

Perils Of Forced Mixing Are Cited

Rest Of U. S. Urged To Understand Why Southerners Resist

(Editor's note: The following article, prepared as an address to a South Carolina audience, is printed here for information of our readers and possible forwarding to friends in some other part of the country.)

By THOMAS R. WARING

Editor of The News and Courier

The present controversy over race relations and compulsory integration of Southern schools is the most serious domestic problem in our country today.

Already it has caused federal troops to be ordered into a sovereign state without the consent of that state's elected officials. It could destroy our Constitution. It threatens the peace and harmony of the Republic more grievously than anything that has arisen since Reconstruction.

In fact, many of the passions this controversy has kindled resemble the state of mind in our country before and after the Civil War. While I am not at all predicting another attempt at secession and armed conflict—indeed, that is impossible today—the danger of prolonged civil strife is clear and present, unless something can be done to relieve the pressures that have built up over race relations.

SOME PROBLEMS

I want to discuss some aspects of these pressures and problems.

It is much easier, of course, to talk about them before a friendly and sympathetic audience. Several times in the last couple of years I have faced hostile audiences in Northern territory. Because of an article I wrote for Harper's magazine on the South's reasons for separate public schools, I received invitations to speak at various Northern places—among them Cleveland, Ohio; Toronto, Columbia University, Princeton and Williams College in Massachusetts.

Sooner or later, the South must be heard and understood if the American Republic is to survive.

I do not say that the country will die if the federal government continues to enforce integration of the races at the point of a bayonet. People can live under the most difficult and onerous circumstances. Generations have a way of adjusting.

But the Republic as we have known it, a combination of local and national authorities tailored to the needs of every section, will disappear if this race problem is not resolved.

The brain-washing that has taken place in the last 25 years on the subject of race is not confined, alas, to the North.

INTEGRATION INEVITABLE?

Even some Southerners—people who should know better—are saying that integration of the races is inevitable.

Why inevitable? If a thing is evil, it ought to be avoided—and when people are determined enough, they will find ways of avoiding evil. This

race problem is a part of the ancient contrast between good and evil.

It is our contention that separation of the races—in friendship, justice and mutual respect—is good, not evil. We contend that it is morally justifiable. We are convinced it is obligatory from a practical standpoint of everyday living.

Let me cite only one example. It is the contrast between separate Southern schools and integrated schools up North. Discipline in the public schools of several Northern cities has broken down; violence and bloodshed are common.

SOME BAD EXAMPLES

Not all juvenile delinquency, of course, is due to racial mixing. It is obvious, however, that the worst phases of juvenile delinquency occur in the mixed populations of such cities as Chicago, New York, Philadelphia, Detroit and Washington.

Some of these cities are sitting on kegs of dynamite. Minor explosions already have occurred. Not long ago a thousand youngsters rioted in the streets of South Philadelphia. I read a clipping from a Philadelphia newspaper telling about the riot. If news of it got out on the wires it escaped my notice. It also must have escaped the notice of The New York Times and other great newspapers that circulate over the country. Little attention was paid to the incident.

Can you imagine the newspaper display that a riot of a thousand white and colored school pupils would have received in the Northern press if it had occurred at Jackson, Miss., Birmingham, Ala., or Charleston, South Carolina?

NEGRO POPULATION HEAVY

As you know, Charleston County has an especially heavy percentage of Negro population. It's about 50-50. In some of the school districts the proportion of colored is 70 per cent.

Raymond Moley, columnist for Newsweek magazine, was in South Carolina gathering information on race relations. He came South with open eyes and mind. In Charleston he visited a couple of rural Negro schools.

It is the first time to my knowledge that a Northern journalist has bothered to see with his own eyes the thing that he is writing about.

Moley was astonished at the good discipline and the happy frame of mind of Negro pupils and their teachers. Here he found nothing resembling the blackboard jungles one hears about up North.

KEPT FIRMLY IN HAND

I asked our county superintendent of education why there were no serious problems of discipline in Negro schools. He said the colored teachers knew how to handle colored children and keep them firmly in hand.

For their own protection and ours, separation of the colored and white people in progressive years is good. Experience has proved it.

This is not to say, of course, that the pattern of separation can never vary. There are infinite varieties of separation. The pattern often changes.

One change has been obvious in recent years. It is the treatment given colored customers in stores. With more money to spend and more experience in how to spend it, the Negro has become a welcome market. He deserves and must get his money's worth—not only in goods, but in courtesy and service.

