

DEEP IN THE HEART OF DIXIE

Deep, deep in the heart of the southern white man are the roots of hatred for Negroes. So deep that only God Almighty will ever be able to pull them up. Let there be no mistake about his pretense of hatred for Communists, or even enemies of this country in time of war. Such hatred is only superficial and at a moment's notice can be reversed. It is well that hatred is superficial, because it is at odds with the divine nature of humanity. But, among southern whites, it is only superficial and reversible if the object of the hatred, communists or otherwise, are possessors of a white skin. All the rankst Communist has to do to be received with open arms in the South is to renounce his allegiance to communism. Any former enemy of this country, provided his skin is white, will likewise be received by the South and extended all of the social courtesies, economic advantages and other privileges which the South has to offer. And, we say again, it is a good thing for a man to be able to forgive his fellowman for past mistakes. But the southern white man, no matter how forgiving he may be to former enemies of the country, cannot find it in his heart to forgive his Negro neighbor, who has always been loyal, for the accident of his birth. To be born with a dark skin is unforgivable in the South, and only the Negro must forever be assigned a place of hatred in the heart of the southerner.

There can only be one reason for the sad state of affairs in the South, only one answer, and that is the southern white man's treatment of the Negro. What happens inside the breast of the southern white man when the question of equal treatment for his Negro neighbor is broached is akin to the feeling engendered in a man by the sight of someone to whom he has long been indebted. Each appearance of the creditor invokes an emotional disturbance within the debtor and with each successive intrusion of the creditor upon the debtor's peace of mind the pattern of association begins to harden. The debtor begins to associate the sight of his creditor with his feeling of uneasiness. Soon the association crystallizes until the debtor ceases to think of his feeling of unrest and the creditor as separate entities. They came inextricably bound together in his mind, and to him they become as one. He dislikes the creditor because he dislikes the uneasy feeling the creditor invokes in him. The more frequent the creditor is presented to his sight, the more pained the disturbance becomes. The amount of the stimulus determines the reaction. He hates the emotional disturbance, and he begins to hate the creditor, the cause of it, because he cannot separate the result from the cause. The psychologists probably have a name for this kind of behavior pattern. But the potential for it is basic in all human beings. It becomes incorrigible in those who cannot logically analyze the situation, discover the cause of the disturbance and face up to the fact. If the debtor can never realize that his disturbance is actually caused by his inability to discharge an obligation powerfully felt, he can never be rid of hate for his creditor.

The white southerners, who must know in his heart that

Life Is Like That

By H. ALBERT SMITH

"REST TO THEIR DEAR ASHES"

One of the greatest men to ever walk this planet admonished in one of his letters that no man should think more highly of himself than he should. It was a wise bit of philosophy then, and still is, although 1900 years and more have passed since that letter was written. But, unfortunately, men have the curious and absurd habit of rejecting philosophies of life that make for their peace and security. Thus it happens that the admonition referred to is but another rejected way of life sorely needed in these trying times of hostile relationships.

Universal
The author of that bit of advice was eventually dealing with a problem that has afflicted the human race from very early days—the arrogation of superiority by some men who look down upon other men as their inferiors. And don't think this pernicious tendency belongs to any one race; it doesn't. It is an inter-racial plague (and intra-racial too) afflicting black men as well as white men, and men of every color.

Easily Acquired
So easy it is for a man to assume that he is better than other men, one wonders why it is so. You don't have to teach it to most individuals. Just let them get a little bit ahead of the pack, whether they do it by hook or crook, fair means or foul, or by inheritance from those who stepped ahead of the pack, and they assume a superiority that results in bigotry, snobbishness and treating those not enjoying their status as small fry to be looked down upon and walked on.

Different Matter
In instances of individual cases of this assumption of superiority, the situation, bad as it is, leads to no wide-spread disorder in the field of human relationship. But when it is embraced by some race of men, that is a different matter. For then, it reflects itself in social, political and economic philosophies and practices to the detriment of other groups. And that is bad, because mass resentment to the evil of mass superiority assumptions leads, after so long a time, to friction on a widespread scale with tragic consequences.

A Big Sin
The one big sin of the white man in this country has been the deification of himself because of his skin color and hair texture. It has led to assumptions of racial superiority, especially in the South, that has become a fetish—an object of unreasoning devotion. The result has been that he, while feared, is about the most hated man on earth today. Armed might is his dikes against a swelling tide of hatred and resentment. How long those dikes can hold is the one big question facing thoughtful white men today.

My Guess
I do not know a single Supreme Court Justice. Neither do I know actually what influenced their historic anti-segregation decision of May 1954. But it is my guess that, among other factors influencing them, is this swelling tide of hatred and resentment I have mentioned.

