

(Identical letter went to Gov. Talmadge)

December 14, 1935

Hon. John H. Kirby
Southern Committee to Uphold the Constitution
Houston, Texas

My dear Mr. Kirby:

We have read with profound interest of the forming of the "Southern Committee to Uphold the Constitution" and the proposal to hold under the auspices of that committee in the near future a meeting at Atlanta. May we take this means of congratulating you upon inauguration by yourselves as southerners of a campaign to uphold the Constitution?

We understand you gentlemen are perturbed over certain tendencies which are alleged to be damaging—unconstitutionally—the property rights of sections of our population. We know you must be aware that the Constitution, in addition to protecting property rights, is a document guaranteeing human rights as well. It is with these great human rights that this Association is concerned; and it is because of that concern that this letter is addressed to you. It is of the highest significance that such a movement should originate in the South where constitutional guaranties, especially so far as the rights of eight million Negro Americans are concerned, have been ignored and flouted ever since there was a Constitution.

We would be interested in learning what steps the Southern Committee to Uphold the Constitution plans to take against that most notorious denial of constitutional and human rights—lynching. Since 1882, Governor Talmadge, in your State of Georgia 583 lynchings have occurred, two of them during 1935. In Texas, Mr. Kirby, during the same period, 547 lynchings have taken place. You have not forgotten, have you Mr. Kirby, that in your own State, in Colorado County on November 12, 1935, two boys, one fifteen and the other sixteen years of age, were lynched by a mob and O. P. Moore, the County Attorney, declared the lynchings to be an expression "of the will of the people."

The Fifth Amendment to the Constitution stipulates that "No person shall be.....deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law" and the Sixth Amendment declares unequivocally that "The accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial."

We assume that you gentlemen, as fair-minded men, will agree that the record of 5,087 lynchings since 1882 demonstrated that certain States, among them your own, have failed miserably to stop lynch-

ing and to assure these constitutional guaranties especially to Negro citizens. May we ask what you think should and can be done under the Constitution you seek to uphold?

May we further ask what steps the Southern Committee to Uphold the Constitution will take in the matter of the flagrant and notorious violations current in your own and other Southern States in denying to qualified Negro citizens the right to vote freely? The United States Supreme Court has upon various occasions declared unconstitutional the disfranchisement of Negroes by means of grandfather clauses and by state laws prohibiting participation of Negroes in white Democratic primaries. Despite these decisions the Democratic State Conventions of various Southern States, including that of Texas, Mr. Kirby, have passed resolutions barring qualified Negro voters from participating in Democratic party primaries. In the light of your announced purpose, we wish to ask if the Southern Committee to Uphold the Constitution will give its support to legislation providing for the reduction of Southern representation in Congress to conform to the number of voters now having free access to the ballot?

The denial of constitutional rights to Negro citizens and others in Southern courts, as in the notorious Scottsboro cases, the Brown, Ellington and Shields cases in Mississippi which Justices Anderson and Griffith of the Mississippi Supreme Court characterized as worse than the Scottsboro cases, and innumerable other cases of this sort are too well known for repetition here. May we inquire if the Southern Committee to Uphold the Constitution proposes among its other functions to battle vigorously for justice for those who are daily being denied in Southern courts their constitutional rights?

The Constitution of the United States, as has already been quoted, prohibits citizens being deprived of property without due process of law. In Southern States where separate schools are maintained for the two races, the disparity in the per capita expenditures upon the two racial groups, in 1934 was 25% per cent. In many parts of the South the annual per capita expenditure per white child is from 15 to 25 times that per Negro child. This applies not only to State funds but to Federal funds for education as well. May we inquire if the Southern Committee to Uphold the Constitution intends to devote at least a part of its efforts to attack upon this violation of the constitutional guaranties—against depriving citizens of property without due process?

Finally, we assume that to the conference shortly to be held in Atlanta you will invite, either as active or as fraternal delegates, representatives of various organizations which also give as their purpose the upholding of the Constitution. Would you be good enough to advise us if such organizations as the American Civil Liberties Union, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and other such organizations which also claim to be endeavoring to uphold the constitutional guaranties will be invited?

