

The Southern PATRIOT

Vol. II. No. 6

Published by the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.

June, 1953

The People Are Ready —Where Is the Press?

Dr. Rufus E. Clement, president of Atlanta University, was elected to the school board of the city of Atlanta last month in a primary that attracted nationwide attention.

He was the first Negro to win office in a city-wide election since Reconstruction days—and his victory was decisive, capturing 40 out of 58 wards.

This event has properly been acclaimed as ushering in a new political era for Southern Negroes. But a more sober aspect has been generally overlooked: Clement won without any support from the major white organizations or newspapers in that city.

In other words, the people of Atlanta were "ready" to place an eminently qualified Negro in public office, but Atlanta's "spokesmen" lacked the nerve to face the idea.

The behavior of the Atlanta *Constitution* is revealing. It endorsed J. H. Lander, Clement's white opponent. Later, when the city's Executive Committee attempted to disqualify Clement on charges that he had belonged to "Communist-front" organizations, the newspaper came to his defense. But it still did not suggest that he was a worthy candidate. After Clement's election, the *Constitution* rejoiced editorially over the victory of the "able, qualified president."

This same editorial called attention to the fact that, earlier in the month, five North Carolina cities had elected Negroes to their city councils: Wilson, Gastonia, Durham, Greensboro and Chapel Hill. (In Greensboro, William Hampton won his second term of office. In Chapel Hill a janitor at the University of North Carolina defeated a white professor at the university.)

Why, the question arises, did not the *Constitution* see and apply the significance of the North Carolina elections before the Atlanta primary?

The answer is that leadership in racial progress has been defaulted by the Southern press. They either express negative views or they are silent. They are no reliable index to public opinion. It is a rare month when we find two newspaper editorials — one from West Virginia, the other from Arizona—taking firm stands against segregation.

The *Dominion-News*, in Morgantown,

(Continued on Page 3.)

Race Relations in a Border State

A Report on West Virginia

West Virginia has been called the most northern of southern states and the most southern of northern states.

There were only 114,867 Negroes in West Virginia in 1950 out of a total population of 1,890,282, a smaller percentage than in the total population of the United States. Nevertheless West Virginia stands with South Carolina in the column of 17 states having laws making segregated schools mandatory.

Recently I completed a tour of this surprising and beautiful state. I had conferences with groups of representative citizens in Harpers Ferry, Wheeling, Morgantown, Clarksburg, Charleston, Beckley, Logan, Bluefield and other communities.

One of the most important sections of the state is the Northern Panhandle, a heavily industrialized area with Wheeling as its financial center.

Like a slim finger some 65 miles long and 15 to 20 miles wide, the Panhandle stretches north from Mason and Dixon's Line, wedged between the boundaries of Ohio and Pennsylvania. Its northern tip is farther north than Pittsburgh or Philadelphia.

Geographically, economically, and culturally the Panhandle is closely related to Ohio, Pennsylvania and the North, but it happens to be part of a state which once was joined to the Commonwealth of Virginia. This historical origin is reflected in the constitution of West Virginia which states "white and colored children shall not be taught in the same school." (Constitution of 1872, Art. XII, 8.)

This has produced an interesting situation for the student concerned with the relationship of law to society.

Greater Wheeling, I was informed by a business man, has a population of 250,000, of which 70,000, or about one-third, live in West Virginia. The other two-thirds live in Pennsylvania and Ohio across the Ohio River. Two bridges unite Wheeling with the Ohio area.

At one end of the bridges, in Ohio, children attend an integrated school system; on the other side of the river, in West Virginia, children attend a dual system of schools.

Segregation laws are a curious anachronism in the present-day West Virginia. The baleful and archaic nature of these laws is apparent, but nowhere more dramatically than at Bethany College. This institution of 600 students, supported by the Disciples of Christ, has an

idyllic setting in the beautiful green hills of the Northern Panhandle.

Most of the students are from northern states. Probably two-thirds of them have previously attended school with Negroes. Yet Bethany is strictly a "lily-white" college, barring Negroes. This is the more striking because there is no immediate community around the school to influence its mores, nothing but the college community that presumably establishes its own standards.

