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Chapter II: Radicalism and the Negro

Revolution accelerates evolution. Gradual advance is expedited by epochal upheavals. Social progress is wrought through change. Stability begets stagnation. Perfection is an ideal of perpetual approximation. Traditional values must ever and anon be restated in terms of contemporaneous demands.

The world today is in process of radical readjustment. The relationship of the rich and the poor, the laborer and the overlord of labor, the strong and the weak, the white and the nonwhite races of men, must be adjusted in harmony with the progressive spirit of the times. The germ of the new idealism has inoculated the blood of the world and thrown it into throes of delirium. The social fabric is being battered with the shocks of doom. Riot and revolution are rife. Action and reaction are always equal, but in opposite directions. The whole creation groaneth until now. It is the travail of the new birth.--6--
World Restlessness

The World War has upset everything, and, so far, has settled nothing. The upset world must now be set to rights. Germany has been physically overpowered but not inwardly conquered. Her tough Teutonic spirit has not been broken. She is writhing under the sting of defeat, and planning troubles anew. Russia is in the hands of the riotous "Reds." France is trembling in the balance of insecurity. Italy is dominated by the Socialists. The Laborites in England are waiting the next election for a conceded victory. The fate of the British Empire will soon fall into the hands of a class unaccustomed to exercise power and domination. Neutral states are not immune from internal confusion. The Balkan States are breathing out hatred and slaughter. China and Japan are pitted against each other by connivance of the white man's cunning to divide and control. Ireland is in revolt against the tyranny of Anglo-Saxon dominion. Egypt and India are dreaming of the hour when they shall be able to throw off the yoke of British overlordship. There is no abatement of customary turbulence in the South American Republics. The United States is seething with internal turmoil and confusion. Labor is all but ready to try conclusions with--7--capital. We have seen the Labor unions shake the finger of defiance in the face of the Government, and wrest the demanded concessions. The advice and counsel of the President of the United States have been flouted, and his good offices and kindly suggestions rejected with scorn. The decree of the courts has been regarded as little more than a scrap of paper. Strikes everywhere abound. We have seen race riots raging along Pennsylvania Avenue, the national thoroughfare which runs from the Capitol where the laws are made to the White House where they are supposed to be executed. Surely the times are out of joint.

Surface sores are but the outward manifestations of inner disease. The scourge of war with its grewsome toll of blood and treasure was not the cause but the consequence of worldwide social dissatisfaction and unrest. Indeed the war in all probability relieved the severity of the shock. The upheaval might have come with greater suddenness and virulence had not the war intervened. The violent cough is the outcome of the irritation of the lungs. Sagacious statesmanship, both in Europe and America, clearly foresaw the coming of the evil day. William Jennings Bryan, like blind Cassandra, prophesied its coming, but none would believe him. Theodore Roosevelt was the greatest--8--American who has lived since Lincoln died. Through clear foresight and courageous conservatism he staid the revolution for half a generation.

Woodrow Wilson and the Negro

The late Woodrow Wilson believed that he could hold a restless world in poise by the soothing balm of pleasing phraseology. His single-track, double-acting mind moved with equal celerity, sometimes with and sometimes against the onswEEPing current which he sought to guide and control. He was no