Respectfully,

Walter White
Secretary

December 30, 1935

My dear Mr. White:

Mrs. Roosevelt asks me to
send you the enclosed letter from
Mr. Wm. Brekil, 4340 Michigan Avenue,
Apt. 3, Chicago, Illinois. She would
appreciate your looking him up and
finding out all you can about him.

Very sincerely yours,

Melvina T. Scheider
Secretary to
Mrs. Roosevelt.

Mr. Walter White
Nat'l. Ass'n. for Advancement
of Colored People
89 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

DD

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ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

69 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

TELEPHONE ALGONQUIN 4 3551

Official Organ: *The Crisis*



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January
4th
1936

file

file

My dear Miss Scheider:

I have your letter of December 30th, 1935,
and am getting the information you wish concerning
Mr. William Brakil, 4340 Michigan Avenue, Apt. 3,
Chicago, Illinois. I will forward this to you as
promptly as possible.

Ever sincerely,

Walter White

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Miss Malvina T. Scheider
Secretary to Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
The White House
Washington, D. C.

mw:CTF

How do your Senators and Congressmen stand on the Costigan-Wagner Anti-Lynching Bill?

ENDORSED BY THE NATIONAL INFORMATION BUREAU, 215 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

January 16, 1936

My dear Mr. White:

Mrs. Roosevelt asks me to thank you very much for the clipping you sent to her in your letter of January 10. She read it with a great deal of interest and has given it to the President.

Mrs. Roosevelt was also glad to see the reports and recommendations you enclosed in your letter of January 8.

Very sincerely yours,

Malvina T. Scheider
Secretary to
Mrs. Roosevelt.

Mr. Walter White
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
69 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

DD

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*Accepted
1-16-36*

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January 10, 1936

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I wanted very much to have you see the enclosed clipping, "Has New Deal Helped Negro?", from the New York Herald-Tribune of December 8.

After you have read this will you be good enough to show it to the President, since it bears on the conversation I had with him on January 2?

Ever sincerely,

Walter White
Secretary

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
The White House
Washington, D. C.

WW/RR

*Prof. Manley O. Hudson
Approved for filing*

How do your Senators and Congressmen stand on the Costigan-Wagner Anti-Lynching Bill?

ENDORSED BY THE NATIONAL INFORMATION BUREAU, 215 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

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January
8th
1936

*Robert
1-16-36*

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My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Mr. Langdon Post of the New York City

Housing Authority wished on me the chairmanship
of the Advisory Committee of Harlem River Houses.
It occurred to me that you might be interested in
seeing the reports and recommendations of our
Committee. I send you a set of these herewith.

Ever sincerely,

Walter White

Chairman, Advisory Committee
Harlem River Houses.

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Thanks

Ww:CTF

How do your Senators and Congressmen stand on the Costigan-Wagner Anti-Lynching Bill?

ENDORSED BY THE NATIONAL INFORMATION BUREAU, 215 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

100
January 23, 1936

Dear Mr. White:

I talked to the President about Mr. Cummings' reaction. He suggested that you try to work out a bill from this new line of attack and then submit it to Mr. Cummings and ask his opinion.

Very sincerely yours,

SO

Mr. Walter White
69 Fifth Avenue
New York

100

January 29, 1936

Dear Mr. White:

I talked with the President
about your letter and he thinks it is
better to do just what you are doing.

Very sincerely yours,

SO

Mr. Walter White
69 Fifth Avenue
New York

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January
 28th
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My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I have your letter of January 23d and I am, of course, anxious to do anything that is possible to help. But after my talk with Mr. Cummings I found my doubts measurably strengthened regarding the effectiveness of the proposed bill. We are concentrating our efforts on the President's first suggestion of a Senatorial investigation of the lynchings since the filibuster, as provided in the Van Nuys resolution. We hope that out of the revelation which this investigation will make that there will be a strong body of public sentiment for effective anti-lynching legislation. I would be grateful if you would talk this over with the President and let me have your and his opinion.

I enclose a leaflet which we are using in picketing Senator Borah's meeting in Brooklyn tonight at which he is expected to open his campaign for the Republican nomination.

Ever sincerely,

Walter White

Secretary.

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
 The White House
 Washington, D. C.

