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OUR PLATFORM: We Stand for Full and
Equal Constitutional Rights and Privileges
and Civil Liberties of All People, Regard-
less of Race, Creed, or Color.

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er
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TOUGH MAN

PRESIDENT Truman will soon ap-
proach the record of Andrew John-
son for getting himself "in bad." It
seems that if there is a "wrong" or
controversial way to attack a problem,
or a wrong thing to say it, Truman will
find it and use it. No one can say the
man lacks courage. But sometimes this
courage seems entirely divorced from
prudence.

The latest example of the President's
boldly putting his foot in it is his seizure
of the steel companies. For this he is
being condemned right and left as a
usurper of authority. He is castigated
for going beyond his constitutional
powers, for ignoring Congress, and for
using an extra-constitutional measure
when he could have invoked the Taft-
Hartley law and forestalled a steel
strike by acting within the powers clearly
provided in the Constitution and by
a specific statute.

There is hardly room for doubt that
Mr. Truman could foresee, at least to
some extent, the furore he would cre-
ate by seizing the steel companies.
There is no doubt, either, that it was
his duty to head off a steel strike. But
the President has given no adequate re-
ply to the question as to why he did
not apply the Taft-Hartley law, which
would have halted a strike for 80 days,
and which would just as truly have
given the opportunity for the owners
and the workers to get together for more
negotiations, and for the use of other
machinery provided by law for the
settlement of wage disputes and for
price adjustments. In his speech the
President said the Taft-Hartley Act
wouldn't do the job, at least without
causing a strike of at least a week. But
the steel workers have struck anyway,
so it seem that his questionable pro-
cedure has worked.

Some commentators are saying that
the President, now that he has declared
himself out of the race for the nomina-
tion, doesn't care any more. Others are
saying a lot worse than that. One com-
mentator says that he is not taking ad-
vice from anybody any more, and is
isolating himself, since he regards him-
self as on the way out of public life.

Whatever the true explanation, the
President certainly has a capacity for
getting into difficulties. He is undoubt-
edly a tough man.

THIS IS WHAT YOU WANT

AN INTERESTING editorial in a re-
cent issue of the News and Observer
took note of the fact that the two top
candidates for president of the student
body in an election at Shaw University
a week or two ago were both from
north of the Mason-Dixon line.

Both these student leaders in the Ra-
leigh college come from states where
segregation does not exist in state-sup-
ported schools and colleges, but both
of them come to a Southern Negro Col-
lege for an education. (It might be
added that practically all the privately

controlled educational institutions of
New York and New Jersey, if not all
of them, also admit Negroes.

The News and Observer editorial
writer then very wisely observes that
the fact that these two young people
from the North came to a southern Ne-
gro college is no indication whatever
that they favor segregation in educa-
tion. "They may hold, as many mem-
bers of their race do hold, strong views
otherwise," he says.

The fact that Negroes in large num-
bers seem to prefer "their own" schools,
churches, etc., and naturally associate
with each other very happily, has often
been used as an argument in favor of
enforced segregation. This particular
editorial to which we refer does not
employ that argument, it should be
noted.

Contrary to the belief, or alleged be-
lief, of many, the Negro does not seek
association with those who do not want
his company. It is regarded as perfect-
ly natural and normal that he associate
with members of his own race. What
he objects to and what he regards as
wrong is segregation and limitation to
his freedom which are enforced by law,
and this not because it keeps him from
mingling with whites, but because it
abridges his freedom and interferes
with his normal enjoyment and utiliza-
tion of facilities and conveniences and
privileges which should be open to all.

He objects to being deprived of the
freedom of choice exercised by other
people, and of having his choices made
by others, either arbitrarily or on the
presumption that that would be his
preference anyway, which is largely a
joke.

The students from Northern states
who attend southern colleges operated
by and for Negroes do so for a variety
of reasons, but all of the reasons are
comprehended under the single expla-
nation that they are there because they
choose to be there, and not because
they are re quired by law to attend
an institution "for Negroes," if they at-
tend any at all within that geographical
area.