whit abashed at the tangle of moral paradoxes in which he frequently found himself enmeshed. He followed the lead of events only long enough to gauge their tendency and trend in order that he might make himself appear to guide them. He frequently reversed his course, and proceeded to the new goal with utter disregard of logical sequence or ethical consistency. It is utterly impossible to tell whether he underwent a genuine conversion of heart or a prudent shift of mind. The same lack of consecutiveness and consistency appeared in every great issue which he was called upon to handle. Elected the first time upon a platform which condemned renomination, he accepted a second term, and connived at a third with convenient forgetfulness. He--9--forced his party to change its declared attitude on the Panama Canal by threats of calamity which he alone foresaw. Habitually opposed to national female suffrage, after the propaganda had gained significant proportions, as belated entrant, he then outran the other disciples. He kept the nation out of war while the presidential campaign was on, and without additional provocation plunged it into war when the election was over. After Germany had committed every atrocity with which she has subsequently been charged, he issued a proclamation to the American people urging them to refrain from discussing the moral issues involved lest they disturb the serenity and composure of the German mind. At first an ardent advocate of the Washington policy of no entangling foreign alliances, he sat at the head of the Council Table and tied his country to alliances which are unentangleable. The apostle of new freedom for mankind ignored its application to the freedom in America. The high priest of democracy in Germany became the obligated beneficiary of oligarchy in Georgia. He played at peace and war successively with Huerta, Villa and Carranza, and yet our Southern neighbor remained untranquillized and defiant. In one breath he declared that politics should be adjourned during the progress of the war, with--10--another he urged the country to return a Democratic Congress as more easily pliant to his imperious will. As head of the nation he congratulated the Republican Governor of Massachusetts upon his victorious stand for law and order, and as head of the Democratic Party he felicitated the successful Governor of his own State and party, who won the election on the declaration that he would make the nation as wet as water, thus subverting all law and order. The highest world exponent of derived powers, he swiftly overleaped all precedents in the assumption of unauthorized power. Elected President of the United States, he made himself the chief magistrate of mankind. He reversed the world motto; his charity began abroad rather than at home. He believed in democracy for humanity but not for Mississippi. Abraham Lincoln's gospel of freedom was immediate; Woodrow Wilson's was remote. The one believed in the freedom of the Negro; the other in the freedom of nations. President Lincoln wrought for the United States of America, Woodrow Wilson for the United States of the World. The former never uttered one insincere or uncertain word; the utterances of the latter rarely escape the imputation of moral ambiguity. By marvelous assumption of superior insight, he propounded--11--preachments and compounded idealistic theories as infallible solvents of all social ills. He retired into the secrecy of his inner consciousness and evolved his famous Fourteen Points -- the new "tetra decalogue," which he was the first to violate and ignore. The advocate of open covenants openly arrived at proceeded to the Peace Conference enshrouded in the sacredness and secrecy of Sinai, and returned with the League of Nations written upon the tablet of his own conception with the finger of finality. Although the newly conceived League of Nations transcends the Constitution and Declaration of Independence, "anathema, maranatha" be upon the head of that impious statesman who would add or subtract one jot or one tittle from the law oracularly vouchsafed by the ordained lawgiver of the world.

President Wilson was indeed the greatest phrase-maker of his age, although each preceding phrase was apt to have its meaning nullified by a quickly succeeding one. "The Nations should be permitted to shed all the blood they please"; "we are too proud to fight"; "there must be peace without victory," have already taken their places in the limbo of innocuous desuetude. Such lofty expressions as "to make the world safe for democracy"; "overridden peoples must have a voice in the governments--12--which they uphold"; "the only way to stop men from agitation against grievances is to remove the grievances" still await vindication in light of sanctioned and condoned practices. To the Negro these phrases seemed to possess the sinister suggestion of hollow mockery under the guise of holy democracy. Mr. Wilson would strengthen the chain by ignoring the weakest links. His abstract doctrine broke down at the point of concrete application. The Negro question, the most aggravating moral issue

of American life, was avoided or thrust aside as hopelessly impossible. He handled this issue with less positiveness and moral aggression than any president since James Buchanan. Under pressure of political exigency or military exaction he indited several of his customary notes on this question, but their lukewarmness indicated that they might have been written with the left hand as the easiest riddance of a disagreeable issue. On promise of political support, he pledged Bishop Walters the full recognition of the Negro's claims. Shortly after election he sent the name of a Negro as Register of the Treasury. His Southern partisans protested. The nomination was withdrawn. The promise was ignored. It must be said that the President's change of attitude or shift of mind was usually in the direction--13--of progress, aggression and courage; on the Negro question it was in the direction of timidity, negation, and reaction. President Wilson appeared to be at once the greatest radical and the greatest conservator of the age. Under such leadership the American people -- white and black -- had to face the issues which then confronted the world.

The Old Order and the New

But the struggle grows apace. No man can move very far forward or backward the hand of the clock of time. The fullness of the hour has come; the conflict is irrepressible. A better dispensation is at hand. Human relations must be adjusted on the broad basis of righteousness and brotherhood. Shall the process of adjustment be peaceful or violent? Can the old bottle hold the new wine? Can the tree of liberty be saved by pruning away the dead limbs or must the ax be laid at the root of the tree? The awful sacrifice of the past six years will have been in vain unless it results in a securer fabric of social order than the one that has been shaken down. The new order must be ushered in; the old order must pass away. The passing régime, based upon the divine right of kings, the avarice of power and the arrogance of race, dies hard. The new order must rest upon liberty,--14--fraternity, equality for all the children of men. Conservatism is the inertia of human nature. An imparted impulse tends to move forever unaccelerated in speed and unmodified in direction. Innovation is universally denounced and condemned. Tradition is the dead hand of human progress.

