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# CRISIS

Edited by W. E. B. Du Bois

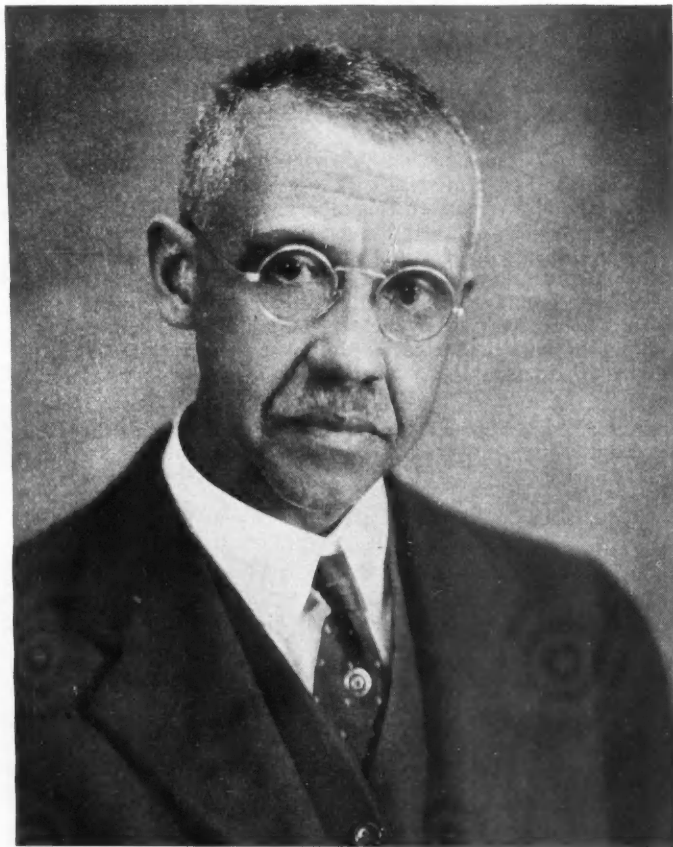
FOUNDED 1910

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## SLUM CLEARANCE IN ATLANTA

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Langston  
Hughes  
on  
Russia



Margaret  
Sanger  
on  
Birth  
Control

COLUMBUS, CLEVELAND, DETROIT

# THE CRISIS

Founded 1910  
REG. U. S. PAT. OFF

## A Record of the Darker Races

W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, *Editor-in-Chief*

George W. Streator } *Managing Editors*  
Roy Wilkins }



After all, it can't be so bad: we still have thousands to bet on horse-races.

Ibn Saud would best remember "There were three queens in Yemen"—to wit, Great Britain, France and Italy.

Says Japan politely: "Asia is my business." "But you can't change Sacred Treaties," chorus Great Britain, France and the United States. But you can interpret them," answers Japan suavely, "and this is my interpretation: Asia is my business."

We got a United States tax measure that openly proposes to tax the rich for the benefit of the poor. Mississippi has a law that taxes the poor for the benefit of the rich.

How can you pay expenses if you haven't enough money, asks the mayor of New York. He proposes to cut down expenses. The Legislature refuses to let him—almost. He proposes to increase taxes. The taxpayers rush to court. What next?

Interesting to learn that corporations which formerly charged 44c a pound for air mail can now afford to carry it for 19c and thank you for the job. Where did that extra quarter go to or come from?

The Pied Piper of Hamelin is 650 years dead and still reaps sympathy and celebration.

It's always the same: stop crime by longer sentences, more policemen, bigger guns and more hideous threats; instead of stopping crime by cutting down the manufacture of criminals.

The Gold bugs are happy; the Silver boys are hot on the trail; Copper made theirs before 1929 and Aluminum cornered enough to pay for its pending court case. One of these mornings we will get down to Brass Tacks and Iron Men.

Japan is selling cheap goods; the West is raising cheap food; the South is raising cheap cotton; and America, Asia and Europe are chockfull of cheap labor. God! What a cheap world!

If you ask us, what Washington needs is not less brains but more,—much more.