Segregation is wrong and distasteful
because it arbitrarily limits the freedom
of the individual on the one ground of
color, and nothing is more irritating
than to have one's freedom restrained
and then having it explained to one
that the choice made by someone else
is the choice one would make if one
were free to choose. Especially when
there is the knowledge that whatever
the choice one would make he is not
going to be granted the privilege of
exercising any choice anyway.

WHO IS THE CANDIDATE

THE editor of the Monitor, a Catholic
weekly, recently asked Senator
Russell some questions about his be-
liefs and principles. One of them was,
"Do you believe that men are equal?
In what sense?"

Candidate Russell's answer was,
"Man is equal in the sigh of God, for
God is no respecter of persons."

Well said. But what we would like to
know more about is, how do men stand
in the sight of Senator Russell. And to
what extent is Senator Russell a respec-
ter of persons? We are interested in
the views of the candidates for presi-
dent of the United States.

RESIGNATION

MR. F. C. Tarkington, the registrar
down at Roper, wants it known that
he resigned his office — that he was
not removed. In a letter to the News
and Observer he insists that he resigned.
He does not indicate whether or not
the resignation took place under pres-
sure, or whether or not he quit rather
than be a party to the registration of
qualified Negroes.

In the same letter Mr. Tarkington
denied that he had ever "shown dis-
crimination against the colored peo-
ple," but he did not deny the allegation
that no Negro had been registered at
Roper for some years, nor did he offer
any explanation as to how that came
about.

SHRINE OF PERPETUAL GRIEF



C. D. Halliburton's

SECOND THOUGHTS

This week I am abusing the
privilege of columnists to write
on a subject that might be of
very little interest to the ma-
jority of their readers. It is
not fair to the readers, but
there is an opportunity to blow
off steam which it is only nat-
ural to indulge. So if you are
not interested in big league
baseball, and unless you are
willing to listen to my moans
about the Detroit Tigers, don't
read any farther.

All this comes about because
I am an inveterate Tiger fan,
and have been for more years
than I ought to be willing to
admit—over 35, at least. I
began to follow the organized
sport as a very young child.

Now the Detroit Tigers are
the only team in the big leagues

that has never finished last,
or at least the only one in the
American League that has never
wound up the season in
eighth place. Last year they
were a disappointing fifth. Year
before that it was third. I be-
lieve, after leading the league
for several weeks, and flopping
only in the last four or five
weeks of the season, I thought
they were going to win the
penant that year.

The source of my grief is
that the Detroit Tigers at this
writing are in last place. Not
only that but five full games
separate them from the seventh
place team. To show you how
bad they really are this year,
to date they have lost exactly
THREE TIMES as many games
as they have won.

Everything happens wrong
with the Tigers. They have sold
or traded three pitchers in the
last two years. None of them
showed anything much while
they were with Detroit, but as
soon as they got with other
teams they began to be stars.
One of them, now with Chicago,
had the best earned run
average in the league last year.
After he joined the White Sox
another pitched a one — hitter
soon after he was traded to
the Browns.

The Tigers have had some
good pitching this year, but
when their pitchers click no-
body on the team hits. The
few times they have showed
any hitting ability this year
the pitching collapsed. If there
seems no other way to lose,
they will make enough errors
to lose by at least one run.
Incidentally, they lose an un-
usually large number of games
by one run.

This is a sad situation for
me. I can envision the Tigers
breaking their record and finish-
ing in eighth place by a
wide margin. I tried to
think that they were getting
off to a bad start, like the
Giants last year, who lost their
first eleven games, but went
on to win the penant. But after
a month and more, with a
record of 21 losses against sev-
en wins it looks very bad.

The Tigers should get some
new players, and they ought
to be looking for some good
Negro talent. My loyalty to
them is unquestioned; it is too
late for me to change. But I
could be a much better fan
if they had a few Negro stars.
And the chances are very good
that it would be a much better
team. It couldn't be worse.



BETWEEN THE LINES
BY DEAN B. HANCOCK FOR AND

IT IS PITIFUL

The southern white Baptists
are meeting in Miami, Fla.
News accounts have it that the
keynote speakers are delivering
in grand style. As is the custom
of the southern white Baptists
they are going to raise their
voice against many things in
general but not against segrega-
tion in particular. They are
going to come out for many
things in general but not for
full integration of their Negro
brethren in particular.