Despite the terrible ordeal through which the world has just passed, there is a persistent tendency to revert to the previously existing status in government and social polity. The vanquished nations may enter the kingdom of freedom ahead of the victorious allies. Realignment in Germany is moving more rapidly than in England, and with amazing illogicality adheres to the exploded tradition of King and hereditary class. America, with scarcely less blind devotion, bows down to the idols of the past. Standards and methods of a hundred years ago cannot fix the guidance of the people to the end of days. The fathers laid the foundation on the eternal bedrock, but left the structure uncompleted. The war has not yet wrought a radical change in the heart of the nation. The old ideals still seek to perpetuate themselves. The Civil War radically readjusted social opinion and conduct; but the World War so far has brought forth only vacuous phraseology. The old spirit still persists with stubbornness. The nations--15--are vying with each other in selfishness and greed. The world is held in equilibrium by the parallelogram of forces rather than the paragon of principles. The strong exploit the weak; the rich oppress the poor; the white lord it over the black, the yellow and the brown.

The belabored League of Nations, which Mr. Wilson relied upon with amazing optimism to cure all human ills from militarism to the measles, is based upon the dominance of five great powers over a score of weaker ones. England still holds Ireland, Egypt and India in the clutches of her overlordship. The United States has a strangle-hold upon Hayti and San Domingo, Japan insists upon supremacy in the Orient. France demands the spoils of victory. Britannia still rules the waves. Labor is still interpreted in terms of money rather than manhood. The laborer is besought to be satisfied with whatever the generous overlord, who exploits his labor, may graciously dole out to him in the form of wages or under the guise of philanthropy. The Negro is expected to resume his wonted place of inferiority as if he had not felt the moral energy and self-elation of the new awakening. The world has been bathed in blood, but not baptized with the spirit. Religion has functioned, but feebly. The church has looked on with pitiful impotency, while--16--every principle which it professed has been trampled under foot. The voice of conscience has been crying in the wilderness with no language but a cry. No

great leader in church or state has yet arisen with moral virility to meet the new demand. Archaic platitudes and worn-out moral maxims will not cope with the new situation. The doles of charity will profit but little. There must be quickened a keener appreciation of the inherency of the manhood of man. All programs of reconstruction not based on this conception are but soothing syrup to relieve the delirium; leaving the internal malady untouched.

Bolshevism

The one distinctive dispensation which has come out of the conflict, decisively different from existing conditions, appears in Russia. The new philosophy proclaims that those who work with the hand shall exercise exclusive right to rule. This is a radical departure from the aristocratic theory wherein those who work with the hand were excluded from participation in government. Bolshevism is the antithesis of autocracy. It is democracy run mad. The pendulum swings with equal ease to either extreme and finally rests at the middle point. The true order of things lies midway between--17--Russia under Nicholas, the Czar, and Russia under Trotzky and Lenin, the ruthless Radicals. Bolshevism has thrown the world into a spasm of convulsion for fear its example might become contagious and imperil the foundation upon which social order rests. The first effect of release from autocracy is, naturally enough, extreme experiment in democracy. The Russian peasants being crushed for centuries under the iron heel of tyranny, are over-elated with the first taste of self-direction. Liberty is the medium between license and oppression. Moderation is the golden mean between the extremes of indulgence and deprivation. The term Bolshevism, etymologically considered, means the rule of the majority and it is equivalent to democracy in the Russian tongue. Menshevism, the rule of the minority, corresponds to the detested term, oligarchy, in the English speech. The world extols democracy and detests oligarchy; but when these expressions are translated into Russian speech and practice, the feeling is reversed. The rule of the majority in Massachusetts is called democracy; the rule of the majority in Mississippi would be condemned as Bolshevism. We should not allow ourselves to be frightened at a phrase. It is not the word itself that disturbs the world, but rather the abuse in the hands of radical expounders--18--who would push it to the verge of unmitigated madness. We are reminded of the attitude of the European monarchies when the democratic spirit began to exert itself a hundred and a half years ago. Conservative thought and feeling of that day believed that it threatened the stability of social order and was destructive of accumulated values of all generations that had gone before. The old monarchies bound themselves in alliances, holy and unholy, to stamp out the doctrine of democracy which threatened the destruction of the world order. History repeats itself. Order will rise out of chaos.

The denunciation of Bolshevism rests upon the familiar charge that when government is placed in the hands of the peasant class without traditional inhibition and self-restraint, it will inevitably pull down the Temple of Liberty and Justice, involving all in common ruin. This argument is parallel in every particular to the justification for the overthrow of reconstruction governments in the South. The French Revolution passed through the same range of experiences. Majority controlling a complex constituency always entails serious difficulties. Its seeming failure is always greatly exaggerated and ridiculed and condemned in terms of loud denunciation.--19--

Macaulay on Liberty

Lord Macaulay declares: "The final fruition and permanent fruits of Liberty are wisdom, moderation and mercy. Its immediate effects are often atrocious crimes, conflicting errors, skepticism on points the most clear, dogmatism on points the most mysterious. It is just at this crisis that its enemies love to exhibit it. They pull down the scaffold from the half-finished edifice. They point to the flying dust, falling bricks and comfortless homes, and frightful irregularity of the old appearance and then ask with scorn where the promised splendor and comfort are to be found. There is only one cure for the evils which newly acquired freedom produces. That cure is more *freedom*."