Dr. Harry Laughlin, expert in eugenics, wants none but perspective sons-in-law admitted as immigrants. Whose son-in-law? Dr. Harry's or Sam Johnson's or Isaac Finklestein's? And besides, such a rule might have been hard on Grandfather Laughlin.

Isn't the white fleet having a lovely time running about the blue ocean, spending our money and practising how to spill good, red blood? Ain't that the life? Three cheers for the red, white and dumb.

Mr. Wirt had his day in court and is presumably happier; but unless we are mistaken, his dinner engagements are going to be seriously limited this spring.

Up go the French, Russian and German armies; up go the English, Italian, Japanese and American navies, and down go Sanity, Sense and Security.

The National Chamber of Commerce accuses us of "Spending our way to Prosperity." Well, why not? We saved our way, till we got near Hell, and let you do the spending. Now we'll spend, Silas, and let you get thrifty.

Most governments are refusing to pay their debts because they have better use for their money. John Doe, in similar plight, will pay or lose his home.

After Wall Street is properly coded and regulated perhaps the Administration will attack the Numbers and give us a New Deal.

We suspect that Mr. Insull who has been traveling in the East, is real glad to be back again. There's no place like home and thank God for that.

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districts of Cleveland are ready to admit the Negro to citizenship, the Bundy-Payne-DeMaiores-Finkle combine will be swept out of office, and not a day before.

Meanwhile, Central High School on Fifty-fifth Street, is the dirtiest, most dismal looking school in Cleveland. Rubbish lines the street on both sides and to the front of the building. Ladies of easy virtue ply their trade, weaving

in and out groups of students going and coming from school. Central High has become a "colored" school. The colored constituency wants to improve the situation, and the N. A. A. C. P. branch there has worked hard. The politicians are indifferent. Central High is not accredited. The reasons are quite obvious, but the politicians trade away the power to make Central worthy of being called a high school.

violence is that, not infrequently, the local church leaves unchallenged the general assumption that the Negro is innately inferior and of little importance. Upon this assumption ultimately rests the justification of lynching."

The Negro, therefore, for his own sake, as well as for the sake of the white man, must resent segregation. It exposes him to all kinds of brutality, and develops in the white man, more and more, the traits of the brute. Segregation is bad for the black man. It is bad for the white man. There must be no let up therefore in the steady protest against it. As I said before, it may be necessary for a time to endure it, but never should it be accepted as a finality. Mr. Monroe Trotter is right, in publishing week after week in the *Guardian*, in large letters, the ringing words "Segregation for Colored is the Real, Permanent, Damning Degradation in the U.S.A." And the thought must not be allowed to drop out of the consciousness of the race, must not be allowed to be forgotten or minimized by it. If we are content to be a segregated group, our self-respect is sadly in need of repairs. The consciousness of the fact that we are men, created in the image of God, with all the possibilities open to us that are open to other race groups, needs to be quickened, to be stimulated afresh and kept vigorously alive.

The attempt of one race to put the stamp of inferiority upon another is the most shameful spectacle of which I can conceive: and is evidence, not of superiority, of which the white man is so prone to boast, but of inferiority, and inferiority of the most contemptible

## Segregation

By FRANCIS J. GRIMKE

WHY Dr. DuBois has reopened the question of segregation in *THE CRISIS* I am at a loss to know. Can it be possible that in the remotest part of his brain he is beginning to think, after all, that it is a condition that ought to be accepted, a condition that we ought to stop fussing about? If so, then his leadership among us is at an end; we can follow no such leader. That is what I wrote after reading Dr. DuBois' initial article in *THE CRISIS*.

If we have any doubt, if we are not quite clear in our own minds in regard to it, it is well to reopen it. But if we are already convinced that we are right, why reopen it? Do we need to be more thoroughly convinced, more firmly persuaded than we are that we are right? Or, will the reopening of it help to convince the white man that he is wrong? If so, well.

Underlying the idea of race segregation is that of inferiority. It is always a badge of inferiority, and is so intended by those who impose it. It is one way of expressing contempt for the segregated, on the part of those who impose the segregation. In sheer self-respect, therefore, on the part of the segregated, it should be resented. It may be necessary for a time to endure it, but it should never be accepted as a finality.

