

LITTLE BLUE BOOK NO.

Edited by E. Haldeman-Julius

650

K K K

**The Creed of the
Klansmen**

A Symposium by
E. Haldeman-Julius
and Others

LITTLE BLUE BOOK NO. **650**
Edited by E. Haldeman-Julius

K K K

The Creed of the Klansmen

A Symposium by
E. Haldeman-Julius
and Others

HALDEMAN-JULIUS COMPANY
GIRARD, KANSAS

Copyright,
Haldeman-Julius Company.

PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

THE SWEEP OF BIGOTRY.

E. HALDEMAN-JULIUS.

Never in American history has anything been known to even compare with the present black wave of bigotry and reaction, personified so completely by the Ku Klux Klan. This viper has already completely captured Texas, Oklahoma, Arkansas and Indiana; the beast is reaching out for other states. The ignorance of the masses makes it almost easy for the power of religious hatred to "sell" the idea of dissension and lawlessness. Cunning "salesmen" are spreading the poison, and it is taking hold. How far it will go, how long it will rage, no one can say. Bigotry will grow just so long as there is man's mass ignorance to heed these hoodlums, and as there is a vast amount of it one shudders at the prospect. Even should it die out suddenly, the lesson should not be lost—as long as there is social credulity so long is there a standing menace to peace and security. Great mass hatreds can be prevented only by the creation of public cultural standards and their gradual elevation. America—culturally at the bottom of the scale—is seething with medieval frenzy; England—culturally our superior in every way—is far beyond such demonstrations of barbarism. The viper does not take hold over there because the proportion of thinking people is great enough to influence the nation for tolerance and understanding. England has its reading, thinking people and is getting its reward. It may take a long time, but we too must develop a reading, thinking, truth-seeking tolerant element large enough to be of genuine influence. Then, and only then, will we be free from Ku Klux Klanism and other expressions of bigotry.

THE RISE OF THE KU KLUX KLAN.

W. P. BEAZELL.

Three distinct periods have already marked the rise of the Ku Klux Klan—the legendary, the commercial and the political. This is not the least interesting aspect of the strange story. Few social phenomena, even among so adventurous a people as those of the United States, have swung across so wide an arc in so brief a period, for it is important in any consideration of the Ku Klux Klan always to bear in mind that it is only eight years since it came into existence.

The legendary period exists not at all because there is mystery or uncertainty regarding the origin of the order; legend, on the contrary, was the deliberate choice of its founders.

Chief among these was William Joseph Simmons. He had been a teacher of history in Lanier University, Atlanta, which may account for the extent to which he drew on the past in working out his plan. He had been an organizer for the Woodmen of the World, which undoubtedly accounts for his decision to give his project the form of a fraternal organization. It was as a Woodman, by the way, that he gained his title of "Colonel." Always he has been not quite a dreamer but certainly a proposer rather than a doer. It is not unfair to him to suggest, in addition, that in his proposings he has consistently dramatized himself and his actions.

The first thought of the Ku Klux Klan came to Simmons as a "vision," and came to him as the "chosen one" of his generation. In "vigils" like those of the age of chivalry he nursed and nurtured his idea, and when he was ready to bare it to other eyes than his own it lacked no possible trapping of theatric romance. Sufficient evidence of this may be found in what he himself wrote in the official handbook, "The A B C of the Invisible Empire":

"This great institution is no hastily 'jumped up' affair. It has been in the making for the past twenty years. The one man, William Joseph Simmons, who is responsible for it, conceived the idea twenty years ago. For fourteen years he thought, studied and worked to prepare himself for its launching. He had dedicated his life to this noble cause. He kept his own counsel during those years, and in the silent recesses of his soul he thought out the great plan. During the early days of October, 1915, he mentioned his ambition to some friends, among whom were three bona fide members of the original Klan when it disbanded. Having met with encouragement, he invited several of his friends to a meeting on the night of October 26, 1915, and . . . all present, thirty-four in number, signed a petition for a charter . . ."

This is legend in its purest form, but there is more legend in the story that follows of the first meeting atop Stone Mountain, not far from Atlanta, Ga., where the founder-historian pictures the white-robed figures braving, as they gathered about a fiery cross, biting winds and

frost-laden air that a prosaic Weather Bureau holds no record of.

There is legend again as the founder-historian goes on to declare that the Klan's is "the Most Sublime Lineage in History, Commemorating and Perpetuating, as it does, the Most Dauntless Organization Known to Man"; its secret is "Sacred Guardianship of the Most Sacred Cause"; its courage is "The Soul of Chivalry and Virtue's Impenetrable Shield, the Impulse of an Unconquered Race"; its "Teachings Inculcate the Sacred Principles and Noble Ideals of the World's Greatest Order of Chivalry, and Direct the Way of the Initiate Through the Veil of Mystic Philosophy into the Empire Invisible."

All that Simmons writes is in this vein of fantasy, which yields its richest ore in the subscription of his "decrees" as "Emperor and Imperial Wizard." Here is one of them:

"Done in the Aulic of His Majesty, the Imperial Wizard, Emperor of the Invisible Empire, in the Imperial Palace, in the Imperial City of Atlanta, Commonwealth of Georgia, United States of America, this, the First Day of the Fourth Moon of the Year of Our Lord, Nineteen Hundred and Eighteen, and on the Deadly Day of the Windy Week of the Appalling Month of the Year of the Klan LII, and in the Third Cycle of the Third Reign of our Reincarnation.

"Officially uttered, inscribed, signed, sealed, communicated and committed to you in the Sacred Unfailing Bond.

"William Joseph Simmons,
"Imperial Wizard."

Much of this was, of course, a direct crib from the original Ku Klux Klan, and constitutes about the only link between them. The original Klan was organized in 1866, when the outraged South was seeking its first way of combatting the possible dangers of the newly enfranchised Negro and the indubitably actual dangers of the carpet-bagger. In form, if not in purpose, this Klan had had a foundation of legend. The first intention had been to make its name Kukloi, from Kuklos, the Greek for circle, but one of the unlettered called out, "Make it Kuklux," and Kuklux (sic) it became. Then another cried, "It sounds like the Lost Clan of Cocletz," a once popular secret society of Tennessee, and so "Klan" came into the name.

Not much more was taken from the original Klan except its regalia and its Wizards, Cyclops, Dragons, Titans, Hydras, Night Hawks and Furies—all names to carry terror to the superstitious Negro who had not been already cowed by the robed and hooded horsemen who performed the "work" of the Klan. But to these Founder Simmons added a touch of his own. He needed other officers in his organization, and for each of them he devised a name beginning with "Kl."

Within the lodge there are the Klaliff (properly KlAliff) or vice-president; Klokard, or lecturer; Kludd, or chaplain; Kligrapp, or secretary; Klabee, or treasurer; Kladd, or conductor; Klarogo, or inner guard; Klexter, or outer guard, and Klokan, or investigator. These functioned at Klonvocations, or meetings, which

were held in Klaverns and at which the ritual followed was taken from a Kloran. The higher body of the Klan he denominated the Klou-cillum.

It is in these officers and their entitlements that the Klan comes closest to the fraternity as it has been developed and perfected in the United States, and as Simmons knew it in the Woodmen of the World. Having made his second crib, his mechanism was complete and the paramount question became one of product. With this question came the commercial period of the Klan.

THE KLAN'S COMMERCIAL PERIOD.

As Simmons devised it the Klan stood for anything—or nothing. "One hundred per cent Americanism" is a doctrine as old, almost, as America. To demand "no foreign allegiance" is to demand the same thing in other words. "White supremacy," even "Nordic supremacy," is a pure abstraction. There is nothing else to the Klan than these; all the rest is interpretation and application. They may mean anything, or nothing, just as you please.

Under Simmons alone they meant nothing, so far as growth of the Klan was concerned. There was, of course, the coincidence of the war, when no venture of this sort could hope to make headway against the tide of the National emergency. But the war passed and the Klan remained as local, and unimportant, as a sewing circle. Then came Edward Young Clarke.

Clarke was a newspaperman until the war

revealed to him the extraordinary opportunities open to "drive" promoters. He met with no small success on behalf of the Salvation Army and the United War Work Funds. He turned his hand to smaller, more local undertakings, and early in 1920 had established himself as the Southern Publicity Association, in partnership with Mrs. Elizabeth Tyler, who was later to figure extensively in the affairs of the Klan.

In a dull season Clarke's attention was brought to the Klan, which had for four years been languishing in the hands of Simmons. With real acumen Clarke saw its possibilities. He procured from Simmons what amounted to an option upon it. He was made Imperial Kleagle (again the "Kl") and was appointed head of the propagation department. From that moment the Klan became a thoroughly commercialized project.

Literally a small army of salesmen was put into the field. Over each State—and within a year work was going ahead systematically in forty States—was a King Kleagle, or sales manager. Under these were as many Kleagles, or traveling salesmen, as conditions justified. Each member enrolled paid \$10, of which the Kleagle got \$4 and the King Kleagle \$1. The remaining \$5 was sent to the Imperial Treasury, which meant Clarke. He bore, or at least provided for, all expenses, even to the salary of the Imperial Wizard. A net of \$2 went to him personally, and the records show that in the first sixteen months of his regime he got \$170,252 as his share of the fees from 85,126 members.

Within the month (February, 1924) Simmons

has sold all his "right and title" to the Klan for approximately \$150,000—a commutation of his \$1,000 a month salary based on his expectancy of life.

Nothing more simple and effective than Clarke's sales scheme has ever been devised. Briefly it was this:

Most of the salesmen were recently demobilized soldiers, a majority of them officers, either out of employment or inclined toward something that promised novelty, if not excitement. Among these preference was given to those who were Masons, Knights of Pythias, or members of one or more of the so-called "patriotic" orders. Still another group was made up of former organizers of the Anti-Saloon League.