"Many politicians of our time are in the habit of laying it down as a self-evident proposition that no people ought to be free till they are fit to use freedom. The maxim is worthy of the fool in the old story

who resolved not to go into the water till he learned to swim. If men are to wait for liberty till they become wise and good in slavery, they may indeed wait forever.

Ariosto tells a story of a fairy who by some mysterious law of her nature was condemned to appear at a certain season in the form of a foul--20--and poisonous snake. Those who injured her during the period of her disguise were forever excluded from participation in the blessing which she bestowed; but to those who in spite of her loathsome aspect pitied and protected her, she afterward revealed herself in the beautiful and celestial form which was natural to her, accompanied their steps, granted all their wishes, filled their houses with wealth, made them happy in love and victorious in war. Such is the spirit of liberty. At times she takes the form of an atrocious reptile. She grovels, she hisses, she stings, but woe to those who in disgust shall venture to crush her! And happy are those who having dared to receive her in her degraded and frightful shape, at last shall be rewarded by her in the time of her beauty and her glory."

The world today might well take this lesson to heart as it applies to the retarded and belated peoples of all lands struggling to set themselves free. American institutions have nothing to fear from this neo-democracy which for the moment is delirious in the first flush of release from an intolerable tyranny. There is no ground in America upon which Bolshevism may grow. Our people are too intelligent and understand too well the beneficence of free institutions. Our danger lies in failure to live up--21--to the platform of our own principles. The best way to make vice odious is by making virtue odorous. We will most surely discredit the vices of Bolshevism by exemplifying the virtues of Democracy. Our Ship of State, if kept headed straight to the Haven of Liberty, will weather every gale.

Common Cause of Aggrieved Groups

The American Negro, representing a suppressed and aggrieved class, cannot be incurious or indifferent to the effort which any struggling people is making to throw off the yoke of tyranny and oppression. He has no interest in or sympathy for Bolshevism or any other radical doctrine excepting so far as it may seem to suggest relief from existing evils. It is perfectly natural for any new propaganda to seek support among the dissatisfied groups wherever they may be found. The greatest reformer of all time appealed to the restless, the despised, the rejected and the aggrieved peoples of his day: "Come unto me all ye that labor and are heavy laden and I will give you rest." The French nation during the American Revolution encouraged the colonists to revolt against the mother country and helped them to throw off the yoke of oppression. Lafayette and Washington joined forces because of a--22--common grievance against England. The descendants of these glorious heroes joined hands with the descendants of their ancient foe, by reason of the common grievance against Germany. The German nation, logically enough, sought to encourage Irish revolt against Great Britain and met with hospitable reception. The hanging of an Irish peer with a silken cord may put an end to the unholy alliance, but not to the deep-seated grievances of the irrepressible Celt. The Germans also sought to foster dissatisfaction among American Negroes because of the alleged grievances against democracy's illogical attitude towards them, but the seed fell on stony ground. President Wilson, supposing that the German people entertained grievances against the Prussian autocracy, advised them to join with him to rid themselves of their tyrannical government, but subsequent events proved that he failed to fathom the Teuton's deep-seated love for overlordship.

There is a widespread belief that the Bolsheviks of Russia are disseminating their doctrine among the American Negroes and are finding converts among them. A new propaganda is always persuasive in its promises to the oppressed to whom it appeals. The Bolsheviks of Russia have made an American Negro a Cabinet officer under the Soviet Government. This--23--is in striking contrast with our Democratic Policy, which accords no Negro an office of firstclass importance, although this Government is supported and upheld by ten million loyal people of this race. The Socialists and Industrial Workers of the World, it is said, are making overtures to the Negro workingman by holding out more flattering considerations than those which he received at the hand of organized labor. Any new party is apt to write a better platform than an old one. Political parties degenerate in moral quality

and tone when they are harnessed with concrete responsibilities. These appeals will find little lodgment in the mind of the Negro. His conservative nature makes him for a long time bear the ills which he has before flying to those which he knows not of. There are doubtless a few minds of the race to whom such doctrine might appeal. This is not surprising for there are many white Americans, native and foreign-born, who give hospitable ear to the new doctrine. In every race there are to be found men of a certain type of moral temper and mental oddity who will be swayed by the wind of any new doctrine; but the wind of false doctrine will pass away with its own blowing. There would be no Negro radicals if the wise policy were pursued by those who would vindicate the beneficence of American--24--institutions for all the peoples who are true and loyal to them. If the American people would only follow the advice of President Wilson, "the only way to stop men from agitation against grievances is to remove the grievances," there would not be found a single one of the ten million of this race in the ranks of restlessness and discontent.