Segregation produces a condition that is not conducive to the best interest of either race. It tends to build up a false or artificial sense of superiority in the one, and is sure to create or engender in the other, feelings of resentment, of hatred, of discontent, out of which no good can come to either, but will continue to be a source of friction, of irritation.

No race, with any self-respect, can accept the status of a segregated group for itself. To do so is virtually to admit its inferiority, to be content to have limits placed upon its possibilities by another race. The whole thing is wrong, wrong in principle, wrong in spirit. It violates every principle of right and is contrary to the spirit

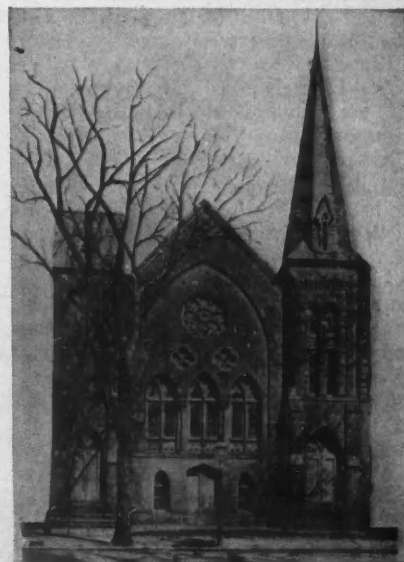
of Jesus Christ and to the noble ideal of brotherhood.

No race has a right to force upon another race the status of inferiority. And no race, however humble, however far behind in the process of development, should accept from another race such a status as its right and proper place in the Divine order of things. No limits can be placed upon the progress of a race except that which it places upon itself. Segregation is to be fought, therefore, now and always. One of the great evils of segregation is, that when a race has been segregated, when people have been taught to look down upon its members as inferiors, they are thus exposed to all kinds of brutality, to all kinds of injustice and oppression. The feeling is, they are inferior, and are not entitled therefore to the treatment that would be proper to accord to those of a superior brand. It is this sense of the inborn inferiority of the Negro, so deeply ingrained in the Southern white man, especially of the lower classes, that is responsible for much of the brutality that is manifested towards him in the South. The feeling is, "He is only a nigger." And being only a nigger anything is good enough for him, nothing is too mean or contemptible to visit upon him. This fact is very forcibly brought out in "The Tragedy of Lynching," by Arthur Raper.

Page 13, we read: "Do you think I am going to risk my life protecting a nigger?" said a county sheriff.

Page 19: "Most apologists for lynching, like the lynchers themselves, seem to assume that the Negro is irredeemably inferior by reason of his race—that it is a plan of God that the Negro and his children shall forever be 'hewers of wood and drawers of water.' With this weighty emphasis upon the essential racial inferiority of the Negro, it is not surprising to find the mass of whites ready to justify any and all means to 'keep the Negro in his place.'"

Page 22: "The most fundamental way in which the church is related to mob



Fifteenth Street Presbyterian Church, Washington, D. C.



kind. To seek to destroy the self-respect of a race, and to beget in others contempt for it, is as despicable a thing as poor, fallen human nature is capable of. The test of true nobility, of real greatness of soul is not to be found in that kind of conduct. And the white man will one day, let us hope, come to see the heinousness of it, and repent, and show himself to be a *man*,—a *true man*, in the highest and best sense of the term.

**I** PUBLISH Dr. Grimke's article with great pleasure. First, because it is a strong argument; but more especially because of the great respect in which THE CRISIS and the world holds the pastor of the 15th Street Presbyterian Church of Washington, D. C. And it is right here, and because of my thinking of this church that my real difference of opinion with Dr. Grimke comes. What Negro in the United States does not know of this institution? I doubt if there is in the country or in the world a group of people who, for so many years, have stood out for their intellectual accomplishment, their moral worth, and the sheer physical beauty of the membership. I can remember yet the thrill which I had when first I sat in this church in 1890, and realized the men and the women whose work had gone to make it.

There was the memory of John F. Cook, who founded the church and led the black people of the District of Columbia and gave them their organized schools. In these pews sat Lucy Moton, a great teacher; John Nalle, for forty years supervising principal of the schools; Willis Menard, once elected Congressman from Louisiana; George F. T. Cook, Dean of Howard; Dr. Furman Shadd, the well-known physician; Elizabeth Keckley, dressmaker to the wife of Abraham Lincoln; and members of the families of John R. Lynch, Senator Bruce, James Wormley and Richard T. Greener.