Usually in a town or a small city, the salesman would establish contact with a "brother" and through him gain introduction to others. As soon as might be the salesman would commend himself to a clergyman, a Methodist or a Baptist for choice. To all he would descant upon the "One hundred per cent Americanism" of the Klan, with due and cautious playings upon the age-old fears and hatreds of the Jew and the Catholic.

That was what the Klan had to offer in those first days—an opportunity to indulge one's hate, whatever object it might have. It is what the Klan has to offer now, for the matter of that, but especially was it so then.

Do you hate, or even dislike, Catholics? Join the Klan!

Do you hate Jews? Join the Klan!

Do you hate aliens? Join the Klan!

Do you hate some neighbor? Join the Klan!

The salesmen were not so crude as to put it in this bald fashion. There has never been a time when all concerned have not protested that it is maliciously untrue so to construe the objects of the Klan. But boil it down and see what the residuum is. It is hatred, and hatred in the cowardly guise that finds expression only through a mask.

When a handful of members had been secured in any community the time was ready for the second step. This was the appearance in some church, preferably a struggling one, of a group of robed and hooded Klansmen, whose leader would give the pastor a purse of money, "in recognition of faithful service." It is hard to quarrel with charity in any guise, and the Klan never hit upon a better advertising device than this. And I say "advertising" advisedly.

With the impetus gained in this way it was rarely long before enough candidates were available for a public initiation. These were always heralded by sudden appearances at night of fiery crosses on conspicuous hilltops. On the night of the initiation not alone the local members but those from other places, even as remote as a day's travel, would gather until even the wiseacres of the neighborhood were astonished by their number. As a rule some one (occasionally two or three) newspapermen and a photographer were invited to be present, for here again the object was advertising.

With the third step the salesman was ready for his clean-up. He made it, saw that the local organization was perfected and then moved on

to another field, where the same process was gone through.

This same clever scheming marked every detail of the program. Emphasis was always shifted from the Negro, the original object of the Klan, because the Negro is not a "problem" outside the South, and it was in the North and West that Clarke sought, and gained, his greatest success. Often the "recognitions" were bestowed on Negro pastors. Where the traditional feeling against the Catholics was strongest it was "the menace of Rome" to which the emphasis was shifted. If the Jew offered the more popular target, there was where the emphasis went.

VIOLENCE AND POLITICS.

It is to be noted that these things characterized the sales, or organization, stage. It was not until after the local Klans came into control of their own affairs that violence put in its appearance. Then the Klan began to function as a censor of personal conduct, and to impose punishments as it saw fit. It was inevitable that from this position above and beyond the statutory law the Klan should move on to the political activity that is now engaging it.

The lawlessness of the Klan reached a peak during the summer of 1922. It was then, for instance, that the killings in Inglewood, Cal., and Mer Rouge, La., took place. It was during this same summer that the Klan elected Earle B. Mayfield United States Senator from Texas. It was shortly before this that the Klan had determined the result of a State election in

Oregon and had brought about legislation forbidding parochial schools, its first achievement of the sort.

The relation between these two activities is not to be dismissed as a mere coincidence. Soon we shall have in the official record of the Mayfield hearings in Washington proof upon proof that it is when public opinion has become cautious, if not cowed, because of Klan violence that the Klan sets about its political undertakings.

We are in the midst, just now, of the political period of the Klan. It was because of this that Simmons was supplanted as Imperial Wizard by Dr. Hiram Wesley Evans, of Texas. It is part of its political purpose that Evans should travel and make public addresses to an extent that neither Simmons nor any of his associates ever contemplated. This purpose has been carried far enough to justify the declaration that the Klan may well prove a really important factor in the approaching Presidential election.

There is no use blinking this fact. The Klan dominates Texas; it dominates Oklahoma; it is powerful in Kansas and Missouri; it is powerful in Illinois. It is powerful in Ohio; it is powerful in Western and Eastern Pennsylvania, although not in the Central section. Its membership in New Jersey is greater in proportion to the population than in any other States, perhaps. It is negligible in New York, but strong in Connecticut.

Here is a Ku Klux Klan belt that binds an actual majority of all the people of the United States. Through this territory every endeavor

has been bent toward political power, and *usable* political power. It is a situation that is worthy of the consideration of every sincerely devoted citizen. The Klan today numbers no more than 1,800,000 members, but they are shock troops—make no mistake about it.

GEORGE DU BERRY WASHINGTON

(Colored Preacher)

Too many authors, like Roy Cohen and Wiley, who make their living by abusing and ridiculing the colored race, care little or nothing about understanding the black man's burden. In the enclosed poem I have tried to catch a bit of the pathos and the bitterness of the race. The character is a true being, a graduate of a Negro college, who speaks a better English than many of the white folks, but who, due to an accident, lost his sight and has become a beggar.

The thoughts of a blind man are colors, and the dreams of a blind man are colors talking to silence or breaking to music according to the number of pink-pinks of copper pennies singing hosannas against the agate of a beggar's cup.

Some days are the sea-battered gray of rocks, tipped off with a sky-rocket green of nickles and hopes that the next will be a dollar and "God bless you."

Some nights are the liquid-red on velvet of a high yeller's love croon blending to the melody of dimes and quarters, and "we'll save our money and not have any babies the first year so we can move North."

And again some nights are the wound-red of The Savior, and the silence is that of burned torsos slamming against charred pines, and the songs of the wind are as empty as an old woman's arms, as blank as a blind beggar's eyes remembering many, many things.

The thoughts of a blind beggar are colors joining the chime of small coins to a symphony of tears.

—Albert A. Rosenthal.

SUBSTITUTES FOR BROTHERHOOD.

DEVERE ALLEN

The Klan, some people say, is but a mushroom growth. That may be true, for mushrooms seem to grow best in the dark. But mushrooms do not happen; they grow from spores or "spawn." Nor did the Klan, of course, just happen. Once it found a nurturing environment in the public state of mind, its growth was rank and rapid. What are the seeds from which it sprang?

There are doubtless many answers. One factor in its growth, however, is often overlooked: and that is the saturation of the United States with innumerable organizations, associations, societies, sects, fraternities and whatnots, which, in their use of ritual, their artificial loyalties, their exclusive and arbitrary homogeneity, are not so alien to the Klan as might at first thought be supposed.

Every part of the United States, from the largest cities to the smallest "four corners," is

touched by some sort of organization which, with customary euphemism, we call a "fraternity" or a "brotherhood." "Notwithstanding the century of extraordinary development in agriculture, commerce, manufactures, in the arts, in the dissemination of intelligence, in the machinery of finance, and in good government," says Albert C. Stevens, who, besides being an optimist, is an authority on fraternities, "interest in the older and better type of secret societies has grown with even greater rapidity, if one may judge from the increase in membership and prosperity."

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, there were five or six hundred members of the Tammany secret societies, a few scattered members of the Phi Beta Kappa in the colleges, and some three thousand Freemasons; and that was all. As the century came and went, it witnessed the development of over six hundred secret societies in the United States, of which over three hundred and fifty survived, embracing in their membership almost one-half the adult male population of the country, and gradually adding unto itself large numbers of women in separate and auxiliary movements. In the last quarter century this growth has on the whole kept up. There is, of course, some overlapping; but against this there is the fact that many small movements of this sort are entirely unreported.

Today, the sixty-five largest fraternal organizations have a total membership of nearly eighteen million, exclusive of college "frats" and sororities, professional fraternities, smaller organizations, a multitude, of non-secret one hundred percenters, and the Klan.

We are a nation of joiners. If you are not a Moose, a Stag, an Elk, an Eagle, an Owl, an Oriole, or some other specimen in the great national menagerie; a Yeoman, a Good Templar, a Mason, a Workman, a Forester, a Woodman, a Gleaner, a Mechanic, a Druid, a K. of C., an A. O. H., a B'nai B'rith, a Red Man, or a Veiled Prophet of the Enchanted Realm—you are, if one may say so, an Odd Fellow. Once in so often you march around your lodgeroom in the wake of the Grand Exalter of the Holy Mackerel and absorb a certain luster from his glittering insignia; as an adult you get the same thrill from the secret grip and password that you get from the gang which met after school in the Enchanted Haymow of the Sacred Neighborhood Barn; and by your periodic appearance *en masse*, wearing on the street your blue fez or gold, green and purple sash, you proclaim an esoteric knowledge beside which all other knowledge is of little worth.

It is not the purpose of this article to decry such movements wholesale; in fact, if men are not to be too tightly organized from on top, such voluntary organizations are a vital part of our community life in a way, their existence is a measure of our democracy. They meet, in varying degrees, a hunger which lies near the heart of gregarious mankind, and they afford oftentimes a financial and group security which is a pressing human need in a social order based upon a predatory ethic. But if these multitudinous societies to any extent are narrowing in their influence on their members; if they exact that which is like to the opprobrium of that which is of a different type, they can scarcely

prove their claim to "brotherhood." They are, this far, the very stuff of which such movements as the Klan are made.

TRADITIONAL ANTAGONISMS.

Many of these secret societies are founded on a traditional antagonism to the Roman Catholic Church. In Italy and France, especially, the Freemasons historically have been arrayed against Catholicism; and while this antagonism has been less pronounced in the other countries, including our own, it is a well-known fact that there has been in general an open hostility between Catholicism and many fraternal orders. Naturally enough, the Roman Church, which relies on ritual and authoritarianism for its power over its communicants, has feared fraternalism as a rival interest. Pope Clement, in 1738, gave out his famous bull against Freemasonry, enjoining all bishops, superiors and ordinaries to punish the Freemasons "with the penalties which they deserve, as people greatly suspected of heresy, having recourse, if necessary, to the secular arm." This bull has been reaffirmed at different times; and as recently as 1898, the Archbishop of Cincinnati, with the authority of the Holy See, declared himself as follows:

"All the ordinaries of the various dioceses of the United States must use their exertions to keep the faithful away from all and each of the three societies called the Odd Fellows, the Knights of Pythias and the Sons of Temperance. And the faithful themselves must be admonished of this; and if, after the admonition, they still adhere to these societies, and will not leave them effectual-

ly, they must not be admitted to the Sacraments.
 * * * First, these societies seem to have a decided influence to lead Catholics toward Freemasonry and Freemasonry is under absolute condemnation and excommunication of the Church.
 * * *

The original responsibility for this traditional antagonism is as difficult to fix as to say whether the hen comes from the egg or the egg from the hen; but that it still exists to some degree, even today and in the United States, is a fact worthy of note.