Alien Propaganda Among Negroes

It is the policy of cunning to make a doctrine detestable by casting odium upon its advocates. It appears that the leaders in this new agitation against existing order are recruited in large part from the ranks of dissatisfied foreigners who do not understand or appreciate the beneficence of American institutions. They fly from the oppression of the old world to the freedom of the new; but abuse the asylum which offers them shelter and protection. America cannot be expected to receive hospitably foreign radicals who would destroy the house that gives them shelter. Insidious attempt is being made to align the Negro with the restless and dissatisfied foreigners, a thing which would at once deprive him of the tolerance which he has always received because of his unfaltering patriotism and loyalty, whatever the circumstances of his lot. But it does not require the--25--persuasion of the Bolsheviki to make the Negro dissatisfied with injustice. He does not need the advice of the Industrial Workers of the World to feel keenly the sting of industrial discrimination. No foreign propaganda is required to cause him to denounce Jim Crow cars. His feelings are not so numb that he must await the urgency of Socialism to make him cry aloud against lynching. Such supposition would prove the Negro is not a normal human being and does not voluntarily feel the sting of cruelty, injustice and wrong which should meet with universal condemnation. It used to be thought that the Negro, if left to himself without outside intermeddlers, would be satisfied with any condition that might be imposed upon him. That day is past. His self-insurgency of spirit rebels. But if external stimulus were necessary to excite a quickened sense of resentment and resistance to the iniquities which he suffers, it need not be looked for in the plausible and specious pleas of the Bolsheviki, Industrial Workers of the World, or the propaganda of native or foreign Socialists. He absorbs it from the new atmosphere which the World War has created. President Wilson became the mouthpiece of the new freedom of humanity. His high declarations quickened the spirit--26--of resentment and resistance of every aggrieved group in the world.

Suppression of Free Speech

Attempt is made to throttle the expression of dissatisfaction on the part of the Negro against the wrong and injustice which he suffers. A proposition has been made on the floor of Congress to shut off free speech of the Negroes who would give vent to their just complaints. It must be conceded that in times of war the Government has the right to commandeer the life, property, and the conscience of the people in order to save itself from destruction. Beyond this, universal experience proves that the suppression of complaint against grievances is the very best way to advertise them. During the anti-slavery controversy the South used every endeavor to shut out freedom of speech. The detested agitators were bodily banished. *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and other literature baring the evils of slavery were forbidden circulation; but such prohibition did not prohibit full and free discussion of the merits of that moral issue. William Lloyd Garrison, the chief apostle of freedom, went so far as to denounce the Constitution as being "a covenant with death and an agreement with hell." For such assertion today, he might be given free passage--27--on the ark of the Soviets or lodged in jail with Eastman and Debs. But the result of free discussion was to vindicate the integrity of the Constitution, and to purge it of this

alleged evil alliance. Any attempt to limit free speech on the part of the Negro, except for the purposes of war, would merely serve to make martyrs of those whose voice is suppressed and further disseminate the doctrine which they declare. The best way to promote any doctrine is by persecution and martyrdom.

Kindness and Cruelty

The Negro's soul is prepared soil for the sowing of good seed which quickly takes root and springs forth into abundant harvest, but the seed of destruction and discord finds uncongenial reception. Denmark Vesey and Nat Turner had few followers and no successors. On the other hand, the seed of the Christian religion found Negro nature a congenial soil where, without cultivation, it has grown into luxuriant harvest. The Negro masses can easily be aroused to frenzy by religious or patriotic appeal, but respond very slowly -- if at all -- to the appeal of hatred, animosity and revenge. The race is slow to anger and plenteous in mercy. The Department of Justice would more effectively perform its function by using--28--strenuous endeavor to secure justice for the Negro rather than by trying to stop his complaint against injustice.