Herein lies the great tragedy.
It is pitiful to see our south-
ern white brethren silent on
one of the most momentous is-
sues of the 20th century. As the
late H. G. Wells put it, "Race
Prejudice is the worst thing in
the life of mankind today."

If the church cannot take a
Christ-like stand against the
worst thing there where in the
name of high heaven can they
stand? In the Southern Baptist
Convention we have one of the
largest Protestant bodies in
the world and one of great in-
fluence and power. They are
brethren with the National
Baptist brethren of Negro con-
stitution with whom they are
on terms of rather "casual
brotherhood."

It is safe to say that of all
denominations, the white Bapt-
ists are farther from their Ne-
gro constituency than any other
denomination. Negro Baptists
are step-brothers "in the
Lord" to their white fellow
Baptists. It is to be observed that
in things interracial all other
denominations can come closer
to their Negro brethren than
the southern Baptists. The
Catholics, Methodists, Presby-
terians and Episcopalians all
have closer ties with their Ne-
gro brethren than the Baptists.

For downright nervousness,
it is difficult to see a group
more expensively and nervously
than a group of white southern
Baptists when the question of
interracial gathering is before
the house. When the question of
interracial preaching missions
is up for discussion, the first
to bolt is the southern Bapt-
ists.

Almost all the attempts to
make the "illy whi" preach-
ing missions interracial on a
non-segregated basis have
found their stumbling blocks
among the southern white Bapt-

ists. It is true that here and
there we find a few valiant
souls among them, but they are
usually overwhelmingly out-
numbered. So these lily white
preaching missions go on their
way, more determined to pre-
serve white supremacy than to
lift up Jesus Christ whom they
 profess to love and serve.

It is pitiful and pathetic to
see the religion of the southern
white Baptists in their inter-
racial dealings.

The southern Methodists are
miles and miles ahead of their
southern white Baptist brethren.
A case in point might
clarify this indictment. Eight
years ago the Southern Re-
gional Council was organized
in Atlanta and has since op-
erated throughout the south.
Nearly a half million dollars
have been expended ad-
vancing the cause of bitter race
relationships during these eight
years.

From time to time a helping
hand, financially, comes from
Methodists, Catholics, Episcop-
alians and Presbyterians but
never a dime from the Bapt-
ists. It is pitiful.

So down in Miami we are be-
ing treated to some powerful
messages by powerful apostles
of southern Baptism but little
or nothing will have been said
when it's over to indicate that
the tradition of segregation and
exclusion have been subordi-
nated to the teachings of Jesus
Christ.

Just as the ante-bellum white
missionaries preached to Negro
slaves in the gallery that slave-
ry was a part of the divine
plan so today the jim-crowed
Negroes of the south are seeing
the bristling issues of Chris-
tian brotherhood by-passed by
high-powered speakers before
the Southern Baptist Conven-
tion.

The lily white preaching
mission goes on its merry way
with invitations to Negroes to
be segregated or to be absent
altogether. When our northern
white Baptist brethren come
south to talk Christianity, they
conform to the wishes of the
southern brethren and by-pass
the color issue which is some-
how related to the very heart
of Christianity.

It is pitiful! It is pathetic! It
is dangerous!

JAMES A. SHEPARD'S
THIS and THAT

Because the all important Dem-
ocratic Primary will be held this
weekend, THIS AND THAT will
be most "That" this week in an
attempt to evaluate its importance
to us as a racial group.

On Saturday of this week, the
Democratic Primary will be held
all over North Carolina. At this
primary, the voters of this state
will select the men and a few
women, who will govern them,
make their laws and administer
justice. In view of the fact with
the exception of a few counties in
the Western part of our state, the
remnants of the Democratic Pri-
mary are assured of election in
November, we feel that we should
examine with more than like-
warm interest those offering them-
selves for the various offices.

