

ing up the court house steps and Sid turned a little to wave at Mr. Collins. Just then he was shot in the back.

"I saw him falling. I looked at my husband and he was falling loose from my arm. Lively and a man with heavy-rimmed glasses were shooting. I was begging, 'Oh please Mr. Lively don't shoot Ed any more.' He was already dead then. With me begging like that he just walked down to where Ed was lying with his right cheek on the stone landing and put his gun behind his left ear and fired twice. Then I whacked him over the head with my umbrella and he called me a dirty devil.

"Then they kept me inside the court house until the blood was washed off the steps. Nobody tried to make any arrests but I saw the man with glasses and hollered that I wouldn't leave until he was arrested."

Mrs. Hatfield's story was similar. "They treated us awful dirty. I tried to get Sid to take his guns when we left the hotel but he said 'No, that wouldn't look very nice.' "

But gunmen to guard Garyism constitute a problem not peculiarly West Virginian; it is national. The same Senators of the Committee on Labor and Education who are investigating West Virginia have been urged for a year past, by public bodies and private individuals, to initiate legislation to "regulate" or abolish the so-called labor detective agencies. "America is the only country which tolerates large-scale, well-financed privately-owned corporations furnishing labor spies and armed strike breakers"; investigation after investigation has furnished to the Senators the details of how some spies work into union offices and others with arms break the laws or cloak their operations under corruptly administered law. Various cities and states recently have considered or have passed laws against such detectives but the federal government has not stirred.

After the Senators have heard West Virginia witnesses on the workings of the detective system and Kentucky witnesses and Alabama witnesses—will they summon Mr. Gary? Will Mr. Atterbury of the Pennsylvania Railroad also go to testify at Williamson, West Virginia? The Pennsylvania, through stock ownership and interlocking directorates, controls the Norfolk & Western, which is almost the only railroad into the non-union counties and which owns the company which leases 295,000 acres of Pocahontas coal lands. In recent months General Atterbury has been "spelling" Marshal Gary in the drive against unions.

Both gentlemen are but imperfectly on record as approving the use of labor detectives. Mr. Atterbury has said: "We have our own employees who may volunteer information and we employ the

Pinkerton Service. They are men already in the labor organization." Mr. Gary has termed "splendid" and has widely circulated an apology for his policies which reads: "Does anyone doubt the wisdom, justice and necessity of a spy system on the part of the United States Steel Corporation?"

But both witnesses may be anxious to make their position clear in regard to West Virginia. Do they approve the mine guard system on the coal lands which their companies control? Baldwin-Felts men draw high pay and the armament of the system, including machine guns, aeroplanes and lawyers, is expensive; do the witnesses from the east help support the system? Do faithful and zealous non-union independent operators in Logan have assurances of steadier markets with certain great railroads and steel plants than do other operators?

If the leaders of Garyism make it plain that they sanction the system in West Virginia and if Congress clearly declines to burden our great unrestricted labor detective industry with federal "regulation," the effect on the mountaineer-miners ought to be quieting. The entire government of the nation will have spoken. The miners, their minds at peace, will beat their guns into coal-picks and sink underground and the feet of the detectives' machine-guns will be beautiful upon the mountains.

The K. K. K.

THANKS to the New York World, we have now in full view one of the most grotesque and at the same time one of the most horribly revealing exposures of a debauched and exploited public mind. If some enemy of America, some infuriated German, had invented the World's story of the Ku Klux Klan, people would have thrown it away contemptuous and bored. Those oaths? Those rituals? Those insignia and declarations and regalia? No satirist could have got people to believe them. But they are true, and the outrages that have sprung from them are real. It is fantastic, but it is the outcome of a long preparation to which America has been subjected by creatures who have been permitted to usurp the name of America.

