

"Come," Sarah said, "it's late— Let's go in."

She took Dev's hand, meaningly, and drew him with her past the girl back to the dimly lighted doorway.

"Come, Bunny," she called, as they stepped inside.

There was no response from without, and they stood together—absorbed, tense, in a suddenly pregnant waiting. At length, with a warning gesture, Sarah left him, and stole toward that slim, white silence.

"Bunny," she murmured, "I'm sorry, dear— Did I make you sad?"

"Go away— Go, Sal," Bunny's answer trembled, "I want Dev!"

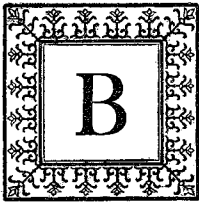
Dev came, as if the call had reached him before the words were spoken; and Sarah turned to look back at their merged figures, cloaked by the dark, sweet night.

"Suppose I hadn't known!" she thought, in sudden awe. "Suppose they, too, had had to live on crumbs!"

Ricky was coming to-morrow, for just one day.

## The Battling South

BY GERALD W. JOHNSON



BYOND peradventure, the most startling contribution made to American history by the South since the beginning of the century is the origination of the Ku Klux Klan.

Not a few critics have assumed that it is the only noteworthy contribution, which is not the case; and some have concluded that it is the first of a series of similar contributions, which is unduly pessimistic. The activities of the singularly unknightly knights have centred upon the South innumerable searchlights of criticism, some of which illuminate it and some of which merely bathe it in the color of the critic's individual prejudices, but all of which tend to make it squirm. The South went into shadow in 1865. It is unaccustomed to occupying the centre of the stage. In the sudden and unflattering prominence which the Klansmen have achieved for it, it shows to little advantage. It has forgotten the art of make-up, and in consequence all its warts stand out terrifically.

One result of the section's inability to put its best face foremost has been the growth of a theory that the States which Mr. Mencken designates as "the late Confederacy" are of a distinctly different order from the remainder of the forty-

eight in that they have diverged from the highroad of American development and have followed a bypath which has led them into fens and quagmires; and that this erratic course was their deliberate choice to begin with, and has not been regretted since. This reasoning leads inevitably to the conclusion that the South must be dismissed as a possible field of development of American culture.

To substantiate this theory there is the Ku Klux Klan, and behind the Klan a group of incredible hoodlums sent from the South to Washington with commissions to high office, and behind the hoodlums the hideous record of lynchings in the United States for the last fifty years. There are the illiteracy statistics, from the standpoint of an educated people absolutely damning in their implications. There is the notorious artistic sterility of the region. There is its prevailing impermeability to ideas. There is its political Bourbonism.

Unhappily, these are not matters of opinion, but facts, all too easily demonstrable. The history of the South as a part of the republic is now divided into two almost equal parts by the Civil War. The disparity in the record of visible Southern achievement in those two periods is astounding. The former included the gift to the nation of a group of giants

almost unrivalled in its history. What other group of leaders has influenced the nation more profoundly than George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, John Marshall, James Madison, James Monroe, Andrew Jackson, Henry Clay, and Abraham Lincoln? But since 1860 almost the only Southerner who has impressed the country as powerfully as the least important man in that list is Woodrow Wilson, and he went into the service of the nation by way of New Jersey.

Great Southerners simply have not appeared above the national horizon since the Civil War, which lends color to the theory that the civilization that produced them is to be counted one of the casualties of the war, along with the doctrine of secession and the institution of human slavery. The fact that the assumption is painful to Southerners does not make it any the less the natural view for others to take. No candid Southerner can review the record of the last fifty years without realization of the fact that the positive alarm with which his section is viewed by the rest of the country is not altogether unjustified. That alarm is real enough, for it is based on the known frailties of other sections. The astonishing and sinister success of the Ku Klux Klan in the North and West is amply sufficient evidence that religious fanaticism of the most unenlightened type is no monopoly of any section. Were the South to devote its energies to the organization of bigotry and prejudice, it would unquestionably find a great following north of the Potomac and west of the Mississippi. The results might easily prove disastrous. America—not the South alone—lacks as yet sufficient enlightenment to be immune to social poisons administered with the skill which Southern demagogues admittedly possess.

Then if the typical Southern demagogue can mobilize and captain the energies of the South, the outcome will be portentous for the rest of the country and tragic for the South, for those energies are immense. Because the section was prostrated by a fearful war and lay for a generation quiescent, some superficial observers assumed that it was moribund. That has been proved an error. It was convalescent. The last quarter of a cen-

tury has witnessed its material and physical regeneration. By comparison with the best-endowed sections of the country, the South is still poor; but by comparison with its own condition forty years ago, it has recently gained enormous wealth. By comparison with Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York, it is sparsely populated; but, except in Florida and Texas, its population per square mile is well above the average for the United States and far above the average for the whole area west of the Mississippi. A section possessed of great wealth and a huge population is necessarily powerful. But, theoretically at least, it is as powerful for evil as for good.