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27th ANNUAL CONFERENCE, BALTIMORE, MD., JUNE 30th - JULY 5th, 1936

ENDORSED BY THE NATIONAL INFORMATION BUREAU, 215 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

How do your Senators and Congressmen stand on the Costigan-Wagner Anti Lynching Bill?

HOW ABOUT LYNCHING, SENATOR BORAH?



THE 14th AMENDMENT SAYS—

"No person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law."

SINCE 1882—5,087 men and women, white and Negro, have been lynched by mobs in America.

Lynchers have been punished in less than 1/10 of 1% of these cases.

CERTAIN States Have Shown That They Cannot and Will Not Prevent Lynchings or Punish Lynchers.

Yet Borah, Posing as a Great Liberal, Filibustered and Helped Defeat a Federal Law Against Lynching, Saying that the Government is Powerless Because Such Laws Are "Unconstitutional." He Further Said that if Elected President and an Anti-Lynching Bill Were Passed, "I Would Unhesitatingly Veto It."



Read March Issue of **THE CRISIS**—Out February 25th

Analysing Senator Borah's Record on the Constitution, Woman Suffrage, Prohibition, and the Negro.



5,087 Lynchings in U. S. A. Since 1882.

The States Have Not Stopped Lynching.

Senator Borah Does Not Want the Federal Government to Stop It.



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69 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

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Official Organ: The Crisis



**January
 31st
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Toledo, Ohio Jesse E. Heslip
Washington, D.C. William H. Haskin
Wilmington, Del. Louis L. Redding

SL

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

You will be interested, I am sure, in reading the enclosed letter which reveals a tragic picture of what Negro women sometimes are forced to undergo. We have asked our St. Louis Branch to investigate the facts and to take immediate and vigorous action.

Knowing how voluminous your mail is, you do not need to reply to this letter.

Ever sincerely,

Walter White
 Secretary.

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
The White House
Washington, D. C.

WW:CTF

27th ANNUAL CONFERENCE, BALTIMORE, MD., JUNE 30th - JULY 5th, 1936

ENDORSED BY THE NATIONAL INFORMATION BUREAU, 215 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK
How do your Senators and Congressmen stand on the Costigan-Wagner Anti-Lynching Bill?

WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRATION

Walker-Johnson Building
1734 New York Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

HARRY L. HOPKINS
Administrator

January 29, 1936

Mr. Walter White, Secretary
National Association for the
69 Fifth Avenue
New York City.

Dear Mr. White:

The following matter came to our attention through the medium of an anonymous letter from a group of Negro women in St. Louis, Missouri:

"A few lines of business if there is anything to help us pore women. We are working at the Ambassador building and our boss is a man. He is not the man to be boss over women. He is a white man and we are Negro women. We work at hite clean office too of the Negro women is his sweetheart. He is crazy about Negro women and he do all of the women like they are dogs for them to please take the matter up with the head boss for us and he will not let us see the head bos at all. He think we will tell it. You no that is not right for him to do that. It some as slave time. We have to MERR. Please write the head bos and have him to put a white woman over us. This man is take some of us for his wife and some of us he do like a dog. Please write the head boss and tell him about it and he will make a change. God made a white woman and a man and Negro women and Negro men and he never put us here for that and we do not want to do it, that at all. And the head boss don't no that at all and he don't let us go and see him at all. The boss that is over us now name is M. M. Burns nite floor man, but he is not the head boss. He make us go with him like we was his wife. Please do something to help us Negro women. Write the building.

"Please sir the head boss don't no what go on at all. Please help us some way, please. If we could got a job some place we would do so but we cannot now at all. Time is so hard. Please write head boss and tell him to put a women and let her be white. This man is not the man to be over women at all if we don't do what he want us to do he will not let us work. Just as same as slave time. So will you please do us this favor.

"Please don't write M. M. Burns he is the man that is doing this but write the head boss in the Ambassador Building, 710 Ambassador Building, Seventh and Locust, St. Louis, Mo. We need help and we no that you don't side with anything like this.

"We need a woman boss over us.

"Saint Louis Amusement Co., 710 Ambassador Building, Seventh and Locust, St. Louis, Missouri. (25 of us Negro women work here at this

Page 2 - Continued.