Nonsense
I have been reading a lot of nonsense (we use to call it "tripe") to the effect that we must love white people...love them until, by the heat of our love, the granite quality of their detestation of black men will itself be melted into love for us. Well, you don't love a man of whom you are afraid, especially when he continues to pour the swill of injustice down your throat, and insists that you like it.

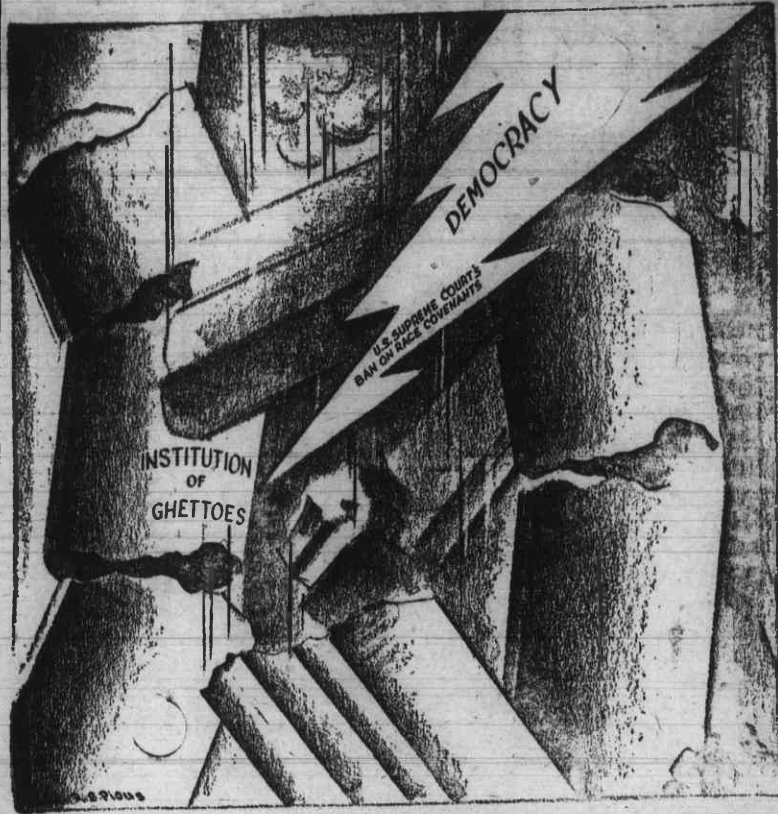
I Know Reactions
Does that mean that I am an advocate of hatred and retaliation? Not by any means. But I am a practical student of human nature, have a little knowledge of history and am not entirely blind to what is happening in the minds of men who resent being looked down upon, branded and treated as inferiors.

A Benediction
A week or two ago, a Negro woman wrote a letter, published in an Asheville newspaper, praising white people for the fine human and Christian manner in which they had dealt with Negroes from slavery days up to now. She was especially grateful to the slave owners, the mistresses particularly, who were so Christ-like and tender in their relations, with those they held in bondage. Her loving gratitude even flowed out into the cemetery to cover the slave holder's remains as she pronounced the benediction: "Rest to Their Dear Ashes."

Commended
Of course, she received favorable editorial comment, and acclaim from the paper carrying her letter and picture. But I am wondering if the editor did not hold his nose as he poured over the nauseating and putrid sentiment of that letter and the sickening praise he gave it. If he is an intelligent man, I know he did. But how could an intelligent man commend her?

An Impossibility
And I say that because no spiritually enlightened man can condone slavery, past or present, nor any philosophy or practice that throttles personality, limits the development of its potentialities, and degrades a human being with inferior treatment because of his color.

Stating Facts
Hated, I admit, is a bad thing and I don't advocate it. To do so is not necessary. But I know that continued maltreatment generates it and am simply stating facts. And, if people like the Asheville editor had heard what I heard when the notorious Negro hater, Bilbo, died several years back, and some of his tribe later, they would know that it takes love to beget love, a love that repudiates all assumptions of superiority and accepts human brotherhood in practice as well as theory.



Spiritual Insight

"CRUCIFIED AND RISEN"
BY REVEREND HAROLD ROLAND
Pastor, Mount Gilead Baptist Church

"And they crucified him...He is risen; he is not here...Mark 15:25;16:6."

Why did Christ's life of righteousness end in the crucifixion? Yes, Christ was nailed to a Cross. The Crucifixion, however, was not the end. A life of such spiritual beauty and loveliness could not so end. Thank God, there was the glorious triumph of Easter and the resurrection morning. Beyond Good Friday and dark Calvary there is Easter and its hope of immortality. Easter and the resurrection become the cornerstone of the Christian Religion. God guarantees victory beyond all crosses borne in righteousness. Thank God there is no final defeat for Goodness. Beyond the suffering and seeming defeat of Good Friday and its Cross there stands the Risen Christ in immortal glory.