There has been now a rise and now a fall of anti-Catholic activity, and a parallel expansion and contraction of the size of such organizations as the Guardians of Liberty, Order of the Star Spangled Banner, and the American Protective Association.

COLOR PREJUDICE AND "UNIVERSAL BROTHERHOOD."

It is hard to say whether Freemasonry reflects a prejudice against Jews; some Jews have risen high in the Masonic order. But of the Masons' general prejudice there can be no doubt. Efforts have been made again and again to discount the formation of the numerous Negro Masonic lodges by questioning the "regularity" of their origin. Here we have the same gulf between the principles and the practice of fraternity that characterizes so much of the white world. Though the Negro lodges exist, and have existed from the earliest invasion of the United States by the order, Negroes as a rule are barred from fellowship and have been

subjected to innumerable humiliations. A famous letter, written by General Albert Pike, Sovereign Grand Commander, A. and A. Scottish Rite, on September 13, 1875, has circulated widely in white and Negro lodges, and expresses a spirit away from which there has been but little progress in all the years since it was written:

"I can see as plainly as you that the Negro question is going to make trouble. There are plenty of regular Negro Masons and Negro lodges in South America and the West Indies, and our folks only stave off the question by saying that Negro Masons here are clandestine * * * I think there is no middle ground between rigid exclusion of Negroes or recognition and affiliation with the whole mass. * * * When I have to accept Negroes as brothers or leave Masonry, I shall leave it."

In fairness it must be recorded that there have been a few sporadic attempts on the part of some lodges to bring about justice and an approach to brotherhood; but the general attitude toward Negroes has been dominated by the same prejudices as those which actuate the modern Ku Klux Klan.

Through many of the fraternal movements in the United States runs the same color prejudice, hand in hand with a devout faith in "a Supreme Being," "works of benevolence" and "universal brotherhood." "White males" are eligible for membership in the Woodmen of the World, which numbers about 800,000 members. The Knights of Pythias, numbering perhaps 750,000, with humanitarian and religious principles, refused in 1869 to give a charter to a group of colored men who applied for it; and,

despite the fact that there exist some 50,000 colored Knight of Pythias members, these are, with technical accuracy perhaps, labelled as "irregular," and have been dismissed by the statement that "there are no Negro Knights of Pythias." And so we might go on. The fact of the matter is that "brotherhood" here means "white-skinned brotherhood" and the "Supreme Being" is a father who maintains separate and mutually exclusive households.

The anti-immigration slant of the Klan is nothing new in the history of American secret societies. In 1771, at Annapolis, Maryland, one of the branches of the Sons of Liberty, an organization which flourished before and during the Revolutionary War, took the name of Sons of St. Tamina (afterwards called "Tammany"). Members of St. Tamina organized in Philadelphia, in 1813, the Society of Red Men, which, like its predecessors, centered in political and "patriotic" interests. When the Society of Red Men languished, some of its members formed in 1834 the Improved Order of Red Men, which has today a membership of some half a million. In New York and Philadelphia, in the later years of the first half of the nineteenth century, there were political "uprisings" when members of this and similar movements "cleaned up" on the "foreign element" and elected native Americans to office—just as at places elections have resulted under the ministrations of the Klan in recent months.

Upon the development of labor troubles ascribed to immigration, there was formed in 1845 an organization of trades union men to

resist the encroachment of foreign labor. This was the Order of United American Mechanics. Members of its offspring, the present Junior Order of United American Mechanics, have been intensely active in wielding such anti-Catholic, anti-Negro, anti-Jewish, anti-"foreigner" political power as they could obtain; they have fought to close private and parochial schools and have the Bible read each morning in every public schoolroom; and they have fought to preserve the integrity of the "little red schoolhouse" from the terrible onslaughts of any and all kinds of Americanism assaying less than 100 per cent.

RECRUITING PLACES FOR THE KLAN.

Now all such activities are quite legitimate for all who can believe in them and wish to enter on them in sincerity. What there is of right about them will some day come to light, as well as what there is of wrong. What should not be overlooked is the fact that such movements make good recruiting places for the Klan; and that people with such political and social convictions, once surrounded by the masked secrecy of the Klan and the consequent freedom from responsibility, can go to lengths otherwise not resorted to in their most zealous crusading moods. From violent thoughts to violent acts, when irresponsibility is assured, is not a very great step. In some localities, Klan meetings have been held in lodge rooms of other "fraternal" societies, and sometimes even in joint session.

But after all, the seeds sown by these pseudo-

fraternities do not always lie so closely to the surface. They lie much deeper in our social habits. Is it a healthy thing when so many Americans have to satisfy the normal craving for brotherhood by banding together on a basis with superiority, and sometimes hostility, to one's next-door neighbor of another color, creed, or nationality?

What gain to offset the blow at true, spontaneous brotherhood, is made by college "frats," with their childish serious allegiances, their flamboyant rivalries, their teaching that membership is a species of divinely sanctioned promotion? All through our social order is this mental state of "holier-than-thou," crystallized in ceremonial, pinning to our lapels those badges which are signs of separatism. The colleges, the private schools and, to some extent, the public schools, are full of it. It is often bound up irremovably with the craft movements of labor. It is a tool of the most schismatic nationalism. It is present in our churches.

KU KLUX KRISTIANITY.

The "idealism" proclaimed by the Klan has resulted in the enlistment of a great many ministers in their ranks. In places, some churches have displayed signs on the front lawns reading "Members of the Ku Klux Klan especially welcome at our services." Of course, there are today only a minority of ministers who can subscribe to Ku Klux Kristianity; yet one speculates as to whether a large majority would come out today squarely behind the pro-

nouncement of a Presbyterian Synod of a quarter century ago on secret societies in general:

"Such a society is contrary to the spirit and letter of the religion of Jesus Christ. The grip, the password, the darkened window, the guarded door are not Christ-like; and the Christian, especially the minister of Christ, is out of place in such surroundings."

But in their excessive denominationalism, their ready support of nationalism in war time, their crusading, competitive zeal sect against sect and faith against faith—are not our churches imbued with something of the spirit of the Klan even where they have no outward connection or sympathy with it? How long will Christian folk continue to stand and sing with satisfaction: "The fellowship of *kindred* minds is like to that above," as if heaven, or hell, or earth, should be the abiding place of only folk who thought, and looked, and lived alike!

Writing in the *Century Magazine* of July, 1884, two men who obviously were familiar with the original Ku Klux Klan declared: "There never was before, or since, a period of our history when such an order could have lived. May there never be again." There was again, as everybody knows; and there will be still other times, until we dig out all the seeds of bigotry and narrow-mindedness that lie embedded in our lesser loyalties. Without the darkness of secrecy they cannot take root. We are safe if only we can keep them in the sunlight of open friendships, openly arrived at.

FROM THE KREED OF KLANISHNESS.

[Having tried in vain to secure an article by a Klansman, stating the case for the Klan, we are reprinting the following extracts from Klan documents. The first two are given in Henry P. Fry's "The Modern Ku Klux Klan" (Small, Maynard & Co.), and the third is from "The Fiery Cross," a Klan publication.]

I. AT THE KLAVERN DOOR.

"1. Is the motive prompting your ambition to be a Klansman serious and unselfish?

"2. Are you a native born, white, Gentile American citizen?

"3. Are you absolutely opposed to and free from any allegiance of any nature to any cause, government, people, sect or ruler that is foreign to the United States of America?

"4. Do you believe in the tenets of the Christian religion?

"5. Do you esteem the United States of America and its institutions above any other government, civil, political or ecclesiastical, in the whole world?

"6. Will you, without mental reservation, take a solemn oath to defend, preserve and enforce same?

"7. Do you believe in clanishness and will you faithfully practice same toward Klansmen?

"8. Do you believe in and will you faithfully strive for the eternal maintenance of white supremacy?

"9. Will you faithfully obey our constitution and laws, and conform willingly to all our usages, requirements and regulations?

"10. Can you always be depended on?"

II. THE OATH.

"SECTION I. OBEDIENCE.

"(You will say) 'I' (pronounce your full name—and repeat after me)—'In the presence of God and man most solemnly pledge, promise, and swear, unconditionally, that I will faithfully obey the Constitution and laws; and will willingly conform to all regulations, usages, and requirements of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, which do now exist or which may be hereafter enacted; and will render at all times loyal respect and steadfast support to the Imperial Authority of same; and will heartily heed all official mandates, decrees, edicts, rulings, and instructions of the Imperial Wizard thereof. I will yield prompt response to all summonses, I having knowledge of same, Providence alone preventing.

"SECTION II. SECRECY.

"I most solemnly swear that I will forever keep sacredly secret the signs, words, and grip; and any and all other matters and knowledge of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, regarding which a most rigid secrecy must be maintained, which may at any time be communicated to me and will never divulge same nor even cause the same to be divulged to any person in the whole

world, unless I know positively that such person is a member of this Order in good and regular standing, and not even then unless it be for the best interest of this Order.

"I most sacredly vow and most positively swear that I will not yield to bribe, flattery, threats, passion, punishment, persuasion, nor any enticements whatever coming from or offered by any person or persons, male or female, for the purpose of obtaining from me a secret or secret information of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. I will die rather than divulge same. So help me, God. AMEN!

"SECTION III. FIDELITY.