Mr. Walter White, Secretary
N.A.A.C.P.

January 29, 1936.

building.)"

Local officials of this Administration in St. Louis, Missouri, have been asked to look into this affair, although it is not under the jurisdiction of this Administration. We understand that they have brought the matter to the attention of the Chief of Police; however, in my opinion it is a matter which your Organization could follow-up to good advantage toward an adjustment of the impossible conditions described by the writers.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Very sincerely yours,

(Signed) Alfred Edgar Smith
Administrative Assistant.

COPY
COOPY

February 6, 1936

Dear Mr. White:

Thank you very much for your
note and the editorial. I really am
not very much troubled by this attack.

Very sincerely yours,

SO

Mr. Walter White
69 Fifth Ave
NYC

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NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

69 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

TELEPHONE: ALGONQUIN 4 3551

Official Organ: The Crisis



*am
2-6*

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February 4, 1936

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

It will probably be encouraging to you and the President to see the re-action in the enclosed editorial from the ATLANTA CONSTITUTION of February 2nd to the contemptible attack upon you and the President by the GEORGIA WOMEN'S WORLD.

Respectfully yours,

Walter White
Secretary

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
The White House
Washington, D.C.

WW:EE
Enc.

*Thanks
see - i - 7 - 11*

27th ANNUAL CONFERENCE, BALTIMORE, MD., JUNE 30th - JULY 5th, 1936

ENDORSED BY THE NATIONAL INFORMATION BUREAU, 215 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

How do your Senators and Congressmen stand on the Costigan-Wagner Anti-Lynching Bill?

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February
 17th
 1936

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My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I have just sent the President the enclosed telegram. I sincerely hope that this will command your interest and support since the Audit and Control Committee consists of Senators Byrnes of South Carolina, Tydings of Maryland, Townsend of Delaware and Bachman of Tennessee. This is hardly a committee to command confidence of those interested in anti-lynching legislation.

I was at Syracuse for lectures at the University on Thursday when you passed through. I knew, however, that you would be quite busy so I made no attempt to see you.

Ever sincerely,

Walter White

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
 The White House
 Washington, D. C.

J.P.P. can you help?

WW:CTF

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National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 69 Fifth Avenue, NYC

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Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

President Franklin D. Roosevelt
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Feb. 17, 1936
4:30 P.M.

Form 2-C

SENATE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE HAS REPORTED FAVORABLY VAN NUYS RESOLUTION FOR SENATE INVESTIGATION OF LYNCHINGS MAY FIRST TO DECEMBER THIRTY FIRST 1935 RECOMMENDING APPROPRIATION SEVENTY FIVE HUNDRED DOLLARS STOP RESOLUTION NOW BEFORE SENATE/AUDIT AND CONTROL COMMITTEE STOP HOPE YOU WILL USE YOUR GOOD OFFICES TO SECURE AS PROMPT APPROVAL AS POSSIBLE AND PREVENT ANY REDUCTION IN SUM WHICH IS HARDLY ADEQUATE FOR PROPER ASCERTAINMENT OF FACTS.

Walter White, Secretary
National Association for Advancement of Colored People
69 Fifth Avenue

In **THE CRISIS** Next Month—

BORAH—What *Does* He Stand For?

By *Louis L. Redding*

Do you know that Senator Borah declared for the repeal of the 15th Amendment to the Constitution saying it was a "mistake" to give Negroes the vote?

Do you know what Senator Borah said about Negro women and the ballot during the debate on women's suffrage?

Do you know what Senator Borah said about Negro soldiers after the 25th Infantry — Brownsville, Tex., affair?

Do you know that Senator Borah "sympathizes deeply" with the South because it has to "bear the burden" of the Negro? And that he thinks the North "can afford to listen to the requests of our southern friends?"

Do you know that Mr. Borah, if President, would veto anti-lynching laws without giving the courts a chance to pass on them?

**Read All About the "Liberal" Senator from Idaho in
THE CRISIS for March**

Mr. Redding has written his article **STRICTLY FROM THE RECORD** of Mr. Borah in the U. S. Senate. Negroes and their friends cannot afford to miss this

picture of the man who wants to be President. We don't think the Republican leaders in certain states can afford to miss it, either.