We too have the promised assurance that beyond our sufferings, tribulations and crosses there is a day of victory. "In the world ye shall have tribulations, but be of good cheer, for I have overcome the world..."

Why must good be nailed to a Cross? Why does righteousness have such a hard time in a world of sin? Let's see the tragic drama of Passion Week which leads to the crucifixion of Christ the sinless Son of God. There is the communion of the upper room. Then we see the agonizing inner struggle that dark night in prayer in the Garden. He is violently arrested. He is denied and betrayed by those he trusted. His friends walked away and left him in the hands of the enemy. He is mocked, spat upon, scourged and thorn-crowned. Then he is tried and condemned to death—the death of the Cross. There is the cowardice of a Pilate and the murderous hatred of the leaders. This unholy combination of sin and evil crucified the sinless Son of God.

Yes, the dark forces of sin and evil in man's nature plan and execute the ruin and destruction of the Holy Son of God. These forces are whipped into murderous fury and they cry out... "CRUCIFY HIM..."

Goodness stands idly by as sin and evil run wild. Why must goodness be inactive and silent?

No one, no voice is heard in the streets for goodness, truth, justice and decency. Goodness hides! Evil runs wild. We see the same thing happening in the struggles of righteousness in our times. Evil takes the stage; goodness is lost in inactivity and silence. Too often Goodness is slow to organize and speak against evil. In the Passion Week evil knew what it wanted and went out to get it... "AND THEY CRUCIFIED HIM..."

Sin and evil nailed the Son of God to the Cross. He hangs there with nailed-pierced hands and feet. He is pierced in the side. Jesus, the Lamb of God dies on the Cross. Why? He offers himself to redeem us from sin. Evil thinks it has won a victory. But sin and evil cannot win: THIS IS THE MESSAGE OF CHRIST AND HIS CROSS AMID THE SEEMING DEFEAT OF DARK CALVARY.

Beyond dark Calvary there is the empty tomb, the Christ victorious over death. The angel gives the first Easter greetings... "HE IS RISEN; HE IS NOT HERE..."

INTEGRATION INEVITABLE

A class in Sociology at Duke University, after considering the issue of desegregation, recently came up with the conclusion that admission of Negroes to the University is democratic, Christian and inevitable. The findings of the class, which is taught by Dr. Hornell Hart, were reached after weeks of discussion, reports and studies on the question. This not at all surprising to anyone who is able to see the issue clearly, and it hardly rates much importance as a news item. For we have long since contended that if the matter of integration is approached with less heat and more light, there is only one logical, democratic, Christian and inevitable conclusion to be reached.

The findings of the class were summarized in a recent issue of the student newspaper at the University. They were:

"It was unanimously agreed that, sooner or later, admission of Negroes to Duke would be inevitable.

"Both the Christian religion and our democratic political institutions are founded upon the principle that all men are created equal before the law and equal in the eyes of God.

"To deny educational opportunities merely because of race is un-Christian and undemocratic.

"The students in Dr. Hart's class feel if Duke does accept Negroes after a certain amount of preparation, and if it meets with justice and dispatch the problems which thereupon arise, this will make it much easier for Duke students to accept Negroes on their own merits in later life,

without racial prejudice, and also to accept without bigotry the joint education of Negro children with the children to be born of Duke students."

Then the class went on to list several steps by which the groundwork for integration at the University could be laid. Among them were:

"As a preparation for admission of Negroes to Duke, inter-racial cooperation should be practiced in dealing with community problems (such as juvenile delinquency) in programs of civic organizations, such as the YMCA, luncheon clubs, the churches and financial drives.

"As an aid to developing sympathetic understanding, the class suggests that students make friendly visits to Negro institutions, observe Negro activities, promote off-campus pulpit exchange between Negro and white preachers and the like.

"An introductory period of about two to four years should be developed at Duke which would entail gradual exploration of such activities as the following:

- Discussion through student activities, such as church groups, student government and the Ys.
- Exchange of literary articles between Duke and Negro colleges to be published in the respective campus periodicals.
- Invitation to Negro ministers to preach at Duke Chapel.
- Exchange of Negro and white professors for a semester at a time.
- Invitation of Negro lecturers to speak at Duke's auditoriums.
- Friendly approaches in relations with North Carolina College in scholastic and athletic programs."

