

# EDITORIALS

## THE MAJESTY OF THE LAW

It may seem cynical to say so, but the failure of a Bertie County grand jury to indict the sheriff accused by a Negro woman of breaking and entering and assault did not cause the CAROLINIAN any surprise. There is plenty of reason for regret, but in view of the past performances of grand juries and other representatives of the majesty of the law in Tarheelia, and especially in the eastern part of the state, it would have been wishful thinking to expect that the sheriff would not be "vindicated," if not by the grand jury, then somewhere along the road short of conviction and punishment.

In an excellent editorial the News and Observer summed up the situation left by the grand jury's action, when it asserted that somebody is guilty. Either the woman is guilty of the grossest slander against the character of the sheriff, or the sheriff is guilty of crimes against a lone woman. So far nothing has been done openly to determine which is true. It goes without saying that the mere failure of the grand jury to indict does not answer the question, nor establish the innocence of the sheriff.

North Carolina justice has come in for some terrific beatings in the past year or so. Two grand juries in the same section of the state in which Bertie is located refused to indict a confessed mobster and others whom he implicated. Two Gaston County juries exonerated a white man who shot down a Negro allegedly armed with a head of cabbage after the latter was attacked by the white storekeeper, enraged that a Negro should question his prices. These are just a few examples of how the law is used as one more weapon, and a powerful one, to maintain the unquestioned ascendancy of the white caste over the black one. The whites have enough advantages as it is. It is despicable cowardly to take advantage of the machinery of the criminal law, supposedly the inviolable sanctum of impartiality, as another weapon in the arsenal of the white supremacy legions.

## FULL JUSTICE WANTED

The NAACP is eminently right in not abandoning the Ingram case in Georgia because a judge has vacated the death sentences of the mother and her two sons. They were to die because the boys did what would have been regarded as a praiseworthy thing, or at the very least a justifiable one, had it been done by any but black boys. The should have been freed outright, and in taking the case to the State Supreme Court to seek a new trial, the NAACP lawyers have served notice that a compromise which saves the lives of their clients is not by any means acceptable.

The case should be fought all the way to the U. S. Supreme Court if necessary, until something approaching real justice is accomplished in the case.

## PARTIAL VICTORY

The decision of the U. S. Supreme Court on the constitutionality of restrictive covenants was not a clear-cut victory for Negroes and other minorities. Restrictive covenants were not specifically outlawed as unconstitutional. But the unanimous decision by the Court that neither federal nor state courts can be called on to enforce an agreement whose purpose is to bar minorities from the privilege of acquiring property obviously goes a long way toward undermining the status of

such discriminatory agreements.

Heretofore many courts have issued and granted injunctions and other orders the effect of which was to bind a covenant to the agreement. Hereafter such a contract will be enforceable only on a voluntary basis, with no resort to the courts to make it stick. That in itself is an important modification of the status of agreements not to sell property to Negroes or other minority groups.

## BIRMINGHAM'S SHAME

Birmingham and the State of Alabama had an opportunity to redeem themselves to some extent. When Senator Taylor's case came to trial they could have repudiated the unconscionable action of "Bull" Connor and the policemen of Birmingham in arresting and manhandling a U. S. Senator on a ridiculous charge. The court could have tacitly acknowledged the absurdity of a law or ordinance which purported to make it illegal for a white man to go through a certain entrance to a Negro church building. The inane and vicious implications of such a law, or such an interpretation of a law, are almost beyond comprehension, and must certainly shock all sane and decent people, for many churches have only one entrance.

But instead of seizing the last opportunity to prove that there was some decency and some sense left in Birmingham's law enforcement, the court went out of its way not only to uphold but to praise the Gestapo tactics. It reduced the status of a United States senator to that of a bum, so far as Alabama and Birmingham are concerned. It served notice on the world that upholding a fool and vicious ordinance, which at best represents an extremely depraved interpretation of the "necessity" of segregation, is more important to the police and that particular judge of Birmingham than is common decency, the dignity of the United States, or any other consideration that might be expected to appeal to men with any sense of justice or even of the fitness of things.