OUT FEBRUARY 25, 1936

THE CRISIS

69 FIFTH AVENUE

NEW YORK, N. Y.

15 cents a copy

\$1.50 a year

MEMORANDUM FOR MRS. ROOSEVELT

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN.

W

February 19, 1936

Dear Mr. White:

I have given your letter very careful consideration, because I would like to do what you ask. The Democratic Convention, as you know, is on June 23d, and I understand from my eldest son that, if all goes well, he hopes to have a boat and my husband and the boys will go off on a cruise together. They wish to end up at Campobello Island, so I will have to go up to open the house and be there to receive them.

If they do not get away until after July 5, it may be possible for me to do as you ask, but I feel quite sure that they will be getting to Campobello that week-end. Therefore, I think I should refuse your very kind invitation.

I am more than sorry, but, all things considered, it may help you more by my not being too much in evidence during the next few months.

Very sincerely yours,

80

Mr. Walter White

February 14, 1936

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.

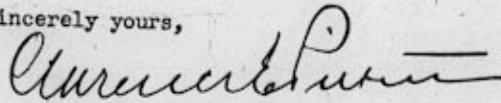
Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I am enclosing Walter White's letter.

I have given the question pretty careful thought as to whether his invitation is the best one for you to accept, or whether some other might be preferable. At least one, and perhaps more than one, of the Negro colleges and universities is anticipating extending an invitation to you to address their commencement exercises. I feel, however, that it would be very difficult for you to avoid jealousy between the colleges. You will also, no doubt, be under the necessity of turning down a number of invitations to white institutions, and if you did that and accepted the Negro invitation that would be extremely difficult for you.

On the other hand, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is very widely representative; you would speak to a very large audience of middle-class Negroes; it is held near to Washington and does not therefore involve a trip into the deep South, where the problem is more acute. Altogether this seems to me probably the best occasion for you. Whether the dates fit and whether you can spare the time, of course, is not my problem, but I believe if I were choosing an occasion to give one more address to the Negroes I would accept Walter White's invitation.

Sincerely yours,



200 Washington Building,
Washington, D. C.

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**February
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*W. B. ...
 ...
 ...*

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My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I have been turning over in my mind the conversation I had with you recently in which you told me that you thought you should make only one speech to a Negro audience this spring. I have in mind also your statement that your only chance to get away for a rest would probably be during July after the Convention. It is a little difficult for me to dissociate myself from my official capacity and I frankly admit that I am not altogether unselfish. But believe me to be entirely sincere and as objective as possible when I say that both for the Administration's sake and ours I really do not believe you could choose a better occasion for that single speech than at the closing mass meeting of our Twenty-seventh Annual Conference at Baltimore on Sunday afternoon, July 5th.

Because of its location, close to large centers of Negro population as well as of the most liberal and intelligent white population, Baltimore is the ideal spot for our 1936 Convention. It is estimated that we will have between 1500 and 2000 delegates and visitors. For the Sunday afternoon meeting, if you are the principal speaker, we plan to organize special automobile, bus and train delegations from all the points within a radius of five hundred miles of Baltimore. We will thus be able to present you with a very large and representative group of people, both white and colored, who are interested in the race problem.

As you know, the Association is strictly non-partisan. There will be no speeches permitted by party spokesmen. But you would be above party affiliation and your presence there would do an infinite amount of good.

I hope, therefore, you will decide to make that

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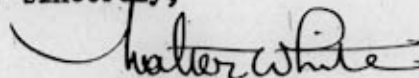
#2 - Mrs. Roosevelt

2/4/36

single speech at Baltimore on Sunday afternoon, July 5th.

May we count on you?

Ever sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Walter White". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned above the typed name and title.

Secretary.

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
The White House
Washington, D. C.

WW:CTF

February 20, 1936

100

Dear Mr. White:

Thank you very much for sending
this letter. The President and I think
it is very amusing.

