chamber policies of government and parties are determined; so the Negro if he is to come into his own must work for his restoration to the high councils of the nation.

It would take pages to paint the whole picture of the Reconstruction days, the America of our dreams. Grant and his brilliant secretary of state, Hamilton Fish, sent Ebenezer Bassett as minister to Egypt, thus opening up the diplomatic service to the race. Mr. Bassett's delicate tact and discriminating consideration for the interests of his country and for his race in Hayti won for him the highest encomiums from no less an authority than Hamilton Fish, and lasting respect from the Haytians. They sent Milton Turner to Liberia, and Negro consuls to both Spain and France. Black boys appeared on our streets in the uniforms of West Point and Annapolis, and Negro clerks in all of the departments of the government where today they are of higher grade than their white co-workers. The leading hostelry of the city was the Wormley Hotel

which housed the most distinguished people in the country. The grandson of the founder and owner, Dr. C. Sumner Wormley, has many letters from such patrons as Charles Sumner expressing their high regard for the venerable James Wormley as a man of character and business ability. In the early seventies a prominent politician with his lieutenants paid his bill to Mr. Wormley with a cheque of \$1,500, which afterwards was returned, "insufficient funds." Some big democratic politicians hearing of its existence offered to cash it in order to use it against the Republican party, then, *but not now*, the friend of the Negro. Mr. Wormley, ever loyal to his people, quickly replied, "That party has just freed my race and I would rather lose any amount of money than betray it." The cheque was never paid, and he secured the respect of both sides. On Lincoln's birthday, 1865, Henry Highland Garnet, orator, scholar and warrior of two continents for the slave, addressed the assembled House and Senate, and official and diplomatic society in the chamber of the House of Representatives and they listened in deep admiration to his scholarly and eloquent sermon of the Thirteenth Amendment and the meaning of slavery and freedom. Compare this scene with 1922 when the time-serving Moton was chosen to speak at the dedication of the Lincoln Memorial, and rough marines were stationed in the audience to force colored people into the Jim Crow seats at the point of the bayonet.

Blanche K. Bruce came to the United States Senate a bachelor. Within two years he married Miss Josephine Wilson, a teacher in the public schools of Cleveland and noted for her beauty and culture. They toured the capitals of Europe on their honeymoon before the world was "made safe for democracy," hence our diplomatic representatives introduced them to the cultured circles of the continent. On one occasion they were passing through the Senators' dining room to a more private room when twenty-two stately Senators rose from their tables until Senator and Mrs. Blanche K. Bruce had passed. Senator James G. Blaine built a mansion at Twenty-second Street and Massachusetts Avenue, then the outskirts of the city. He wanted to make it a Senators' row to maintain the tone of the section and increase the values of property. He brought his carriage to the home of Senator and Mrs. Bruce, and conducted them to his section where he urged them to build. Today when so many of our colored people are striving for better homes the powerful real estate ring presses upon courts, banks and brokers to throw obstacles in the way. The modern foolish psychology of the white man says that property values are destroyed by the advent of colored men. What a degeneracy! Let him think of Blaine and be cured! President Arthur invited Mrs. Bruce to stand in the receiving line at the White House on New Year's Day, 1882, with the ladies of the cabinet and other leaders of society, and Mrs. John A. Logan said years afterwards in the metropolitan press, "There was not a lady in line more beautiful in person, more elegantly gowned, more cultured in conduct, and more deserving of all of the social courtesies due the wife of a United States Senator than Mrs. Blanche K. Bruce." They named their only son, since distinguished in education, letters and racial service, after Roscoe Conkling, and this gallant knight ever ready to draw his fiery sword in defense of the downtrodden black

man was proud to have a Negro boy named after him.

For forty years the Negro received inspiration by daily contact with one of the grandest figures of history, Frederick Douglass. The story of his rise, his conquest over incredible obstacles, and his immortal service during the most stirring periods of our national history has no parallel in the Arabian Nights Stories. He came among us after a miraculous escape from slavery, roaming over continents appealing to the sympathies of the world, a self-taught giant who matched his intellectual powers and golden eloquence against the best the world held. From an ignorant slave he had become the associate of Garrison, Sumner, Phillips, Stowe, Tubman, and John Brown, while in the old world he was the intimate of Clarkson, Buxton, Cobden, and Ireland's peerless son, Daniel O'Connell. Governors of states had placed a price upon his devoted head, and presidents were asked to throw the entire weight of the government to silence his mighty voice that was destined to shake the continent. He labored at the White House with Lincoln for the admission of the Negro to the army, and then for his equal treatment with his white comrades. He waged a long war against the benighted reconstruction policy of President Johnson, and once checkmated him after an interesting interview by getting the front page of the American press for the speech the President refused him the opportunity to make in this interview the day before. He was in the thickest of the fight for the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments, and on April 14, 1876, delivered the Negro's message to the world at the dedication of Lincoln's statue before President Grant, Congress, Supreme Court, and the rest of the highest officials and social circles in an oration that has passed into the oratorical classics of history. For four years he was United States Marshal with the duty of introducing all guests at the social gatherings at the White House, and at the inauguration of President Garfield he led the procession, beside the President, from the Senate Chamber to the east front of the capitol. It is hard to estimate the influence of such a character upon the life of the people here, their racial pride, their sense of the worthiness of the fullest citizenship, and the knowledge that the accident of color is too trivial to mention. He was ever our unflinching champion. He gave President Johnson lessons in the fundamentals of statesmanship by such unanswerable arguments as, "Peace between races is not to be secured by degrading one and exalting the other, but by maintaining a state of equal justice to all classes." "How can you deprive the Negro of all means of defense, and clothe his enemies in the full panoply of political power?" Although an appointee under President Hayes, he criticized the withdrawal of the federal troops from the South. When the Supreme Court read away Sumner's Civil Rights Bill for which he, too, had fought, he spoke in fearless criticism of the powerful tribunal before a large gathering, white and black, and the last day he spent on earth, though nearly eighty years of age, was with Susan B. Anthony in the interest of this great people to whom he had given his long life and his great heart. The National Association of Colored Women has raised a large fund to purchase his estate, and now Cedar Hill, once a slave master's estate, then the home of "the grandest slave ever born," is now a sacred shrine, the property of the Negroes

of the nation to which our children make pilgrimages for deepening faith in the glory of their people.

But we are not discouraged by our mighty fall from our high estate. Rather we have girded on our armor to "regain that blissful seat." The descent from deserved equality to the abyss of disfranchisement, denial of civil rights, the exclusion from all participation in government, and the Ku Klux Klan is loud and dismal, but hope and determination are with us yet. Our local branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People demands full equality of citizenship, which, of course, is against the prevailing white opinion here, yet 95 per cent of our colored officers and teachers, and the majority of the employees of the national and local government, dare to support it. Its leader and president, Archibald H. Grimke, has brought to us the splendid idealism of these better days, and through its vigorous protests against hostile legislation, both national and municipal in scope, we are able to save some of the wreck of our fortunes. There are other organizations working for the same end which are evidence of healthful racial growth that will some day realize for us our cherished visions of equality. We realize more and more that though we won the war, unless we consider all the Amendments equally sacred, and spend as much money and national energy upon the enforcement of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth, as we spend upon the Eighteenth, we shall lose the Peace.

