"An Epitaph For Dixie" -- Of Computations On A Balance Sheet

By HARRY S. ASHMORE

The Literary Boom

It is a singular fact that the Old South, with its aristocratic pretensions to learning and culture, produced no men of letters above the rank of the minor poet, Sidney Lanier, and the novelist, William Gilmore Sims. It is even more noteworthy that the New South has seen a literary boom that matches and may even surpass its economic emperators.

nomic renascence.

I do not intend to join here with the rictius who are bemused by the fact that the most illiterale such as the summed of the fact that the root illiterale such as the summed of the summer of th

special aura of decidence rather than a formal pursuit of the masters.

Whatever the cause, there can be no doubt that Mississipph has an unusually high per capita incidence of writers who manage to make a living at their trade. There is, first of all (and perhaps for posterity first and last), William Pauliber. The Oxford his heart of the critics, despite an assistious effort back in the Thirties, have found that they simply cannot ignore him, and now he has received the international accolade of a Nobel Prize. Spun off, in a sense, by Faukher's enormous talent (not consclously, certainly for if there is a Paulikner school the master does not already the control of the co

would have to be included in any sampling of serious American literature.

As I have suggested elsewhere, it seems to me that Faultser has spoken important truths about the nature of Southern society. Yet, so far, his has generally been shackward view; he has been primarily concerned with how Yoknapatawpha green to frame a universal human tragedy within a social microcoum, those who attempt to interpret the broader Southern scene in Faulkner's dimensions are subject to an inevitable distortion, Indeed, when Faulkner himself departs from his concern with the central conflict between good and evil and deals with transient matters, he displays a sort of tortured natives. In his concern with the central conflict between good and evil and deals with transient matters, he displays a sort of tortured natives. In his concern with the central conflict between good and evil and deals with transient matters, he displays as ort of tortured natives. In his concern with the central conflict between good and evil and the service of the service of the service of the service of the fact of the fact

Economic Determinism

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This would seem to align Faulkner with
the economic determinists, which is
strange or any and the faulkner with
the economic determinists, which is
strange and med of man who in
his fiction treats so profoundly with the
complexities of the Southern mind. I suppose there are in Mississippl and elsewhere
in the South still a good many planters
who are interested in keeping the Negro
in his place primarily as a guarantee of
an adoquate supply of cheap field labor.
But I must say it has been a long time
since I have met one who even discussed
down in the Della country where the tractors and the glant, spiderlike cotton pickers
snort across the black land, there is more
likely to be talk of the problem of keeping
the hands busy.

and now along the highways of the Mis-sisppil Valley there moves a remarkable arade of battered trucks filled with dry-cokes — Mexican migratory workers rought across the border on legal con-ract to work their way north through the lanting season and back south again with he cotton harvest. A friend of mine, who is late as ten years ago kept sixty families in the work of the same and the same pily three. He has transferred some of is acreage to beef cattle pasturage, and he handles the rest with machinery, chem-als, and day labor.

ne hancies the rest with machinery, chemicals, and day labor.

It seems to me, then, that the Mississippi literary view is not only special, but somewhat out of date, I am not suggesting supply the supply of a supply of a

censure.

Considering Baby Doll and its relationship to contemporary life under the magnolias, Harry Golden in his Carolina Israelite has offered this substitute scenario outline as being closer to the mark:

I would have Eil Wallach play the

THE BALANCE SHEET

The economic interests of the South are running strongly against the area's emolional attachment to stagregation. This conflict may be an important factor in ultimate determination of this problem. In this chapter of "An Epitaph for Dixis," Harry Athmore, South Carolina-born executive editor of the Arkanian Gazette, examines the factors in this struggle.

role of a manufacturer of Indies' foundation garmentis; alps and brassleres, with a factory on West International Ladies a factory on West International Ladies Garment Workers Union is after him to sign a new centract and Ell (Ilke so many hundreds of others) decides to clear out of New York, He makes arrangements for a new factory in the magnile-acented town of Kenileworth, South Carolina, where the folks are raising a half-million dollars to provide Ell with the new factory building.

To throw the union off the track, Ell calls his new brassiere factory "Baliance but the has made one hig mistake. He has recently promoted Baby Dell, his former model, to a fifty per cent partnership in his business and she is now following him down to Kenliworth in her new Jacquar. And this is where old Karl Maden comes in. Karl plays David Dubinsky, who have been keeping an eye on Baby Doll all this time, and he catches up with her in Charlotte, North Carolina. They play hide and seek in an old plantation house which out he was the catches up with her in Charlotte, North Carolina. They play hide and seek in an old plantation house which out he was not the standard of the standard

Mayor of Kenliworth is dedicating the new factory:

"We are mighty proud of the new factory, Mr. Ell, and on behalf of all your good nelighbors of Kenliworth I hereby hand you this certificate which makes your company rent-free, water-free, power-free and tax-free for the first five years of your operations; and one thing more. Mr. Ell, and I'm certainly mighty proud to be able to say this to you-all here with no trouble and you can be sure of one thing — you'll never be bothered by them union fellows down here . . ."

