

The Carolinian

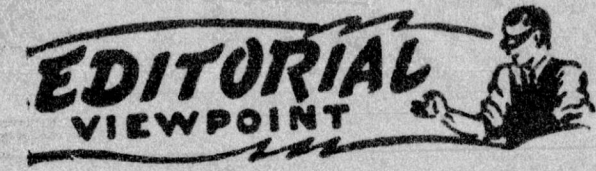
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OUR PLATFORM: We Stand For Full and Equal Constitutional Rights and Privileges and Civil Liberties of All People, Regardless of Race, Creed, or Color.

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PAUL R. JERVAY, Publisher
LIN HOLLOWAY, Managing Editor



DR. SPAULDING LEAVES A MAGNIFICENT HERITAGE

C. SPAULDING, personable, warm, loveable in fact magnificent in his entire person, heart and soul, is dead. But all of the material and spiritual contributions so closely associated with this Hercules of understanding and goodwill toward all men are ours to cherish and emulate.

His was a full life blessed by the Almighty to go forth into the world and create job opportunities in business for his people. This he did in insurance, banking, real estate, construction, building and loan, etc. So great is this physical structure moulded by C. C. Spaulding that young men have grown in hundreds to now become some of the country's leading business, political, civic, educational and social leaders.

C. C. Spaulding was an optimist. His greatest memorial is the spirit of optimism to keep on going forward in the face of great odds and successfully attain your goal, through human understanding and know-how in your chosen endeavor. This spirit will never die in the hearts and minds of the great corps of workers who looked to him as their "Chief".

He and his associates bestowed upon the city of Durham through the North Carolina Mutual, the Mechanics and Farmers Bank, Banker's Fire Insurance Co., to mention only three, one of the greatest advertisements any city in the U. S. has known by Negro business men.

Those of us who have had the good fortune of knowing C. C. Spaulding will be eternally grateful for the far-reaching tangible and intangible contributions he has made to the race.

AFTER THE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION

THE DEMOCRATIC national convention held the interest of the public in one way not open to the Republican meeting. Everyone was fairly sure that the Republican convention would be a contest between Taft and Eisenhower for the nomination. Up to the opening day of the Democratic convention no one was by any means certain that the man who was finally selected as the party's nominee would have his name even presented to the convention. Once it was established that Governor Stevenson was open to the draft it was a foregone conclusion that he would be nominated. No other candidate had anything like Stevenson's degree of potential acceptability to as many factions and elements of the sorely divided Democratic party as did (and does) Governor Stevenson, and except for a few almost psychopathic malcontents, the leaders of every faction and element want more than anything else a Democratic victory in November.

If Eisenhower can be beat, Stevenson was the only man available who had a reasonably good chance to rally all the

Democratic forces behind him and at the same time attract the large independent vote which will be the deciding factor in the election.

General Eisenhower undoubtedly has a wide popular appeal throughout all sections of the country. The Democratic leaders realized that their strongest possible man must be chosen to offset Eisenhower's advantage. President Truman as well as the others understood Eisenhower's potential in the southern states, and they all knew that the party could not gamble too far with the possibility or probability of losing a considerable bloc of southern electoral votes. Therefore Harriman never had any more real chance for nomination than did Russell, who concededly could not have carried important northern states. Kefauver was not too definitely identified with sectionalism, but was unacceptable to the big city bosses. So it was Stevenson from the beginning, if he would accept the bid, after the short-lived Barkley boom collapsed.

Adlai Stevenson is a good man and will undoubtedly make a good president if elected, we think. We believe much the same is true of General Eisenhower; but Stevenson's ability as a civil executive has been established, while Eisenhower's has not, or at least not to the same degree or in the same kind of setting as Stevenson.

What about the Democratic platform? It is obviously a compromise, especially on civil rights, the part which especially interests CAROLINIAN readers. The compromise was accepted by the Democratic leaders in the civil rights movement, and that fact can be taken for what it is worth. On its face the 1952 civil rights plank does not compare unfavorably with the 1948 Democratic plank, which caused such a ruckus, and it is certainly no worse than the 1952 Republican plank. In words the Democratic plank is more favorable than the Republican in that it indirectly attacks the filibuster, by which votes on civil rights measures have been frustrated time and again. The real value of the mild anti-filibuster plank is practically nil, however, for as one commentator has pointed out, change in the Senate rules is a function strictly of the Senate itself, and no party convention can do much about the matter. The plain truth is that as long as the southern senators maintain their present point of view, and as long as they continue to get the tacit support of a number of Republican senators through the existing quid pro quo working agreement, nothing is going to happen to end the filibuster tactic.