## Shafts and Darts

By GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

"Pink-headed Ducks now extinct"—News item. Evidently the first three rows of the orchestra at the musical comedy successes have been overlooked.

"The committee has been investigating the charge that slavery is rampant in the country. It is impossible to furnish statistics, says the report, owing to the careful measures adopted by the slaves themselves and their masters to conceal their real status. . . . The slaves receive a certain percentage of the produce they raise, but their services and those of their wives and children belong to their master, as do the land and tools used." Extract from an article in *New York Times* of Sept. 14, 1923.

Well, thank God! its in Togoland! After all, there are advantages in living in our free country!

News reports from the earthquake centers in Japan indicate that very few christian missionaries were among the casualties. Well, we must take the bitter with the sweet!

The press services still continue to bring us reports of millions of dollars shipped from Russia to bring about the revolution in America. This may or may not be true. False or true, we do not believe the Internationale is giving their Negro Communist comrades of the A. B. B. a square deal. Think of the task they must perform without funds! We suggest that Brother Zinoviev distribute a surplus million dollars among the membership of the A. B. B. That would mean two hundred thousand dollars apiece.

Former Alderman Harris says he was defeated by the color line. Who drew it, the whites or the blacks?

Garvey's 2,000,000 (*sic*) members were mighty slow getting that \$25,000 together. One Negro paper announced: "Garvey Not to Jump Bail," as if you could run that guy away from this gravy-train! It is to laugh!

The older one gets, the wiser one becomes—and the less able to profit by it. One learns that care must be exercised in the making of sweeping generalizations. No generalization is absolutely true—not even that one! For instance we have become less willing to believe statements that: *all* medical practitioners are equally ignorant of medicine; that all drug stores share their spoils with the doctors who send in prescriptions (written in Latin so the mob can't get wise to the graft!); that *all* the delicatessen stores sell liquor; that *all* lawyers are a menace; that *all* fraternal organizations and Greek letter societies are socially harmful and economically useless—refuges of snobs and morons; that *all* politicians are dishonest. No, Sir! We know better than to subscribe to such statements! There *are* a few exceptions in every case. There are four-leaf clovers, too!

Scopolamin, a new discovery of science, renders the person taking it incapable of telling a lie. Is it a promise or a menace? Are people to be forced to tell the truth? Why not try it on some of our prominent Negroes? We might find out: Why Garvey didn't go on his announced hunger strike, and what happened to the missing books of the U. N. I. A.; what happened to the funds collected by the Negro Communists to start the *Voice* and *Liberator*; who Henry Lincoln Johnson and Perry Howard really represent; why, Doctor Khufu, Harlem's latest African witch doctor, dropped the role of "Dr." the eminent bookseller, and now hawks stomach remedy; where "Be Modest and Unassuming" hid himself while the Tuskegee Hospital was being made safe for de(mock)racy; whether the K. K. K. congratulated DuBois after his notorious Philadelphia surrender. This Scopolamin may be of great service!

There's no getting around it, we have a wonderful civilization! Take this wireless telephony. Can you beat that thing? You can sit right in your home and hear concerts hundreds and hundreds of miles away. We were regaled by this wonderful program only a short while ago:

"The Whitewash of Marcus." Typewriter solo. Editor Keith of the *Pittsburg American*.

"The Ballad of Reading Gaol," by Wilde. Recitation. The Provisional President of Africa.

"Aggravatin' Papa (DuBois) Don't You Try to Two Time 'Me.'" All Negro Chorus.

"The Face on the Barroom Floor." Recitation. "The Emperor Jones."

"Give Us the Right to Love You All the While." Chorus of Negro editorial comment on Coolidge.

"Asleep in the Deep." Solo. Editor Moore of the *New York Age* (very appropriately named).

"Someone Else Will Take Your (Harris') Place." Harlem Republican Chorus.

"The Rainy Day," by Longfellow. Recitation. Editor Harris of the *New York News*.

"Barefoot Blues." Sextette. The African Blood Brotherhood.

"You'll Reap Just What You Sow." Song and Flying Ballet. "Major" Moton.

"Underhand Work as a Revolutionary Asset." Bedtime Story. Editor Briggs of the *Crusader Service* (Save us!).

"In looking over the *waccky* organ of Admiral Garvey's African Navy, *The Negro World*, we were astounded to find a huge advertisement advising Negro maidens and youths not to forego the delights of patent-leather hair but to use Zura Kink-out on their recalcitrant locks. On another page we note a large display informing all and sundry black folk that: "No matter how dark your complexion, it is easy to get it 'just right' by using Dr. Fred Palmer's Skin Whitener. . . . most delightful, most remarkable and most satisfactory of all skin whitener preparations."

Evidently Brother Marcus has hit upon a new plan for solving the race problem.

The other day a lady said to Mrs. Lucille Green Randolph, the Socialist Aldermanic candidate for the 21st District: "Although I am not a Socialist, I would vote for you this year but I don't want to throw away my vote."

Pray, what has the lady and her fellow wage slaves been doing all along? Ah, we forget! The Republicans and Democrats have been lowering rents for the Negroes, raising their

wages, and cutting the cost of living. Have they not? Yes, they have not! !

The intellectually paralyzed Fred R. Moore, editor of the appropriately named *New York Age* (Yes, it's still being published!) started the nonsense about Chandler Owen recanting his radical beliefs. America's greatest buffoon, Marcus Garvey, repeated the canard from his now temporarily vacated cell. All this because Mr. Owen is President of the California Development Company.

Isn't it pathetic that men with such a paucity of information and capacity for acquiring it are allowed to wander from their right abode on Ward's Island? Think too of the boobs who look to them for counsel. Yes, Barnum was right! After all that has been written and said about Socialism since the dawn of the 19th Century, these two "idiots" insult the intelligence of their readers with such bunk, I was under the impression that no persons using their heads for anything besides hat racks or experiment stations for hair straighteners, were at this late date so ignorant concerning the greatest movement of modern times. To those who may not "get" me, allow me to say, by way of explanation, that the assumption behind the statements appearing in the rags of these two "idiots" is that a person can not be a radical or Socialist and own anything or engage in any business, and he who does has recanted his beliefs. Such utter rot! And these men are 'prominent' Negroes! Of course, Brother Chandler is perfectly capable of handling these jokers as of yore, but I could not spare the lash."

### Garveyism and K. K. K.

(Continued from page 836)

against Garvey's officials, and at least stupid carelessness against Garvey himself.

To understand a cause which produces an effect is to know a cure. The foregoing explanation suggests a remedy for both Garveyism and the Ku Klux Klan. Only when Black, White, Brown and Yellow workers understand that their interests are identical, and opposed to the interests of that class whose chief function is to exploit workers, whether they be Black, White, Yellow or Brown, will the cults of division-creating hatreds cease to be.

An insistent, persistent campaign by the workers themselves, among the workers themselves, is the only practical plan, as the exploiters control most of the regular channels of publicity, newspapers, moving pictures, churches, etc. The logical and best method is to educate on the job; men and women of all races inevitably get acquainted, sympathize with and understand each other when working together; the white worker must cease committing economic suicide by refusing to work with other races, but must realize that they who work are closest kin.

