

EDITORIALS

REFLECTIONS ON THE ELECTION

After the natural disappointment over the failure of the Negro candidate to place among the first seven in the balloting for Raleigh's new city council last week, thoughts naturally turn to the immediate prospects for improved city government, and then to future possibilities of development and change for the better.

The failure to elect Mr. Carnage lies within the Negro citizenry of Raleigh. As has been pointed out in the CAROLINIAN previously, probably more white persons cast a vote for the Negro candidate than Negroes themselves. This was a fine thing. It proved, first of all, that Mr. Carnage, as a member of the bar, a citizen and a civic worker, had commended himself personally to Raleigh residents of all classes and both races. And secondly, it demonstrated that a considerable proportion of the white electorate is of the opinion that the Negro minority should rightfully be represented on the city's ordinance making and general administrative body.

Under the caption, "Why This Apathy," the *News and Observer* of May 8 commented editorially:

"In Raleigh on Tuesday where there was unusual interest in the election of members of the new city council, only eight thousand voters, much less than half of those eligible to vote, cast ballots."

It might be added that many who could qualify have never become eligible. It is especially discouraging that Negroes eligible and potentially eligible should be so "apathetic." It is bad enough that citizens in general should be so neglectful of their privilege and duty; but it was worse for Negroes, since they lost by their apathy the chance for a direct voice in the councils of their own city government. The white citizens who did vote were assured that most of the council elected would be white anyway; the Negroes could be equally assured that unless they turned out and voted no one from their group could be elected. Nor did they have any reason or right to expect anything different.

Another lesson to be learned from the election was also pointed out by the *News and Observer* in its editorial columns. Five of the seven persons elected are residents of the same precinct. The CAROLINIAN believes that each of these persons is well qualified in every respect to represent the people of Raleigh; but there is something definitely unsatisfactory in having the city's governing body concentrated to such an extent in one part of the city. There are excellent reasons why various sections should be assured representation, and such assurance will never be possible under "Plan D." Aside from considerations of minority representation for the Negro race as such on the council it is sound policy that the council's composition should represent a diversity of sectional interests and concerns within the city as a whole.

We are glad to see the *News and Observer* come out for the principle that "the city council should be composed of one member from each ward or precinct in the city, elected by the people living in that ward or precinct instead of exclusively by a city-wide vote, and a mayor or presiding officer elected by the people of the whole city."

The *News and Observer's* endorsement of such a scheme is welcome though belated. It is common knowledge that the majority of the Negro voters would have been behind the city manager-city council form of government under such a plan, and when an opportunity for a change over to such a system presents

itself in the future it will have the backing of the Negro segment of the electorate. It would be to the advantage of the colored population particularly, as well as a more democratic system for the people of the city in general.

Discussion of this last point, however, should not divert our attention from the fact that the Negroes of Raleigh have sufficient voting strength, if used, along with the votes of fair-minded white people, to elect a qualified Negro member to the council even under a city-wide system of election. Mr. Carnage's failure was not a personal failure, nor can it in any way be charged to the prejudice of white voters against a colored candidate in this election. It cannot be charged against the original supporters of Mr. Mitchell, who, along with their candidate, lined up almost solidly behind Carnage in the finals.

Mr. Carnage made an excellent run. That it was not good enough may be charged against (1) the qualified voters who stayed at home; (2) the Negroes who can qualify and who have not done so. The hundreds of young men over 21 who have not listed their taxes belong in that number which helped to defeat Mr. Carnage. The other hundreds who just don't bother to register, or being registered don't bother to vote, are in that number. The many who feel that politics is "white folks' business" are in it.

No Negro has the right, on the basis of the election returns, to say that Precinct 1, or 2, or 3, or 4, or any combination of them, defeated the colored candidate. The non-voting Negroes in all the precincts did it.

Our work is cut out for us. We have two tasks. One is to get Negroes to register and vote in the next city election, and in all elections. The other is to work for a revision of the city manager system to have the councilmen elected by properly and logically laid out election districts or wards, one councilman for each district or ward. The first task is our own. For the second we shall have assistance.

GOVERNOR TO RESCUE AGAIN

Governor Cherry did what was hoped and expected of him when he commuted to life imprisonment the sentences of the four Lumberton men under sentence of death in the notorious so-called rape case. The actions of both the judge and of the governor in bring about the removal of the death threat are to be commended, and it is quite possible that Governor Cherry will later exercise his power of office further in correcting the injustice done these men, part of which remains as long as they are imprisoned. The chief executive has done already all that was asked of him and recommended to him.

It is evident that something needs to be done about such cases beyond what has been done by executive action in this and another recent case of generally similar character. What is wrong is chargeable to the people of North Carolina through their courts, their legislature, and state and local public opinion.