"(You will say) 'I' (pronounce your full name—and repeat after me)—'Before God, and in the presence of these mysterious Klansmen, on my sacred honor, do most solemnly and sincerely pledge, promise, and swear that I will diligently guard, and faithfully foster every interest of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, and will maintain its social cast and dignity.

"I swear that I will not recommend any person for membership in this order whose mind is unsound, or whose reputation I know to be bad, or whose character is doubtful or whose loyalty to our country is in any way questionable.

"I swear that I will pay promptly all just and legal demands made upon me to defray the expenses of my Klan and this Order, when same are due or called for.

"I swear that I will protect the property of

the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, of any nature whatsoever; and if any should be intrusted to my keeping, I will properly keep or rightly use same; and will freely and promptly surrender same on official demand, or if ever I am banished from or voluntarily discontinue my membership in this Order.

"I swear that I will, most determinedly, maintain peace and harmony in all the deliberations of the gatherings or assemblies of the Invisible Empire, and of any subordinate jurisdiction or Klan thereof.

"I swear that I will most strenuously discourage selfishness and selfish political ambition on the part of myself or any Klansman.

"I swear that I will never allow personal friendship, blood or family relationship, nor personal, political or professional prejudice, malice, or ill will, to influence me in casting my vote for the election or rejection of an applicant for membership in this Order, God being my Helper. AMEN!

"SECTION IV. KLANISHNESS.

"(You will say) 'I' (pronounce your full name—and repeat after me)—'Most solemnly pledge, promise, and swear that I will never slander, defraud, deceive, or in any manner wrong the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, a Klansman, nor a Klansman's family, nor will I suffer the same to be done, if I can prevent it.

"I swear that I will be faithful in defending and protecting the home, reputation, and physical and business interest of a Klansman and that of a Klansman's family.

"I swear that I will at any time, without hesitating, go to the assistance or rescue of a Klansman in any way; at his call I will answer; I will be truly Klanish toward Klansmen in all things honorable.

"I swear that I will not allow any animosity, friction, nor ill will to arise and remain between myself and a Klansman; but will be constant in my efforts to promote real Klanishness among the members of this Order.

"I swear that I will keep secure to myself a secret of a Klansman when same is committed to me in the sacred bond of Klansmanship—the crime of violating *this* solemn oath, treason against the United States of America, rape, and malicious murder, alone excepted.

"I most solemnly assert and affirm that to the government of the United States of America and any State thereof which I may become a resident, I sacredly swear an unqualified allegiance above any other and every kind of government in the whole world. I, here and now, pledge my life, my property, my vote, and my sacred honor, to uphold its flag, its constitution, and constitutional laws; and will protect, defend, and enforce same to death.

"I swear that I will most zealously and valiently shield and preserve, by any and all justifiable means and methods, the sacred constitutional rights and privileges of free public schools, free speech, free press, separation of church and state, liberty, white supremacy, just laws, and the pursuit of happiness, against any encroachment, of any nature, by any person or persons, political party or parties, religious

sect or people, native, naturalized, or foreign of any race, color, creed, lineage, or tongue whatsoever.

"All to which I have sworn by *this* oath, I will seal with my blood. Be thou my witness, Almighty God! AMEN!"

III. A KLANSMAN'S CREED.

I believe in God and in the tenets of the Christian religion and that a godless nation cannot long prosper.

I believe that a church that is not grounded on the principles of morality and justice is a mockery to God and to man.

I believe that a church that does not have the welfare of the common people at heart is unworthy.

I believe in the eternal separation of Church and State.

I hold no allegiance to any foreign government, emperor, king, pope or any other foreign, political or religious power.

I hold my allegiance to the Stars and Stripes next to my allegiance to God alone.

I believe in just laws and liberty.

I believe in the upholding of the Constitution of these United States.

I believe that our Free Public School is the cornerstone of good government and that those who are seeking to destroy it are enemies of our Republic and are unworthy of citizenship.

I believe in freedom of speech.

I believe in a free press uncontrolled by political parties or by religious sects.

I believe in law and order.

I believe in the protection of our pure womanhood.

I do not believe in mob violence, but I do believe that laws should be enacted to prevent the cause of mob violence.

I believe in closer relationship of capital and labor.

I believe in the prevention of unwarranted strikes by foreign labor agitators.

I believe in the limitation of foreign immigration.

I am a native-born American citizen and I believe my rights in this country are superior to those of foreigners.

“JUSTICE” BY VIOLENCE.

Mob violence is probably decreasing in the United States. In 1923, for example, 28 persons were lynched as compared with 61 lynchings in 1922. But still no week goes by without its story of mob “justice” involving personal violence and, occasionally, death.

In offering bits of testimony on the Klan and violence we do not imply that mob violence was unknown before and occurs now only under the aegis of the Klan. Lynchings, for example, had stained our record year by year; and in various places members of the American Legion have done their full share in enforcing “Americanism” through their peculiar interpretation of the First Amendment. But the Klan—whether in its local groups or as a deliberate general policy is immaterial—has achieved especial distinction in the field of mob law. The spread of the Klan seems

to have given opportunity also for lawless elements outside of the Klan to play upon popular fears and to "get away" with outrages for which no immediate responsibility could be traced to the Klan. For the occasional outbreaks of violence against the Klan we can only blame the prevailing spirit of lawless, ruthless domination, of which the Klan is the most spectacular symptom, but which infects many who cannot or who do not wish to join the Klan.

The people of the United States—and the Klan—may be outgrowing the extremely violent post-war tendencies. This fact, if it be a fact, does not lessen the interest of the following few extracts from a record compiled by the American Civil Liberties Union for the period from December, 1920, to February, 1923.

Walter F. White, associate secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, said that personal investigation of the election riots in Ocoil, Orange County, Florida, convinced him that thirty-two to thirty-five Negroes were killed. The rioting started on election day when a colored man qualified and registered, but was beaten when he attempted to vote. This started three days of rioting. Mr. White charged that the Ku Klux Klan had given warnings before election that if Negroes tried to vote there would be trouble. They did try, and there was trouble. (Sources: *N. Y. World*, Jan. 9 and Sept. 19, 1921.)

On the night of February 15, 1921, three days after he had ignored a Klan warning to

leave town, Mr. B. I. Hobbs of Houston, Texas, was kidnapped from his apartment by eight masked men and taken to the edge of the city, his hair was clipped, and he was tarred and feathered, after being accused of "being too friendly with Negroes." He left Houston and went to Alvin, a small town nearby. Two days later he was taken to the edge of that town in daylight, his car pointed west, and was ordered to go in that direction and not stop until he was out of Texas. (Sources: *N. Y. Tribune*, May 29 and August 21, 1921; *N. Y. World*, Sept 19, 1921.)

At Beaumont, Texas, on May 30, 1921, Dr. J. S. Paul and R. F. Scott, veteran of the World War, were tarred and feathered. These two were alleged to have been implicated in an illegal operation upon a young girl. Following the confession from the local Klan that it had committed the tarring and feathering, Col. William J. Simmons, Wizard of the national order at that time, issued a sensational statement that he would have the matter investigated, threatening to give the names of the Klan to the local police officers, and to revoke the charter. The threat was never carried out. Both men were warned to leave town; Scott left, but Dr. Paul remained, appearing on the street only when escorted by a bodyguard. (Sources: *N. Y. Tribune*, July 27 and August 21, 1921; *N. Y. World*, August 30, 1921; *N. Y. World*, Sept. 19, 1921.)

* * *

At Bolton, Texas, John Collins, Negro, was kidnapped on June 17, 1921, and taken into

the country, where he was severely flogged by masked men and told to leave the city. A placard was fastened on his back which read: "Whipped by the Ku Klux Klan." The Negro had been in jail charged with having insulted a white woman, but the Grand Jury failed to indict him. (Sources: *N. Y. Herald*, August 30, 1921, and *N. Y. World*, September 19, 1921.)

* * *

In Dallas, Texas, sixty-eight citizens were victims of masked mobs within the three months of March, April and May, 1922. Several persons were arrested as participants, but all were freed. It was alleged that members of the Dallas police department perpetrated these attacks and that the majority of the police force and the sheriff's department belonged to the Klan. A mass meeting led by Mayor Sawnie Aldridge demanded that the Dallas Klan disband, but a few days later five thousand Klansmen met and answered, "We are here forever." Out of a total of one thousand outrages within a year by masked men, not one man has been publicly punished. (Source: *N. Y. World*, June 11, 1922.)

* * *

Walter Mathews, a lawyer of Cushing, Oklahoma, was flogged, tarred and feathered on September 12, 1922, by masked men because of his opposition to the principles of the Ku Klux Klan. (Source: Letter in files of A. C. L. U.)

* * *

Waynesboro, Pennsylvania: "His chin,

cheeks and forehead branded with a flaming K, his hair almost singed from his head and his body covered with welts and bruises, William Hollingsworth, fifty years old, is confined to his bed, the first victim of the Ku Klux Klan in Pennsylvania. He was accused of neglecting his aged mother, who had recently been taken to the county home." (Sources: *N. Y. Tribune*, September 15, 1922, and *N. Y. World*, September 16, 1922.)

* * *

R. L. Woodruff of Winder, Atlanta, a leading manufacturer, has written Governor Hardwick that because he was foreman on a Grand Jury that indicted several Klansmen for night-riding activity he is being nightly threatened by the Klan in Barlow County. (Source: *N. Y. World*, December 12, 1922.)

* * *

Governor John M. Parker of Louisiana, referring to the Mer Rouge murders in a speech in Chicago on February 26, 1923, said:

"Every man implicated in these outrages was a member of the Klan. The Sheriff of Morehouse Parish, who sat by and saw these men carried off in direct violation of his sworn oath of office, was an official of the Klan. The Sheriff's deputies, the District Attorney, and many others were members of the Klan.