Very sincerely yours,

SO

Walter White
69 Fifth Avenue
New York

letter from Prin. of Fort Valley Ga. Normal School
re political situation

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February 10, 1936

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My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

The enclosed letter from Mr. Horne, Acting Principal of the Fort Valley Normal and Industrial School, whom I know very well, will be interesting to you and the President and perhaps to Mr. Farley. I should like to have it back when you shall have finished with it.

Ever sincerely,

Walter White
 Secretary

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
 The White House
 Washington, D. C.

WW/RR

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Toledo, Ohio	Jesse E. Haaslip
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Wilmington, Del.	Louis L. Redding

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I tried to reach you by telephone while in Washington this week but was unable to do so because of your absence from the city. I was told at the White House that you were to be away for the week. As the matter which I wished to discuss with you is so pressing and grave, I am writing you instead of waiting until I can discuss it with you personally.

I am very much disturbed by some of the things I learned at Washington this week. I well realize that in an election year controversial issues are uncomfortable for members of the Congress, especially those who are to stand for reelection. But there seems to be timidity on the part of a good many people on the matter of lynching or any other issue affecting the Negro to an extraordinary degree, which, added to the hostility of certain southern senators to any form of action against lynching, makes the outlook distinctly discouraging. I don't as a rule pay much attention to rumors, especially in Washington; but several persons told me that an order had gone out this week from the Democratic National Committee advising Democratic senators and congressmen to avoid all controversial issues. This report, naturally, did not add any hope for action on lynching.

Here is the situation with regard to the Van Nuys Resolution: The Senate Committee on Audit and Control is deadlocked, Senators Byrnes and Bachman opposing the resolution, and Senators Tydings and Townsend favoring it. Senator Van Nuys told me that he had discussed the matter with Senator Byrnes and that he (Senator Van Nuys) had hope of working out a means of getting the resolution reported favorably to the Senate and at the same time permitting Senator Byrnes to go on record, for home consumption, as being opposed to the resolution.

On January 2 the President told me that he wished some sort of action by this Congress on lynching. Apparently,

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How do your Senators and Congressmen stand on the Costigan-Wagner Anti-Lynching Bill?

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt - 2

there is little hope of getting the Costigan-Wagner Bill up for debate and vote. Attorney General Cummings, with whom I talked again on Wednesday, has made a very careful study of the Supreme Court's decision in the Gooch case (Arthur Gooch vs. United States of America, #559), and he is of the opinion that Mr. Justice McReynolds in writing the decision sufficiently stressed possible pecuniary advantage to the kidnapper to make it doubtful that the kidnappers of Claude Neal could be punished under the Lindbergh Kidnapping Law.

Thus we face a situation where there is little likelihood of action on the Costigan-Wagner Bill, no possibility of action by the Department of Justice against the kidnappers of Claude Neal, and either the killing in committee of the Van Nuys Resolution or its being held up so long and the amount of money for the investigation cut so drastically as to make it useless.

I am not making a plea for the N.A.A.C.P. or for myself personally, but here is the plight in which this debacle puts us:

In the first place, some of our most faithful friends in working for the Costigan-Wagner Bill question our support of the Van Nuys Resolution. For example, a very important official of the Y.W.C.A. believes that the N.A.A.C.P. and I have made a very serious tactical blunder in supporting the Van Nuys Resolution instead of the Costigan-Wagner Bill. She writes, "The general resentment on the part of states about federal 'snoopers' is much that to promote this resolution may jeopardize our campaign for the anti-lynching bill. I regard the Van Nuys Resolution as a sort of alibi for our friends in the Senate, unconscious as they may be. Some day when I see you I will tell you what is happening to some of them this election year."

You can well imagine what will be the reaction of this individual and others like her, concerning whose sincerity and friendship there can be no question whatever, if there is further delay on the Van Nuys Resolution or if it is killed or emasculated. These friends at least will not be denunciatory in their attitude should this happen. The name cannot be said of our enemies and critics.

Just a fortnight ago more than a thousand persons paid their own expenses to attend a "National Negro Congress" in Chicago. The N.A.A.C.P. refused to participate in or to endorse this Congress, first, because we were not given sufficient information about its sponsorship, program or purposes, and, second, because there were too many rumors that it was being pushed in some respects by Communists and in others by Republicans. But at this Congress statements were made especially critical of the N.A.A.C.P., to the effect that we had been promising action against lynching and failed to show any results. I do not know yet who the sponsors were of the meeting in Chicago, but the spirit of unrest and revolt which it represented is not in the main an artificially stimulated one but is

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt - 2

instead an expression of a widespread dissatisfaction which cannot and should not be ignored.