Radicals and Conservatives

Since time began, mankind has been divided into two groups of temperament -- the radical and the conservative. The radical is habitually dissatisfied with the existing order and seeks change through revolution. He would rather prove all things than to hold fast to what is good. The conservative is disposed to be content with things as they are and deprecates effort at reform. Social progress is the resultant of these two conflicting tendencies. In the fundamental sense, there are comparatively few Negro radicals. The Negro nature possesses the conservatism of inertia. Some Negroes are cautious, while others are courageous in the expression of their conservatism. The cautious conservative believes in amelioration through moderate modification, as distinguished from the radical who advocates change for the love of innovation. The Negro who is content with existing conditions is a satisfied simpleton, while the Negro who advocates the destructive radicalism is a distracted idiot. Before the World War, the race leadership was divided into two hostile camps based upon--29--quiescence on the one side and assertion on the other. There never has been a Negro conservative in the sense of satisfaction with existing status, but merely in the sense of prudential silence in the face of wrong. All right-minded Negroes everywhere and at all times must want equal and impartial laws, equally and impartially applied. Any other attitude is simply unthinkable. Every Negro today who is using his brain above the dead level of a livelihood is pronounced in demanding the full measure of manhood rights. He would not be a worthy American if this were not so. Any individual or group of individuals who are willing to accept without protest less than the fullness of the stature of American citizenship is not fit material for the new order of things now about to be ushered in. The leaders of any suppressed people should speak boldly, even though they be ambassadors in bonds. It is not impossible for the Negro to be courageous and sensible at the same time. He must recognize conditions which he may not be able to overcome, but he must not let such conditions cow his spirit or sour his soul.

The Voice of the Negro

The highest function of the higher education of the Negro is not merely to produce a set of--30--educated automatons who can ply a handicraft or practice a profession with creditable cleverness, but to develop a class of men who can state the case and plead the cause of the masses in terms of persuasive speech and literary power. Their voice should not be controlled or constrained by any outside coercion. Their attitude must be candid and courageous if they would fulfill the high function of interpreting to the world the feelings, hopes and aspirations of the people who look to them for leadership and direction. Every institution of learning, North and South, has produced its quota of leading Negroes who are now insisting upon the fulfillment of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States. This courageous attitude is shown by Trotter of Harvard; Dubois

of Fisk and Harvard; the Grimkes of Lincoln; Frazier Miller and Murphy of Howard; Johnson and Hershaw of Atlanta; Ferris and Whaley of Yale; Hurst and Ransom of Wilberforce; Pickens of Talledega and Yale; Daly of Cornell; Abbott of Hampton; Brawley of Morehouse; and Barber and Owen of Virginia-Union. It is no reflection to say that those Negroes today who take any other public attitude are operating on a lower level of moral courage and intellectual understanding, and are moved by motives of thrift or constraint--31--of prudence. This spirit is not limited to the educated Negro, but pervades the entire mass of the race -- the man between the plowhandles, the mechanic applying his tools, the miner in the bowels of the earth, the waiter standing behind the chair while his white lord and master sits at meat, the barber with his razor, the menial in the humblest service -- all feel and are actuated by the same spirit, and are moved by the same impulse. Although they may not be able to give voice to the sentiment which they feel, they quickly respond when it is expressed and interpreted for them. The new Negro has arrived. The war has developed a new spirit. In the time of revolution there is but a tenuous partition between timidity and cowardice. If Booker T' Washington were living today with all the high prestige of his personality, patronage and power, he would not be able to hold the Negro to his avowed doctrine of prudential silence on the issue of manhood rights.

Hopes Aroused by the War

During the war the nations relied upon the forgiving spirit and patriotic emotion of the Negro and that reliance was not in vain. Although he had just cause for deep dissatisfaction, he held his grievances in abeyance, but not--32--in oblivion. He was a good American while the war was on and wishes to be considered as an American now that the war is over. His valor and courage contributed in full measure to the consummation of the struggle. The slogan of democracy was harmonious to his ear. It aroused in him hopes and ambitions that he would enter as a full participant in the fruition of that democracy which he was called upon to sustain and perpetuate. He was given every assurance that the nation would no longer deny him a just share in the new democracy which his courage helped bring to the world. Andrew Jackson advised the Negro troops who won the belated victory behind the fleecy breastworks of New Orleans to return to their masters, and be loyal, obedient servants, but no one now expects the Negro soldiers of the World War to revert with satisfaction to the status they occupied before the war for the emancipation of mankind.

Racial Equality

The final outcome of the war must be the fulfillment of the Tennysonian prophecy:

"Where the common sense of most shall hold a fretful world in awe;

And the kindly earth shall slumber lapped in universal law."--33--

Four hundred million members of the white race today are dominating twice their number of the non-white peoples of the world. They are at present superior in the development of concrete and concerted power and lay arrogant claim to superiority as inherent race endowment. By some sort of divine favor it is claimed that they are predestined to rule over their darker brethren for all time to come. The darker and at present the feebler races cannot recognize the justice of this claim, and would seriously question the justice of that providence which ordains one-third of the human race to rule over the other two-thirds to the end of days.