Black workers must insist on working side by side with white workers in all lines of industry, and both Black and White workers must strenuously develop the habit of thinking, of recognizing all workers as friends, with interests bound up each in those of the other.

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## BOOK REVIEWS



"SCEPTICISM AND ANIMAL FAITH," by George Santayana. Publishers, Charles Scribners Sons, New York City. Price \$3.50. Reviewed by W. S. Scarborough.

This is a remarkable book by a great thinker. In it the author presents a new system of philosophy, reached after years of thought and reflection.

DR. SCARBOROUGH

In his efforts to prove his contentions he applies all of his scholarly powers, backing his arguments with such proof that the reader is compelled to admit the truth of his utterances.

It is a book that must interest and appeal to all students, teachers and lovers of philosophy. It is intensely interesting, charming because of its style and is very readable though profoundly philosophical and technical from the beginning to the end, as all such books must be. It is a most desirable book for collateral use in the teaching and in the study of metaphysical science.

To enjoy it and appreciate it one must have considerable training in the schools of philosophy and must have more or less acquaintance with their theories. No allowance is made for the ignorance of the reader. It is purely and simply a book on metaphysical philosophy.

The author knows his subject and is thoroughly qualified to do as he proposes, to give us a new system of philosophy; and he does it and does it well.

Dr. Santayana begins his valuable treatise by saying (see preface): "Here is one more system of philosophy. If the reader is tempted to smile I can assure him that I smile with him and that my system, to which this volume is a critical introduction differs widely in spirit and pretensions from what usually goes by that name." Yet further on in this same chapter he tells us that it is *not new nor is it his*, but it is merely an attempt to express to the reader principles to which he appeals when he smiles. "There are convictions," continues he, "in the depths of his soul beneath all his overt, parrot beliefs, on which I would build our friendship."

The author tells us that his philosophy is justified and has been justified in all ages and countries by the facts before every man's eyes; and no great wit is requisite to discover it, only candor and courage.

The author's faith in himself and in his ability to reach his objective gives him the courage of his convictions, and with this faith he plunges fearlessly into his subject.

*Scepticism* as used here means a form of belief. The title of his book might be stated thus: "Belief and Human Faith," the term Animal signifying living or human.

The author makes it clear that he is not at all in sympathy with the doctrines and teachings of the schools of philosophy touching forms of belief as they have come down to us and as they are at present understood and taught.

He challenges such teachings from various view points and denounces what he considers their errors. He questions the veracity of the philosophers but does it in a polite and scholarly way.

"I have great respect," says he, "for orthodoxy, not for those orthodoxies which prevail in particular schools or nations, and which vary from age to age, but for a certain shrewd orthodoxy which the sentiment and practice of *laymen* maintain everywhere."

"I think that common sense, in a rough dogged way," continues he, "is technically sounder than the special schools of philosophy, each of which squints and overlooks half the facts and half the difficulties in its eagerness to find in some detail, the key to the whole." Then he says, "I am animated by distrust of all high *guesses* and by sympathy with the old prejudices and workaday opinions of mankind. They are ill-expressed but they are well grounded." There is a bit of irony pervading this argument that brings an occasional smile, in that it makes the author appear a little insincere, but we know he is not.

The author begins his narrative by denying that there is a *first principle in criticism*. In proof of his assertion he tells us that the origin of things, if things have any origin, can not be revealed if revealed at all, until one has traveled very far from it and many revolutions of the sun must precede the first dawn. Then he adds, "If the philosopher begins in the middle,

(Continued on page 846, column 1)



MISS NEWSOME

"THE PARLOR PROVOCATEUR OR FROM SALON TO SOAP-BOX." The Letters of Kate Crane Gartz. With an Introduction by Mary Craig Sinclair. Published by Upton Sinclair, Pasadena, Cal. Reviewed by Nora Newsome.

There is a very little to be said about this book. The title itself tells you in a nutshell. After the introduction of Mary Craig Sinclair, who creates an aura of sympathy for her heroine by voicing her own intense admiration, there are excerpts from various newspaper clippings of letters dating from 1896 to 1922 inclusive, showing Kate Crane Gartz first as a leader and ornament of society. That period of her life was decidedly "salon." Gradually we find her experimenting with philanthropy by giving homes to the aged and erecting bungalows for working girls.

You will note that we are now approaching the "soap-box" stage of her development by hearing that various radicals, among whom are Dhan Mukerji and Max Eastman, gave talks on Russia and other prohibited subjects at her home, and by her organization of a Citizens' Ammesty Committee in behalf of political prisoners. Her letters, addressed to people, ranging all the way from former President Harding down to the editors of newspapers, show a depth of feeling for the oppressed seldom possessed by a woman of her class.

She iterates and reiterates her abhorrence of a social system that makes multi-millionaires of a few and paupers of many, and realizes that most of the ills of humanity arise from this economic inequality. Mrs. Gartz feels that she has no right to live in ease, amid beautiful surroundings, while those whose exploitation makes it possible for her to have these things, suffer misery and want.

On Page 95, in a letter dated September 24, 1922, addressed to Rev. John M. Dean, Pasadena, California, the writer in protesting against the minister's advocacy of war with Turkey, says, among other things; "I have no more sympathy with the Turk that kills than I have for the English, American or German who kills. What about France occupying the Rhine with its black troops, molesting German women by the thousand, which is infinitely worse than killing?" In my opinion, Mrs. Gartz descends from her high plane of social justice in the last sentence of the quotation. Had she attacked the French occupation of the Rhine from the sound radical viewpoint, and protested against the use of *any* troops whatever, white or black, the attack would have had greater moral significance. As it is, it seems to me a cheap attempt to pander to the well known color psychosis of white America.

### Review of a Labor Debate

By J. MILTON SAMPSON

Shall there be a third party? is a big question today. The voices of enlightened liberals and of incorrigible radicals are unitedly clamoring for a new deal. The liberal press is merrily hammering away on the same idea. On the other hand the reactionaries of the dominant parties, in the press, on the public platform, and on the screen, are doggedly pushing the idea of party unity in order to offset the clamor from without and also for that matter from within.

Where does the labor contingent stand? This is a considerable block of the voting power in America. Can they, will they follow their erstwhile policy of sending friends to office, or of punishing their enemies?

These questions were discussed pro and con by two prominent friends of labor in a debate on the question, "Shall a Labor Party Be Formed in America?" Morris Hillquit for the affirmative, Edward F. Keating for the negative.

Mr. Hillquit outlined the past experience of labor both in its policies of non-political action, and later of action within the dominant parties. In contrast the growing power of the Labor Party of England and other European countries was cited as an illustration of what is possible when labor forms and controls its own political machinery.

Mr. Keating regarded the conquest of the primary as the greatest hope of labor, and pointed to what he regarded as instances of the successful working out of his program. He analyzed the third party idea and attempted to show that it was impractical.

To the onlooker without pronounced views of the subject, there is not much to choose between the two sides,—that is, if the test of accomplishment is to put into office those who are energetically sympathetic toward labor. The dominant parties are legitimate prey for the labor vote by way of the primary but the provisions of primary laws in many states are such that labor can not be so elastic in changing its votes "to reward its friends or punish its enemies."