Party platforms get entirely too much attention, anyway, in proportion to their practical importance. Both 1948 platforms had good civil rights planks, yet there was little civil rights legislation by Congress, between 1948 and 1952. More important are the views of the candidates for president, and even more so, the views of the individual senators, especially the leaders and veterans.

As the CAROLINIAN sees it at this stage of the game, there is little reason for those who have voted Democratic for the past twenty years to change. Those who think there should be a change of party in the White House occupant have about the same grounds for their opinion as before the Democratic convention; little more or little less, if any.

As for civil rights legislation, the realistic view is that it depends on Congress, and particularly the Senate, far more than on the President. Both parties have used civil rights, and especially FEPC, as a vote-getting issue, and the Democratic leaders have used it both pro and con, depending on what states they were from. In the present presidential campaign the issue has so far been practically neutralized by the compromises in both parties on the platform and on the statements so far made by both candidates for the presidency. Which may not be such a bad thing after all.

REPAIRS FOR RAPIDS AHEAD



Gordon B. Hancock's
BETWEEN THE LINES

A MATTER OF DEGREES
No intelligent person can discuss the fact that as between the Republicans and the Democrats, there is only the difference in degrees. But this is an important matter, for the difference between the parties and the topics is only a matter of degrees. If the optimum degrees can be maintained one has no kicks whatever.

The Republican convention quibbled over the matter of civil rights for Negroes, but so quibbled the Democrats. When all is said and done, the Negro voter must choose between degrees and not kind of treatment he must expect from the Democrats and Republicans respectively.

Under neither standard will the Negro receive the first-rate citizenship he so earnestly seeks and for which he has so abundantly qualified with his sweat and tears and blood.

There are liberal southerners and conservative northerners, southern Democrats and northern Dixiecrats, but sectionalism is no more. But the almost astounding fact is, civil rights as an issue has hurried into the very forefront of the mighty weighty matters commanding the attention of the nation.

The thing that should give heart to the Negro is not the immediate disposition of this matter of civil rights, but the fact that it is a matter of debate. Before the coming of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, it was not even a matter of debate. Before the coming of Harry Truman it was not debated seriously.

But today how things have changed. The two political parties are afraid to face it squarely and afraid not to face it at all. Herein lies the great victory that righteousness has gained in the world. Civil rights for Negroes has become a burning issue in this country. Herein must the Negro take hope and press on to victory.

The great question surrounding the vital matter of civil rights is not whether, but when? Even the Dixiecrats admit that the full integration of the Negro is only a matter of time. Even they have begun to discern the signs of the times which herald the warning that the Negro must be saved or the nation will be lost.

So as the Negro girds himself politically for the discharge of his franchise, he must understand that the difference between the Democrats and the Republicans is but one of degrees but so is the difference between life and death, between Heaven and Hell, between the good and the bad.

In this mighty matter of degrees there is something overwhelming in the current political situation. A few years ago the Negro looked religiously to the Republican party for deliverance from his social and economic and political woes. The Republican party failed him!

Today it has come about that the Democratic party that spurned him 50 years ago is his hope of deliverance. Things change, for it is written in the prophecy of Daniel, "God changes the times and seasons; He setteth up one and taketh down another."

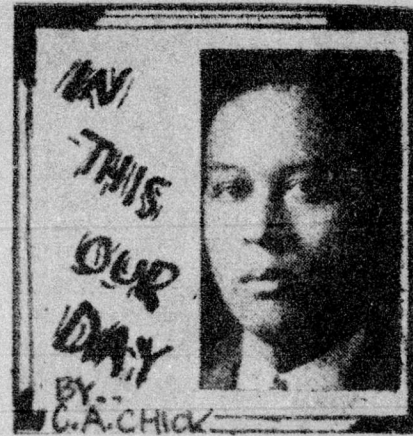
This writer has been declar-

ing for a quarter of a century through the press of this country that America must save the Negro or itself be lost. As this fact dawned more and more upon the nation, the nation moved closer and closer to the broadening realization that human brotherhood is the only answer.

And human brotherhood it will be. This happy era can be hastened when the Negro becomes politically alert as he certainly is not at present. This writer watched the proceedings of the Democratic convention in Chicago and saw the sullenness and the recalcitrance of Virginia, South Carolina and Louisiana, the avowed Dixiecrats walking about with their threat to walk out.