The Negro a Natural Conservative

The conservative elements of the nation -- white and black -- who would test the values of American institutions must unite in determined effort to withstand reckless revolution which threatens to shake the foundations of existing world order. It will require united effort of all men of sound judgment and conservative temper to uphold and vindicate the integrity of our laws and institutions, purged as they must be of injustice and inequity. The nation looks to the Negro as a great storehouse of conservatism.-34--Before entering upon the war the Government began to count upon its reliable resources. The devotion and loyalty of the Negro were regarded as a certain asset. In the past this has been the

loyalty of inertia -- the blind altruistic devotion to flag and country. In the future this loyalty will not be less emotional or ardent, but more intelligent and self-enlightened. The Government said to itself that the good-natured and unresentful Negro will quickly forget all of the indignities and outrages heaped upon him and join with his white fellow-citizen in upholding the glory and honor of the flag which he has never failed to magnify and adore. The Negro has been prone to exhibit the spirit of humility and forgiveness -- the crowning glory of the Christian graces. He has loved his enemies. He has done good to them that spitefully use him. He has returned love for hate and good deeds for spiteful usage. Booker T. Washington, the personal embodiment of the blamelessness of the Negro, has declared that no white man could be so mean as to make him hate him. However cruelly and unjustly the nation might treat the black man, he has always responded, "Though you slay me, yet will I serve you." But the acerbity, not to say the bitterness, of W. E. B. --35--DuBois very strongly indicates that this submissiveness of spirit is not universal and may not be everlasting.

Circumstances Alter Racial Character

Although these characteristics have prevailed up to the present time, and are still operative, we cannot rely upon their everlasting continuance. Circumstances not only alter cases, but characteristics as well. There is no such thing as unchangeable racial character. The Hebrew race possessed the spiritual genius of the world as long as they were shut in to a peculiar environment which encouraged the development of spiritual talent, but when they became scattered abroad among the gentiles they forthwith lost their spiritual ascendancy. There has not arisen a single Jew with transcendent spiritual genius or originality since St. John died. The Greek mind reached the loftiest pinnacle of thought and genius as long as the environment favored the development of this peculiar form of culture, but the lapse of two thousand years does not indicate that this race possesses today the slightest trace of that intellectual subtlety which gave rise to "the glory that was Greece." God has made of one blood and of one mind and of one spirit, all nations to dwell on the face of--36--the earth, and has set as the bounds of their habitation no geographical lines or racial limitations, but the natural boundaries of land and sea which fix the confines of human habitability. Race and color are physical and geographical attributes, and do not permanently determine mind and spirit. All races in the long run will respond to the same stimulus in the same way. The Negro is perhaps the most adaptable and chameleon-like of all the races of man. He takes on the quality of the environment in which he is involved. He is a Mohammedan in Turkey; a Catholic in South America; a Protestant in the United States; a Frenchman in France; an Englishman in Jamaica. He helps Peary find the North Pole and assists Goethals in digging the Panama Canal. There is no type of human culture which he does not readily absorb and assimilate. He has learned the white man's language, borrowed his religion, and conformed to his political policy in all the ends of the earth. He reads his literature, and is quickened by his ideals, hopes, and aspirations. He has also absorbed a goodly measure of the white man's blood, carrying with it an asserted quantum of disposition and spirit.

The Negro cannot, therefore, develop meekness--37--and humility in an environment of resentment and aggression. The white man will not let him do so. Hatred begets hatred, as love begets love. It is an imperfect knowledge of human nature that expects the white man to preserve his attitude of overlordship, revenge and disdain while the Negro, nourished with the same nature, will forever remain passive and forgiving. It is too much to hope that he will forever requite cruelty with kindness and hatred with love and mercy. The nation cannot expect to humiliate the Negro eternally with Jim Crow cars, disfranchisement, segregation, and lynching, and expect him to assign his love and devotion in perpetuity. If the victims of mob violence were equally distributed throughout the nation, there would be standing a blood-stained tree in every county in the United States as a ghastly reminder to the Negro of the crucifixion of his race. Unless this barbarous tendency is checked, lynching will become ingrained in the warp and woof of the national character. Would the nation, then, have the moral right to demand the Negro's love and devotion? The nation must destroy lynching or lynching must destroy the nation. Let us fondly hope that the Negro will be forever true to the nation; but let us fervently--38--pray that the nation will prove itself worthy of his affection.