There is now a strong organized student group on the campus pressing for a policy of integration. Don Arterburn, co-chairman of the Bethany survey committee, gave me a copy of an opinion poll in which 333 students participated. Of this group 67 were from West Virginia, 231 from Pennsylvania, Ohio and other northern states, and only eight were from southern states. Two hundred and eighteen students (65%) had previously gone to school with Negroes, and 216 or 64% voted in favor of admitting Negroes to Bethany.

Two church-related colleges in the state have voluntarily dropped segregation, West Virginia Wesleyan College at Buckhannon, with Methodist support, and Alderson-Broadus College at Phillipi, with Baptist support.

West Virginia Guineas

The first colored student admitted to Alderson-Broadus College was a member of a group known as Guineas who live in an isolated and shunned community known as Chestnut Ridge about two miles from Phillipi.

Professor Gustave A. Ferre and his student assistant, Miss Jean Ann Denny, took me to see this settlement of West

(Continued on Page 2.)

West Virginia

(Continued from Page 1.)

Virginia's "Untouchables" of mixed blood and obscure origin. They number about 800 and are said to have been in this section for more than a hundred years.

A few find employment in the mines. But in Phillipi they are barred from all churches, schools, places of amusement and employment.

In the settlement most of the persons I saw were very fair and light-complexioned.

They have no churches in the community except an unused A. M. E. chapel. The one-room elementary school house is operated by the county. Secondary and high school pupils are transported by bus to Clarksburg about thirty-five miles away.

One theory as to the origin of these people is that they are the descendants of a white trader and a slave from Guinea. The Negro woman had agreed to live with the trader for ten years on the condition that all of her children would be free. Another theory connects them with Raleigh's "lost colony". Whatever their origin, their condition today is deplorable. They are in but not of America. The effort of the students of Alderson-Broaddus College is commendable. Under the leadership of Professor Ferre, they are trying to establish a program of social service.

There is coal in almost every county in West Virginia, but the center of the great hard coal area is in the southwestern region centering around Beckley, Bluefield and Logan.

Negroes Prove Loyal Union Members

There are 100,000 miners living in the state. I had breakfast one morning with their leader, Mr. George Titler, District President of the U. M. W. A. It was a pleasure to meet the man who was responsible for the organization of Harlan County, Kentucky.

Mr. Titler said there is no discrimination in the mines or in the union and paid tribute to the part Negroes had played in the organization. Negroes, he said, had been brought into the state in large numbers by mine operators. It was thought that they would not respond to organization, but that theory had proved false, and Negroes made the most loyal union members.

Seventy-five per cent of the Negro population of the state live in a radius of 70 miles from Bluefield. This concentration has enabled them to elect two Negroes to the state legislature, Miss Elizabeth Drewery of McDowell County and Dr. H. T. Elliott, a physician of Logan County.

As a member of the legislature, Dr.

Elliott helps to write the laws of one of the Sovereign States of the United States. But because he is a Negro, Dr. Elliott's right to the equal protection of these laws is sharply restricted. He is denied hospital courtesies and staff privileges by the two hospitals in Logan County, and he is not permitted to join the County Medical Society. At this point, Logan is more backward than Charleston, South Carolina, and Little Rock, Arkansas.

When Dr. Elliott is in the state capital attending a legislative session, he is permitted to eat in the Daniel Boone Hotel if in a group, but Negroes are not served individually in any of the restaurants. This applies even to the cafeteria of the Y. W. C. A. where Negroes are admitted to membership.

Discrimination in Dental Services

In Clarksburg a Negro, one of the few with a responsible white-collar job, told of his experience with dentists. He was suffering from a severe toothache at a time when his personal dentist was out of town. No white doctor would treat him—except at night. He reported this predicament to his employer. The incredulous employer systematically telephoned every white dentist in the city. He got the same answer.

A similar situation existed, I was told, in Charleston, until two young white dentists, members of the Junior Chamber of Commerce, successfully challenged this quinine Jim Crow night shift.

Everywhere in the state I found employment to be a major problem. Skilled jobs were difficult if not impossible to find. In Clarksburg a high school teacher spoke of three Negroes, all graduates of West Virginia College, who had to resort to menial jobs. I did meet one young man, however, in the same city, who had charge of the repair department of a music store with white co-workers. Another Negro held a responsible position in the auditing department of the local gas company, but such jobs were scarce.