Just then Baby Doll rushes onto the grandstand, followed by David Dubinsky, who waves the newly-signed union contract and shouts into the loud-speaker: "We start pleketing tomorrow!"

Negroes Aided

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The fact is that the dominant economic interests in the New South — granting a few local exceptions—not only are not engaged in any calculated effort to keep the Negro in his place, but are providing a significant counterbalance for the incendiary activities of the Citizens Councils and the control of the control of the control of the new force o

that the existing level of tension isn't doing their handsomely mounted promotional campaigns any good.

A few weeks before the 1954 Supreme Court ruling in the school cases I paid a call on a Southern business executive who call on a Southern business executive with one of the state of the

might?

I told him I thought the odds were that they would, and that this, of course, raised the possibility of racial violence in the South. He sprang from his chair and between the course of the c

the possibility of racial violence in the south He sprain from his chair and began pacing.

"We can't have it," he said, his voice rising, "My God, if the Klan starts riding again and kicking nigras around my company couldn't borrow fifty cents in Wall Street. And nobody in his right mind would build a plant in a town where people are throwing dynamic at each other.

"One lynching," he continued, still pacing, "and we've wasted two hundred thousand dollars in magazine advertising, The Northern press will be running stories that make it sound like the Civil War has started all over agrain, Hell, what we've been selling is peace and order—telling 'em that what we've got down here is stability—friendly politicians who are not going to set the selling of the selling in the region consider joining in a public statement urging orderly compliance with the Court's decision? He sat down and thought a moment.
"We're not going to want to get mixed

from the University of Alabama, or the one at Little Rock which, after three weeks of solicitation by Governor Faubus. one at Little Rock which, after three weeks of solicitation by Governor Faubus, overwhelmed the local police at Central High School; a stick of dynamite tossed High School; a stick of dynamite tossed this may be, it falls far short of organized forays into Negro neighborhoods to burn, pillage, and murder on a wholesale scale. With far more real provocation than existed a generation ago when such affairs were commonplace, here has not been a single lynching in the grand manbend of the state of t

The Distinction

The Distinction

It might be contended that this is negative, that the difference is only one of degree and that the distinction is between physical and spiritual torture. Yet it is a matter, I think, of considerable significance. For what it means is that the powers of the South has declared out-right violence and sustained disorder in-prevent it if it can and to curb it if it can. Where prevent extractive of the South has declared out-right violence and sustained disorder in-prevent it if it can, and to curb it if it can. Where preminent citizens participate openly in the activities of the Citizens Councils, as in Missiasippi and some parts of Alabama, they have made this a condition of membership and have given it south the stabilabed leaders have generally stayed clear of the extremist groups—making no overt move to curb the rabble rousers, but letting it be known that they will be tolerated only so long as they stay within somewhat elastic bounds that stop short of anything the meddling, out-side newspapers could call an incident. Thus Governor Frank Clement had viriated the stop of the control of the control of the Citizens and the control of the Citizens of in the slience that fell over the business community when Governor Faubus pitted the National Guard against the Federal Court came after the financial gentry had actually gazed upon the face of a mobit venty-six community leaders, whose ratings would place them in the upper reaches of Dun & Bradstreet's compilation of the American peerage, thereupon issued a public statement demanding the restoration of law and order.

Poverty's Roots

If economic determinism were the sole factor, which of course it isn't, the rigid patterns of segregation would have been shattered long ago. Just as the mass of white Southerners had no financial stake in the slave system, so the great majority today draws no benefit from the existence of a mass of workers forced by necessity to hire out for substandard wages. The state of t

he warned that the white man could throw the Negro in the ditch, but couldn't keep him there without getting in with him. These truths have long been recognized, but rarely acted upon. The change, when it began in the post-depression days, came not as a result of the concerted efforts of the Southern leadership, but from existing the southern leadership with the concerted efforts of the Southern leadership, but from existing the southern leadership with the concerted efforts of the Southern leadership with the concerted efforts of the Southern leadership with the federal wage and hour law produced preciound results in the region. So, to a lesser degree, did the social security and unemployment insurance programs. Together they have served to raise the accepted standards of subsistence and to push a mass of new consumers up above the fathack-and-bominy level. The flood of defense spending when the army camps burgeoned in the South during World War II, and the new surge of industrial expansion have kept the spiral turning the national journals that deal in merchandising data are filled with reports of the astronal course, pelled with reports of the astronal course, pelled with reports of the astronal course, and the second course, and the second course, pelled with reports of the astronal course, pelled as a public health team administering the new mirracle drug, nicotinic acid, as a treatment for the common scourge, pellagra— that scaling disease which results from sustained dietary deficiencies. The only case of pellagra I have heard of in recent years afflicted an alcoholic of my acquaintance who had largely given up food, not because he couldn't afford to stay drunk, Negroes as well as withing are not only selling higher on the withes are not only selling higher on the