"Officials of the order have pledged themselves repeatedly in fine sounding phrases to assist in maintaining law and order. The records of Morehouse Parish show that not a sin-

gle one of them even in the remotest degree rendered any help, but, on the contrary, did all in their power to intimidate witnesses, choke off the investigation and prevent the light of publicity from reaching the American people.

"Not one single time, since my inauguration as Governor of Louisiana, has the Ku Klux Klan or the Knights of the Invisible Empire given me the least help in enforcing the law. On the contrary, time after time, the Klansmen have terrorized communities, have threatened and in some instances beaten people and in others committed crimes with such secrecy and fiendishness that it has been impossible to ferret out, convict and send to the penitentiary or hang the criminals."

PSYCHOANALYZING THE KLAN.

WILFRID LAY.

To prove that one race is a better factor in evolution than another would require a knowledge of exactly what will happen in racial development a thousand years or more hence, when all races shall have completely intermingled and the final iridescent skin evolved. If such knowledge were now possible—as that the yellow race were the detrimental factor that would vitiate the race of 2924—then the only thing to do would be to bend the entire efforts of all the other races toward the utter extermination of the yellow. But at present no one who thinks would venture to say which race is the least desirable element in the final fusion.

Yet at all times every race has been, and will be, dominated by the unconscious desire to exterminate every other race; and it may well be that the least desirable is the one that will dominate at the end of the next millennium. No one now living can tell. This is the mystery of race. No scientific facts have been found to demonstrate any superiority of one over another, except possibly in such a questionable characteristic as vitality.

The specific irrationality of the race-antagonistic individual is his assumption that the other races are more against him than he is against the other races, and that they are all combined against his race alone. Instances of race antagonism are everywhere. The Klan is only one among many. This feeling that others are taking concerted action against one is an unconscious projection, and leads the individual to resort to whatever defense seems to him most powerful.

Furthermore, as each man is unconsciously aware of his own cupidity, his desire for unearned money or favors and his general selfishness, so he automatically becomes consciously suspicious of the motives of other people. In proportion to his fears for his own security he is jealous of the prosperity of others and suspicious of every proposed policy affecting his group. If then the policy is put forward by a person belonging to a different political party, a different religion, a different race or nation, he at once suspects that the adoption of that policy will benefit that other religion, political party, race or nation, to the detriment of his own. In proportion to the selfishness

with which he furthers his own private interests at the expense of other people's, he will suspect others of doing the same thing.

THE HABIT OF SUSPICION.

When this suspicion becomes a habit in his mind, he has begun a development which, at its extreme, constitutes that type of insanity known as paranoia. The paranoiac is actuated in all his behavior by the belief that a certain class, such as Masons, Catholics, Jews or Negroes, are combining against him.

In proportion to his own sense of inferiority, which, it is to be remembered, is partly or wholly an unconscious state of mind, he will begin to protect himself against that group by which he thinks himself menaced. That is the reason why the extreme paranoiac finally believes himself to be God or Jesus or Napoleon or any other embodiment of power. The stronger he thinks his enemies are, the greater will be the power necessary to overcome them. And the man that thinks all the world is united against him will necessarily need a phantasy of omnipotence to counteract this.

The sense of control, of the power over another, is much augmented, if the person having the control exercises it over persons who are unable to defend themselves. Of course the most powerful weapon of destruction of all other races would be an air, or a gas, with which to envelop the earth, and which would cause all the other races to die all at one moment without knowing it, and at the same

time supervitalize one's own race. The nearest an ordinary mind can come to the formation of such an atmosphere is the secret oath.

THE INCREASE OF MYSTERY.

If anything solid in human advance has been accomplished in modern times, it is the acquirement of scientific knowledge which has been pushing farther away the mystery surrounding our brief human life, rather than wrapping it more closely around us, as the so-called religious type of mind tends to do. The Klan introduces in the struggle of race this quality of deepening mystery rather than of decreasing it.

The exercise of power without let or hindrance is the state in which every human being begins his existence. The greatest tyrant is the baby. Every desire is granted without effort. In adult life the greatest infant is he who is most tyrannical. It is actually a high degree of development that enjoys a struggle for the exertion of effort solely. The average American individual talks as if he were always after something that could be got without effort or struggle. The expression "get away with it" illustrates this.

SECRECY AN AID TO POWER.

The exercise of power without let or hindrance is greatest where the persons controlled do not know they are being controlled. The best way to gain such control is to exert it in absolute secrecy. If a single man with a rifle can

be placed in such a position as to be unseen, while he readily sees his enemies, his sense of power, when killing them, is at the maximum. The secrecy of the Klan is a species of spiritual sniping.

But suspicion directed against other people is invariably supplemented by suspicion directed to oneself or one's method. Suspicion is a state of mind that shifts. The suspicion that was projected upon others is quite as likely to be introjected upon oneself. In fact, suspicion is primarily of self. One suspects one's own strength and avoids, if possible, a contest that measures it against another's. An actual personal encounter has frequently developed one's own superiority, where one feared the other's.

The unwillingness to have one's ideas openly exhibited for examination by other people is *prima facie* evidence that one considers those ideas incapable, by themselves, of surviving. The ideas may be attacked. They need defense—the defense of secrecy. To the completely rational mind the worth of any idea is its acceptability for many minds. The rational man is confident that a good idea will survive because of its essential goodness.

A PARANOIAC TREND.

But the person who is unwilling to subject his ideas to the test of other minds increases both his own fears of inferiority and the scope of the phantasies necessary to compensate for the fears. It is possible that the measure of success achieved by the founder of the modern Klan may have given him a sense of superior-

ity sufficient to avert his threatening paranoia. Or time may show the complete dominance of the paranoiac diathesis of his mind.

At the same time, however, one is forced to believe that the men joining the Klan in large numbers are doing so because of a paranoiac trend in their mental make-up.

Fear of self is the greatest fear from which mankind suffers. But it is generally an unconscious fear. Most frequently it becomes conscious as a fear of some person or thing.

If the Klansman were not afraid of himself, or what he would do under circumstances arousing his animosity, he would not pay the price of a revolver for something quite as sudden and deadly in effect—his mask. In the company of other masked men he multiplies his own waning courage, and, as Martin says in his *Behavior of Crowds*, he finds, in numbers, a backing for doing things he would not dare to do alone. He thus exhibits his paranoiac tendency and gives another proof of Martin's thesis that the mob is the expression of the insane, *i. e.*, archaic, tendency of the individual.

The only comprehensive definition for insanity is that it is a regression to manners and morals of the pre-civilized status of humanity—a descent toward the brute. It may be that some minds now regarded as disordered are a perfect fit for a state of society that may exist in the year 2924. But it is pretty safe to say that most marked divagations from present-day customs are regressions to archaic types of behavior. That is, at any rate, the interpretation that psychoanalysis has given to mental disorders. They produce modes

of behavior that would probably have been serviceable in the adjustment of men to their environment in prehistoric ages.

A REGRESSION TO BACKWARD MENTALITY.

The Klan is a regression, as every attempt at secrecy is a regression, to the mentality of an earlier type in psychic evolution. That there should be two or three million such reversions in a population of 125,000,000 should occasion no surprise, for it is unlikely that more than 65 per cent of any population is perfectly adapted to its environment, and probably 10 per cent are badly adjusted. These latter easily include 2 or 3 per cent markedly out of adjustment.

The Klan is a phenomenon characteristic of the small town, and it is not surprising that the men of the small town are ready to seize on the first and most obvious means of increasing their own power. This they do, in their own imagination, by becoming members of an Invisible Empire.

The difference it makes to a man to put on the disguise of the Klan is that it renders him less himself, less an individual, more a stereotyped member of a uniform group, less a person, more a machine.

The disguise of the individual, the secrecy of the Klan, is the expression of the paranoiac trend that exists in the soul of every man. In large numbers united in secret bonds, the mental disorder is multiplied. It becomes a force which is much greater than the sum of the component forces. It is a disease in the very

vitals of society, which makes more rapidly toward a downfall of civilization than any other cause. All the constructive trends of modern civilization are toward the abolition of secrecy and the inauguration of popularized knowledge. The abolition of secrecy means understanding and fellowship.

All secret organizations have, in their secrecy alone, a regressive element. In the upward swirling fire of intelligence, the Klan is a counter-eddy, retrogressive, archaistic, infantile. It cannot live in an atmosphere of truly modern civilization. Its methods are infra-human. Their extension would be a return to the behavior of animals, and far from what that of the world tomorrow will be.

PREHISTORIC K. K. K.'s.

ALEXANDER GOLDENWEISER.

Strange costumes, white against the black background of the night, banners and masks, the regalia of an esoteric ritual, secret gatherings, secret as to place and as to the nature of the proceedings. . . . Then rumors of abuse of power and with it fear, the fear of an enemy whose whereabouts is unknown, whose weapons are concealed, whose methods are irregular. . . .

Such is the halo of the K. K. K., and behind it arise the ghosts of the past. For often before has the world beheld such sights and experienced such fears. Primitive society, in fact, is honeycombed with institutions of the K. K. K. variety. Only that there they are sanctioned by public opinion. Although often secret in their

methods and esoteric in their proceedings. they form part and parcel of the cultural pattern of the group. From northern Melanesia, from West Africa, and from many a tribe in both North and South America, come the reports of such sacred and secret societies. They are numerous and graded as to rank, the admission to each successive grade being secured either by purchase or after a supernatural revelation or through a deed of military valor. Each society has its distinctive name, badge, song, dance, whistle (as in Melanesia); the meetings of a society, whose membership is more often than not restricted to men alone, may take place in a great ceremonial structure, secluded in the woods and adorned by gruesome figures of spirits.

The functions of a society may be religious or military or, as in Melanesia and West Africa, juridical. From time to time the members of the secret brotherhood sit in judgment over some individual or family whose activities do not chime with the customs of the tribe or are for some other reason distasteful to the members of the society. As there are no witnesses or defense, the decision is not in doubt, and it is carried out without delay. The victim may be intimidated or killed, his neighbors are terrorized but powerless. They do not protest nor is the occurrence an open subject of discussion. Tactfully it is assumed that somehow this is as it should be, and that the proceedings, however tragic to the victim, are in harmony with the ancient custom of the tribe.

