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Editorial Book Review

A Confederate's Quest For Integration

THE NEGRO QUESTION. A Selection Of Writings On Civil Rights In The South by George W. Cable. Edited by Arlin Turner. Doubleday & Co. 286 pages. \$3.95.

NEARING the end of an address to an audience in Boston in 1888, a southern white man spoke this injunction:

"Do not wait for the mass to move. The mass waits for the movement of that individual who cannot and will not wait for the mass."

The speaker was George Washington Cable, an ex-Confederate cavalryman twice wounded in battle and the son of a slaveholder. He was urging his Negro audience to make full use of their rights and responsibilities as American citizens. In order to receive and deserve full political equality, (social equality, he believed, had no place in the great debate then raging on race matters because "it is a matter of personal preference, which preference must be mental before the social equality can begin to exist.") Astonishing, though it may seem, Cable had established the reputation as a social critic which attracted a northern following by urging southern white audiences to extend and secure to Negro freedmen full civil and political equality.

CABLE had remarked in 1885 that "the greatest social problem before the American people today is, as it had been for a hundred years, and as it is in 1958, the presence among us of the Negro." He did not believe that the problem "would solve itself if left alone." And he did not wait for the mass to move—which is the reason this book now emerges with an amazing pertinence to the still the greatest social problem in America. For when the southern mass did move, it moved the other way—leaving the terms or the argument until this day unchanged, to wit: Shall the law discriminate on the basis of color?

The pertinence has been sharpened by the patient and skillful culling of Cable's novels, lectures, letters and talks by the editor, a professor of English at Duke University.

The South in which Cable first argued for integration was a different South, of course. Although Jim Crow laws were spreading rapidly, they had not come to South Carolina. And the Charleston News & Courier, none noted for its civil-southern segregationist policy, saw no need for them: "In South Carolina," said the paper, "respectable colored persons who buy first-class tickets on any railroad ride in the first-class cars as a right, and their presence excites no comment on the part of their white fellow-passengers. It is a great deal pleasanter to travel with respectable and well-behaved colored people than with unmanly and ruffianly white men."

It was a different South and yet it was the same.

CABLE was fighting the coming of Jim Crow, the establishment by law of racial barriers. Now the South is fighting to preserve them. But the arguments have not varied and will not.

Cable called the Biblical justification for white supremacy a device to prevent logical argument and, moreover, to make it an insult to attempt to question it. He held that the South had no right to defend outside criticism of its racial affairs unless it could refute the criticism. He denied there could be any such thing as the feared social equality, certainly not

in the schools because "the public school relation is not a private school relation." To the argument that discussion only inflamed the racial problem, Cable responded by saying that silence was "treason to the South." He argued that discrimination was teaching the Negro "one of the worst lessons class rule can teach them—exclusive, even morbid, pre-occupation in their rights as a class, and attention to the general affairs of their communities, their states, and the nation." To the fear of amalgamation, he said no two races had ever amalgamated except where one was the oppressor.

IN making his debate over a decade before he himself fell silent, Cable claimed to be speaking for the majority of southerners he called the "Silent South."

If there was a silent majority favoring Cable's views in the South, it remained silent. The more he pursued his arguments for political and civil equality for the Negro, the sharper the attacks on him became. Henry Grady, foremost spokesman of the "Silent South," supported Cable in his pleas for better treatment of the Freedman. But Grady could not refrain from saying, in answer to one of Cable's essays, that Cable opposed white supremacy because of New England blood reaching Cable through his mother. Eventually, he was attacked as a traitor to his region. Cable through the latter phases of his argument through a correspondence club with a number of leading southern writers he had met in his ceaseless roaming of the South. He ended his unique crusade only when the rule of Jim Crow had been firmly established in the South and when the North itself had lost interest in the question. At the end, he favored federal intervention as a last resort to secure civil rights to the Negro.

THE quest of George Washington Cable surely is one of the strangest chapters in southern history. He was no deranged snob or hanger-on, but a southerner whose credentials could not be questioned. He had won fame in New Orleans for his leadership of blue-ribbon civic groups in successful movements for reform of prisons and asylums. A thorough researcher, he became a recognized authority on penal conditions. This interest led him into studies of almost every political and social question facing the South. It was these studies that convinced him of the rightness and inevitability of integration.