In so far as material progress is concerned, the recovered strength of the South is admittedly being used wisely and fairly efficiently. In 1857 a North Carolina insurance company wrote into its policies a clause cancelling the contract if the policy-holder, between June and October, travelled below the southern boundary of South Carolina and Tennessee. The explanation was the prevalence of yellow fever and pernicious malaria in the Gulf States. These are two horrors that have been abolished by the energy and intelligence of Southern health officials. With them have gone the hookworm and typhoid fever, while chronic malaria has been driven into the more stagnant backwoods communities. Insurance companies now make no invidious distinction against any Southern State. Much the same story can be told of other public works. The greatest construction companies in the North and West now regularly arrange to shift a considerable proportion of their personnel and machinery to the South during the winter months, on account of the great demand for engineering work which there can be carried on all the year. Many Southern cities are as handsome as any towns of similar size anywhere in the country. Within the last ten years a marvellous change has come over them in the matter of hotels, for instance, and excellent paving has come to be the rule, rather than the exception. There is a rapidly increasing group of philanthropic Southern millionaires, to endow hospitals and schools. The mushroom-like growth of hydro-

electric plants has brought modern conveniences, not only to every city and village but to many isolated farmhouses as well.

"All this," as the Lord of Montaigne remarked of the Cannibales, "is not verie ill," but in an otherwise attractive polity the essayist found a fatal defect—"but what of it? They weare no kinde of breeches nor hosen." Haberdasheries, indeed, cover the South in every direction, and pantaloons are worn universally, but of the moral and spiritual investiture of the natives there is more to be said. The veracious Mr. Lewis assures us that George F. Babbitt lives in a house of excellent architectural lines, tastefully furnished by a well-known firm of decorators, and located on a beautiful boulevard in the handsome city of Zenith. No doubt he patronizes a good tailor, too, but the moral and spiritual nakedness of Babbitt has become nationally symbolical. The financial and material development of the South may be admitted without invalidating the inquiry into whether or not its spiritual nudity is assuming the proportions of an American scandal.

In other words, the South is proved capable of producing millionaires, forests of smoke-stacks, Rotarians, clean, comfortable cities, and advertising clubs. It is also proved capable of producing the Ku Klux Klan, lynchings, persecutions of biologists, and ignorant, ruffianly politicians. To put the most charitable construction upon it, the account, thus far, is about balanced. There is in the account here presented no perceptible sign of the existence of the civilization which was illuminated, during the first half of the republic's existence, by the long line of illustrious Southerners from Washington to Robert E. Lee. If that civilization is extinct, smoke-stacks and Rotarians can never replace it. If that civilization is extinct, the South is dead, and its material activity is not a genuine revival, but a species of galvanism, the horrible twitching of a cadaver stimulated by electricity.

The Southerner who would accept such an interpretation would be a pessimist indeed, but in the face of the facts those who reject it are under the necessity of furnishing some explanation of the faith that is

in them. This is easier said than done. There are reasons, and they are understood by most Southerners; but to make them intelligible to the rest of the world is a task of some difficulty, because the rest of the world is for the most part ignorant of all save the superficial aspects of history in the South since Appomattox.

The South's losses in wealth and manpower during the conflict of the sixties are known of all men. What is rarely understood outside the South is the fact that the most prodigious loss did not occur until after Lee had surrendered. That was the loss of the tradition of government in accordance with the law administered by the people's representatives, which the South had inherited in common with the rest of the American people. It is evident that the stability of any form of self-government depends upon the respect of the people for the institutions that they have erected for their own governance. If there is any Anglo-Saxon inheritance from the seven centuries that have passed since Runnymede, that inheritance is comprised in the individual's willing submission to the institutions that the people have set up.

But it is just this inheritance that was wiped out of the Southern States by the aftermath of the Civil War. The blast of hatred that seared the country through four murderous years incinerated whatever remnants of mutual understanding may have survived the controversy over slavery. When the war ended, neither section was capable of harboring decent sentiments toward the other. A crazy fanatic shot Lincoln. A Northern general manacled Jefferson Davis. Each instantly became the archetype of his section in the minds of the people of the other section. The fact that these mental images were equally false is entirely irrelevant, because it was upon the images, not upon the truth, that men based their actions in those bitter days. And the actions were real enough.