It is easy to understand the hold that insti-

tutions such as this gain over the minds of men. The social instinct is mightily stimulated, for within the brotherhood the motto is: Each for all and all for each. Then there is the lure of achievement and the gratification of vanity for, as one grade after another is left behind, the prestige of a society member rises, his influence increases, he is on the road to becoming one of the great leaders of his group. And once again, there are the periodic meetings, the ritual with its rhythms and symbols. The memories and associations which tie together the members of a society are reinforced, the communal emotions are burned into the very marrow of their bones. The charm of the situation is enhanced not a little by the secret character of the society. Secrecy has about it a mark of distinction, the very fact that your whereabouts or intentions or rights and duties are unknown to your fellow tribesmen enhances your prestige, for secrecy brings power. A religious society like a socialized Freudian unconscious, can strike the more surely because its whereabouts, its intentions and its methods are mysterious.

This being so, it is not surprising that the proclivity to form secret organizations should have come to constitute one of man's inheritances from his primitive past.

All this may be very well, I hear some remark, but what do we gain by recording the long history of ancestral K. K. K.'s? Should we in the name of this historic record continue to harbor the K. K. K. in our midst or should this very record prompt us to turn against it

and extricate our civilization from the shadow of its presence?

This question, I am afraid, cannot be answered directly, for K. K. K.'s may be inherent in the present mould of our civilization. It must be remembered in this connection that K. K. K. members are not recruited from the leaders of the nation. It is not the creative spirits, not those of strong intellect or imagination, nor those whose character and activity earn them the respect and recognition of their fellow citizens, who are wont to wave the K. K. K. banner. The K. K. K. is the back parlor of Main Street. It is the conventional, the mediocre, those whose outlook is narrow and whose imagination is deadened by routine, who seek stimulation in the activities of the secret brotherhood.

There is still another aspect of the matter which, whether we like it or not, must be emphasized. The K. K. K. is a Protestant organization. By this I do not mean, of course, that the Protestant Church is responsible for its existence, but what I do mean is this: The Protestant Church has taken the glamor out of religion. The appeal of ritual, of architecture, of esoteric performance, the emotional thrill of the supernatural, are foreign to Protestantism. Now it so happens that by thus denuding itself, Protestantism fails to satisfy either the sophisticated spirits in its midst who feel that it has not gone far enough, or those numerous ones who are still immersed in emotional religionism for whom it has gone too far. The decorum and brilliance of the Roman Catholic Church and of the Greek Catholic sister church of Rus-

sia are based on a realistic view of humanity. Remove them, and a substitute may presently be required. And it is not always easy either to foresee or control the nature of such a substitute.

Now what I have said about Main Street and Protestantism constitute but two aspects of a more general fact. Movements such as the K. K. K. are made possible by the vacuity and dullness of our lives. They are symptomatic of insufferable boredom. Puritanism has robbed us of moral courage. Industrialism has dulled the edge of spiritual endeavor. Democracy, under the guise of an illusory ideal of freedom and equality, has deprived political activity of its one-time ardor and enthusiasm. The drabness of our daily lives proves too much for most people. And so it comes that some long for war, with its loyalties, its brilliance, its socializing bonds, its irresponsibility, its moral holidays, its spectacular achievements. But a war big enough to stimulate those in need of spiritual rebirth is not to be had at will. Of this William James was well aware when he penned his last memorable essay, "A Moral Substitute for War." Great realist that he was, he felt keenly that while war may be detestable, some of the ardors it arouses are human; and fearing that in the absence of these ardors, the souls of men might shrink and wither, he set about looking for substitutes. He spoke of great communal works, unpleasant but necessary, such as building roads, working in the mines or exterminating insect pests.

The K. K. K. is another such emotional safe-

ty valve. To judge it is one thing, to purge ourselves of it is another. For, after all, it is but a symptom, a sign that our civilization has been found wanting.

WHAT BROTHERHOOD DEMANDS.

PAUL JONES.

The test of any principle is its application to concrete situations. One may even go further and say in the language of the pragmatists that no principle has any truth or validity except as it is thus applied. In other words, if we want to talk about brotherhood we shall do well to discuss it as brotherhood between people who embody very real differences, or we shall be lost in a fog of unrealities.

Since the days of the Declaration of Independence we have definitely moved away from the conception that "all men are created equal." Whatever interpretation we may give that phrase, it no longer represents a literal truth. Today we recognize that among individuals there are at birth differences in heredity, in health, in mentality and in environment which belie any theory of equality that is more than a legal fiction. The differences referred to are especially important because they directly affect the individual's capacity for entering into a full expression of life in the social group, and no legislative enactment is sufficient to change them. It may be observed, too, that the differences of race, nationality and religion, which play so large a part in current discussions are of really minor importance in affecting equality

compared with heredity and environment. The latter cut deep fissures through the social body which run through the more superficial distinctions of race, nation or creed.

When one person comes into life with the capacity for full mental development and another starts as a moron, or when one has complete physical health and another begins life as a cripple with various organic weaknesses, there is no such thing as real equality. The same is true between the child born in a slum surrounded by ignorance and squalor and the one starting life in a home where everything is calculated to draw out the best in him. Whatever differences there may be between races or between national and religious groups (and it is quite probable that many of these differences may be traced to environment), the inequalities inside the race or group due to mental and physical heredity will still be the more significant ones. If it is true that certain races, say the Negro or Mongolian, rate lower than the Anglo-Saxon (as popular opinion has it), it is equally true that the members of those races with the best physical, mental and cultural endowment have a greater real equality with the best members of white races than they have with the retarded and handicapped members of their own group. Edward L. Thorndike in his *Educational Psychology* sums it up in these words: "In general, differences between races in original capacities are small in comparison with the range of differences within each race, and the amount of overlapping is great."

It is necessary to get a clear picture of these very great inequalities between people and to realize how much deeper they cut than the distinctions between races, nations and religions before attempting to discuss the demands of brotherhood: for a brotherhood that is real must recognize these differences and find some form of expression in the midst of them. It is no place for adopting the philosophy of the ostrich.

PHYSICAL UNITY OF THE HUMAN RACE.

In getting a sound basis for the idea of brotherhood it is just as well to avoid any theological abstractions. It will be sufficient to rest it on the fact of the physical unity of the human race. Dr. Arthur Keith, president of the Royal Anthropological Institute, in his book, *The Antiquity of Man*, says: "We all agree that modern human races, however different they may appear, are so alike in the essentials of structure that we must regard them as well-marked varieties of a common species." Or, as Ratzel puts it more succinctly, "There is only one race, whose differences are numerous but not deep." On the basis of that common unity, brotherhood is the expression of the social instinct in human kind, recognized within varying limits by most religions and in most social movements. It is the treatment of other human beings illumined by a sense of common kinship.

In the teaching and practice of Jesus the idea of brotherhood is brought down from the realm of sweeping generalizations and given

more telling expression by his coupling it with an emphasis on the worth of personality. Each individual is a person, even the smallest and weakest, and as such deserves the treatment that a person should receive. Such an approach shifts the basis from the mere physical unity of the race to that of the essential spiritual unity and puts one on a higher ground. Brotherhood, then, must have a concern not merely for finding some sort of *modus vivendi* between the various sections of the human race, it must include a way of life which shall accord to each individual in those groups the respect due to a person.

FORCES WORKING AGAINST BROTHERHOOD.

And now we come to face some of the hard facts in our disordered civilization. There are the followers of Lothrop Stoddard who, from the biological point of view, visualize a struggle to the death between the white and the dark races and advocate the strengthening of the defenses of the whites and the suppression of the others. Other groups, with their spokesman, *The Menace*, fear the political encroachments of the Roman Catholics and would unite the forces to restrict their activities. Anti-semitism is not a distinct movement in this country as yet, but it has found definite expression in social discrimination against the Jews and is appearing in the educational field. The Ku Klux Klan, through its Imperial Wizard, Dr. H. W. Evans, has declared that the Negro, the Jew and the Roman Catholic can not be assimilated in our national life. The American

Legion and the American Federation of Labor have declared against the admission of foreigners of any kind and Asiatics in particular. And one need only mention that attitude toward the Negro, not confined to any one militant group but so generally spread among white people that it is almost taken for granted, which professes friendship for the Negro, but very definitely withholds from him recognition as a person. These are the major forces which give the lie to any practical expression of brotherhood. In the face of them one may well ask whether in the name of biological progress, religious and political freedom, national prosperity and racial purity there can still be room for the practice of brotherhood.

THREE DEMANDS OF REAL BROTHERHOOD.

The part that emotional prejudice plays in these attacks on other groups is perfectly evident. In their sweeping indictment of the particular race or group they entirely ignore the tremendous individual differences between the persons composing it. It has been well said that you can no more indict a race than you can a nation. To do so is to stultify one's intelligence, and to imagine that security, purity or integrity can be achieved by a process that involves such a sweeping ignoring of truth is to throw out the whole conception of a moral order in the universe. *The first demand of brotherhood is for a true estimate of personal values wherever they may be found.* The words Jew, Negro, foreigner, etc., as used now serve as screens to hide the real differences between

people inside those groups and thus raise artificial obstacles to the working out of ordered human relationships. In the maze of fears and doubts which involve this whole question, the recognition of personal values wherever they may be found is the only basis upon which some structure of appropriate action can be built. Ignore the claims of personality and a social order becomes a contradiction in terms. We must see and deal with the real differences among people in working out a practical brotherhood, not artificial ones that come from sweeping classifications.