North Carolina will be se-
lecting a new governor, Lieu-
tenant governor, several Con-
gressmen, a justice of the Su-
preme Court, and all the mem-
bers of the State Legislature.
In addition to these state and
national officers to be selected
there will be numerous local
contests for posts affecting us
in varying degrees of impor-
tance.

It has been a bit difficult to
generate interest among our peo-
ple in the men who represent us
in the Congress of the United
States. It may be that the name
Congress has a remote sound to
many of us and we fail to see
just how we are directly concern-
ed with what goes on in Wash-
ington. However, in many instan-
ces, what goes on in Washington,
has a more direct bearing on
our welfare, our economic status
and on our future as citizens of
this country, than anything which
can take place in our local and
state government, for instance,
down in the Congressional district
now represented by Congressman
Kerr.

We know for a certainty that
Mr. Kerr is opposed to all of the
measures which are calculated to
improve our condition. He is out-
spoken in his denunciation of the
Civil Rights program and has
gone on record as being in violent
opposition to FEPC. Now Mr.
Kerr's opponent for this seat in
Congress may also be opposed to
Civil Rights for minorities. He
may wish to stop the clock of
progress or turn it back just as
Mr. Kerr does, but the important
thing to remember here is if by
your vote, you return Mr. Kerr
to North Carolina, aid in the elec-
tion of his opponent and he fails
to represent you, you will have
the power and the opportunity
of returning him to private life
also.

Now the important signifi-
cance of this procedure is that
if and when you demonstrate
through your vote that you
are determined to have men
in Washington who will rep-
resent you, the day will come
when you have representation
in Congress. You will find
that you will not have to turn
them out too many times for
them to catch on that you
mean business. Watch the do-
ings of your Congressman.
Study his record. Write and
tell him what you want. Then
when you are satisfied that he
is turning a deaf ear to your
legitimate demands, retire
him to the side lines where he
can reflect on the errors of
his way.

In all probability, either Mr.
Hubert Olive or Mr. William B.
Umstead will be the next Gov-
ernor of this state. Both of these
worthy gentlemen say they are
running on their records. Both Mr.
Olive and Mr. Umstead are run-
ning on a platform of progress
(Southern style), more and bet-
ter schools, more and better
rural electrification, higher pay for
teachers and other state employ-
ees, etc.

Now it would be most wonder-
ful, if we as the dominant min-
ority, could say that as citizens
of North Carolina, with two such
outstanding men offering them-
selves for the Governorship on
such utopian platforms, we feel
quite secure that all will be well
regardless whether Mr. Olive or
Mr. Umstead wins.

That is the way it should be
unfortunately it is not that way
at all.

The masses of the people, the
consumers, the farmers, labor,
etc. have more friends and are
in general more important dur-
ing periods of political elec-
tions than at any other time.
Every candidate for political
office is "the peoples' candi-
date." Every candidate has the
interest and welfare of the peo-
ple uppermost in his mind,
speeches and actions. If he is
his influence, will legislate for
the interest and welfare of the
people. And, of course, he is in
favor of such things as better
schools, increased salary for
teachers, more hospitals and
medical care for the people.

Curiously enough every
candidate represents him-
self as being the candidate
of the people, and by the
same token he accuses all
his opponents of being the
tools of big business, pres-
sure groups, financial
groups, and oppressors of
the people, all of whom im-
pede social, economic and
political progress.

It so happens, however, that
no sooner do the elections
are over, regardless of who
wins, than the people the con-
sumers the farmers, the work-
ing man, etc., are all straight-
way forgotten. From the days
of Alexander Hamilton down
to the present time the vast

Neither of these gentlemen
has expressed any concern
over our lack of economic op-
portunistic have the refusal of
the different tax supported
governmental bureaus and a-
gencies to give us employment
commensurate with our abili-
ties and qualifications. Neither
has come out against the pre-
vailing jury system in North
Carolina whereby Negroes are
placed on juries only after a
fight. Neither has commended
himself with the brutal treat-
ment given our people by law
enforcement officers. Both of
them are apparently satisfied
with a judicial setup which
will allow a white man to mur-
der a Negro in cold blood and
then win an acquittal in the
courts or will waste thousands
of dollars of the tax payers'
money trying a Negro as a
saul upon a white woman he
wasn't close enough to know
whether she was a man or
woman.