Several cases of recent months have emphasized that the thinking in these inter-racial cases of alleged rape is a good deal less than frank, candid, factual and objective. The judge, under North Carolina law, has no alternative to the death sentence when the accused is found guilty by a jury. And the all-white juries will find Negroes guilty against the weight of evidence at least in extenuation.

There is something decidedly wrong with a system of justice and a code of ethics under which an accusation against a Negro by any white woman is practically a guarantee of a death sentence for rape, the life of the accused being subject to forfeiture unless the governor of the state intervenes. The people of North Carolina are passing the buck. The juries are operating on false premises of which decent and honest people are more or less ashamed. They are adhering to a code which cannot be openly and honestly defended. And they are leaving it to the chief executive to correct the injustices done by the harshness and irrationality of that code.

A number of the legislature said this year that only Negroes are likely to be convicted of rape, so much so that he advocated an increase in the penalty for attempted rape, so that real rapists (white) might be more adequately and honestly defended with North Carolina's code, when the death penalty can hardly be obtained for white men, obviously guilty, and at the same time it is almost inevitable for Negroes whom the presiding white judge proclaims ought not to die, and the reliability of the charges against whom are openly deprecated in the white press and in many other quarters.

Governor Cherry has again risen to the occasion and salvaged some of the self-respect of a shamed North Carolina. We thank him for his part.



Second Thoughts

By C. D. HALLIBURTON

The Negro press recently carried the news that the National Guard would continue to operate on a racially segregated basis, though it was indicated that in some states a degree of integration might eventually be achieved.

No important institution our national life more clearly reflects the dual nature of the U. S. Government, operating as it does under a division of sovereignty, function and responsibility as between the state and the Federal Government, often being overly indulgent of the prerogatives of the state in matters vitally affecting the welfare of the nation as a whole. It may be one of the sources of strength of our system that state and local preferences and prejudices have such scope, but it is also one of the weaknesses of the system as well.

A visitor from practically any European country would be surprised and puzzled to learn that although Negroes are citizens of the United States and of the states in which they reside (almost the exact language of the Constitution), U. S. Army officials can make the

following authentic statement concerning the guard: "Enlistment of colored personnel and the formation of colored units are matters over which the Federal Government has no control and leaves entirely for the determination of local State authorities."

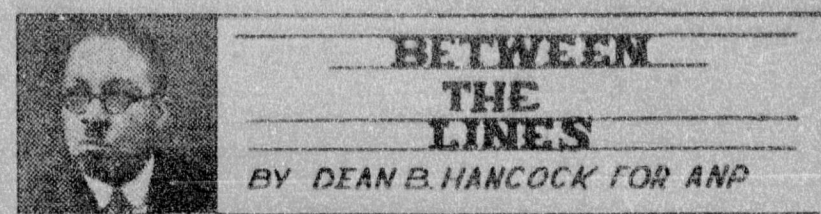
The visitor would be further shocked to learn that this condition prevails in spite of the fact that the Federal Government pays the bulk of the National Guard's expenses in each state. But when the visitor picked up two more admitted facts he might very likely swoon. One of these is that the National Guard is the first line of national military defense after the regular army. The other is that not a single, solitary Negro company of the National Guard exists south of the District of Columbia!

Our visitor from Europe, whether French or Russian or even German, when he recovered from his fit and remembered that the United States does not have universal military training, but that in war time it expects to draw ten per cent of its total military

strength from the Negro population, the majority of which resides below the Mason-Dixon line, our visitor, we say, would wonder if America were really "right bright" after all.

Yet we take it as a matter of course, white and Negro alike, I have never heard it. The South of any movement to let Negroes into the National Guard I don't believe I have ever read a word on the subject.

I think it is about time the subject was brought up by somebody. In a number of southern cities there are Negro policemen. There are hundreds of thousands of Negro veterans. Negroes are patriotic citizens. They are ready always to serve their country. So many of them wanted to enlist in the peacetime regular army that the War Department was embarrassed. Is there any reason why the states of the South should not have Negro units of the National Guard? There are lots of reasons why they should, especially since the National Guard is so vitally important in the total defense scheme of our nation.



GREAT NEGRO CHURCH LEADERSHIP

The attention of a program for the large number of large debt-free Negro churches is a grave one. Many times within recent months has this column observed the gigantic possibilities for Negro advancement which lie along the way of a broad-visioned, long-range, coordinated program for the now debt-free Negro churches throughout the country—and they are many.

For nearly three-fourths of a century the Negro churches have borne back-breaking debt loads. Millions upon millions have been invested in buying and erecting pretentious houses of worship. To the credit of the Negro preacher it must be said he has done two things worthy of the greatest commemoration, that is, adequately house his congregation and hold together the diverse interests, which have centered largely about the Negro church. If we subtract from Negro leadership today those men and women who were nurtured by the Negro church, our leadership would be sorely bereaved.