Cable also was highly regarded as a novelist. "He was called on both sides of the Atlantic one of the greatest novelists who had yet written in America," the editor remarks, "and it was not uncommon for him to be compared with William Dean Howells, Mark Twain, or Henry James and to come off with the better of the comparison."

On social and political matters, however, Cable obviously was ahead of his times. His words, 70 years after the conclusion of his crusade, still are ahead of the times in many areas of the South. It was his foresight, remarkable that the most fully and consistently developed case for unrestricted civil rights for the Negro citizen was made 80 years ago by a southerner.

ONE can only ponder whether the South's peculiar and burdensome problem of today would be a lesser burden and closer to solution if Cable's crusade had had some effect—instead of none.

From The Greensboro Daily News

UP TO SNUFF

WHILE important segments of business and industry are waiting for the recession to "bottom out," it is not dark all over.

Durable good manufacturers are hard hit, but there's some hope about the pickle business. Neither has there been any slackening off among pretzel makers. Detroit has been sparking "You Auto Buy" campaigns, but auto producers are ahead of just wait for output. Prospects are bright, too, for swimming trunks and towels.

Sales are up in photograph records, perfume, wax deposit boxes, fishing rods and cameras. Candy is booming and wine and whiskey, while fluid, have been on the upgrade.

And it's a pleasure in these unsettled times to report that an old Tar Heel standby is weathering the storm.

Snuff, we are informed by the business magazine *Barron's*, has been almost untouched by the recession. Sales this year are expected to come very close to last year's 26,000,000 pounds. Snuff makers can look forward to greater income because prices were raised 8 percent during 1957.

The snuff business is pretty steady. The three companies that make 80 percent of the snuff in this country have paid dividends without interruption for more than 45 years. This is nothing to be sneezed at.

It has always seemed to me an irony that snuff felt from the social position it occupied when it was first introduced into Europe. Frederick the Great

used it. So did Marie Antoinette, Lord Nelson and Napoleon. Of course, snuff became "declassified" when people stopped sniffing it, as was customary with the playboys of the Western world, and began dipping.

Judging from the disappearance of cuspidors from hotels, waiters' rooms and public buildings one might think dippers as well as tobacco chewers were on the decline. Yet there are the figures from *Barron's* to the contrary.

The problem, however, is how to make snuff more socially acceptable. Following a time-honored American tradition, snuff makers have hired a public relations counsel to "create a more favorable climate" for their product.

Nobody has consulted us, but we recommend that the "brush" used by snuff dippers be abandoned. Social arbiters have long denied Americans the privilege of picking their teeth in public.

Anyone imagine that Emily Post would ever condone the snuff "brush"? The "brush," or sometimes "brush," is in reality a whittled stick of which one end has been chewed flat and is employed to convey snuff to the mouth.

Who else has a suggestion for raising the social position of snuff—an ancient product which is withstanding the economic storm?

Every man they say, has his price. And every woman has her figure. Doubtless, both are always changing.—LOUI MYERS (F.A. NEWS-PRESS)

Political Furies Never Taint The Peasures Of France

By ED YODER

Editors' Note: Mr. Yoder, a Tar Heel student at Oxford University as a Rhodes Scholar, and a frequent contributor to *The News*, notes in this report the quality that makes the French impervious to the political turmoil that constantly besets them.

I GOT my first glimpse into the life of a "revolutionary" French mind here around Easter-time. I was reading quietly upstairs in a small hotel on the Rue Ste. Dominique, a place far enough away from the tourist mulls of the Place de l'Opera to attract inquiring students, yet not so respectable in the Bohemian or Montmartre way as to draw law Parisians.

All of a sudden, the sound of what I took to be air-raid sirens

filled the air outside. I ran down the steps, confronting at the bottom of the narrow staircase the Madame d'Hotel. She nonchalantly superintended the sanding and polishing of her lobby floor.

WHAT'S THE NOISE?

"What's the great noise outside?" I asked, as excitedly as a hesitant French allows.

She shrugged. "Nothing unusual. The sirens blow on the first Thursday of each month. Was it a throwback to the Second War, I wondered. 'Do you expect war?'" She shook her head, smiling.

Thinking of the precarious state at the National Assembly, I decided to be dull. "You perhaps expect revolution, then?"