The judge made it clear by his statements, dignified in the press dispatches as a "lecture," that his main consideration was not the merits of the case, but the fact that Senator Taylor was a foreigner, a man not born and reared in the morally stunting atmosphere which produced such laws and law enforcers and interpreters as Birmingham prefers. He piously upheld a charge against a reputable and distinguished man which included assault and battery on a group of armed officers. He underlined the opinion that a white man who believes that Negroes are people and not a sub-human species deserve no better than they get, and that he is due to get the works. He could not refrain from introducing that old fraud that southern whites and Negroes could get along beautifully if only "outside interferers" would leave them alone — an idea which presumes that all the people in the world except southern whites are either fools or crooks or both.

But in this case the police and that Birmingham judge have done something more than uphold patent injustice in the name of white supremacy. They have overreached themselves. They have dramatized in a most vivid way the evils of the American color-caste system. They have revealed to all thinking people the depths of the vicious absurdity to which that system can descend. They have demonstrated how the minds of people can be warped by it — not only the minds of dumb cops, but those of intelligent people. They have shown how a community can lose its conscience and its senses over pigmentation. They have dramatized the disease that is preying on the vitality of American democracy.

Good and decent men in the South as well as elsewhere may be shocked into an awareness that some things are wrong, and how wrong those things can be. They may even be shocked to the point that they will realize that something must be done to cure this disease; that ignoring it or explaining it away treating it with soothing syrup is too dangerous.



## Second Thoughts

By C. D. HALLIBURTON

A very intriguing letter-to-the-editor appeared in the News and Observer some time ago. It was written by a gentleman who had some very positive opinions on the subject of proposed legislation to bring about fair employment practices, in other words the so-called Permanent FEPC.

The arguments usually raised by the embattled South against President Truman's proposed civil rights program center around the point that the various measures would involve the violation of states' rights; but against FEPC it is the right of the individual to hire and fire as he pleases, a strongly entrenched tenet of our system of free enterprise, which is the main argument. Others include bureaucratic meddling with private business and the difficulty of enforcement.

But this letter-to-the-editor brought out some additional points which are seldom recorded in print. The writer gets right down to the point and calls a spade a spade. His candor is refreshing as well as revealing, and you may be sure that his statements reflect the

sentiments of many others, not all of whom live below the Mason-Dixon line. He is an employer himself, which adds weight to the importance of his attitude as a factor to be reckoned with. We quote from the letter:

"It is never going to work out right in the South for the Negro to have equal rights on jobs. What I mean is to put him in line for promotion and have some of our white boys working for him.

"I have worked colored labor for 30 years and I find them to be the happiest and most careful people I ever saw.

"The Negro does not want social equality and there is just a few of them who want equal rights. When a white man puts a Negro on equal with him the Negro puts the white man below him right then.

"So I believe if you will let the colored man alone and not try to promote him to where he will be over some of the less fortunate whites we will have less trouble."

So the whole problem is neatly disposed of. It would be bad for everybody for Negroes to

have job opportunities on the basis of their qualifications. And no such arrangement is called for anyway, in view of the facts that Negroes are already the happiest people in the world, and that few of them are desirous of equal rights anyway.

The right to work, regarded as one of the fundamental rights of man, is a relatively new concept and is still a strange and suspect idea to millions. The right of the employer to hire who and when and on what terms he pleases has for thousands of years been accepted more or less unquestioningly as an obvious individual right. It is one of the ideas against which trade unionism has had to struggle mightily. The right to promotion on merit as an inherent right of the individual has gained even less acceptance.

Add to this state of affairs the influence of color prejudice and ignorance such as is revealed in the letter quoted above, and one can see how much change must take place before true fair employment practices will be accepted as normal and natural procedure in this country.

## SUNDAY SCHOOL LESSON

By Rev. M. W. Williams

Subject: Malachi Demands Sincere Religion. — Malachi 1: 6-9, 2: 3-14, 3: 5-12.

Key Verse: Why call ye me, Lord, Lord and do not the things which I say? — Luke 9: 46.

We study today a period in Israel's history in which ingratitude and a distorted sense of values had almost engulfed them. God, through Zerubbabel, Nehemiah and Ezra had brought them back into Judah, enabled them to build the temple, rebuilt the walls of Jerusalem and put them back on firm religious bases. Instead of gratefulness, they pretended an aversion of any love shown her, dealt treacherously with one another and even robbed God.