It is, in its way, an extravaganza in which much of the United States is broadly caricatured. For many years the fraternal societies of this country have been in the hands of men who thought they had imagination. The best they could do, however, was to call themselves or one another by such paltry titles as Supreme Chancellor, Great Record Keeper, Supreme Ranger, Grand Exalted Ruler or Imperial Potentate. At a bound "Colonel"

Simmons of Atlanta has surpassed every one of his timid forerunners. As the Imperial Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan he has gone into the business of invisible empire with a terminology that no modern Kingdom can emulate. What is a Knight Commander of the Bath or a Knight of the Garter compared to a Grand Goblin or an Exalted Cyclops? What is a Goldstick-in-Waiting alongside a Klaliff or a Klarogo or a Klexter? What are recruiting sergeants compared to Kleagles? This man Simmons has not hesitated to lavish honorific titles: he has laid them on thick and in a short period he has, he boasts, enrolled 650,000 native-born white American citizens, Protestant gentiles, from whom he himself and the Kleagles have collected \$6,500,000 in dues, not to mention the profits on "literature" and on the fool's caps and the white sheets in which the Knights wrap themselves. (The regalia costs \$1.25 to make and sells for \$6.50.) In every state in the union except three, in the north and west rather than the south, Emperor Simmons has found his ripe fruit waiting merely to be plucked. He and his Kleagles have been extremely busy picking plums.

As the New York World outlines the story of the Ku Klux Klan in the course of its admirable exposure, much credit, it seems, must be given to Edward Young Clarke, Imperial Kleagle, a professional publicity man and "drive" promoter. Here, again, we have the note of savage caricature. It has long been supposed, and it was pretty well demonstrated through the war, that almost anything can be "sold" to some section of the public if the right "technique" is employed. Mr. Clarke has gone beyond most drive promoters in being able to sell religious bigotry and race hatred at the cost of \$10 per bonehead. By flattering the native-born Protestant gentile white American, by depicting the United States as secretly endangered by Jews, Roman Catholics, Negroes and foreign-born American citizens, a fair proportion of simple jungle-minded folk, all over the country, have been induced to take oaths of red-blooded Americanism. The Kleagles, or salesmen, become solemnly "naturalized" in Mr. Simmons's invisible empire. They pledge him loyalty of a kind that no President gets even from postmasters, and they go through "a blasphemous and sacrilegious mockery of the holy rite of baptism"—all with a view to their going out for recruits on the basis of a forty per cent commission.

What prepared the United States for this eruption of primitive superstition? Mr. Lusk and Mr. Stevenson and their secret paid spies and secret volunteer agents are in part entitled to the credit. This is plainly an outcropping in final idiocy of the many tyrannical manifestations with which

this country has been afflicted since Woodrow Wilson as President yielded completely to illiberalism and gave Burleson and Palmer carte blanche. It is not so many months since the National Security League paved the way for the Ku Klux Klan. In the activities of that and similar organizations, in the intolerances of the American Legion, in the attacks on civil liberty that culminated in such events as the Albany expulsions, the more jungle-minded Americans have naturally been led to believe that 100-per cent Americanism really calls for an "invisible empire" on the lines of imperial wizardry. It is, apparently, as a tribute to the banal Loyal Coalition of Boston that the Ku Klux Klan declares itself anti-Sinn Fein. All the balderdash in which native-born Americans have indulged in recent years seems to have coagulated in this cesspool of the Ku Klux Klan, to be ladled out by its Kludds, its Klokards and its Kleagles, as a poison which the feeble-minded cannot distinguish from anything but normal "loyalty."

Feeble-minded it is, rather than evil-minded; but it is impossible for so much feebleness to become organized without becoming a danger to the people outside the Invisible Empire. Among primitive intelligences everywhere, whether in New Jersey or in the Melanesian Islands, secret societies are likely to be alluring. But where the anthropologist can watch with quiet interest the antics of a Banks Islander who disguises himself in a mask or an animalhead, the apparition of the Ku Klux Klan calls for something besides the anthropologist's note-book. In every American community people ought to know the terrorizers. These born terrorizers do not need to be terrorized in turn. But they do need to be insulated by those who have no religious bigotry, no race hatred, no superstition and no fear.

The New **REPUBLIC** *A Journal of Opinion*

PUBLISHED WEEKLY AND COPYRIGHT, 1921, IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA BY THE REPUBLIC PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC., 421 WEST TWENTY-FIRST STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y. HERBERT CROLY, PRESIDENT; ROBERT HALLOWELL, TREASURER; DANIEL MEBANE, CIRCULATION MANAGER.