Restricted Parks

As in the deep South, parks and recreational facilities for Negroes are nonexistent or segregated. One of the show places of the state is Ogelbay Park on the outskirts of Wheeling and supported by city tax funds. With its 750 acres of rolling hills of unsurpassed scenic beauty, and a variety of recreational and cultural activities, this park has achieved a national reputation. But on the human side the picture is dim. Negro tax payers may at least enter the park and picnic there, but they are not permitted to use the facilities or participate in the activities.

At Morgantown, seat of the State University, I had the privilege of eating dinner in the University cafeteria with a mixed group of about thirty persons from both the college and the town. No one seemed to pay any particular attention to the group, and to me this was one of the most pleasant experiences of my trip. It is such a simple and human thing, this breaking bread together, but it is impossible in most cities in the South, not because of prohibitory laws but because of custom.

Representatives Drewery and Elliott introduced a Fair Employment Practice bill in the 1953 session of the legislature. It passed the House in March by a vote of 91 to 4. This was the second time such legislation had passed the House, a similar bill having been introduced in 1949. But in the Senate such bills never come out of committee.

A bill to ban segregation in bus stations and places of public accommodation was introduced in the 1953 session but never came to a vote. The one bill passed in this field of discrimination was a setback. H. B. 204 made segregation of mentally ill convicts mandatory.

The Heavy Price of Prejudice

I left West Virginia considering how long that great state would be willing to pay the heavy price it is now paying for its prejudices and its segregation laws.

As an industrial state, West Virginia needs the great pool of skilled labor and the enormous potential of increased purchasing power which could be released if Negroes were employed on the basis of merit.

More important, however, is the debilitating influence of segregation laws upon the moral life of the community.

Segregation is based on the assumption of superior and inferior races. But we know today from scientific evidence that this assumption is false; there is only superior and inferior opportunity. Thus when segregation is written into law it means that all the power and moral authority of the state is used to enforce a lie. It is evident in West Virginia, as it is elsewhere in the South, that the insidious force of the law of white supremacy can all but stifle the more feeble voluntary voices of democracy and brotherhood.

The Negroes of West Virginia have made a beginning in a movement to repeal the segregation statutes. They deserve the support of the churches, labor, business, civic and youth organizations in this forward-looking step which could mean so much to the state, to the South, and to the nation.

JAMES A. DOMBROWSKI

SCEF Presents Financial Report for 1952

We present below our auditors' report for the year 1952. We are gratified that the number of our contributors during last year increased roughly by 25%. But the excess of our expenses over income was \$3,331.99 which was met out of reserves. If you have not yet made your contribution for 1953 this is an excellent time to do so, for the summer is always a difficult period, also if you can increase your gift to help us make up last year's deficit, that would be helpful.

PEAT, MARWICK, MITCHELL & CO.
 Certified Public Accountants
 Hibernia Bank Building
 New Orleans 12. La.
 April 29, 1953

ACCOUNTANTS' REPORT

The Board of Directors,
 Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.
 New Orleans, Louisiana

We have examined the balance sheet of Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. as of December 31, 1952 and the related statements of income and expenses and non-stock corporate net worth for the year then ended. Our examination was made in accordance with generally accepted auditing standards, and accordingly included such tests of the accounting records and such other auditing procedures as we consider necessary in the circumstances.

On July 8, 1952, the Commissioner of Internal

Revenue affirmed a revocation, dated June 6, 1949, of an authorization on September 28, 1942 of right of tax exemption under Section 101 of the Internal Revenue Code. The corporation has appealed the revocation. If the appeal is denied, the corporation will become liable for social security taxes for an undetermined period prior to 1951 and for federal taxes on income for the year 1952 and an undetermined period prior thereto. Provision has not been made in the accompanying financial statements for such taxes.

In view of the exception indicated above, we are not in a position to express an opinion on the financial statements as a whole. The accompanying balance sheet and statements of income and expenses and non-stock corporate net worth, subject to the exception stated, are presented in accordance with generally accepted accounting principles applied on a basis consistent with that of the preceding year.

(Signed):

PEAT, MARWICK, MITCHELL & CO.