Neither of these worthy gentle-
men has felt called upon to de-
nounce the evils of segregation,
to plead for equal justice,
equality and fair play for all citi-
zens. But since one of them will
be governor, we should exercise
our privilege and vote for one of
them trying to choose the lesser
of the two evils remembering that
when we fully realize the influ-
ence we can exert in changing
things through our ballot, candi-
dates for the Governorship, like
Congressmen, will learn to re-
spect our aspirations as well as
our feelings. We suppose that ev-
ery Negro in North Carolina re-
members the senatorial campaign
of 1948 between Mr. Umstead and
Mr. Broughton. During that cam-
paign, Mr. Umstead repeatedly
charged Mr. Broughton with be-
ing in favor of Civil Rights for
Negroes and soundly denounced
Mr. Broughton for his supposedly
liberal views on the Negro ques-
tion. Mr. Umstead is even re-
ported to have said he would rather
not return to the U. S. Senate if
he had to go there on Negro
votes. We have no reason to feel
that Mr. Umstead has changed
his mind.

There are four candidates in the
race for the position of lieuten-
ant governor. This is another po-
sition, we as a group have not
paid too much attention to, but
when you remember that the lieuten-
ant governor has the tasks of
selecting the chairmen and mem-
bers of all senate committees and
it is in these committees that all
the legislation affecting us must
be approved or disapproved, we see
that it is of utmost importance
that we study the record and
background of the candidate as-
serting himself for this post. Candidates
for this job are Luther H. Hodges,
Marshall Ruffess, Ben J. McDon-
ald and Roy Rowe.

We have in North Carolina this
year a situation without parallel
in the state's history. Six can-
didates are running for one seat
on the bench of the state supreme
court. Four of those candidates are
presently superior court judges one
is a Winston-Salem lawyer while
the other is the junior member
of the Supreme Court whose seat
is being so hotly contested. Next
to the importance of having fair
minded men and women in our
legislation to see to it that the
legislation enacted is designed to
fit the needs of all the people,
the membership of the supreme
court is of vital interest to our
group. Here in this court of last
appeal within the state, is deter-
mined whether or not the wrongs
inflicted by the lower courts will
be righted, whether or not un-
just and unconstitutional laws will
be repealed and whether or not
the whole judicial pattern will
conform to real justice. Because
four of the aspirants, Judges R.
Hunt Parker, J. Donald Phillips,
Allen H. Gwyn and W. H. Esh-
bitt are now in superior court jud-
icial, it should be comparatively
easy for you to judge their fit-
ness for a seat on the state's
highest tribunal. Their records
for or against justice and fairness
toward our people have already
been made and it is not likely
that elevation to the supreme
court will change their thinking.
The other two candidates, Su-
preme Court Justice L. T. Valen-
tine whose seat is being fought
for, and Oscar O. Efrid have both
made records in their respective
fields of endeavor. Justice Valen-
tine has been a wheel horse for
the Democrats for a long time and
usually his political alignment has
been with the liberal wing of his
party. Mr. Efrid, a Winston-Salem
lawyer has held no important
elective or appointive office. He
ran unsuccessfully for a seat on
the Supreme Court bench in 1950
and is considered a southern type
liberal. In casting your vote for
a candidate to fill this important
post, you will be called upon to
exercise care, caution and discre-
tion. Who the members of the
Supreme Court can do affect us
greatly.

We have been saving our com-
plaints on members of the leg-
islature until this last year because
the membership of the legislature
is of least importance to us but
because in every county and city
who goes to the legislature is
for the most part determined by
the local electorate and with the
hundreds of candidates in field it
is next to impossible to even
mention them all. We feel that
young men, preferably veterans,
are by and large our best bet as
members of the legislature. We
can never hope for any material
change in the status quo from the
older group. They are not only
afraid of progress and time liber-
alism, they actually do not know
what those terms really mean.
This does not mean however, that
all the younger men offering
themselves for office are our

(Continued on page 5)