The North had the upper hand, and the North acted upon the assumption that it was dealing with a treacherous and ignoble foe, who would hesitate at nothing, not even at assassination, to escape the admission of defeat. One does not argue with the rattlesnake; therefore the North

proceeded to make a vigorous and determined effort to murder the autonomy of the South. With bayonets at their throats, the Southern States were compelled to subscribe to the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, which the North believed would assure to the negroes equal participation in government. Not content with that, the victor then disqualified the white South to participate in its own government, thereby turning control over to the blacks.

The South, equally blinded by its bath of hatred, promptly assumed that nothing short of total destruction of Southern civilization would slake the blood-thirst of the North, and that appeals to Northern reason, justice, and generosity would be so much wasted breath, as no such qualities existed north of the Potomac. One does not argue with a homicidal maniac, armed to the teeth; therefore the South abandoned the theory of government by the will of the majority and resorted to government by trickery.

The result of these misapprehensions was the horror summed up for Southerners in the word "Reconstruction." All the fruit of the toil of statesmen, all the structure of government, from the magistrate's court to the organic law of the republic, was corrupted and tainted for the South. So it was forsworn. Those bulwarks of democracy, respect for the orderly processes of the law, acceptance of the sanctity of the ballot, loyal support of the institutions of popular government, instead of being the marks of the good citizen, became disreputable when the law, the suffrage, and all the institutions of government were in the hands of newly freed slaves, who had had no part in their creation, and no training in their proper use. When all men of proved character, ability, and trained intelligence were debarred from participation in government, who could respect it? After all, respect for government is predicated on government's being respectable, which it was not in the South in the late sixties.

The Constitution of the United States, the Congress, the courts, and the federal army all decreed that Southern white men should not rule in their own country. So Southern white men consigned to hell the Constitution of the United States,

the Congress, the courts, and the federal army, and ruled anyhow. But to do it they had to terrorize negro voters, stuff ballot-boxes, horsewhip judges, and in general violate the principle of submission to the constituted authorities which is the foundation of orderly and enduring government by the people.

None the less, by this process the South lost more than the war had cost her. Destruction of the citizen's belief in his government was destruction of the moral values accumulated through seven centuries of training in self-government. Nobody knows this better than thoughtful Southerners; but at the time when the damage was done nobody in the South looked far beyond the immediate necessities of the moment, for it was then apparent that the end of all things was at hand. After a few years the leadership of the South did wake up to a realization of the abyss to which the rule of violence was leading. The moment of its awakening is easily fixed in history—it is marked by the sudden subsidence of the wilder manifestations of revolt and the dissolution of the original Ku Klux.

But work of the sort that went on in the South in the late sixties and the early seventies is never easily undone. Re-establishment of the prestige of the repudiated institutions has been tremendously difficult. It has been so difficult that the effort has absorbed the energies of the ablest men in the South to the exclusion of well-nigh everything else. The leadership that it might have supplied to the nation has been fully occupied in recapturing the leadership of the South itself, trying to sweep back the tide of demagoguery, ignorance, stupidity, and prejudice that the dynamiting of civilized government loosed upon the luckless country.

But a leader, no matter how able, who confines himself to advocacy of public education, obedience of the law, and respect for the sanctity of the ballot, will hardly impress the country as a brilliant and original captain of democracy, seeing that those things are taken for granted in sections not chained to such a body of death as Reconstruction fastened upon the South. Passionate advocacy of the theory that two and two make four is not



calculated to impress the faculty of mathematics; yet if that theory had been seriously and resolutely challenged, it might be far more difficult to prove it than to establish the Einstein hypothesis. The theory that every honest man owes obedience to the law, respect to the courts, and support to the institutions of popular government has been challenged in the South; and the fight to re-establish it has been the main concern of the best minds of the section for two generations.

There is nothing brilliant, nothing spectacular, about this battle. It is a sort of fighting as dull and obscure as it is murderous. An Edgar Gardner Murphy can wear his life out in it, and beyond the boundaries of his native Alabama hardly any one will know that he has lived and died. Who was Murphy? Only a theologian, who stood manfully against negro-phobia and child labor. It rarely occurs to a Northerner that in Alabama twenty-five years ago such a stand required a chevalier as stainless and as fearless as Bayard. A Charles Brantley Aycock can lash himself to his work until outraged nature revolts, and apoplexy strikes him dead with his boots on, in the midst of a plea for the common schools. But few will note his passing. Aycock? Only a North Carolina politician, who, as Governor, in the beginning of the century argued rather ably for public education. But the man had the gift of swaying the mob, and he might have had any office he chose, simply by swimming with the tide. On the contrary, he chose to champion huge expenditures for education in a State that had been completely looted in the name of public works, including education, some twenty years before. It was political suicide, and, as the event proved, physical suicide from overwork.