below that of the whites, but it is high enough to make an increasing number of colored people good customers of almost any establishment along Main Street. In some cases the Negro has even achieved a special priority; because the patterns of residential segregation normally restrict him to second-class housing regardiess of income, the outward symbol of his aftiustic that the second control of the second control o call time to some department clore owners, taking due note of the complexion of the crowds moving through their aisles, have quietly taken down the White and Colored signs that adorned their drinking fountains—although in almost every instance the tollets still remain strongholds of white supremacy.

This has been a quiet and undramatic process, more the natural product of a competitive economy than the result of organized effort on the part of Negroes; they have found doors opening to them simply because they arrive these days with money in hand. However, in the case of public transportation economic ways and the public transportation economic against seggegation, as a direct weapon against seggegation, as a direct weapon and montgomery succeeded despite the fullminations of white politicians and the odd legalisms of the local courts because the bus company had to carry Negro passengers or go out of business. In every Southerra city the proportion of colored bus rid-era far exceeds the general proportion of Negro to white population, commonly running up as high as 80 per cent. Under the circumstances it does not take a full-scale in colored passengers would be enough to force most of the hard-pressed transit companies to the wall. This is the primary consideration that has moved some twenty-one Southern bus operators to quietly take down the Jim Crow signs without court order.

The Negro's new economic leverage has not yet become anything like a determinant in the area of social attitudes; but an effective brake on the extremit groups. For the first time he is a positive rather than a negative factor in the Southern when the southern and the summary is becoming aware that when a colored man becomes a customer it is a practical necessity to take some account of his personal feelings, And here again this is a beginning process that will not be turned back. Winthrop Rockefeller, who dowed clan attitudes that the minute of his personal feelings, And here again this is a beginning process that will not be furned back. Winthrop Rockefeller, who dowed clan affective brake on the extremit groups. For the first time he is a positive rather than a negative factor in the Southern to leave the state Industrial Development Commission, has set as a goal the raising of Arkansas's 47th ranking per capital income to the na

Important Differences

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It should be noted, too, that this new economic crusade differs in important respects from that of liteny Gracy's down that of liteny Gracy's down that of liteny Gracy's down that of liteny gracy and the plantation who are now out stalking new factories, nor are they passing the tambourine for small local donations. In most cases the promotional effort is financed in large part by a substantial state budget, and allied with the professional greeters are platoons of economists and engineers from the state universities. They are happy to see local ownership of industry and they will be as helpful to the homefolks as they can; but their main effort is directed at the East and Mid-West. They recognize that the South is still pain-cenned the case of the case

buildings, and right-to-work laws aimed at curbing the unions. On both ends, then, this is not a moral crusade but Opera-tion Self - Interest — which, I suspect largely accounts for its remarkable suc-

New Realism

I would not describe as cold-blooded the gentlemen with the slide rules who are plotting the shape of the South's niture, but I would call them realistic. Thus they count racial tension as a debt, and general country and tension as a debt, and general country and the south's Negroes as an asset. They are not disposed to mount any stumps and meet the Citizens Counclimen in debate on the great moral issue, but they do keep a close eye on the profit and loss sheet. In Birmingham the former chairman of the Chamber of Commerce's Committee of 100 commented tensely on the Citizens Council-inspired violence on local business. The hoodinghing the state of the country of the control of the country of the country

The promoters keep an eye on the future, too, Right now the South's greatest single asset in its competition for new industry probably is its possession of the nation's only supply of surplus labor—a sizable pool not of unemployed, but underemployed workers in transition from farm ever factory can start from sensith and fill a thousands jobs the day its doors open. Those who turn up to man the machines are not skilled workers, but they can be quickly trained; and the efficiency ratings of companies that have already gone through the process are impressive. However, the supply is not inchanastible, the factories will have skinned the resulting the process are impressive. However, the supply is not the hacks will be left—and, assuming the demand continues, there is little doubt that this will be life—and, assuming the demand consideration opens up an area of concern for those who look as far ahead as day and the continues, there is little doubt that this will be the beginning of the end of rigid segregation patterns in employment. This consideration opens up an area of concern for those who look as far ahead as day as the consideration opens up an area of concern for those who look as far ahead as day as a few emotional huzzahs, but he is likely to alarm the silder uie gentry. They see in the present out-migration of Negroes were the whole of the United States as a curve for the race problem, he may draw a few emotional huzzahs, but he is likely to alarm the silder uie gentry. They see in the present out-migration of Negroes the dissipation of a work force that may soon be a magnet for the factories they seek, and of a potential market for Southern than the cold census figures indicate; it is usually the ablest and most ambitious Negroes who put their foot in the big road to seek greater opportunity or to escape oppression, thus running up the proportion, among those who stay behind, the proportion, among those who stay behind, the proportion among those who stay behind, the proportion among those who stay behind