The class went on to advise that "Negroes should be admitted first at the graduate level. This would make it possible to ascertain how well such contacts would be accepted by the older and supposedly more broad-minded groups. It would make possible to see how graduate students, professors and administration officers, as well as the Negroes, themselves, make the inevitable adjustments."

It would be interesting to see if this plan can get any farther at Duke than professor Hart's classroom. For certainly its proposals call for a gradual acceptance of Negro students and embodies the essence of moderation which those of the opposite race claim to be the only way to work for desegregation. If Duke University officials are at all concerned about the glaring disparity between the profession of truth and Christianity which the institution, as a University and a Methodist supported school represents, it cannot continue to ignore the statements of its own students and faculty members that the time for separate education is at an end.

Southern whites who have paraded as liberals and humanitarians behind the well worn phrase that they favor uplift for the Negro can no longer stand still and refuse to move in the direction which decency, justice, democracy and Christianity demand.

IT'S OUR BABY



Capital Close Up . . .

BY CONSTANCE DANIEL

17 Years After Easter, '39

Seventeen years ago, Marian Anderson, denied the use of Constitution Hall, in Washington, by the Daughters of the American Revolution, sang to an audience of 75 thousand fellow-Americans, more enlightened than the Daughters, from the steps of the Lincoln Memorial.

We were not there. Our Date with Destiny, that Easter Sunday, found us sitting on top of our traveling bag on the curbstone outside the railway station at Yemassee, South Carolina, waiting for the train to Beaufort—we had business on the Sea Islands which are a part of the Beaufort coast.

No Negroes Allowed

We sat outside on the curb, because we couldn't sit inside. Negroes were not allowed inside. Our traveling companions were two books—one on 15th Century exploration and the later development of the indigo, rice and slave trade on the Coast which added up to what Negroes were there, and why. The other book was Abolitionist Thomas Wentworth Higginson's "Army Life in a Black Regiment"—which summed up, said that Col. Higginson, of Massachusetts, had recruited and trained his Black Regiment in the Sea Islands because of the independent character of the Gullah Negroes there, a character invaluable in fighting men, but undesirable in mainland slaves.

No Paternalism Wanted

Few reports had reached Washington on the progress, in the islands, of the Government program on which we were checking, but back in the to-mato fields the answer was not long forthcoming. The stiff-necked but unfalteringly courteous Gullahs wanted no parts of paternalism. They wanted the means to carry on their own work. They wanted technical assistance with fewer trimmings and more know-how—a chance to sell what they raised without losing crops waiting for "Negro Day" at the canneries. After which the less they saw of the "Government people" the better they liked it. But they could not beat the racial economy squeeze. And well-meaning educational efforts among them had concentrated on conserving the picturesque, with little recognition of the need for making them self-sufficient for inevitable transmigration.

The same character coloration that marked Col. Higginson's fighting men in the Sixties, that cooled off do-gooder aid seventeen years ago, marks today's resistance to pressuring in the South Carolina counties now bearing much of the heat that has followed the Supreme Court decision.

We don't know about the station at Yemassee. But Marian Anderson now sings at Constitution Hall, where Howard University's Dean Warner Lawson has conducted the National Symphony for two successive years.

"Mongrelization" — Jim-Crow's Scarecrow

It is a never-ending source of amazed incredulity, to us, that any American, least of all any from the segregated South, would mention—much less moan and shout—about fear of "mongrelization" as a result of integration.

Mr. Lodge and Mr. Bilbo

If his memory is as good as ours, former Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., now Ambassador to the UN, will recall being paged off the Senate Floor in the midst of a Bilbo anti-lynching-miscegenation tirade, by a "weekly" reporter, who figured that if Mr. Lodge so chose, he could end all debate and practically clear the Floor, by inviting the Mississippians to tell how many Negroes were in the gallery immediately above him. In addition to Walter White, who was sitting there with a white friend, that day, we had counted seven who could not possibly be identified as Negro. The absence of identifiable characteristics did not result from "integration," or the violation of white virtue. It resulted from "white supremacy" in the segregated South. Mr. Lodge didn't take us up on that one.

Embree on Miscegenation

In view of the number of times, in the past week, that we have seen straight-faced pieces, by responsible columnists and others, citing the South's alleged "fear of mongrelization" as a principal reason for resistance to integration laws, we quote, briefly, from "American Negroes—a Handbook," by Edwin R. Embree, late president of the Rosenwald Fund, and grandson of the founder of Berea College:

"When decent treatment for the Negro is urged, a certain class of people hurry to raise the scarecrow of social mingling and intermarriage. Those questions have nothing to do with the case. And most people who kick up this kind of dust know that it is simply dust to obscure (Please turn to Page Seven)

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