Suppose the labor vote went heavily in a given primary to a supposedly friendly Democrat, but this friend disappointed the expectations. At the next election (primary) a more promising Republican "friend of labor" is the favored candidate, and needs all the votes he can get to win. The laborers who previously voted for the Democrat will be ruled out of the booth by the official who asks them "Did you enroll last year with the Republicans?" These and other provisions of election laws are fatal to the highest effective use of the primary for labor purposes.

But suppose on the other hand one examines critically the position of Mr. Hillquit. The Socialist Party has been a true labor party. The Farmer-Labor Party has had the interests of labor at heart. Yet the factions within these parties, their inability as yet to put out a platform on which the large majority of voters favorable to labor can unite, have made this labor party a very slow method of achieving results, again on the assumption that the test is to put labor representatives into office.

Putting labor representatives into political office is not however the only objective of the labor party, or should not be. At this stage of the game labor as a whole is groping in the dark, lacking clear perceptions of its political salvation. Its internal factions are battling for the promulgation of their own pet ideas, and in many instances, in bitter contempt of the brain children of the other factions.

Here then is the crux of the situation. Not the *formation* of a labor party, but a determination of its objectives, and the scope of its program and activities. A study of labor's political opportunities and limitations, of its own varying lines of political thought should be made, and should be so thorough as to elicit an unanswerable, unassailable minimum in the way of a program, on which the large majority of laborers and their true friends might confidently act. Then a machinery must be devised to disseminate the results of such a study, in ways which are calculated to win over, rather than clash with, existing factional prejudices.

These are worthy objectives and at the same time fundamental prerequisites of a successful labor party.

### To a Scientist

By THOMAS MILLARD HENRY

I saw the sunset yesterday  
Behind the gold and purple west.  
My soul's a richer soul for aye,  
Because upon my heart was pressed  
Its dream-inspiring souvenir.

Last June when roses were in bloom,  
I saw one rare one in the dew.  
My heart beats faster, I presume,  
Because it was so simply new—  
So supra-sweet its atmosphere.

I hear men praying to behold  
Some far-off glory, and to share  
Some city built of finest gold;  
But why should I have business there,  
If it be lovelier than here?

If I'm too crude to entertain  
The joy that's made for me on earth.  
Would not you think me basely vain  
To build a bridge across its worth  
In search of something lovelier?

And I can count them by the score,—  
Those beauties that have touched my life.  
The souls untouched by them are poor;  
And they will help you in the strife  
Who are our civic pioneer.



MR. BAGNALL

"BEASTS, MEN AND GODS," by Ferdinand Ossendowski. E. P. Dutton and Co., 681 Fifth Avenue, New York City. Reviewed by Robert W. Bagnall.

You thrilled and felt with Xenophon's Ten Thousand when after many perils and adventures and well-nigh hopeless situations, they at length saw that sight which meant safety and cried out: the sea! the sea! Is this not so?

Well a greater thrill awaits you even than that occasioned by the famous March of the Ten Thousand and this also is occasioned by a true tale of marvellous adventure, more strange than the wildest fiction.

Up in Siberia lived a Polish scientist, an officer of the French Academy, Ferdinand Ossendowski by name. He fell under the suspicion of the Cheka of the Red government and fled to the forests to escape death. Little did he dream what marvellous adventures awaited him, adventures which he has faithfully narrated in a most remarkable book: "Beasts, Men and Gods."

Imagine yourself thrown back to the life of a cave man, living in a hole under the root of an overturned tree in the dead of a Siberian winter, catching fish by hitting them with a club, reduced to living by your rifle, absolutely isolated for months, with men hunting you night and day, with anxiety concerning the fate of your family. Could you stand this? This is what Ossendowski says about it:

"In every healthy spiritual individual of our times, occasions of necessity resurrect the traits of primitive man, hunter and warrior, and help him in the struggle with nature. It is the prerogative of the man with the trained mind and spirit over the untrained, who does not possess sufficient science and will power to carry him through. But the price that the cultured man must pay is that for him there exists nothing more awful than absolute solitude and the knowledge of complete isolation from human society and the life of moral and æsthetic culture. One step, one moment of weakness and dark madness will seize a man and carry him to inevitable destruction. I spent awful days of struggle with the cold and hunger but I passed more terrible days in the struggle of the will to kill weakening destructive thoughts. The memories of these days freeze my heart and mind and even now as I review them so clearly by writing of my experiences they throw me back into a state of fear and apprehension."

But even this life was not safe for him. Hunted he fled from Siberia to Mongolia, hoping to find safety there and escape to a Pacific Ocean port. Murderers, enemies, friends, barbarians, hunger, cold, fighting his way, constantly in danger, swimming ice filled rivers in zero weather and riding afterwards all day in frozen garments, at length he and the companions who had joined him, find the way blocked with Red Soldiers.

There is but one exit—seemingly an impossible one—to cross Mongolia from north to the south, avoiding the Chinese governed towns, cross the Gobi desert, into Thibet, where it is hoped that some British consul will help the party to an Indian port.

All the group when this was proposed answered: "we are ready, lead on." Then followed 48 days of hardship in which 1,100 miles of mountain and desert were covered. Fires could not be made lest the smoke betray them and so food had to be eaten raw; cold was suffered, and the party was only saved from death when Tartars informed them that horses could not cross the grassless desert—they must have camels. Falling while asleep from a camel, the author fractured his skull, and in a delirious state was forced to continue his journey.

Reaching Thibet, the party was assailed by bandits, one-third of them killed, and many wounded, the author being shot in both legs. They had to run for their lives—anywhere—and only through good fortune succeeded in reaching, again, Mongolia.

There was nothing left but to seek to cross Mongolia to Manchuria, passing through the enemy. After numerous hair-breadth escapes, covering the most dangerous and exciting part of his journey, they succeeded in reaching Manchuria and safety.

This is a bare outline of the story but you will have to read it to get its many thrills. The book should give inspiration to all who are inclined to faint at life's obstacles. It is a record of what courage, persistence and will-power will do. The book is a literary classic, another Odyssey, and rivals in interest its ancient companion piece.



MR. CROSSWAITH

"CYCLES OF UNEMPLOYMENT," by Wm. A. Berridge, Ph.D. Published by the Pollak Foundation for Economic Research. Price \$1.25. Reviewed by Frank R. Crosswith.

Aside from war with its ghastly trail of wreckage, hate and suspicion, there is no greater curse in the world today, than the plague of unemployment; it dooms the modern working-class to periods of hardship, want and destitution in the midst of plenty. Therefore, any study which tends to throw some light upon this "sore-spot" of capitalistic society is indeed welcome; for, the sooner the workers understand the close relationship that exists between capitalism and unemployment, the sooner will they speed the day when private ownership in the socially necessary utilities of life will be tolerated no more.

"Cycles of Unemployment" is not a book that is calculated to show this relationship nor to hasten the birth of a new social order. It is a study mainly of a better and more reliable method of ascertaining the exact volume of unemployment at a given period; and, shows the relationship of cycles of unemployment to the business cycles.

The author arrives at his conclusion of the relation of cycles of unemployment to the business cycles, not by the usual method of delving into statistics of unemployment, but rather by gathering the far more reliable and more easily accessible statistics of employment, in a majority of industrial enterprises of several carefully selected states.