Uniquely French, her answer was at the same time non-committal—and far from negative.

"Not now, monsieur. Perhaps never." Perhaps never. But the way was so far as she was concerned, always open. As she told me there were "grave financial difficulties." In itself this is more explicit talk about French politics than you will draw out in a thousand conversations with the French. Usually, encountered on the train, in a cafe, anywhere, they will talk with great energy—until you mention the unspoken word.

IT CAME

"Politics?" There is the gigantic shrug, and often the conversational flow, the kind of raspberry you associate with unpopular umpires at Ebbets Field. Sometimes he tells you, "All I know is that it will all change."

Since Easter I have left and returned to Paris. In the meantime, the "revolution" has come and proved the Madame right on both counts. It did not come now. But it did come three weeks after I left, when what now seems to have been a long, painstakingly-planned coup in Algiers materialized overnight. M. Pinlin tried and failed, and Gen. de Gaulle, only alternative to a popular front with the Communist Party which might have brought open fighting, came to power. (Not as some amusing opponents suggested in their clients, "to the museum.")

Yet Paris seems the same to me. So does France. The cause and at the same time the symptom, I suppose, of French political indifference is that political events here do not seem to be organic. The Gaullist revolution which did not stir Britain to her toes is unimaginable in Britain. In France, there is always a certain turmoil at the top. At bottom, at the level of a farmhouse in the Loire valley, or the favorite sidewalk cafe in Paris, nothing ever really changes.

SHE GOES ON

That, I suppose, is what enables the French to go on—to the uncomprehending anguish of the Anglo-Saxon neighbors—living with her political house in flames. She goes on: A factory worker having his daily Dubonnet in France, there is always a crowd of women on the street and before dawn at Les Halles—where, incomprehensibly to more distant minds, all of the nation's eatable groceries are grown in France, pass every day, even if they are to go back for retail 20 miles from where they were grown. The French tourist perishing the pedestrian with his cane and what happens next at the Chamber of Deputies impales little upon these activities, though of course France has her own internal, stringent yet loving critics like disaffected Pierre Mendes-France who would like her to tighten her belt and be a little more orderly.

This in essence is what the General wants—order and some belittling of not boredom remains, or, worse, to see whether he will prevail against the timely army officers and colonels who at the moment hold the reins of Algeria—whose immense power, one hears, de Gaulle is having trouble breaking.

HARSH FALL

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CHARLES DE GAULLE
 A Little Boredom

Paris during a bloodless revolution? She exhaled a little puff of smoke from her Gauloise blue:

STORES SOLD OUT

"Oh, you never would have known it. Of course, in a few hours all the stores were sold out of cooking oil and salt, garlic salt, of course. No one cares about politics. But crises threaten the dining room table. And of course there must be thoughts of the family Citroen. I know a man here who is still running his on the gasoline he hoarded during the Suez crisis."

Well, I told her, I had seen pictures in *Life* magazine of Frenchmen chasing demonstrators with truncheons in the Place de la Concorde (which faces our Embassy). And I remembered that before Easter, when I was in Paris, the gendarmes, with their eternally ardent faces, were prodding *St. Germain des Pres* with machine-guns.

BEST PERSPECTIVE

Oh, the photographers always stand in the most opportune places. They get the best perspective on whatever little things happen.

I had by then decided not to ask her about the demonstrations. They were beginning to sound like everyone else's. I had by then decided to walk through Paris. The thing is, they probably were.

We might have talked on. But as it turned out she had to pick up a Picasso painting she'd bought. I said goodbye to her on the sidewalk by the Place de la Concorde as she hurried away to meet an artist friend who'd helped her pick it out.

Like most others, I find it hard, even with the passing acquaintance, to remember the late-arrived France, Mendes-France, whose fall was harsh and enduring, tried to be realistic about colonial problems. "Things not to be observed, he said, comparable in his absence to the shift and grind of shadowy politics as our General in the White House. He walked out of French politics in 1954, again this is reminiscent of a fox's review with the chief of a "compartment" third party, because he found the turmoil and intrigue of party politics. Yet the latter is what, paradoxically, has kept France since the war's end from perhaps more dangerous political strife.

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'You Sure The Tide's Due To Turn Soon, Foster?'



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