People are Ready

(Continued from Page 1.)

W. Va., had this to say about a proposed municipal swimming pool:

"We have said and reiterate that any swimming pool built with tax monies must be available at all times to all people regardless of race, creed, color or religion.

"Let no one forget that and let us have the decks cleared for an election."

The Phoenix Gazette in Arizona said this about that city's segregated school system:

"Segregation is unfair and it's uneconomical. It probably isn't even legal here in Phoenix in view of the unequal facilities provided. The main problem is to get rid of it quietly, without fuss, as we would any other outmoded relic of the past."

SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.

Balance Sheet — December 31, 1952

Assets	
Cash	\$ 1,054.30
Accounts receivable	376.18
Securities owned	8,080.79
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	\$ 9,511.27
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Non-stock corporate net worth (appropriated, \$524.92)	\$ 9,511.27

Whereof applicable to:

Youth project	\$ 4,645.57
Health project	2,414.31
Other purposes	3,727.89
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	\$ 3,331.99

SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.

Expenses — Special Projects and Activities
 Year Ended December 31, 1952

Youth project:			
Clerical assistance	\$ 2,182.73		
Travel	1,508.65		
Conference room and board	808.50		
Publicity press releases	454.44		
Telephone and telegraph	325.14		
Postage	393.02		
Printing	315.83		
Conference insurance	47.60		
Supplies	11.69		
Editorial contest	222.89		
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			6,270.49
Health project:			
Clerical assistance	\$ 1,549.21		
Postage	380.02		
Printing	125.09		
The "Untouchables",			
Letter shop service	\$ 122.80		
Postage	342.28		
Printing	4,059.37	4,524.45	6,578.77
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Southern Patriot:			
Printing	1,180.29		
Postage	71.30		
Art work and cuts	109.74		
Mailing and mailing list	196.43		
Editorial assistance	125.45		1,683.21
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Harry T. Moore case:			
Telephone and telegraph	12.86		
Printing	2.42		15.28
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Sewanee project — postage			8.10
Nomie Clark case — contributions			6.00
Audry Patterson case:			
Postage	4.65		
Printing	6.62		11.27
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Harkey Reprint — printing			18.54
Alabama text book case — printing			35.03
	<hr/>		
			\$14,626.69

SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.

Statement of Income and Expenses
 Year Ended December 31, 1952

Income:			
Contributions and subscriptions:			
Individually restricted:			
Health project	\$ 3,500.00		
Youth project	1,624.92		
Sundry	6.00		
Unrestricted (includes market value			
of securities donated, \$2,953.45)	17,621.31		
	<hr/>		
	22,752.23		
Interest and dividends earned	787.84		
Gain on sale of securities	193.99		
Sales of equipment	124.00		
Sales of literature	64.52		
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Total income	\$23,922.58		
	<hr/>		
Expenses:			
Special projects and activities (schedule attached)	14,626.69		
Administrative and general expenses:			
Director's salary	\$ 7,499.50		
Director's travel expense	284.95		
Board meeting expense	262.21		
Office salaries	837.09		
Payroll taxes	110.87		
Rent	960.00		
Telephone and telegraph	263.33		
Electricity and gas	55.67		
Office supplies and printing	1,031.16		
Addressograph and mimeograph service	526.35		
Postage and express	483.06		
Accounting fees	225.00		
Office equipment maintenance	27.66		
Miscellaneous	61.03	12,627.88	
	<hr/>		
Total expenses	27,254.57		
	<hr/>		
Excess of expenses over income	3,331.99		

Books in Brief

SOUTH CAROLINA NEGROES 1877-1900, by GEORGE BROWN TINDALL, University of South Carolina Press. Columbia, S. C., \$5.00.

The 23 years from 1877 to 1900 were crucial ones for race relations in South Carolina and the South. This was the period when the Negro was driven out of politics, his vote taken away, state civil rights laws repealed and segregation laws passed. By 1900 the pattern of race relations that was to endure for almost 50 years had been set.

As late as 1885 Negroes in South Carolina freely attended theatres and exhibitions, at least in the cities, and were served in bars, restaurants, and ice cream parlors. Segregation on railroads did not become law until 1898 after a ten year fight.