Arriving at the number of the employed in these establishments at a certain day of the month, say, the 15th, for the past two decades, which he divides into two periods—a pre-war 1903-1914, and a war and post-war—from 1914-1922, he furnishes a far more accurate comprehension of the significance of unemployment than any other method, which invariably arrives at only a "fairly accurate" estimate.

In support of his method of approach, the author cites the fact that, "When the President's Conference on unemployment met during the recent period of business depression, some agencies were reporting the number of unemployed as above 6 millions; others were insisting that the total number of unemployed was under 3 millions."

By a series of charts the author presents graphically the relation of unemployment cycles to the cycle of business, and their influence in turn upon production and wage-scales, thereby demonstrating the necessity for an accurate index of employment, not alone to the man of big business and the student of economics, but also, to the Sociologist, for, says he, "an equally important feature, shown indirectly by an unemployment index, is the cycle of Social welfare. Largely as a result of fluctuations in the economic prosperity of wage-earners, there are found to be pronounced cycles of suicide, crime, prostitution, pauperism, marriages, migration and other social problems."

The book contains 77 pages of interesting material and is divided into 7 chapters. It represents the conscientious, painstaking effort of a trained mind, thoroughly imbued with the desire to spread exact knowledge, and is calculated to better equip the employer of labor in the struggle for labor's productive energy.

"Cycles of Unemployment" was awarded the first prize in a contest conducted by the Pollak Foundation for Economic Research and is No. 4 of the series of Pollak publications.

Coming to us with such a testimonial, the book needs no further recommendation except to say that it should be read by all serious minded students of economics, and by others who desire to understand more of the world in which we live.

**THE NEXT EMANCIPATION.** By James Oneal. Published by the Emancipation Publishing Company, New York City. Price 15 cents. Reviewed by George S. Schuyler.

This slender pamphlet by the brilliant former editor of the *New York Call*, with its arresting cover and informative contents is far more of a contribution to a real understanding of the Negro-Caucasian problem in the United States than many more voluminous volumes the reviewer has been fated to wade through.

Out of every one thousand white people in the United States there is about one who thinks clearly on the complicated relations of the Euro-American and Afro-American on the land filched from the Amer-Indian. This goes for radicals, liberals, progressives, conservatives and reactionaries. James Oneal is one of the few Euro-Americans who has been able

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MR. SCHUYLER

"MONEY," by William Trufant Foster and Waddill Catchings, Published for the Pollak Foundation for Economic Research by Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston and New York. Price \$3.50. Reviewed by George S. Schuyler.

It is a rather hackneyed paradoxical assertion of economists that everybody handles money but hardly anyone knows anything about it. The average tome on the subject is as unsatisfying as a drink of synthetic gin to a fastidious prohibition agent or a hymn book to a hungry hobo. In my indefatigable search for knowledge I have wandered through numerous volumes of vacuity on this subject; many of them as deadening on the cerebral functions as Kelly Miller's weakly editorials, Marcus Garvey's "Philosophy and Opinions," or the uplift musing of Fred R. Moore. I have even been courageous enough to struggle through the balderdash and who-struck-John of the financial journals published for the mis-information of bankers, brokers and other confidence men—but to slight avail. In deference to my radical beliefs and affiliations I have hunched my shoulders and strained my eyesight for countless hours over "Das Kapital" and other terrifying productions of Karl Marx and his less brilliant satellites; only to withdraw in bewilderment. With the enthusiasm of a theological student chasing after one of the cuties of "Shuffle Along," I have debated and lectured on this subject with the English-speaking members of radical organizations. I have heaved many a sigh of heartfelt sympathy over the juvenile effusions of Henry Ford and Thomas Edison—to say nothing of the psychopathic rantings of the money abolitionists. Yet, not until I had finished reading the volume under discussion, did I feel that I had the low-down on money.

The fact that this book is written by an ex-college president and a director in numerous capitalistic enterprises, may prejudice disciples of Kropotkin, Zinoviev, Engels, and Bill Haywood against it. But should they lay aside their prejudices for a while and calmly pore through this excellently reasoned work, the effect will, I am still naive enough to believe, be most salutary. Although this is not much of a compliment, I find the book more readable than Marx's "Critique of Political Economy"—certainly more interesting. Because the eccentricities of money affect us all, the book will prove as instructive and satisfactory to those who are but a few paces in lead of the wolf, as it will be to the folk who are burdened with a plethora of *dinero* and tremble at their breakfast tables over the bolshevik column of the *New York Times* and similar day-lies.

The typical revolutionist, professional or emotional, will find little solace or inspiration in the authors' prefatory statement that: "To offer another panacea for social ills is not our purpose." The 368 pages are refreshingly free from cure-alls and elaborate plans for ushering in the millennium with the mass singing of the *Internationale* or the shooting of fat tradesmen. An excellent feature is the grouping of all footnotes in the appendix "where," as the authors inform us, "they can be found easily enough by any one who wants them." The text is illustrated with fifteen charts, the most elaborate of them showing the circuit flow of money. Thirty pages of footnotes mark the authors as omnivorous readers on the subject with which they deal so competently. Only the individual who has painfully wandered through the average paper or book on this subject can appreciate the fortitude and dogged courage one must possess to peruse enough of them to make such a formidable appendix.

Money abolitionists, Ford-Edison fans and other morons will gnash their teeth when they find that the two authors have cruelly knocked the props from under their pet theories and arguments. The writers show very conclusively that there is no more chance of our complicated mechanized society functioning without money than a German picnic without beer. The old days of primitive barter, or direct exchange, are gone forever, along with legalized polygamy and unadulterated whiskey. While money is absolutely necessary to the production and exchange of the necessities of life, they show very clearly that it also obstructs this production and exchange; causing alternate inflation and deflation with attendant social maladjustments. It seems we have but to control money in all its functions and the greatest problem of modern life is solved.

With rare logic they attack and lay most of the bewhiskered monetary and economic generalizations so dear to newspaper

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## THEATRE

### Speaking of Shows

By THEOPHILUS LEWIS

Since the last issue of this great conservative magazine nothing significant has appeared at any of the Harlem theatres except "PA WILLIAMS' GAL", the offering of the *Lafayette* for the week of September 10th.

"PA WILLIAMS' GAL" is a rather dull comedy by F. H. Wilson and John J. Co-incidence. The latter co-author is not mentioned on the program, but that, I suppose, is due to an oversight. That the play is the result of collaboration is quite obvious from the middle of the first act until the final curtain fall. I even hazard the guess that the unmentioned partner invented the entire plot while Mr. Wilson merely made up the dialogue and furnished the play with its basic theme and climax.



Mr. Lewis

The dialogue is very good. Very naïve people will consider the story good also. It is just one more elaboration of the theory that in matters leading up to matrimony a young girl's heart can be relied on to yield up sager counsel than an old man's head. For a climax Mr. Wilson presents the sensational spectacle of the old man getting mad as hell when his daughter disobeys him.

