'An Epitaph For Dixie"

By HARRY S. ASHMORE

On balance I am, I think, an optimist. It I entertain serious doubts about the per-fectibility of man, I cling to the belief that most of us are better than we usually have a chance to be. I don't know whether this is, a universal truth or applies only to a control of the con

are the only Americans who have known defeat.

Arnold J. Toynbee, recalling Victorian England's Diamond Jubilee, wrote:

I remember the atmosphere, It was the first three of t

pened to my people in my part of the world.

Almost a hundred years have elapsed since Southerners could indulge in a comparable dream. Robert Barmwell stream of the stre

War Remembered

Those who win a war can afford to forget it; those who lose apparently can't. Most Americans now think of the Civil War as ancient history; a majority come of families that had not even reached these shores when it was gought, and Second Manassas and The Wilderness must seem as remote from their daily lives as Thermopylae. Yet even Southerners who were not disposed to nurture the legends who was not disposed to nurture the legends who was not disposed to nurture the legends to be supported to the south of the south o

A Boy Grows Up

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I could no more have escaped the past in the South Carolina of my time than I could have given up breathing. It was, first of all, a common topic of family conversation— not the details of a given Civil War battle, but the matter of who a man. The Asthmores made up a claim distringuished primarily by their number and the length of their residence in Greenville County. The founders had come with the first wave of Scotch-firsh, and the tombistiones in the family burying grounds showed they had arrived before the Revolution. Their migration was halted by the showed they had arrived before the Revolution. Their migration was halted by the had controlled to the county thrusts at the ages of the South Carolina triangle. Marrying into the other early-settling families, they bred so copiously they soon constituted something approximating a local politicing the views of this swoman constituents, he was the only member out the special party. One of their own was in Congress by the time of the Secession, and, reflecting the views of his yeoman constituents, he was the only member out the special severing the union. Eighty years later when I was sent as a young reporter to cover the County Courthouse, it was something like attending a family remoin; Cousin Robert the prosecuting attorney, and Cousin Maurice the county supervisor, Cousin Robert the prosecuting attorney, and Cousin Maurice the county supervisor, Cousin Robert the prosecuting attorney, and Cousin Maurice the county supervisor, Cousin Robert the prosecuting attorney, and Cousin Maurice the county supervisor, Cousin Robert the prosecuting attorney, and Cousin Maurice the county supervisor, Cousin Robert the prosecuting attorney, and Cousin Maurice the county supervisor, Cousin Robert the prosecuting attorney, and Cousin Robert the prosecuting attorney, and Cousin Robert the prosecuting attorney, and Cousin Robert the prosecution at the county supervisor, Cousin Robert the prosecuting attorney, and Cousin Robert the prosecution at the county supe

HOPE FOR THE FUTURE

In this last installment of "An Epitaph for Dixie", Harry Ashmore, native South Carolinian now executive additor of the Arhansas Gazette, sums up his views on the current scene in the South—and his optimism for the future. While his findings apply more to the "Deep South" than to this area, Suncoast residents will find his views hopeful for us as well.

England and the elder sections of the Mid-dle-West. But circumstance gave it spe-er. The growth of the cities and the ac-companying shift to urban values came much later in the region, and we were. I think, somehow more reluctant to pull up roots grown so deep. My father, who lett the farm in his early youth and en-joyed modest success as a merchant, nev-er seemed earlierly comfortable in his prim is sight of the mountains, and when the depression bankrupted him he went back like a wounded animal to make his last stand on the soil.

My generation is the first to have these

Intellectuals Raily
In the 1893's there was a staunch effort
by a little group of Southern intellectuals
to raily the South and stem the tide. Centering around Vanderbilt University, they
called themselves Agrarians, and in 1900
they produced a proud manifesto, I'll Take
My Stand, There were distinguished names
among those who contributed to the symposium — John Crowe Ransom, Donald
Davidson, Allen Tate, and Rabert Penn
Warren, They cried out in protest against
the materialism of the age and condemned
the Southern liberals, from Henry Grady
forward, for surrendering to it. We should
not emulate the faceless Yankee and not emulate the faceless Vankee and measure our worth in dollars and creature comforts they insisted, but should hoist, high the old standards. If a good many of us starved, and those with darker skins suffered injustice, we would still retain our freedom to nurture our God given Individually the state of the paths of gipt. Davidson wrote: "One ought to be able to say of (the South) as "A. E." said of Ireland, that it is a good field for the arts, especially for poetry, simply because, in contrast to progressive America, it has long been defeated and more, because it offers its poofs being the same of the same

Surrender To The Cities

and airplanes could reach — for New York is not simply an uncomfortable place to live and work in, but a state of mind, and in that sense there is nothing left now to confine it, no physical barriers and no permanent, distinctive regional attitudes. So, I told her, I was at peace with New York not because I had compered it, or tried to, but because I had surrendered; like my grandfathers I had turned in my like my grandfathers i had urned in my and I had nothing left to defend.