I saw Harry Flood Byrd, the big boss with big stick drawn for the fray, it suddenly dawned upon me that the real explanation of Harry Flood Byrd and his threat to walk out was to be found in the voicelessness of Virginia Negroes.

There is not a thing wrong with the Dixiecrats that vote-wise Negroes could not cure. Per square mouth the Negro looms large; per square vote the Negro looms little if indeed he "looms" at all! Herein is the tragedy!



RECONSTRUCTION AGAIN
An editorial in the Greensboro (N. C.) Daily for July 25, 1952 on the subject "Civil Rights" and Southern history endeavors to explain the recent activities of the Southern delegation at the Democratic National Convention. Says the editorial:

Why should the South object to civil rights including a compulsory FEPC?

The answer of course lies in history. History is easily forgotten by those who have not had it jump on them. The South's fears of civil rights federal legislation go back to the tragic era of Reconstruction.

"The nation may have forgotten, but the South has not, the orgy of corruption and debauchery fastened on it by the North in that period, under the guise of 'civil rights'."

The article goes on to cite examples of corruption in the South during Reconstruction and closes with the statement: "These are mild samples of what went on under jackal rule. This is why the South still fears civil rights."

And there you have it. The white South, by and large, still thinking and acting in terms of immediately before, during the period of, and immediately after the Civil War. The white South still explains its political, economic, social and educational institutions in terms of the foregoing areas.

With reference to the graft that supposedly prevailed in the South during the period of Reconstruction, there are several things which should be pointed out to the white leaders of the South: If one wishes to believe that dishonesty in the Southern government was as bad as it has been pictured, normal State governments had not been restored in the South at that time. During that time the South was largely under military rule. Or, in some of the states the majority of the political offices was held by Northern whites who came South following the War. By the same token, the South had not been restored to its proper and normal relations with the Federal government. Moreover, a large segment of the Southern population (Negroes) did not have any formal training or experience in political and economic affairs. The foregoing conditions do not exist in the

JAMES A. SHEPARD'S THIS and THAT

BY JAMES A. SHEPARD
We promised to resume our story this week about the Democratic and Republican parties and try to present reasons to you why we felt you should support the Democratic ticket this fall. However, since last week's column, one of this country's greatest citizens has passed into the Great Beyond, and we feel it our duty to pay our respects to this man and more particularly, the things for which he stood.

Ream upon ream has been and will be written about the accomplishments of C. C. Spaulding and he will be honored in death even more than he was while alive upon this earth. We heartily concur with all the good things said about this man and we feel it to be impossible to praise him too much.

Mr. Spaulding's life history is too well known for us to touch upon that angle in talking about that great man. His career was a reenactment of the oration Alger tale of rags to riches. That he was born of slave parents, one of eleven children and arose to fame and fortune, has been shouted from the roof tops, preached from countless pulpits and been made the theme of many newspapers and magazine articles.

The fact that Mr. Spaulding of course with in it self of small consequence. The majority of Negroes in this country whether of high or low degree are either the sons of slaves or the grandsons of slaves. What is of significance is the fact that Mr. Spaulding not only refused to allow that he labored night and day to improve the condition of every Negro under the sun.

We feel that Mr. Spaulding's true greatness is typified by the rich legacy he left behind for all of us to enjoy. The work he did in helping to establish and expand those two great institutions, The North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company and the Mechanics & Farmers Bank is without doubt, the greatest contribution any Negro has ever made toward the economic security of his race.

The Negro has produced in this land of trials and tribulations, called the United States of America, a number of outstanding men and women, recognized leaders in all the professions people who through their various contributions in the different areas of life have helped to shape the destiny of this nation and added materially to its greatness. But it remained for C. C. Spaulding, with an acuteness of perception far beyond that of others, to sense the fact that the economy of America is based on business and while the other professions are necessary, it is business that supplies the life blood which keeps America strong.

Mr. Spaulding, through his great gift of vision, was able to see that until the Negro was able to make his imprint on the field of business, his future in this country was insecure and would be filled with many odds. Mr. Spaulding knew that although the teaching profession is a most honorable one, there would never be sufficient teaching jobs to take care of all the Negroes qualified to teach. He knew that this same truth applied to all of the other professions such as medicine, law, theology etc, and although

South today. Therefore, a period of economic and political corruption could not be thrust upon the South today either by the Federal government nor by "outsiders" migrating into the South. Furthermore, the white South continues to speak of the corruption of Reconstruction days as though that was the only time in the history of the human race that a period of corruption ever existed. But as a matter of fact the daily papers are filled with accounts of graft, bribery, embezzlement, whatever you may desire to call it, in State, Local, and National governments as well as in private business. A large part of the time of Congress as well as of the state legislatures is taking up in investigating graft and corruption in government.