The next step is to find a basis for action among people of such different endowments, physical, mental and cultural, as make up, out of these varied groups, the common body of society. The full social co-operation of all its members must evidently be the goal of society toward which brotherhood aims but it is equally evident that that full social co-operation is impossible for a great many people at the present time.

A low grade moron, a slum dweller below the poverty line, a recent arrival in the country ignorant of our language and customs, a person of education active in productive life, and an irresponsible parasite on society cannot share equally in the political, economic, or social life of the community, no matter what laws or social customs may be in effect. The capacity to do so is not equally present and no sentimental desire for it will change the fact. Out of this situation, however, comes *the second demand of brotherhood, and that is full*

social co-operation up to the limit of every individual to respond to it. No matter what his color, creed or race, if the individual has the capacity to share in the various phases of the life of society, the idea of brotherhood requires that full opportunity be given to enter into it. Anything less than that would seem to be a denial of personality. It is on that basis that woman suffrage has won its way and the struggle for full social co-operation on the part of women is still being carried on. The same principle should equally be applied to other groups that are suffering under the same sweeping classifications and consequent discriminations that women have had held against them.

INCREASING THE CAPACITY FOR CO-OPERATION:

But there still remain those who for various reasons have not at this time the capacity to respond in full co-operation, and they are persons white and black, of various religious and racial antecedents. Suppression, exclusion and discrimination will not solve the problem but only aggravate it, for they tend to drive such people in upon themselves and deprive them of the healthy stimulation that comes from association with those of greater capacity. And on the other side it makes for the hardening and narrowing of the group exercising the discrimination. In both directions it means social loss. It is here that *brotherhood demands the constant effort to increase the capacity of those who for any reason have not the ability to respond*, so that the sphere of social co-operation may be increasingly widened.

It is possible only to suggest some of the many implications of these three demands of brotherhood. They involve searching changes in the structure of society, so as to free those who are now handicapped by the limitations of an economic despotism. They would mean a modification of the narrow nationalism that prevails. Religious antagonisms could not stand before them, and the backbone of war, whether class or international, would be broken. The great hope in the present situation is that men and women are coming to a realization of the possibilities of brotherhood from many different directions. It is a conception that can be claimed by no one race, creed or nation and while the present attacks upon it are sufficiently alarming, they will perhaps serve to drive home not only the necessity for a fuller development of brotherhood but the tremendous creative possibilities that lie in it.

HOW SHALL WE MEET THE KLAN?

I.

BY HORACE J. WOLF.

*"Assailed by slander and the tongue of strife,
His only answer was a blameless life."*

To answer slander is to dignify it. The Klan denounces Jews as being incapable of patriotism; they need make no reply to this calumny. Jews have died on every American battlefield since the Revolution; at Chateau-Thierry and Belleau Wood, I have seen the graves of hun-

dreds of our Jewish youth. The Jewish soldier dead are sufficient retutation of the Klan's charge. We Jews love this land which first said: "Come unto me all ye that labor and are heavy-laden, and I will give you rest."

How shall we meet the Klan? We shall not meet it at all in the sense of debate or discussion or recrimination. The Klan is the outcome of prejudice and bitter experience has taught us that it is impossible to meet prejudice with logic. Prejudice, as the term implies, means prejudging, judging in advance of, or despite, the facts; it would therefore be a waste of endeavor to persuade the members of the Klan that their hostility to the Jew is unwarranted.

The Klan poses as the champion of the Protestant Church in America; it avows that it seeks the supremacy of "white, native-born Protestants." It pictures itself as a crusading organization, endeavoring to save Protestantism from its foes. Here and there, a Protestant clergyman has publicly endorsed this secret society and lent his name to its un-American program; here and there, a Protestant Church has gratefully accepted the approval of the Klan, expressed in the form of a financial donation, publicly presented by masked Klansmen at one of the church's religious services. Only in a few instances has a Protestant minister castigated the Klan in ringing terms as an unwelcome and unauthorized ally of the Church. How shall we Jews meet the Klan? The Klan should be met not by us, nor by any one of the groups which it assails, but by the Protestant Church and Churches of America, speak-

ing through national and local federations; it is the sacred obligation of the Protestant Church of America to repudiate this secret society as an organization utterly at variance with the spirit of Christianity. So long as the Church remains silent and fails to speak in terms that cannot be misunderstood, so long will the Klan continue to pose as the champion of American Protestantism.

The reason for my belief that the Protestant Church must denounce the Klan is grounded on my understanding that the principles of the Church and the principles of the Klan are fundamentally incompatible. Christianity, I believe, is the religion of men and women who strive to model their lives after the example and teachings of Jesus.

He taught and exemplified the doctrines of love, fellowship, mercy and peace; the Klan by example and precept inculcates hate, intolerance, prejudice and violence. Christianity preaches peace on earth and good will among men; the Klan makes for war on earth and ill will among men. In other words, the Klan, which claims to be the defender of Christianity, in reality challenges the most sacred traditions of the Church. Is it not obvious then that it is the Church which must meet and battle the Klan?

II.

BY GEORGE E. HAYNES.

The Ku Klux Klan is an expression of underlying forces in our national life which disturb our domestic tranquility and endanger our prog-

ress. One of these forces is the virulent race prejudice against Negro Americans.

The race prejudice is based upon selfish fear that the Negro will cease to be an exploited serf and become an independent, competing farmer; unsound fear that with growing intelligence and skill he may become a dangerous power in industry and business; anxious fear that with his increasing understanding of democracy he cannot be kept in political subjection and excluded from an equitable share in public privileges such as schools, courts and the like.

This race prejudice feeds upon misinformation and ignorance. In his address at Dallas, Tex., October 24, 1923, Dr. Evans, the Imperial Wizard of the Klan, voiced his own assurance of the inherent incapacity of the Negro claiming that biology, anthropology and historical experience supported his view. Since he cited no facts from authoritative sources, he might be referred to Ratzel, Boas, Denizer, Woodworth and other reputable scientists. If such misinformation could flow from the fountain head, what ignorance may we expect from the rank and file?

The Ku Klux Klan philosophy of the superiority of the white race is founded upon a confusion of ideas between advantageous circumstance and inherent capacity of racial groups. Probably Ethiopian kings in the time of Tutankh-amen reasoned the same way about their superiority over the ancestors of the Imperial Wizard of the Klan.

The Ku Klux Klan is an organized expression

of the Ku Klux spirit. It uses the symbol of the Cross falsely to rally white men against black men in the name of that Christ who called all men without distinction to come unto Him. This spirit of bigotry in white sons tries to atone for the sins of exploitation of their fathers by attempting to keep the descendants of black slaves in economic and political bondage.

Negroes have not and should not attempt to organize against the Klan. They are inclined to laugh at it, and wonder that many white people do not laugh at its small boy buffoonery, especially when ex-Imperial Wizard Simmons relinquishes his claims as chief capitalizer of prejudices for a few thousand dollars. The seed of its own undoing is within the organization. When menaced Negroes will protest so that law-abiding Americans may know the common danger, they will look sympathetically toward the Catholics and Jews similarly threatened. They should demand that every office seeker and party who ask their vote take a stand for real Americanism and against the Klan.

Negroes have said little about the Klan, but they are convinced that it can only foment domestic discord and impede national progress as the two races try to learn inter-racial cooperation on a man to man basis—the only sure foundation of progress in our democracy.

III.

By JOHN McPIKE KERESSEY.

To Catholics, the Klan, if it means anything, means better Catholics. The bogey of persecu-

tion begets Catholic unity, enhances Catholic loyalty and inspires Catholic fervor.

The Klan means not merely better but more Catholics. Miscreants in nightclothes are not good missionaries. No conversions to Protestantism follow the Fiery Cross. What Catholics lack in missionary force the Klan confers upon them. The tacit condonation scarcely less than the open encouragement of the Klan by ministers of the Baptist, Methodist and other Protestant sects, persuade men that only in the Catholic Church is there equality before God, and that only among Catholics is there no distinction of color or of race. The Klan has thus prepared the ground for a great missionary effort by the Catholic Church in this country, especially among the colored people.

Nevertheless, if the Klan were professedly Catholic, Catholic bishops would be in duty bound to condemn it, and to take drastic steps to purge the Church of all who thereafter persisted in affiliation with the Klan. But being an avowedly Protestant organization the Klan is a religious problem solely of the Protestant sects it contaminates and disgraces. The Catholic Church may commiserate these afflicted sects and may deplore a movement that affronts and scandalizes the whole Christian body, but, except in this restricted sense, the Klan is no concern of the Catholic Church, and, consequently, there has been no organized effort by the Catholics in America to meet it.

Catholics, as citizens, condemn the Klan, as they would condemn any other corrupt, lawless, disloyal and disintegrating influence in

American life. The murder of Father Coyle at Birmingham, Alabama, the burning of churches, the raiding of homes, and the whipping of defenseless men and women—such acts passing unpunished, create anxiety in our minds regarding the integrity of those who administer the affairs of the incriminated States. If we are not to impugn the integrity of these officials we must condemn their incompetence. In either case, they are unworthy to hold office, and should be banished from public life, whether they be Catholic or Protestant.

The Klan is a challenge to every loyal citizen, black or white, Jew or Christian, Protestant or Catholic. It should stimulate all to vie one with the other in salutary competition to end the present exploitation of the childish, the ignorant, the gullible, and the bigoted, to eradicate the existing impieties of the social system of the United States, and make all men subject to the law as well as equal before it; so that sectarian, sectional and selfish rights may give place to national duty.

[Most of the articles printed in this booklet are taken from the K. K. K. number of *The World Tomorrow*, published by the Fellowship Press, Inc., New York City.]