There is not even the faintest sign that the Negro can soon dispense with the ministries of the church. Within the future 50 years even as during the past 50, the Negro church bids fair to be the clearing house for Negro aspirations. Because of this tantamount fact, it becomes all the more important that the program of the debt-free Negro church is going to exert a powerful influence on the future of the race.

A few months ago without publicity or fan-fare, the great Union Baptist church, Dr. James E. Kirkland, pastor, of Philadelphia, made one of the greatest gestures ever to be made by a Negro Baptist church in this country. Five hundred dollars was sent to each of four outstanding Negro colleges, namely Virginia Union, Shaw, Benedict and Morehouse. When one Negro church sends out in one mail checks amounting to \$2,000 for Negro education, we can get a faint glimpse of what tomorrow could mean to our Negro colleges, geared to a program supported by the debt-free Negro church.

There are several angles to the contribution by Union Baptist under Dr. Kirkland. In the first place, it was no publicity stunt. Principle took precedence over popularity. When a sense of service takes precedence of a pastoral penchant for popularity, we are having installed before us "Exhibit A" of a new day. Very few churches and pastors could have been as retiring and self-contained as was Union with such commendable contribution to its credit. The average notice-seeking pastor would have literally stormed the front pages of the Negro press.

In the second place, Union Baptist's contribution was dispersed in a way that gave four colleges a sizable lift instead of putting one college on "easy street" temporarily. This remarkable example of Negro leadership showed breadth of sympathy and outlook. It was not so much the several schools, but the cause of Negro education that became the major interest! Dr. Kirkland has in Virginia Union today six children, but he did not on this account give the \$2,000 to Virginia Union; but he also remembered Shaw and Benedict and Morehouse where he does not have children.

Here is where pastoral bigness comes in to such great advantage. A little pastor in a big church would have been quite content to confine his financial assistance to his Alma Mater, or some other "favorite" institution. When a big man pastors a big church and comes face to face with a big opportunity big things happen, as in the case of Union Baptist's noteworthy contribution.

In the third place the gesture of this great pastor and church came at a needy time. It came at a time to show the way for the other great Negro Baptist churches of this nation. We have at least a hundred Negro Baptist churches that could do the same big thing if they had the leadership and the vision. Little by little white northern philanthropy has been slowly diminishing. More and more the burden of financing Christian Negro education is being shifted to the shoulders of Negroes themselves.

It is a fact that must be sternly faced and the sooner the better—that if Negroes are to receive education under Christian auspices, they must pay the bill. The AME Negroes have long since learned the appropriate lesson. That the Negro Baptists are being quickened for their responsibilities is heartening. Negro Baptist leadership must be "Kirklandized!"

Capital Spotlight

(By Louis Lautier for the NNPA News Service)

At a secret meeting the other night, to which big shots in Government were invited to bring their own liquor it was proposed that they begin a propaganda campaign in behalf of themselves, their agencies, and the Administration. Maybe they've never heard of the Hatch Act.

The jury trying former Representative Andrew May, wartime chairman of the House Military Affairs Committee, and three Garsson officials for bribery and conspiracy to defraud the Government had four colored jurors and an alternate. They are Charley Hines, a post office clerk; Alberta Saunders, a hausfrau; Mabel Wilson, an elevator operator and Billy Gross a Census Clerk. The alternate is Bennie Cranford, a Washington Terminal employee.

Besides, Perry Howard is representing Murray Garsson, business manager of the Garsson combine and former Assistant Secretary of Labor.

Recent visitors here included Charley Mahoney, a Detroit, former commissioner of labor of Michigan, who was seen with Ambrase Caliver, specialist in Negro education, United States Office of Education -- James W. Johnson, collector of internal revenue for the third district of New York and prominently mentioned for the vacancy on the federal bench in the southern district of New York, was in town the other day.

Although the Senate put back \$1,346,400, upping to \$2,246,400 the appropriation for the operation of the United States Employment Service, exclusive of the Veterans' Employment Service, USES employees here are still being furloughed. The latest one told to take leave, whether they wanted it or not, include Lawrence Oxley, a technician, and Roy Ellis, a liaison representative between the regional offices and headquarters.

If the teacher shortage is as great as educators say it is, a lotta people want to know how come some teachers can play hockey from their classrooms and engage in extra-curricular activities away from school. For instance, the real estate and mortgage business.

Catherine George Smith, mate of Jack Smith, a Philadelphia eye specialist, visited relatives and friends here the other weekend. Ditto Maurice Curtis, a Paterson (New Jersey) medic and brother of Merrill Curtis, the eye specialist. Waverly Holland, a former Washingtonian, also was down from New York.