Although the industrial promoters and the labor unions are often at cross pur-poses, they have a common stake in pre-serving order and reducing racial tension. Organizing in the South has always been tough, and the percentage of workers cov-ered by union contract is the lowest in the nation.

ered by union contract is the lowest in the nation.

The first of the New Southern industries, the cotton mills of the Pledmont, were antiliabor bastions from the outset. They were usually located in unincorporated towns, where the proprietors literally paid the policemen who particuled them. And when a concerted effort was made by the organizers to break through the cordon—as in the days of the old Textile Workers Organizing Committee's flying squadrons of the Thirties—the mill owners could rely on their friends in the state-houses for help. I was around the villages myself then as a reporter in the hectic days when Mother Bloor was likely to turn

ancece at me gates with the blumt anouts of National Guard machinegums poking. That sort of copper-plated resistance has diminished sharply with the national shifting of political balance in the unions' favor; but the organizers still have their troubles, Operation Dixie, the CIO's all-out Southern drive in the post-war years, fell fait on its face, and the rate of increase in membership since has by no means kept pace with the growth of industry. The new pace with the growth of industry. The new pace with the growth of industry. The new piction of the persuasive strangers who sak them to sign up for the union. And it is a suspicion usually encouraged by their employers, many of whom come South, if not in the hope of permanently escaping organization, at least with the hope that they can hold it off for a few years, and negotiate a far more laworable contract than the one they left behind.

tiate a far more favorable contract than the one they left behind.

In the last few years racial tensions have had an increasingly adverse effect upon organizing campaigns. The union interest of the second of the of Alabama campus included a heavy per-centage of dues-paying rubber workers, or that there were Teamsters and railway workers among those present in Little Rock. And it must be a source of contin-uing embarrasement to Walter Reuther that Eldon Lee Edwards, the imperial that Eldon Lee Edwards, the imperial that Eldon Lee Edwards, the imperial kilan, care as could be the Kulkits of the Ku Klux Klan, care as could be the Atlanta local of the United Auto Workers.

A New Justice

A New Justice

It is not likely, however, that the unlons will abandon or significantly temper
their aggressive campaign to deducate their
southern members not only to accept integration in the factories, but to play a
positive role in breaking down the genertegration in the factories, but to play a
positive role in breaking down the generstanding time of orace. Primarily this undersought to increase labor's local pollutal
strength by coupling it with the Negro
vote. The PAC's outriders point out, with
justice, that allied with the Citizens Councils and the Klux are reactionary employer groups perhaps more interested in undermining the unions than in keeping the
Negro in his place. This, too, is basically
an appeal to self-interest, and the internationals have no choice but to stay with it
reactive on the self-interest and the internarestive on the self-interest and the internarestive on the self-interest and the internationals have no choice but to stay with it
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where the self-interest in the conmaterial of the self-interest and the internationals have no choice but to stay with it
where the self-interest in the conmaterial of the self-internation of the selfmaterials. The self-internation is a considerably
more dependable animal than a
mule given to running into stone walls either because he is blind or doesn't give
a damn. It is commonly said that some of
the best minds in the South have rallied
to the effort to fend off the effects of the
Supreme Court integration decisions—and
this is true to the extent that some able
expression from the selfself-the segal maze of interposition. But
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Thus the Mississippi Sovereignty Commission brought into being by the 1986 legislature to keep the Magnolia State free of any tain to dinegration, and supplied with \$250,000 of public money for the purpose, collapsed in its first direct test against the outside dollar. The issue was the proposed erection of an \$1,000,000 Veheraras Hospitol at Jackson, a facility that would accept white and Negro patients would accept white and Negro patients and the state of the second of t

CHIEF FACTOR IS ECONOMY

Scientists Still Seek Fresh Water From The Sea

HARBOR ISLAND, N.C.
(HTNS) — On this sheltered grassy island below the builge of Gape Hatteras, ran is searches of the form the sea—free water.

The shert supply of this vital commodify has already been for commodify has already been for commodify has already been for some season of the state of the total 250 billion gallons of incommodify has already been for some season of the states and the state of th