Other Little Blue Books

Drama

- 383 The Creditor. Strindberg.
 384 Four One-Act Plays.
 Strindberg.
 462 Everyman. A Morality Play.
 418 The Bacchantes. Euripides.
 335 Land of Heart's Desire.
 Yeats.
 229 Les Precieuses Ridicules
 (English). Moliere.
 309 Nobody Who Apes Nobility
 • (Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme)
 (English). Moliere.
 371 Empedocles on Etna.
 Arnold.
 376 Woman of No Importance.
 Wilde.
 354 The League of Youth. Ibsen.
 353 Doll's House. Ibsen.
 302 Wild Duck. Ibsen.
 303 Rosmersholm. Ibsen.
 350 Hedda Gabler. Ibsen.
 295 The Master Builder. Ibsen.
 80 Pillars of Society. Ibsen.
 16 Ghosts. Henrik Ibsen.
 337 Pippa Passes. Browning.
 378 Maid of Orleans. Samuels.
 379 The King Enjoys Himself.
 Hugo.
 396 Embers. Haldeman-Julius.
 90 The Mikado. W. S. Gilbert.
 31 Pelleas and Melisande.
 Maeterlinck.
 316 Prometheus Bound.
 Aeschylus.
 308 She Stoops to Conquer.
 Oliver Goldsmith.
 134 The Misanthrope. Moliere.
 99 Tartuffe. Moliere.
 46 Salome. Oscar Wilde.
 54 Importance of Being
 Earnest. O. Wilde.
 8 Lady Windermere's Fan.
 O. Wilde.
 131 Redemption. Tolstol.
 226 The Anti-Semites.
 Schnitzler.

Shakespeare's Plays

- 359 The Man Shakespeare.
 Vol. 1. Frank Harris.

- 360 Man Shakespeare.
 Vol. 2. Harris.
 361 Man Shakespeare.
 Vol. 3. Harris.
 362 Man Shakespeare.
 Vol. 4. Harris.
 240 The Tempest.
 241 Merry Wives of Windsor.
 242 As You Like It.
 243 Twelfth Night.
 244 Much Ado About Nothing.
 245 Measure for Measure.
 246 Hamlet.
 247 Macbeth.
 248 King Henry V.
 249 Julius Caesar.
 250 Romeo and Juliet.
 251 Midsummer Night's Dream.
 252 Othello. The Moor of Venice.
 253 King Henry VIII.
 254 Taming of the Shrew.
 255 King Lear.
 256 Venus and Adonis.
 257 King Henry IV. Part I.
 258 King Henry IV. Part II.
 259 King Henry VI. Part I.
 260 King Henry VI. Part II.
 261 King Henry VI. Part III.
 262 Comedy of Errors.
 263 King John.
 264 King Richard III.
 265 King Richard II.
 267 Pericles.
 268 Merchant of Venice.
 160 Lecture on Shakespeare.
 Ingersoll.

Fiction

- 482 Five Weeks in a Balloon.
 Verne.
 485 A Voyage to the Moon.
 Verne.
 454 The Unworthy Coopers.
 Haldeman-Julius.
 483 The Privateersman.
 Capt. Marryatt.
 392 Nurnberg Stove. Ouida.
 420 Great Spanish Stories.
 385 Chelkash. Gorki.
 386 Creatures That Once Were
 Men. Gorki.
 389 My Fellow Traveler. Gorki.

- 390 Death of Ivan Iyitch.
Tolstoy.
- 391 Dog of Flanders. Ouida.
- 399 Tales From Arabian Nights.
Vol. 1.
- 400 Tales From Arabian Nights.
Vol. 2.
- 107 Dream Woman. Collins.
- 108 Ball of House of Usher.
Poe.
- 162 The Murders in The Rue
Morgue and Other Tales.
E. A. Poe.
- 12 Poe's Tales of Mystery.
- 290 The Gold Bug.
Edgar Allan Poe.
- 145 Great Ghost Stories.
- 397 Irish Fairy Tales.
- 307 A Tillyless Scandal. Barrie.
- 331 Finest Story in the World.
Kipling.
- 357 City of the Dreadful Night.
Kipling.
- 336 The Mark of the Beast.
Kipling.
- 333 Mulvaney Stories. Kipling.
- 332 The Man Who Was and
Other Stories. Kipling.
- 151 Man Who Would Be King.
Kipling.
- 363 Miggles and Other Stories.
Halle.
- 377 A Night in the Luxembourg.
Remy De Gourmont.
- 188 Adventures of Baron Mun-
chausen.
- 352 Short Stories.
William Morris.
- 280 The Happy Prince and
Other Tales. Wilde.
- 143 In the Time of the Terror.
Balzac.
- 182 Daisy Miller. Henry James.
- 345 Clarimonde. Gautier.
- 292 Mademoiselle Fifi.
De Maupassant.
- 199 The Tallow Ball.
De Maupassant.
- 6 De Maupassant's Stories.
- 15 Balzac's Stories.
- 344 Don Juan and Other Stories.
Balzac.
- 318 Christ in Flanders and
Other Stories. Balzac.
- 230 The Fleece of Gold.
Theophile Gautier.
- 178 One of Cleopatra's Nights.
Gautier.
- 314 Short Stories. Daudet.
- 58 Boccaccio's Stories.
- 45 Tolstol's Short Stories.
- 21 Carmen. Merimee.
- 23 Great Stories of the Sea.
- 319 Comtesse de Saint-Gerane.
Dumas.
- 38 Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde.
Stevenson.
- 279 Will o' the Mill; Markheim.
Stevenson.
- 311 A Lodging for the Night.
Stevenson.
- 27 Last Days of a Condemned
Man. Hugo.
- 148 Strength of the Strong.
London.
- 41 Christmas Carol. Dickens.
- 57 Rip Van Winkle. Irving.
- 100 Red Laugh. Andreyev.
- 105 Seven That Were Hanged.
Andreyev.
- 102 Sherlock Holmes Tales.
C. Doyle.
- 161 Country of the Blind.
H. G. Wells.
- 85 Attack on the Mill. Zola.
- 156 Andersen's Fairy Tales.
- 158 Alice in Wonderland.
37 Dream of John Ball.
Wm. Morris.
- 40 House and the Brain.
Rulwer Lytton.
- 72 Color of Life.
E. Haldeman-Julius.
- 193 Majesty of Justice.
Anatole France.
- 215 The Miraculous Revenge.
Shaw.
- 24 The Kiss and Other Stories.
Chekhov.
- 285 Euphorian in Texas.
Geo. Moore.
- 219 The Human Tragedy.
Anatole France.
- 196 The Marquis. George Sand.
- 239 Twenty-Six Men and a Girl.
Gorki.
- 29 Dreams Olive Schreiner.
- 232 The Three Strangers.
Thos. Hardy.
- 277 The Man Without a Coun-
try. E. E. Hale.
- 334 Caught and Other Stories.
Haldeman-Julius.

History and Biography

- 490 Life in Munchingale. Moritzen.
- 370 Father Damien. Stevenson.
- 468 History of Architecture. Sheehan.
- 469 The Egypt of Yesterday: A History of Exploiting and Excavation. Moritzen.
- 393 Life of Frederick the Great. Macaulay.
- 403 History of Music. Sheehan.
- 387 History of Painting. Sheehan.
- 429 Life and Works of Swift. Gunn.
- 394 Boswell's Life of Johnson. Finger.
- 433 Life of Marat. Gottschalk.
- 436 Ibsen: His Life Aim and Influence. Moritzen.
- 395 Autobiography of Cellini. Finger.
- 412 Mahomet. Finger.
- 34 Mystery of Joan Marsh. Von Keler.
- 432 Tragic Story of Oscar Wilde's Life. Finger.
- 340 Life of Jesus. Ernest Renan.
- 141 Life of Napoleon. Finger.
- 183 Life of Jack London.
- 269 Contemporary Portraits. Vol. 1. Frank Harris.
- 270 Contemporary Portraits. Vol. 2. Frank Harris.
- 271 Contemporary Portraits. Vol. 3. Frank Harris.
- 272 Contemporary Portraits. Vol. 4. Frank Harris.
- 378 Joseph Addison and His Time. Finger.
- 312 Life and Works of Laurence Sterne. Gunn.
- 324 Life of Lincoln. Bowers.
- 323 The Life of Joan of Arc.
- 239 Thoreau—the Man Who Escaped From the Herd. Finger.
- 126 History of Rome. A. F. Giles.
- 128 Julius Caesar: Who He Was.
- 185 History of Printing.
- 149 Historic Crimes and Criminals. Finger.
- 175 Science of History. Freeda.
- 104 Battle of Waterloo. Victor Hugo.
- 53 Voltaire. Victor Hugo.
- 129 War Speeches of Woodrow Wilson.
- 22 Tolstoy: His Life and Works.
- 142 Bismarck and the German Empire.
- 286 When the Puritans Were in Power.
- 343 Life of Columbus.
- 66 Crimes of the Borgias. Dumas.
- 287 Whistler. The Man and His Work.
- 51 Brunel: His Life and Martyrdom.
- 147 Cromwell and His Times.
- 236 State and Heart Affairs of Henry VIII.
- 50 Paine's Common Sense.
- 88 Vindication of Paine. Hugsstoll.
- 33 Brann: Smasher of Shame.
- 163 Sex Life in Greece and Rome.
- 214 Speeches of Lincoln.
- 276 Speeches and Letters of George Washington.
- 114 Was Poe Immoral? Whitman.
- 223 Essays on Swinburne.
- 227 Keats. The Man and His Work.
- 150 Lost Civilizations. Finger.
- 170 Constantine and the Beginnings of Christianity.
- 291 Satan and the Saints.
- 67 Church History. R. M. Titchener.
- 266 Life of Shakespeare and Analysis of His Plays.
- 123 Life of Madame Du Barry.
- 139 Life of Dante.
- 89 Life of Mary, Queen of Scots. Dumas.
- 5 Life of Samuel Johnson. Macaulay.
- 174 Trial of William Penn.
- 300 Terrorism in France. Dumas.

Humor

- 381 Wit and Wisdom of Dickens. Swasey.



E. HALDEMAN-JULIUS

Editor

LITTLE BLUE BOOKS