A dresser of sycamore-trees; and Jehovah took him from following the flock, and Jehovah said unto me, Go, prophesy unto my people Israel. Now therefore hear thou the word of Jehovah." (Amos 7:14-16).

APPLICATION We Americans have everything our hearts can desire -- wealth, culture, Christianity and vast untapped resources. (Some of us) Prejudice, and segregation prevail North and South, capital and labor are struggling at each other's throat; the right to vote is de-

Lest We Forget.

By W. L. GREEN



The announcements coming from a few aspirants to the governorship of the Old North State are of unusual interest because of the tentative platform of one of the candidates. Mr. Barker of Durham is announcing on a platform of liberalism. This challenge to the voters of the State is very timely and, no doubt, since cause for much reflective thinking will develop before the time for voting. Mr. Barker's challenge will awaken a lively interest in progressive political trends.

In orthodox politics North Carolina usually runs according to true Southern tradition, but in every gubernatorial campaign some challenge arises which gives liberal tones to the politics developed by the State government. It is not too much to hope that a candidate campaigning on a liberal platform such as Mr. Barker announces will be elected in the coming elections. Certainly the State of North Carolina is not represented adequately by the

orthodox political group. Our reputation as the "most liberal Southern State" has been made by the unorthodox leadership and this leadership always has a sizeable following whether or not an unorthodox candidate becomes governor.

Liberal movements in the State are progressing steadily in the reconversion period following the war. Social reconversion is just as needy of progressive change as economic reconversion is. There are many strong elements in the State committed to status quo in social areas in our commonwealth and these must be challenged to the utmost in every election and every policy making session of the departments of state government.

The United States is the world's economic leader among the nations. In social relationships ours is probably the most confused nation. We fought a war motivated by the highest of social ideals. The undemocratic elements among us went along in full support of the

war, realizing that the nation must survive and be kept strong if any of us is to have a chance for life and liberty. We must remember, however, that there are strong elements which were led by leaders who thought Hitler's plan was "not so bad." Orthodox Southern social philosophy has never disagreed sufficiently with Hitlerism. Current liberal movements in North Carolina are disagreeing properly and we need men like Mr. Barker to rally the liberals to political action. Calm unselfish thinking is a vital need in political circles in America today. The one characteristic of liberal organizations is their unselfishness. Champions of liberalism are likely to be less selfish than orthodox candidates under machine politics. Liberals can capture machines when their following is sufficiently strong. The Barker candidacy makes the prospect of the coming gubernatorial race in North Carolina look unusually promising from this time distance.

SUNDAY SCHOOL LESSON

By Rev. M. W. Williams

SUNDAY SCHOOL LESSON

Subject: The Struggle For Social Justice. —Amos. Printed text: Amos 1: 1-118, 21-24; 7:10-16.

Key Verse: "Seek good, and not evil, that ye may live." Amos 5:14.

Nations, like individuals, must have divine guidance and God's chosen representatives have the responsibility of leading, pleading and teaching in the right direction. When the priesthood fall, it is tragic. The nation starts downward. Such was the case with Israel during the reign of Uzziah, King of Judah 816 B. C. and Jeroboam II, King of Israel 746 when Amariah, the priest, failed God. The moral and social conditions of these two kingdoms were at such a low tide that God had to draft Amos, a herdsman of Tekoa, a rustic untutored man, and com-

mission him to be a prophet and a religious reformer. What Amos lacked in formal education, God supplied in culture, wisdom and courage for the task assigned him.

THE MESSAGE The virgin of Israel is fallen, she shall no more rise; she is cast down upon her land; there is none to raise her up. For this saith the Lord Jehovah: "Seek Jehovah and ye shall live; but seek Bethel, Gilgal and Beer-sheba, ye shall go into captivity and come to nought." Ye who turn justice to wickedness, and cast down righteousness to the earth, seek HIM that maketh the

Plumets and Orion, Celestial heaven) and through the shadow of death into the morning, and makeeth the day dark with night. For as much therefore ye trans-

gress upon the poor, and take exactions from him of wheat; ye have built houses of hewn stone, but ye shall not dwell in them; ye have planted pleasant vineyards, but ye shall not drink the wine thereof. For I know how manifold are your transgressions, and how mighty are your sins -- ye that afflict the just, that take a bribe, and that turn aside the needy in the gate from this right." (Amos 5:2-12).

THE MESSAGE DEFENDED The true and false prophets meet. Amariah, the priest of Bethel and Amos the prophet of Jehovah. Amariah tells the king that Amos is wrong and nothing will happen to him or the nation. Amos defends the message: "I was no prophet, neither was I a prophet's son; but I was a herdsman,

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