Malachi, the messenger of Jehovah, contemporary of the poet Isaiah and the historian Herodotus, demands of the priests and people to serve God in sincerity and truth.

so did the priests — went through the Jewish ritual according to custom, but it was all mechanical. They offered polluted bread, sickly beasts for sacrifice — things they could not eat or sell. Malachi rebuked them and asked of them, I be your father, where is mine honor? Giving God what is left of our time, talent and money is a poor way of honoring him. I am a religion student.

**RELIGION AND MARRIAGE**

Malachi insisted that the practice of true religion was the keeping of that one wife and the wholesome home life. How would this compare with us in our country? In 1945 we had 502,000 divorces. It seems the higher we go the more we divorce. The sacredness of the marriage bond still holds a high place in the sight of God despite even the leniency of our courts.

**RELIGION — STEWARDSHIP**

Malachi taught and demanded that the Israelites practice what

they preached. How could they consistently say, "Lord, Lord and do not the things which I say?" He charged them with robbing God. An awful indictment! Why would you a man who gave them health, home, friends, capacity and ability to earn money, and then withhold from him that love and allegiance which is due? "He asked wherein have we robbed thee?" "In tithes and offerings," answered Malachi. "Does your religion create in you a desire to pay one-tenth, which is your rent, and then make an offering that the cause for which Christ suffered and died might be the effect of the mission fields and our Church programs? If Church members practiced Stewardship? Whether we pay or not, we owe it. Thanks be to God for those who have accepted the challenge — "They fear the Lord." Why call ye me, Lord, Lord, and do not the things which I say? — Luke 9: 46.

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## WOMAN LAWYER TO TURMOIL HALTS

tember she represented the committee at the Women's World Fellowship conference in Paris, following which she visited in seven countries of Europe observing conditions.

Mrs. Carter is a former assistant district attorney in New York, and within the past year joined with Ernest E. Johnson in the establishment of Carter-Johnson Associates, the Fifth Avenue public relations firm.

## PLEDGE HEALTH

gram for progress. In that program I would place very high the necessity of increased educational opportunities for all regardless of race, color or creed, of improved facilities for health, facilities for health and medical care, of better housing, of equal pay for equal work, of fairness in the exercise of franchise without poll taxes, and for just opportunities in accordance with ability and ambition.

## TURMOIL HALTS

eral conduct of the Bishops.

The turmoil which resulted from the Rev. Mr. Gumb's challenge was not settled until more than five hours had been spent in heated and at times near-violent debate and three relatives of bishops had requested that their names be withdrawn from the proposed committee.

The three resigning members were William A. Fountain, Jr., president of Morris Brown College and son of Bishop W. A. Fountain; the Rev. V. D. Kyle, son-in-law of Bishop R. R. Wright and Nnamah Allen, brother of Bishop A. J. Allen.

Bishop Noah W. Williams, president of the Fifth Episcopal district and host to the conference, presided at the opening session. Bishop R. R. Wright, Jr., of New York and Kentucky, delivered the episcopal address immediately thereafter.

More than 1,500 delegates, and thousands of interested church-folk were present at the conference opened here in this too small

small community, the smallest to which the general conference has been taken in many a year. All the bishops were in attendance, presenting for the most part, a rather ancestral aspect.

It is rumored that some will be retired because of age and ineffectiveness, notably Bishops Ransom, Young, Tooke, Davis and perhaps Williams and Green. Charges of various kinds, it is said, will be preferred against all but three of the bishops.

Former Bishops David Sims and George Curry were also on hand. Though they seek reinstatement, it seems improbable that anything will come of their demands. The action of the Little Rock meeting seems to be considered final.

The sentiment among delegates seem to revolve around the retirement of defective bishops and punishment for those who have violated the church laws; election of native bishops for Africa or compel assigned bishops to remain on the field or withhold their salaries; revision of the discipline; restoration of time limit on bishops, presiding elders

**BETWEEN THE LINES**  
BY DEAN B. HANCOCK FOR ANP

## BETWEEN THE LINES TRUMAN'S IMPENDING TRIUMPH

Truman's stubborn stand for his civil rights program has converted this writer long ago. When the civil rights committee was projected, I was one of the first to label it a "political move," a kind of political net to catch Negro votes. But subsequent events have proven that my prognostication was wrong and I am tremendously glad to be able to see wherein I erred.