Here are two Southerners who will never have a place in any national Hall of Fame. They might easily have deserted and gone North, where their brilliant talents would have been recognized and fittingly rewarded; but the very fact that they chose poverty, obscurity, and apparent defeat in their native section is as heroic as any exploit of the military idols. The Jackson at New Orleans, or the Jackson in the Shenandoah Valley,

never fought better for the South. Nor do I believe that the man who wrote the Declaration of Independence, or the man who established the authority of the Supreme Court, laid foundations more enduring; for, while Murphy is dead, Tuskegee exists in Alabama, in spite of the Ku Klux Klan, and the State has a good child-labor law. While Aycock is dead, North Carolina now spends annually for common schools twenty-three times as much as she spent when he was Governor, and votes \$13,000,000 for a single building programme at the State university and two State colleges. They flung their lives away, but they broke the phalanx. The South has never lacked men who would die for it on the battle-field. These are two who gathered the spears of ignorance, suspicion, and prejudice to their breasts and died like Winkelried.

The number of their peers is beyond computation, for the hardest part of these men's lot in life is that often they must go unrecognized even by their neighbors—nay, distrusted, disliked, sometimes persecuted, by their own people. But the conclusive evidence of the power of their opposition to the forces of disintegration is the very fact that the South has not lapsed completely into barbarism. On the contrary, she emerges steadily into the light. Demagoguery is still rampant below the Potomac, it is true, but where has it been completely stamped out? Fantastic and unbelievable ruffians still appear in Washington from Southern States, but Oscar Underwood has Alabama behind him, regardless of the Anti-Saloon League, and Virginia stands to Carter Glass, even though he dared speak and vote against the bonus. Perhaps most significant of all, six years ago when the guns were still thundering, North Carolina re-elected Claude Kitchin, who spoke and voted against war with Germany; and this in spite of the fact that the National Defense League declared that the spy-hunters found less evidence of disloyalty in North Carolina than in any other State of the Union. If these facts are not convincing proof of the growth of a liberal spirit below the Mason and Dixon line, consider this: William Louis Poteat is both a biologist of repute and president of a college supported by the

Baptist denomination in North Carolina—this with the Kentucky solons legislating Darwin out of the schools, and Bryan raging like a pestilence through Florida. Furthermore, at its last meeting the Baptist State Convention gave President Poteat an overwhelming vote of confidence, evolution and all!

It would be too optimistic to assert that the end is in sight, and that the date when the South will come once more under the sway of the spiritual heirs of Jefferson and Marshall can be fixed, even approximately. But it is not too much to say that the fight for moral domination of the region veers now toward men of the old school. This material prosperity helps. The South makes too much of it, no doubt. Every section that attains it makes too much of it for a while. But it is giving Southerners the leisure that is essential to the production of an aristocracy. It is, in Mr. Wilson's phrase, releasing the generous energies of the superior minds of the section, and by giving to inferior men property, it gives them a stake in social stability and orderly government, which makes them wonder-

fully amenable to reason. With increasing leisure comes also increasing interest in the graces of civilized life and in the beautiful arts, an interest that enables the Carolina Playmakers to establish a state theatre that actually pays its own way, that enables Nashville, Tennessee, to set up a symphony orchestra, and that finds expression in a dozen poetry societies and in such magazines as the *Richmond Reviewer* and the *New Orleans Double-Dealer*.

Small gains, if you please, but gains; and the fact that there are any gains at all is sufficient evidence that the destructive forces now operative in the South are not unopposed. The social order that produced William Joseph Simmons and his Ku Klux Klan, that sent To-Hell-With-the-Constitution Blease to the United States Senate, that lynched fifty-four negroes in 1922, and that persecutes scientists who repudiate the medieval theology of hedge-priests, is challenged every year with increasing sharpness and vigor by the civilization that produced the Declaration of Independence, the Bill of Rights, and Robert Edward Lee.

## Iseult or Lilith

BY BERNICE LESBIA KENYON

BE not confused. I am Queen Iseult; she  
Is Iseult-of-the-White-Hands, whom you know  
Made for your moment's hope, but who must be  
After a time your spirit's overthrow.

Or I am Lilith, formed to your desire;  
She who is Eve may keep her delicate claim  
Upon your heart, while your good days expire,  
And lost, you cry my unforgotten name.

I am the wildness that no god created.  
Matched with your own divinity, I hold  
The flame of being, to all time related—  
Fused in a fire that proves the suns are cold.

Seek of the fair White Hands—seek of sweet Eve  
Release from your high hour's importunings . . .  
I shall be with you when you come to grieve  
The passing of these momentary things.