Obviously a play of this calibre can be prevented from sliding off into sheer banality by nothing save grade A acting. That is just the kind of acting it receives at the hands of Richard B. Harrison, Dolores Haskins, H. Lawrence Freeman, Morris McKenny and Rosalie McClendon. They not only lift the play up out of the slough of dullness but also make it highly entertaining.

Mr. Harrison, as Pa Williams, gives an almost flawless performance, excepting two or three moments of exaggeration when he pays his respects to God. As Jim Braxton, Morris McKenny is simply great. His is a part that can easily be overdone; but not once does Mr. McKenny give in to the temptation to become theatrical. From his first line until his last bit of business he remains the amiable roughneck his part calls for and nothing more. Miss Haskins gives good account of herself as the willful daughter; and Mr. Freeman, as Grant, and Miss McClendon, as Hattie Davis, are quite convincing as interfering friends of the family.

The others of the cast are just ordinary or not so good. Mr. Wilson, who plays the part of the lad with the heart of gold, appears to suffer from stage fright, and Marie Young seems to be in doubt whether she is portraying a character that is just fidgety or afflicted with St. Vitus' dance.

Here's hoping that the theme of Mr. Wilson's next play will be as good as the dialogue of this one.

### Scepticism and Animal Faith

(Continued from page 843)

he will still begin at the beginning of something and perhaps as much at the beginning of something as he could possibly begin." In other words there is no such thing as beginning, either in matter or in spirit, things material or things immaterial.

The author's wide familiarity with the various forms of belief as held by the schools of philosophy amply fits him to give an opinion that is entitled to respect. This volume is a result of the reflections of a man who has something to say and who knows how to say it—*He knows his subject.*

The book with its 27 chapters covers about 320 pages, touching the whole realm of metaphysical philosophy from doubt and scepticism to actual faith, the faith that makes belief possible.

Here are a few of the topics discussed: No First Principle of Criticism, Dogma and Doubt, Doubt about Self Consciousness, Ultimate Criticism, Nothing Given Exists, Discovery of Essence, The Water-Shed of Criticism, Essence and Intuition, Belief in Experience, Belief in the Self, Belief in Substance,

The Cognitive Claims of Memory, Knowledge is Faith Mediated by Symbols, Belief in Nature, Literary Psychology, Discernment of Spirit, etc.

Transcendentalism as promulgated by Emmanuel Kant and his followers finds no favor with our author who declares that Kant was thought a sceptic in his day but his scepticism was very impure and his criticism, though laborious, was very uncritical.

He speaks also in a very condemnatory way of Empirical Criticism. Idealism as taught by Hume and Berkley is objected to. Socrates, Plato and Aristotle all come in for a share of criticism. Among the few that get the author's "Well done" is Descartes.

The author has a pleasing and attractive style. His language is clear, concise, forcible and convincing. He is indeed a master of English.

Dr. Santayana has written many notable books, all of which have attracted wide and favorable mention and have placed the author in the fore front of the deep thinkers of our times. The press has been unanimous in his praise.

*The Boston Transcript* says that he is really a great psychologist. His illustrations are always illuminating. Every thing he touches upon is laid bare in its essential characteristics.

*The Nation* says, "Literature as well as philosophy is the richer by his work. There can be no more doubt that the philosophy is profound than that the literature is beautiful." Such encomiums, were all collected, would fill a volume.

Born in Spain, educated at Harvard University, and for some time a lecturer at the Sorbonne, a student, a scholar, a man of wide research and investigation Dr. George Santayana stands almost quite alone and in a class quite by himself.

"Scepticism and Animal Faith" is a fitting climax to the many excellent books that have come from his pen.

### The Great Adventure

Down thro' the open windows of my soul

Pours the changing glory of a Setting Sun,

And rays, all crimson, gold and violet,

Play with Aeolian sweetness across Life's Memories,

Commingle, blending into Haunting Melodies

Of the Hours that I have known

In this Life's passing Day.

And, after crimson, gold and violet

Give place to Twilight, soft and soothing Twilight,

Lo, to my waiting soul

Comes down the calm of Night,

The closing of the Day,

The promised Hour of Rest.

And then? behold! 'tis Morn!

Freshness and fragrance everywhere!

Out of the open windows of my soul, I gaze

Upon the glistening Dew-drops of Assurance,

Foretelling the endlessness of immortality.

Around me and beyond, are fairest fields

Of rich Fulfillment,

Above, plane after plane of rare Attainment.

My dreams have ripened into blest Realities,

Here in the long-looked-for Realm

Of Life Supreme.

OLIVIA WARD BUSH-BANKS.

### The Next Emancipation

(Continued from page 845)

to sweep most, if not all, of the cobwebs of race bias out of his mind with the broom of new thought. For this he is to be highly commended, as most of the ruddy-skinned folk who trot around with labels "radical," "liberal," "christian," etc., sewed on their backs, perform some very humorous mental gymnastics when the "race question" is brought up. We judge this by their actions and not by their words.

Mr. Oneal opens his little pamphlet with a brief summary of the inherent desires of all human beings. Then he informs us that both Europeans and Africans were kidnapped, transported to America and sold into slavery; that that slavery was upheld by all the forces of "law 'n order" for 250 years, and was even written into the Constitution of the United States, with no dissenting voice from the sacred ranks of the "founding fathers." The servitude of the European was known as "indentured service," while that of the Africans was known as chattel slavery. Mere terms, however, meant nothing to the exploited slaves and "servants." Both were robbed unmercifully by the Pilgrim "fathers" and Virginia "Cavaliers." Both were considered as slaves by the "revolutionary fathers," who became so wroth because the British "oppressors" put a tax on tea, thus killing the smuggling business—the bootlegging of Colonial America. By showing that both Negroes and Caucasians owned slaves, male and female, the writer arrives at the conclusion that "The Negro question is not exclusively a color question." It would be well to state here, however, that a majority of the slaves held by Negroes were relatives whom they had bought from their former masters, whose life was more secure in the slave status than in the "free" status, since a slave possessed property value while a "free" man did not, and the ever-solicitous law protected property.

As the social student would naturally expect, the clergy are shown to have blessed the institution of slavery, and even owned and justified others owning them. In another masterly work, written some time ago, "The Workers in American History," Oneal shows how the laws were so drawn in certain Christian communities of early America, that both European and African slave women who had children by their masters had to be sold to someone else and the proceeds of the sale turned over to the church. As the author says, "Neither religion nor color drew a line between mastery and slavery."

The pamphlet further informs us that the economic antagonism between the sections of chattel slavery and wage slavery was the cause of the Civil War, the Southern cavaliers desiring more territory for the extension of chattel slavery and the Northern bourgeoisie wanting more territory for the extension of wage slavery. Lincoln is shown in his true light as a typical political compromiser and bargainer, ready to leave the Afro-American in bondage if the South would stay in the Union. The writer also shows us that Brother Harding, the apostle of "normalcy" (whatever that is!) assumed practically the same attitude at Birmingham when he informed the hereditary black Republicans that "this is not a question of social equality, but a question of recognizing a fundamental, eternal and inescapable difference," and quoted Lothrop Stoddard, the rag-time anthropologist, to bolster up his argument. Throughout the country where the sable brethren have had entree to the voting booths, there has since been a decided shift from the frying pan of the Republican party to the fire of the Democratic.