Indeed, the membership list of the 15th Street Presbyterian Church forms a Who's Who of colored Washington and a roll of honor of the Negro in America. Moreover, this church has had at its head for a half century a man of sound learning, deep thought, and unblemished moral character. A man whose physical comeliness, human sympathy, and unlimited ability to work, has made him an outstanding and constructive leader of the Negro race.

Why, then, in an argument on segregation, has Dr. Grimke said *nothing* of the 15th Street Presbyterian Church? This church is a result of segregation. It was founded because white Presbyterians could not listen to a pastor of Dr. Grimke's learning and character and

would not sit in the same pews with the distinguished people who belonged to this church. There is no use trying to salve our logic by saying that this church represents "voluntary" segregation. It represents compulsion and compulsion of the most despicable sort. Not the compulsion of sticks and stone and fists, but that withdrawal of skirts and "brotherly" advice, and unbending and unending pressure that would make an upright human being worship in Hell rather than try to be a member of a white Presbyterian Church. And yet, the separation of this class of colored people from white people was ridiculous. And what proves it is ridiculous, is the success, the outstanding success of this church. And it is only by making our segregated institutions successful and conspicuously successful, that we are going to get into our hands a weapon which in the long run is bound to kill and discredit segregation if human reason lasts. And this is the point, and the only point, where I differ with Dr. Grimke.

Dr. Grimke is perfectly right in stressing the evil of segregation, and the assumption of inferiority upon which it is based. But on the other hand, and

just as strongly and enthusiastically, he should say to the world that the 15th Street Presbyterian Church is a success; that it has been the great privilege of his life to preside over such a church and to build it up, and to have the benediction of contact with the fine and beautiful and trained human beings which have passed through it. That it would be a worthy ambition for any boy to become a minister of God and have a church of this sort, and this is true whether that boy is black or white. That consequently, having segregation forced upon us, we must not simply make the best of it. We must make our segregated institutions so fine and outstanding and put so much of belief and thought and loyalty in them, that the separation upon which they are based, and the doctrine of inferiority which led to them, will be confounded and contradicted by its inherent and evident foolishness.

In fine, we can only regret that Dr. Grimke sees in the 15th Street Presbyterian Church only the insult that caused its founding, and has no word for the magnificence of the opportunity which he has had in leading and developing it.

W. E. B. DuBois

## The Atlanta Housing Project

**T**HE first slum clearance project of the United States Government will undoubtedly be clearing up the slum district near Atlanta University. Those who founded Negro colleges between 1865 and 1870, almost without exception, chose splendid locations. Fisk overlooks Nashville; Howard looks down on Washington, Atlanta rises high above the city to the east, and Straight University is on Canal Street!

In many cases, however, one of two things has happened. Sometimes the school lay in a white residential district where the prices of land went up and every inducement was offered so as to clear the Negroes out. It was pressure like this that made Roger Williams give up its excellent site in Nashville, and is moving Straight College in New Orleans. In most cases, however, the white city simply neglected the surroundings of the colored college, so that old and broken down buildings and dwellings abounded; there was little re-building, and that which occurred was without thought or plan. The city did little paving and neglected the sewage, and very often undesirable industrial plants took

advantage of the cheap land and established themselves almost at the school doors.

Around Atlanta University there were some nice homes of colored people, but for the most part, white capitalists built cheap tenements, and after a lapse of years, these began to fall in ruins and to harbor questionable characters. The new Atlanta University, comprising the University and Morehouse and Spelman College, and having at present Morris Brown College as a tenant, has been especially solicitous to have the University area a center of the better class homes. This might have been accomplished by individual effort if the prosperity following the war could have been permanent. As it was, back of the University, toward the new Booker T. Washington High School, a number of beautiful and convenient homes were erected by colored people. They cost, however, outrageous prices in interest and financing, and sometimes three and four families have attempted to finish the buying.

After the depression, any thought of doing anything for the mass of colored