Race Riots

We have heard of late very much about the so-called race riots in several parts of the country. Although these riots do not indicate an aroused spirit of revenge, they do suggest an awakening purpose of self-defense. But these outbreaks were perpetrated by a small element of lawless whites against the Negroes who merely acted on the defensive. Mr. Dooley has complained that the Negro is "too easily lynched." To paraphrase the famous statement of Frederick Douglass, "The people who are lynched easiest, will be lynched oftenest." But there has not been, and let us hope that never shall be a race riot in the full sense of the term, where all the members of one race will be arrayed in violent hostility against the other. In these recent happenings we have had the conservative masses of both races, white and black, uniting to quell the riot and put down lawlessness. In acting on the principle of self-defense, the Negro has but followed the advice of Abraham Lincoln, who in the Emancipation Proclamation advises the people set free to refrain from all violence except in necessary--self-defense. The moment the Negro goes beyond the limit of self-defense, aggressive violence will mean self-destruction. But there is no likelihood that the Negro will ever become the aggressor. He is the victim, not the perpetrator. The wolf always has some sinister purpose when he accuses the lamb of muddying the stream above him. It is entirely probable that all conservative elements of this nation will be appealed to in the approaching Presidential election to uphold the integrity of the courts. The finality of the courts lies at the basis of free institutions. We have already seen two of the most distinguished Americans leading campaigns to upset this doctrine. The Negro complains that he can hardly secure justice at the hands of the courts. The white man precipitates race riots, the Negro is punished by the courts. A recent survey has been made showing how difficult it is for a poor man to receive justice, but there is a double difficulty when the applicant is both poor and black. And yet when this appeal is made, the Negro, although it places a severe tax on his devotion, will be found standing shoulder to shoulder with his conservative white fellow-citizen in vindicating the majesty of the law and upholding the finality of the judiciary as the last word in the settlement of human issues.--40--

The Integrity of American Institutions

As outcome of the World War, every nation except our own will probably have its governmental structure radically modified and readjusted. Our institutions are pedestaled upon the Declaration of Independence, and though the winds of revolution may blow, they will withstand the fury of the storm, because they are founded upon the eternal Rock of Ages. No other foundation can be laid than that which has been laid. We may hope to live up to but can never transcend the conception therein contained. The spiritual genius of the Hebrew race gave the world the everlasting, never-changing religious truth. Through inspiration of the intellect, the Greeks have given us the formal laws of thought which never can be changed. The founders of our government with no less political genius have formulated for all time the right law of political procedure. The Constitution was founded in the midst of slavery, but the founders had the projected discernment to transcend these regrettable incidents which they knew would pass away with time. Had their vision been fully caught by the immediately succeeding generations, the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments would have been unnecessary. But when the--41--first test came to justify their faith and vision, there sprang up a new set of political thinkers with a double portion of the spirit of the old. They completed the purpose of the founders by the necessary addenda to the Charter of Liberty. Abraham Lincoln justified the faith of Thomas Jefferson. The Emancipation Proclamation was the fulfillment of the Declaration of Independence.

Not to Destroy, but to Fulfill

And now in this day of world dissatisfaction and unrest, we need not doubt the validity of the foundation on which we rest. The way has been left open for progressive adjustments to meet the requirements of events. Orderly amendments may be added in harmony with the progressive need of the human race. But unless the new additions are in alignment with the old foundation, the superstructure will topple and fall. The Negro has no hope outside of the Declaration of Independence and its embodiment in the Constitution of the United States. There is no other power under Heaven whereby he might be saved. It is the greatest human instrumentality for the profound development of mankind. The world

revolution will but disseminate the blessing of American institutions among the other nations of the earth. This is--42--the light that lighteth the path of every struggling people of the world. The Negro must insist, with incessant insistence, upon the exact fulfillment of the declared purpose of American institutions. Not only his own self-interest, but the integrity of their high purpose as well, demands that he should do this. Let him insist upon every American right with the "i" dotted and "t" crossed, but woe be to him who would lay destructive hand to tear down this Temple of Freedom. The Negro will be the last of all to give hospitality to such unholy thought. When it is considered what American institutions have done, and are calculated to do for this race, despite the past disappointment and present hopes deferred, he might well exclaim, "Though all men should forsake you, yet will not I." The Negro will seek remedy for his grievances under the flag, and will uphold the institutions which it symbolizes and extols. There is a divine discontent, but there is also a diabolical spirit of disturbance. The Negro will not be allured by the arguments of distracted, destructive radicals who, like Job's wild wife, would curse and die. The reckless radical is without the restraint of law and reason and is guided only by the license of a disordered imagination. He would strike at the chastity of women, the integrity of the home,--43--and the regnancy of law and order, and the beneficence of divine providence, while setting up a materialistic dispensation which begins in appetite and ends in death. The Negro will have none of this, but joins with the courageously conservative forces of this nation, not to destroy the law, but to fulfill.