The much-celebrated Constitutional Amendments "freeing" the Afro-American, merely changed him from a chattel slave to a wage slave, and relieved his master of the responsibility of looking out for his physical welfare. The owning class of the South have gradually come around to see the value of this Yankee contribution to the art of fleecing, hence the trend toward the Republican party and the trend of the Republican party away from the pretense of being "friends" to the Negro. As the author puts it, "As the Southern masters invest their money in industry and share profits with Northern capitalists, the capitalists of both sections reach a better understanding. They are also coming to contract a political alliance through the Republican party by a common agreement to exclude the Negro from elections." The reviewer might add that there are faint signs here and there of evidences of understanding between the "best" people of both races in the South and the North as their common interests become apparent to the far-seeing.

The writer's conclusion is that if both the Euro-American and Afro-American wage slaves do not bury the hatchet over the mythical color question (I say mythical because a large number of the "black" workers are as "white" as the Caucasian slaves), and effect a rapprochement, economic and political, they will be thrust under the heel of a more ruthless oppression and exploitation than they labor under at present, or did in the days of chattel slavery and "indentured" service. This combination of the two groups of workers, now snarling over the question of whether they are to marry each others sisters, is absolutely necessary if the Next Emancipation from

the chains of wage slavery is to be effected and the workers become the owners of the means of producing the food, shelter and clothing necessary to the maintenance of human life. The writer urges the Afro-American to march to victory under the banner of the Socialist Party. The reviewer is in perfect agreement with the writer on that point, as he is on the question of the infantile paralysis of Garveyism.

On some points, however, there is a difference of opinion. He assumes that it makes no difference to the Afro-American whether he is robbed by a "white" capitalist or by a "colored" capitalist. But the reviewer claims that it makes a lot of difference in the mind of the Afro-American wage slave. "White" capitalists and workers, radical and liberal, have a bias against persons of a different color or language, especially in the United "Hates," that is almost puncture-proof, and they only unite through economic pressure, as is evidenced by the above-mentioned rapprochement of "white" and "colored" bourgeoisie and the plea for the same harmony of action for the same reasons among the two groups of workers. At present and for a long time to come the Afro-American worker and capitalist will be forced to associate on terms of equality in theatre, church, lodge, etc., because of the Euro-American color-psychosis. The rapprochement between the two groups of exploiters is still in the timid, infant state, and the progress so far has been hardly noticeable to the wide masses. The surplus value filched by the Afro-American from his dusky employee remains within the group. The "colored" bourgeois (doubtless against his will) is forced to associate to a larger extent with his "inferiors" than is the case among the "whites." This is not true in the case of the Euro-American bourgeois who appropriates the surplus value created by the "black" worker and goes to live on Riverside Drive and spends his evenings on Broadway among his fellow bandits. The pamphlet is easily worth ten times its price to the "colored" wage slave. The Afro-American worker who finds himself or herself unsuccessfully struggling to meet the exactions of landlord, credit clothier and pawn broker on a mere pittance, even lower than that received by his fellow worker of lighter hue, generally for longer hours, should spend the price of admission to a cheap movie theatre for this eye opener. In closing, the reviewer would suggest that two hundred more of a similar nature be written for the education of the "white" workers who need it far more than the Negroes.

## Money

(Continued from page 845)

columnists and members of the Civic Federation. It seems to me that any one interested in the "why" of unemployment, unstable money, fluctuating price levels, inflation and deflation would do well to read this book carefully. Especially do Negro business men need to learn more about this important subject that is stumping the "best" minds, for, at present, most of them know less about it than a politician does about honesty, or a clergyman about truth.

Ultra-radical readers will probably be electrified when they hear that it is possible to control and eventually eliminate the periodic waves of unemployment without recruiting a Cheka, hanging the members of the Union League Club, or banishing the Bible, Talmud and Koran to make way for the "Communist Manifesto." Unemployment, we are informed, is not caused solely because of capitalistic appropriation of the surplus over and above the wage of the employee, thus making it impossible for the latter as consumer to buy back what he has produced, but by reason of interruptions in the circuit flow of money and constant changes in the circuit time of money from consumer back to consumer. They contend that the money filched from Henry Dubb by Grab-It-All is reinvested in new industries which are necessary to increased production. But they say nothing of the huge sums invested in our colonies and other "backward" countries where labor is dirt cheap in comparison to wages in the United "Hates." Isn't it possible that the removal of these vast sums, together with the huge rake-offs from speculation and importation of luxuries and cheap foreign commodities sold at exorbitant prices above their value, may be the cause of these interruptions, to say nothing of the waste of advertising, inefficiency incident to industrial anarchy and labor struggles? Under a co-operative commonwealth these evils would be progressively eliminated. Most of them are gradually being toned down as the inexorable laws of industrial evolution bring nearer the birth of State Capitalism—the mother of Socialism.

Speaking of the 1918-21 period of inflation and deflation, they say "the major causes of the expansion and contraction were monetary and subject to human control in a far greater degree than has been hitherto deemed possible," and again, "how to keep our machinery moving at a maximum productivity and the products moving into consumption at the same rate—is *the economic problem*. The problem can be solved. There is no evidence that the alternation of prosperity and gloom is due, like the procession of the seasons, mainly to natural causes over which man has no control. Neither is it possible to discover any major influences, inherent in human nature or in *the nature of business* (italics mine) that cannot be sufficiently moderated by human insight and decision. The chief factors in business fluctuations, as we have shown, can be measured with a high degree of precision and are much more amenable to human control than has seemed possible in the past. Dominant among these factors is money." If *the nature of business* as it is has caused existing conditions, then surely this nature must be changed if conditions are to change. The standardization of parts, commodities, sizes; the Federal Reserve Banking System; the Interstate Commerce Commission, the growing control of business activities by regulations, laws and agreements; the continual concentration of control of industry into the hands of a very small minority of the population, are bringing about changes in the nature of business right under our eyes. The authors' suggestions would bring State Capitalism in the United States, if put into effect.

They deal the purveyors of optimism as a remedy for sick business a heavy blow when stating: "The sunshine cure for business anaemia overlooks the function of the buyer in business and the only conditions under which he can continue to buy. Artificial respiration cannot keep the patient alive indefinitely." Adherents of the Rochdale co-operative idea will be pleased with the chapter on "Money and Prices" where we are informed that: "The introduction of money and banks, followed by the development of large-scale selling agencies and telegraphic connections among the markets of the world, has put the buyer in a new position. Because of the three choices which go with his money—as to time and place of spending and as to goods—the buyer ordinarily has the advantage of position." This, however, is not true of the average individual buyer who must immediately spend his money in the neighborhood. While he may discriminate between various tradesmen, he cannot withhold his money very long. Collectively, though, the buyers can do much. A co-operative society can purchase the things the members need over a wide territory, when and where prices are fairly reasonable. Again they say: "Thus the people themselves decide, through innumerable choices made daily on the basis of wages and prices, how much a country ought to produce, provided—and this is a proviso of such importance that we shall make it the central theme of the rest of the book—*provided enough money flows into consumers' hands to enable them to buy, at the current price-level, the commodities that are produced.*" (Italics mine.) It is precisely the necessity of the consumers having sufficient money to buy back what they have produced that the Socialists have been stressing from the tops of naphtha soap boxes for the last eighty years as the solution of the periodic paradox of unemployment, failures, etc., amid a plethora of goods and money.