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YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION FIFTY-TWO ISSUES, FIVE DOLLARS IN ADVANCE. SINGLE COPIES FIFTEEN CENTS. CANADIAN SUBSCRIPTION FIVE DOLLARS AND FIFTY CENTS PER YEAR IN ADVANCE. FOREIGN SUBSCRIPTIONS, FOR COUNTRIES IN THE POSTAL UNION, SIX DOLLARS PER YEAR IN ADVANCE; REMITTANCE TO BE MADE BY INTERNATIONAL POSTAL MONEY ORDER.

ENTERED AS SECOND CLASS MATTER, NOVEMBER 6, 1914, AT THE POST OFFICE AT NEW YORK, N. Y., UNDER THE ACT OF MARCH 3, 1879.

Gunmen in West Virginia

AND after the body of federal troops now in West Virginia is withdrawn, what then? It is not the first time, nor the second time, that federal troops have been sent into the state since the mine war started in Mingo county. It is the third time—in one year. The second time, the federal intervention was more impressive than the first; and now, the third time, it is more impressive than the second. What is to follow this intervention?

When "order" is restored by the troops' presence, they will be withdrawn, of course, as after the first and second interventions. Will it be necessary a few months later to send the troops in for the fourth time? And a few months after that, for the fifth time? It is too likely that the answer will be "yes," unless the operators in the non-union field change their attitude, and unless the government of the state of West Virginia changes its policies.

The reason for saying that the answer probably will be "yes" is that the conditions in the non-union field are such as have always caused men to resort to force, and the federal troops have not in the past, and will not this time—they cannot—change those conditions. The "order" they restore is suppression of violence, not normal, healthy, sanely adjusted relations. They put the lid on and sit on it; they do not touch the stewing mess inside the pot, and when they are moved from the lid, it is flung off again, and one of the worst stench of American life in this day fouts the air.

If there were nothing involved in the struggle but the question of unionization, it still might be settled more or less amicably with the operators victorious. It is doubtful that such a settlement would be enduring, for in general the coal operators of West Virginia are not of the breed of men to whom can be safely entrusted the power that inheres when wealth, class conscious and easily organized into a unit, stands opposite thousands of ignorant and unorganized laborers. They have proved in the past that they are not of the breed wisely to hold such power, as will be seen. But it is conceivable that if only unionization were involved, the operators might have their way, since, I believe, they have paid substantially as good wages as are paid in the union fields, and have afforded on the whole as good housing conditions; and they might remedy some of the objectionable features of the working conditions, and of their relations with their men.

But it is bootless to view the struggle now as turning principally upon the question of unionization. Unionization ceased to be the controlling issue soon after the fight started, and it has become less and less the controlling issue as time has passed. The operators' use of gunmen has created, or rather it has intensified, an issue that has burned deeper into the hearts of the miners than any question of unionization could ever do. In every period of this fight, the presence of Baldwin-Felts detectives has led to an occurrence which poured oil upon the fire of hatred in the miners' breasts. This is not to say that the miners are without guilt. On the contrary, it is a fact that the total number of acts of violence on their side is greater than the total on the operators' side. But it is also a fact that the operators started the fire, and either they or the gunmen have since never failed to throw oil upon it at the moment when the most harm could be done.

Eighteen months ago the effort to unionize the mines of Mingo county was under way. Promptly, the operators began to discharge the men discovered joining the unions. They followed the discharges by using the blacklist when it suited them to do so, and by evicting miners from company houses. As though that policy were not enough in inflaming the passions of the men, one of the coal companies, in May, 1920, did an atrocious thing that became the spark that started the conflagration. Some of the miners refused to get out of the company's houses, basing their action on leases that had not run out. Thereupon, the company sent Baldwin-Felts detectives, gunmen as they are known in the mining region, who threw the miners and their families and their possessions out. There were twelve or fourteen in the party of detectives, only one of whom had any semblance of legal authority in the county. He was one of the Felts brothers, and had one of those deputy sheriff commissions so easily procured by operators' agents in the non-union fields. The detectives were not law officers; they were merely men with rifles and revolvers who got off a train, did their ugly work, and prepared to get on another train.

The justification for this action, as I have heard it from the operators' representatives, is this: The leases the miners held, setting forth that they should have possession of the houses for stated periods, were not leases in the usual sense. That was so, it seems, because the courts of West Virginia had held that the relation between the oper-