Governors Addressed

Governors Addressed

So it will be seen that I, like my more sentimental contemporaries, read the South's history as something of a personal tragedy. But it seems to me that the tracedy lies not in the battles we lost, but in the battles we never lought. In 1981, that last year of Democratic primacy, I advented made to the point before the state of the policy of the property of the second made of the policy of the second made o

The Old Confederacy

The Old Confederacy

And it was the knowing. I think, that was important and in the quieter time did much to takeathe curse off the system. Once we could consider our neighbors, white or black, one at a time; we could hate them as individuals, or love them, respect their strength and recognize their weaknesses, and forgive them if we saw fit. It was this pattern that held the promise of a way out, the promise the South series of the system of the regions in a think of the system of the s

Popular Government

- - The Terms Of Peace

Powers Balanced

Southerners can understand what the founding fathers were about when they set up a delicate system of balanced powers, making the legislative branch of government directly responsive to popular pressures, the executive removed to some degree, and the judiciary, in theory at least, largely immune, What the founders recognized, and too many modern Americans reading of freedom and equality, is that while the popular will is an effective check on tyranny, there also needs to be an effective check on tyranny there also needs to be an effective check on the popular will — for tyranny is not the only, and perhaps not even the most important hazard of modern man. The South had reason to know expansion to the control of the predatory properties of the predatory properties of the predatory properties about when he equaled the threat of the predatory pore, who are numerous, with that of the predatory rich, who are few. The South insisted historically that another balance was as essential as that among the branches of the federal structure, the division of powers between the states and the central government of the properties of the popular will — not to finally mullify it, but to slow it until there was a concurrent majority, one, that is, in which the minority, while still opposing the majority view, is willing to accept it. The Crill War which did so much to discredit the Calhoun doctrine in a limited sense also vindicated it; brought to concur with the prevailing anational view on slavery and the tariff, the union was sundered. **Powers Balanced**

The Right To Be Wrong

The Right To Be Wrong
What the South was defending over the
years, then, was the right to be wrong—
wrong, at least, as a substantial national
segregation. It is, of course, a basic right,
the one upon which an entire structure
of law has been erected to protect minorfiles. But the South debased it by using
it as a clask behind which the local Southera white majority denied the common
black minority. It was never enough to
say simply that a majority vanted it that
way and that their will, therefore, should
prevail: it was clearly the duty of those
who knew better to insist that the majority must recognize that the coin minted
by Calhoun had two faces— that a system
to such a such a such a such a such as the suc

Leadership Denied

Rest In Peace

Well, I have so refreshed myself. But when I look out the window of my editorial office, I gaze upon the bland stone facade of the local branch of the Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis. And down the the sign Merrill Lynch, Pierce, Fenner & Beane. I can imagine many ceremonies taking place on the intervening stretch of sphalt — including a third-term inaugural parade for Orval E. Faubus — but not my fellow townsmen lining up in drawlar parade for Orval E. Faubus — but not my fellow townsmen lining up in double rank while the chairman of the local White preparation of the chairman of the local White preparation of the chairman of Landon of the December of the Company of the

CRACKER POLITICS

Willis Says Auditors Walk Tightrope

TALLAHASSEE — State Auditor Every Computer of the Computer of

WALK TIGHTROPE

Rail Relocation Won't Be Expensive

NEW LAW

(A '57 law required each state agency for the liest time to name a custodian responsible for the safekeeping of its non-consumable property. Loss of property through a custodian's careless nees now may be punished as a name of the safekeeping of its non-consumable property. Loss of property through a custodian's careless nees now may be punished as a name of the safekeeping of the additional controls of the safekeeping about the safekeeping of the additional controls of the safekeeping of the additional controls of the safekeeping of the addition did and safekeeping of the safekeeping of the addition did and safekeeping of th By GEOFFREY DRUMMOND (City Hall Reporter)
What will it cost St. Petersburg to move the relocation site pinelises of the developer pass with secondary road timels, and move appears to work out pretity even. The new finest site pass with secondary road timels, and the deal.

The city has to raise the relocation step pinelises of get a civic auditorium to work out pretity even. The new fines to get a civic auditorium to work out pretity even the mean of the state of the developed by the relocation on the order to the state citarette tax. Windom's idea its to package the written and Sevenible and the city warre of the state citarette tax. Windom's idea its top ackage the metal state of the developed by the deal.

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