Another equally interesting chapter is, "Money in Production," where we are warned that: "it is futile to expect permanently to lift the standard of living of wage-earners as a whole by lifting the general level of wages." Would the gentlemen contend that the standard of living of the workers in the United States has been *lowered* in the last fifty years? Again they say: "It matters not what a man's social theories may be. He finds no compensation for his loss in the thought that his property has been appropriated in the professed interests of the proletariat. What he has saved has gone: he will save no more." I might add that most of the wage slaves of my acquaintance are living from hand to mouth (though many of them pretend to be well off) and haven't much of anything to lose. What little they have is largely being bought on credit. Because the Bolsheviks seized the bank deposits in Russia, is no evidence that a labor government would seize them in America. Then, too, the Bolsheviks have given the peasants the land which is certainly some compensation.

Folks who want to get ammunition to fight the nonsense of Ford and Edison should read the excellent chapter on "Money and the Gold Basis." The entire book is instructive and it is difficult to pick out the best chapters. Their sug-

gestions are: more study and more control by applying the knowledge already gained. My friends will breathe easier when I say that upon closing the book I still decided to keep my red card of Socialism, espouse the organization of all working people into strong industrial unions, and work diligently for consumers' co-operation. Hence, I am still a respectable radical, even if I was born in the United States.

## OPEN FORUM

### Science and Religion

By KELLY MILLER, JR.

At present there is considerable discussion on "Evolution and Creation." There has always been what may be deemed a conflict between science and religion.

Science is the accumulated and accepted knowledge systematized and formulated with reference to the discovery of general truths or the operation of general laws. Religion deals with faith, worship and belief. Science deals with the study of the material world and the transformation of energy from which may be deduced mechanical, thermal, electrical and chemical phenomena. In the teaching of science every phenomena or law is a logical sequence from the inductive and deductive reasoning of accumulated data. In the Christian religion the priests, ministers or preachers as the case may be, get hold of the child and confront it with all of the end products of the philosophy of the childhood of the world. God and the soul, heaven and hell, angels, spirits, the mysteries of the Trinity, Resurrection and what not, almost before it can walk. Philosophies are the epitomized expressions of the understanding of the age in which they originated and are not suited as stepping stones from which a totally immature or uneducated mind can leap to the inheritance of ages. It leaps rather into chaos and absurdity, and philosophies are apt to convey meanings as remote from the original idea as the conception of energy or force is from that of the Deity.

From early times man has been trying to transform energy and has boasted and glorified in his physical strength. He takes pride in this force as the ultimate arbiter. Christianity since the time of Christ has inculcated the opposite creed and is largely used by civilized nations as the ostensible principle of their internal private relationships, but it has never been adopted by any nation in its international relationships. The principle of force as ultimate arbiter in international quarrels has remained unchallenged, and from this standpoint Christianity is an absolute failure. Science has multiplied man's powers many fold, and increased his capacity both of construction and destruction. Religion surely has not decreased his powers for destruction and doubtless has aided him much in his powers of construction. So, in this respect, as in others, they still are vastly different, and if religion is to be an effective agency in the future it must be adapted to suit the conditions of the time.

Philosophies, codes, political systems and religions must follow the lead of science and range themselves in alliance with rather than in defiance of these fundamentals, or like a machine designed in ignorance of the principles of mechanics, they constitute themselves a danger to the community.



## IN THE SMOKER

The blue smoke rose in lazy circles above his well-formed head and joined the haze at the top of the smoking car. He was a tall, well-built Negro with very intelligent eyes and a cultured bearing. He might have been a doctor or a professor. He reclined like a monarch at ease in the red plush seat of the swiftly moving, gently swaying car. He made a fascinating picture and I became so engrossed in the study of his features that I forgot the magazine I had been reading, and it slipped to the floor with a loud thud. He turned at the sound and caught me staring at him. I glanced down in confusion, recovered the periodical and feigned an added interest in its contents.

"Pardon me, is that a Negro magazine?" I looked up with something of a start. He was turned toward me with a friendly smile, revealing his pearly, well-set teeth. He was looking at the cover of my MESSENGER.

"Yes," I replied, "I consider it the foremost one."

"It's strange I have never seen it before," he mused. "How long has it been published?"

"Oh, about seven years, I guess," glad to get anyone interested in my favorite periodical. "You may glance over it if you desire, I've gone through it already. I was just re-reading that article by William Pickens."

"Thank you," he beamed, "I always enjoy the race periodicals, and from what I see announced on the cover of this one it promises to be rather interesting." He took the proffered magazine and returned to his seat across the aisle.

"Dinner is being served!" The voice of the white-coated waiter aroused me from my reverie. It was nearly dark and the light from the brilliantly illuminated cars raced along the fences and ditches beside the track. In the dining car I glanced around for my acquaintance of the afternoon. I did not see him. Dinner completed, I returned to the smoker to enjoy my cigar. He was sitting in the same position I had seen him two hours before, the cold cigar resting on the window sill. "Did you find anything of interest in THE MESSENGER?" I queried, stopping by his seat. He looked up with sparkling eyes.

"Say!" he burst out enthusiastically, "This is the

Negro magazine I have been looking for for years. All of the others seem puny beside it. Why, I know of not a single paper or magazine published by Negroes that approaches it. Indeed, it is on a par with the best publications of the white people. This one copy is an education for anyone. I don't understand why father never sent me THE MESSENGER. You see, I have been in Brazil for the last nine or ten years and my father sends me a number of the Negro papers and magazines. But I have never read one Negro publication with such a thorough understanding and lucid presentation of the various problems confronting the race and the world. It ought to have the circulation of the *Saturday Evening Post*; certainly it is far more valuable. Why I cannot imagine a Negro school or college being without it, to say nothing of the libraries. The editorials of those fellows Owen and Randolph are alone worth the price of the magazine. A monthly message like this in every home, black and white, in America would work marvels in bettering race relations." He paused as if rather ashamed of his enthusiasm, then asked, "How long have you been reading THE MESSENGER?"

"Oh, Lord, I've been reading THE MESSENGER ever since it first appeared," I replied, glad to have made another MESSENGER fan. "It created a sensation when it was first published, and today, any Negro of intelligence who doesn't read THE MESSENGER is not keeping abreast of current Negro thought. The magazine has undoubtedly the finest staff of Negro editors and contributors in America. That fellow Bagnall was a find. Why his article 'The Three False Gods of Civilization' was the best of its kind I ever read. The striking thing about THE MESSENGER is its wide range of readers. I have found stevedores and porters, as well as teachers and doctors, as enthusiastic over its contents as you are. It's great stuff all right!"

"You bet," he assented, "I think I'll send in my subscription when I get to Chicago. I couldn't afford to be without a single copy after this."

"That's what everybody says," I replied. "Once they read a copy they immediately join the MESSENGER Army. Whenever I go into a black or white American's home and see THE MESSENGER, I know I am among intelligent, thinking people, before a word is spoken."

"Well," he said, as he settled down and opened THE MESSENGER again, "you can't blame them for reading a magazine like this if they want the best!"

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