Investigation since I last saw you has established that there were twenty-five authenticated lynchings during 1935, nineteen of them after the filibuster; there are six additional cases being investigated; there were eleven cases where the mob spirit ran so high that troops with drawn bayonets, machine guns, tear gas bombs and the like were necessary to protect prisoners while they were being tried; and there were fifty-five cases, involving a total of eighty-five persons, where lynchings were narrowly averted by the augmenting of guards, removal of prisoners and the like. Students of the lynching situation like Dr. Arthur Raper of the Interracial Commission and Judge Orville Parks of Georgia declare that an averted lynching of this sort is fundamentally as serious as a consummated lynching, in that it shows the presence of potential lynching. If this point of view be accepted, one will realize how very serious the situation is growing when there were one hundred and twenty-seven cases in a single year of actual or potential lynching. This will amply explain the rapidly growing and very widespread feeling regarding inaction on the Costigan-Wagner Bill or the Van Nuys Resolution. Now that warm weather is coming when people can gather out of doors I look for a resumption of lynchings.

Please forgive me for writing at such length and in such a gloomy vein. But I have returned from Washington more discouraged than I have ever before. I think it is a very serious mistake to assume that it will be safer politically to pass the buck and dodge the issue simply because this is an election year. Such a course may conceivably cost in November far more than will be gained by letting the Costigan-Wagner Bill and the Van Nuys Resolution be strangled to death.

If you will do so, I would be glad if you would share these facts with the President. Should either you or he wish me to do so, I shall be glad to talk them over with you at your convenience.

Ever sincerely,

Walter White
Secretary

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
The White House
Washington, D. C.

WW/RR

March 7, 1936

My dear Mr. White:

Mrs. Roosevelt asks me to thank you for sending her the March number of "Crisis" and for calling her attention to the special article.

Very sincerely yours,

Malvina T. Scheider
Secretary to
Mrs. Roosevelt

0

Mr. Walter White
69 Fifth Avenue
New York
N.Y.

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Roosevelt

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

You and the President will doubtless be interested in the article, "Borah - What Does He Stand For?" by Louis L. Redding which appears in the March Crisis, copy of which I send you under separate cover.

Ever sincerely,

Walter White
Secretary

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
 The White House
 Washington, D. C.

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27th ANNUAL CONFERENCE, BALTIMORE, MD., JUNE 30th - JULY 5th, 1936
 ENDORSED BY THE NATIONAL INFORMATION BUREAU, 215 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK
 How do your Senators and Congressmen stand on the Costigan-Wagner Anti-Lynching Bill?

James I. Greenhow, Nat'l Co-operative Business League of Toledo.
Asks Mrs. R's aid in establishing a homestead.

March 16, 1936

100
✓

My dear Mr. White:

Mrs. Roosevelt asks me to send you the enclosed letter. She wonders if you know anything about this and would appreciate whatever information you could give her.

Very sincerely yours,

Malvina T. Scheider
Secretary to
Mrs. Roosevelt.

Mr. Walter White
69 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

DD

OFFICE OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL
Washington, D. C.

March 6, 1936.

Mr. Walter White,
Secretary, National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People,
69 Fifth Avenue,
New York, New York.

My dear Mr. White:

I have your letter of March 3, in which you inclose a proposed bill to extend the scope of the Federal kidnapping law.

As the matter is primarily one of broad legislative policy, I suggest that your proposal should be submitted to the Congress rather than to the executive branch of the Government.

A careful study of the recent decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the Gooch case confirms me in the view that the Department would not be warranted in proceeding under the present statute in the Claude Neal matter.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) Homer Cummings
Attorney General.