It should be pointed out to the white leaders of the South that they have been in full charge of the economic and political machinery of the South for the past seventy-five years, for the least. But that the South, despite its potential wealth, is still on the bottom rung of their nation's ladder of alms, all the worthwhile things of life. On the other hand Germany was completely defeated and her industries almost hopelessly curtailed during the period of World War One. But within a period of twenty-five years, Germany recovered and almost defeated the world.

It is my considered opinion that when those of us who live in the South forget the Civil War including the period of Reconstruction, and not until then, the South will take its proper place in national affairs, political, economic, and educational. Robert D. Calkin writing in the Greensboro daily for July 20, 1952 says that when the South substitutes brains for power, skill for sweat, and power and muscles the South will thrive. I share very much his opinions in the matter.

those professions could never absorb the growing number of qualified Negro men and women, these people had to have jobs and it was the duty of Negroes to begin the task of caring for his own.

There very possibly that other Negroes have thought along those same lines and have wished they could do something to remedy the need. The great difference between those wishful thinkers and Mr. Spaulding was that while others wished they could do something HE DID SOMETHING. While others saw all the need, he supplied the need. While others thought the task impossible, he made it possible.

We do not need to imply that the economic problems of our group have all been solved and we can now set back and rest in the contentment of security. No, that is not the thought we are trying to convey. What we are really trying to get across to you is that Mr. Spaulding furnished us with the key, the key, which if used will unlock the door of opportunity and usher us into a new era of racial development and progress, if we will only use the key he has placed into our hands.

Mr. Spaulding's accomplishments are all the more remarkable because he laid the foundation of distrust, suspicion and even hatred were at their height for them at a time when Mr. Spaulding and his associates were struggling to secure a footing for the enterprises which today have the admiration and respect of people everywhere. Negroes did not trust each other and they had very little confidence in the integrity, honor and ability of any Negro or group of Negroes. Of course we know this was due, in part to the white man's influence, both during and after slavery. But, whatever the cause, it did not make the lot of those endeavoring to build a business among Negroes an easy one.

Knowing these things and visualizing the persecution Mr. Spaulding must have endured and looking today at the rich rewards which have come to all of us because Mr. Spaulding was willing to endure persecution, hatred and privation, we are reminded of another who was willing to endure the scorn and hatred of those He came to bless and to save.

Whenever you feel like pitying yourself and wonder why you can't seem to get ahead, don't blame your plight on either the white man or other members of your own race, just remember that you were never poorer, that you never occupied a low station in life or was never in more need than C. C. Spaulding had at one time found himself in. He knew that he was not in the condition God meant for anyone made in His image to be in, so with His help, he did something about it, not for himself alone but for the benefit of black men and women everywhere.

NOTED AUTHOR IS SUBJECT OF NEW ARTICLE

NEW YORK — Unknown eight years ago, Frank Yerby is today a popular author in the United States. The 38-year-old Negro, profiled in the current issue of People Today, has written seven best sellers since 1945, which have sold 8 million copies, plus another 2 million when 3 were reprinted as 25-cent and 35-cent books.

Born in Augusta, Ga., Yerby attended Haines Institute and Paine College there, got his Master's from Fisk U. and studied at the U. of Chicago. Little magazines published his first poetry in '33. He taught English at Southern U. in Baton Rouge, married in 1948 and moved to N. Y. where he worked for the Tanager Aircraft Corp. during the war. His short story, "Health Card," won in O. Henry award in '44 and paved the way for his first novel.

Yerby's historical novels usually take the conventional picture of an era or a place, but they are documented with material ordinarily left out of history books. He believes that both highbrows and lowbrows can enjoy the same book for different reasons. Presumably highbrows can read his novels for their history and lowbrows will lean a little history while following the love stories. Actually no such division of readers seems necessary. It's doubtful he'd lose any readers if he treated the emotional life of his characters with the care and intelligence he devotes to historical research, or to his fast-moving adventure narratives.

Yerby, who has four children, lives quietly in his handsomely redecorated Jackson Heights home and continues to work methodically. He puts in up to 6 hours a day of library research, and up to 12 writing. Each year he vacates in Mexico, reports PEOPLE TODAY.