This is a moderate book about a violent period. You will find it difficult to put down, once you open the covers.

* * *

Dr. Lewis K. McMillan, whose book "Negro Higher Education for the State of South Carolina," was reviewed in last month's *Patriot*, has been discharged from his post as professor of history at S. C. State A. & M. in Orangeburg.

Dr. McMillan, who had been at the school since 1947, says the president there had warned him that any "vilification" of the college would mean dismissal.

The book is a forthright study pointing out the deplorable status of Negro institutions in the state.

* * *

YOUR COMMUNITY HEALTH, by Dean FRANKLIN SMILEY and ADRIAN GORDON GOULD, Macmillan Co., N. Y., \$5.50.

Probably designed for college use, but we recommend it to churches, clubs, study groups and to the ordinary layman interested in good health—and who is not? When the next edition of this excellent book is written (the present one being the 4th), we suggest a chapter on the effect of segregation laws upon the health of the community.

* * *

SUNDAY SCHOOL FIGHTS PREJUDICE, by MILDRED MOODY EAKIN and FRANK EAKIN, Macmillan, N. Y., \$2.75.

A practical handbook of 168 pages containing suggestions for stories, pictures, songs, poems—actually used by Sunday School teachers to combat prejudice against Jews and Negroes. The material was assembled by a study of Sunday School literature, for the Nursery through the 6th grade, distributed from

1946-1951 by about a dozen of the largest denominational publishing houses.

* * *

INTERRACIAL PRACTICES IN THE YMCA, a Guide for Officers and Leaders of Local YMCA's, Association Press, N.Y., \$1.00.

Recently in Charleston, W. Va., I was impressed by the size and location of the YMCA, facing on an attractive small park. Later I accidentally stumbled upon the Jim Crow branch. It was a shabby, white frame building with sagging wooden steps, worn out furniture piled in a corner of the porch and an unkempt yard. One can understand, if not condone such a "separate but equal facility" in a state school set up, but it is more difficult to understand in an institution that is so bold as to use the name "Christian" in its title.

So it was that I received with appreciation at press time this new 48-page pamphlet. In the foreword Eugene E. Barnett describes it as a "practical guide to action" and writes:

Its authors believe that the Y.M.C.A. should help to create new and sounder patterns of relationships among persons rather than submit to practices, entrenched in custom though they may be, which are irreconcilable with the Christian and democratic ideals we profess.

LETTERS

To The Editor:

... When I went to the Columbia conference I was in favor of segregation. Dr. Marshall's speech, which was the high point of the conference, changed my outlook. I don't think that the importance of the churches in bringing discrimination to an end can be over-emphasized.

I now agree wholeheartedly with some of your aims. Separate but equal schools have meant inferior schools for Negroes. For economic as well as moral reasons I believe segregation should be wiped out

in all tax-supported institutions such as schools, hospitals, and parks. Segregation should also be abolished in businesses which operate under public franchise as bus lines and railways.

I do not agree with you on things like restaurants and FEPC. Just as I think it is wrong for a law to say that Caucasians and Negroes cannot eat together I think it is wrong for it to say that they must eat together. If a man has invested his money in a restaurant and he wants to turn away customers because he doesn't believe that a Negro's money is as good as a Caucasian's, that's his business.

I think you will be pleased to know that here at St. John's there is no discrimination to be eliminated. Both of our colored freshmen are accepted as individuals. I am glad to see that one of them is in my section. We and another boy do most of our studying together.

GEORGE EDWARD SAUER
St. John's College,
Annapolis, Md.

To the Editor:

I am and have been for a long time since interested in this work and like to keep well informed. I am enclosing \$5.00.

I regret I cannot make it more. One more year and I will be 90 years old and am a widow. My interest is as strong as ever.

MARTHA E. KERN.
Ferndale, Mich.

The Southern PATRIOT

THE SOUTHERN PATRIOT published monthly except July and August by The Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. Office of publication, 417 Commerce St., Nashville, Tenn. Editorial and Executive Offices, Room 404, 822 Perdido Street, New Orleans 12, La. Twenty-five cents a copy, \$2.00 a year. Entered as second-class mail matter, Nashville, Tennessee.

THE SOUTHERN CONFERENCE
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6/25/53

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