NEED NEGRO MARKET

The South needs the Negro market, as it needs Negro manpower. For selfish reasons if for no other—and I am sure our people are neither more nor less selfish than the citizens of other regions—we want the Negro to be self-supporting. We want him to pay his share of taxes. We want him to start relieving the white man of the burden he has been carrying. The economic approach, rather than the political and social approach, would be both effective and welcome for the Negro.

But professional agitators—both white and colored—have been willing to leave the Negro's development to natural and normal circumstances. They won't let him grow up in his own way. Though he already has progressed further and faster toward civilization than any other primitive race in history, the American Negro today is being shoved forward faster than his capacity permits him to move.

MADE UNWELCOME

In the process, the Negro is being made unwelcome among white people who would like to be his friend. He is also being used as a tool—not even with his consent—to bring about a political and social revolution. That revolution, of course, has been going forward on several fronts. It is a

Even if a select class of white aristocrats should manage to preserve racial purity, it would either be oppressed by the masses, or forced to buy political bosses elected by the masses.

COUNTED AS NEGROES

How have we managed so far to keep our race white? Obviously there has been racial mingling. But people with even a small amount of Negro blood—so long as it is generally recognized—are counted as Negroes.

By breaking down our present lines of separation, the races are bound to merge in time.

It is not necessary to be an ancestor worshiper to take pride in one's own heritage. Traditions—roots that go deep into the soil—family loyalties that help to mold character and guide faltering footsteps—these are the things that make for decency, patriotism, stability and happiness.

Mankind has acquired these qualities by a long struggle up from the jungles and the caves. Why should we throw them away?

ATTRACTIONS LOST

The South is one of the few regions left in our country where people of moderate means can live a decent and rewarding life. The great teaching cities have lost many of their attractions as places of residence. They are no longer fit for raising children. That is one reason why people are moving to the suburbs. They are seeking after their fashion, their own kind of segregation.

Make no mistake, millions of Northerners want much the same things we Southerners want. They have been told so many lies, however, that they have allowed oppressive measures to be put across. They do not want a mongrel population. They would not like a government of tyranny.

part of a world movement for leveling off the human race and stamping all men into a faceless pattern.

Carried to its ultimate conclusion, this movement would abolish all lines—economic, social, racial and religious. It would accomplish a welfare state, bossed by a small, hard group that controls people's entire lives. The name for the movement is communism. Whatever you call it, the result is dictatorship and misery.

Some Americans have come to the conclusion that the solution to our race problem is a fusing of the bloodlines. We can get an idea of what that would be like by taking a look at some of the countries of Latin America. Unlike the Anglo-Saxon settlers who put their mark on North America, the Spanish in Central and South America drew no racial barriers. The result is a curious conglomeration of mixtures, varying among the nations.

COULD HAPPEN HERE

I do not think we want such a mixture in the United States. But it could happen if we keep on as we now are going.

Suppose, for example, that our people bow to what some of them call "the inevitable" and accept some mixing in the public schools. Gradually the better class of white people who can afford it will send their children to private schools to avoid contact with Negro culture, manners and morals. As this exodus grows, the public school system will deteriorate.

The time would come when only the poorest whites would mingle in classrooms with Negroes.

Demagogues would appeal to these masses and gain political power. As in Latin American republics, government would veer back and forth from turmoil to iron suppression of liberties. This is the kind of tyranny our Republic was founded to avoid.

How can we reach these people and make them into friends and allies?

The task, of course, is difficult. It looks as though we have too many odds against us.

National politicians are competing for the Negro vote. The press, the liberal colleges, professional entertainers, even sometimes the pulpit are arrayed against us. A constant stream of abuse against the South and its racial customs has polluted the minds of Americans.

DO NOT DESPAIR

But still we don't despair. If we are right in believing that separation is good for both races, sooner or later right will triumph. In the meantime, there is much we can do to hasten better understanding.

For one thing, we can try to reach behind the Paper Curtain. Through personal and business contacts in the North, each of us can send word that all is not as it is pictured. We can write letters. We can mail clippings. We can bring up the subject in conversations.

But don't get angry when you do it. We are outnumbered. We must persuade, not antagonize. We must not give way to childish defiance and silly threats.

Also, we must keep up our spirits at home. We must strive for political independence.

Don't let local politicians sell out our welfare for personal advantage. Help form public opinion in your block, in your town, in your state.

Hold down the crackpots and the hoodlums. Don't allow violence, cruelty and injustice to mar the moral justification for our cause.

Above all—never give in. When you're in a battle of this kind, a battle of life or death for our people and our region, you're never licked until you admit it.

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