When President Truman defied the southern bloc of combined Negro-baiters and rabble-rousers and thin-skinned liberals, I was convinced that his purpose was nobly conceived and would be stubbornly defended. Moreover, if Truman goes down he will go down on account of his civil rights stand, and I am not venturing too far afield prophetically when I say that millions of Negroes are going down with him. No other course is open to us, since his magnificent stand has brought down upon his head the wrath of the south and a great part of the deceitful north with its appeasement of the south at any cost.

But it is not yet certain that Truman will be defeated. It is true that the vocal part of the south is heaping upon him malign and pernicious accusations; he is accused of everything but being a conscientious southerner who is trying to face up to reality by trying to do at his doors what we are trying to do across the seven seas. Truman is trying to make of democracy a living and vital principle by which this nation goes up or down instead of letting it remain merely a pleasing platitude.

The south should be proud of Harry Truman, fearless advocate of political righteousness and, today, democracy's leading champion instead of trying to crucify him upon a cross of outworn tradition and political expediency. President Truman is looking over the shoulders of his traducers and hecklers. When these shortsighted fact-evaders are long forgotten, Truman's name will be a redeeming influence in the history of one of the most sordid political periods of the history of the struggling south.

Nor am I convinced that the carping critics of Truman and Trumanism constitute the majority of the south. It is true this contingent is more vocal, but there is another current flowing through this sentiment of the south that need not be discounted. There are too many things happening in the south of a constructive nature to concede that Truman is lost beyond hope. When Georgia can cast a majority of its votes against Talmadgeism, there is no guarantee that a majority of the same Georgians will not cast votes against the anti-Trumanites, come election day.

The south is not as dull and unthinking as her reactionary leadership would have us believe. The fellow with the weak side of an argument always speaks the louder; so the southern reactionaries with the weak side of the tantamount moral question of the day, may be equally disposed to speak loud perchance to impress the outside world with a strength they really do not have.

The fighting-back southerners have maneuvered Truman into one of the most conspicuous moral eminences of the 20th century. If they will just keep up the fight they will heroize Harry Truman as few moderns have been heroized. So we have no need to fear, Truman is going to win regardless of the election outcome. If he is renominated and reelected he wins one of the most significant moral victories in history; if he loses he will win a glorious moral martyrdom that will give him a place among this nation's immortals. Strange are the ways of Fate, a southerner from Missouri, son of a Confederate soldier, is standing on the threshold of true greatness.

Suppose Truman loses in the election, then he will prove a benefactor of mankind by unmasking his nation before the world as moral leader. If the heart of this nation is of such that a real honest man need not aspire to its presidency then of all nations we are the most miserable. Even now our moral leadership is hanging by a slender thread, with Truman's defeat the world will see us as the prejudiced, bigoted, hypocritical dollar-chasing nation they now suspect us to be. God forbid!



Don't bother things belonging to others without their permission. Many an unnecessary argument has resulted from not respecting the rights of others.

and ministers and removing his head of the Deaf and Blind School, firms and organizations, posts on the missionary board.

## LOCAL COLLEGE

and first reports were taken at a meeting of the committee Monday May 10, at 8:30 o'clock at the Bloodworth Street YMCA.

Dr. J. B. Davis of Fungus Springs is soliciting contributions from the doctors of Wake County; P. A. Williams, Principal of Apex, the county school teachers; and the Rev. C. A. Kearns, Pastor of Davis Street Presbyterian Church, and Dr. O. S. Bullock, Pastor of First Baptist Church, Raleigh, ministers.

Fund raising at the college and secondary schools will be directed by Mrs. Ada M. Jarragin and Dr. N. H. Harris of the Shaw University staff; while E. L. Raiford, Executive Secretary of the YMCA, will solicit organization and I. H. Rober's real estate broker, and M. H. Croc,

## COP BRUTALITY

local party. Communism has its declared goal a completely Communist world and its leaders always have said that to obtain world Communism they would have to destroy religion and overthrow all governments which resisted their world-wide program.

Telling the peace officers that they had nothing to fear from Communism in organized labor, Communism said: "There is no group in Louisiana that has come more to us Communists and bring them into the open than organized labor."

"Labor men know the Communists and know how to stymie their democratic processes."

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