TELEGRAM

2POD 47 DL

The White House
Washington

File 100

BY New York NY 306pm March 26 1936

Mrs Eleanor Roosevelt

The White House

Last Friday Senator Byrnes advised Senator VanNuys his resolution would be taken up by Audit and Control Committee Friday March twenty seventh. Have just been advised authoritatively that plans apparently have been changed and that no definite date set for consideration of VanNuys resolution

Walter White

435pmd

March 16, 1936

My dear Mr. White:

I have spoken to the President about your letter of February 28 concerning the Costigan-Wagner Bill. He says, in view of the fact that he is only asking three things of Congress, he does not see how he could specify this particular bill. Of course he is quite willing that it should be pushed by Congress itself, and I feel quite sure he will give it any help he can.

Very sincerely yours;

Mr. Walter White
Nat'l. Ass'n. for the Adv. of C. P.
69 Fifth Avenue, N.Y.C.

DD

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 9, 1936.

MEMORANDUM FOR E. R.

In view of the simple fact that I keep repeating to Senate and House leaders that the White House asks only three things of this Congress (appropriations, a tax bill and a relief bill), and that all other legislation is in the discretion of the Congress, I think that no exceptions can be made at this session. If an exception is made in one case it would have to be made in many others.

F. D. R.

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Washington, Del. Louis L. Redding

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I tried to reach you by telephone while in Washington this week but was unable to do so because of your absence from the city. I was told at the White House that you were to be away for the week. As the matter which I wished to discuss with you is so pressing and grave, I am writing you instead of waiting until I can discuss it with you personally.

I am very much disturbed by some of the things I learned at Washington this week. I well realize that in an election year controversial issues are uncomfortable for members of the Congress, especially those who are to stand for reelection. But there seems to be timidity on the part of a good many people on the matter of lynching or any other issue affecting the Negro to an extraordinary degree, which, added to the hostility of certain southern senators to any form of action against lynching, makes the outlook distinctly discouraging. I don't as a rule pay much attention to rumors, especially in Washington; but several persons told me that an order had gone out this week from the Democratic National Committee advising Democratic senators and congressmen to avoid all controversial issues. This report, naturally, did not add any hope for action on lynching.

Here is the situation with regard to the Van Nuys Resolution: The Senate Committee on Audit and Control is deadlocked, Senators Byrnes and Bachman opposing the resolution, and Senators Tydings and Townsend favoring it. Senator Van Nuys told me that he had discussed the matter with Senator Byrnes and that he (Senator Van Nuys) had hope of working out a means of getting the resolution reported favorably to the Senate and at the same time permitting Senator Byrnes to go on record, for home consumption, as being opposed to the resolution.

On January 2 the President told me that he wished some sort of action by this Congress on lynching. Apparently,

27th ANNUAL CONFERENCE, BALTIMORE, MD., JUNE 30th - JULY 5th, 1936

ENDORSED BY THE NATIONAL INFORMATION BUREAU, 215 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

How do your Senators and Congressmen stand on the Costigan-Wagner Anti-Lynching Bill?

there is little hope of getting the Costigan-Wagner Bill up for debate and vote. Attorney General Cummings, with whom I talked again on Wednesday, has made a very careful study of the Supreme Court's decision in the Gooch case (Arthur Gooch vs. United States of America, #559), and he is of the opinion that Mr. Justice McReynolds in writing the decision sufficiently stressed possible pecuniary advantage to the kidnapper to make it doubtful that the kidnapers of Claude Neal could be punished under the Lindbergh Kidnapping Law.

Thus we face a situation where there is little likelihood of action on the Costigan-Wagner Bill, no possibility of action by the Department of Justice against the kidnapers of Claude Neal, and either the killing in committee of the Van Nuys Resolution or its being held up so long and the amount of money for the investigation cut so drastically as to make it useless.

I am not making a plea for the N.A.A.C.P. or for myself personally, but here is the plight in which this debacle puts us:

In the first place, some of our most faithful friends in working for the Costigan-Wagner Bill question our support of the Van Nuys Resolution. For example, a very important official of the Y.W.C.A. believes that the N.A.A.C.P. and I have made a very serious tactical blunder in supporting the Van Nuys Resolution instead of the Costigan-Wagner Bill. She writes, "The general resentment on the part of states about federal 'snoopers' is such that to promote this resolution may jeopardize our campaign for the anti-lynching bill. I regard the Van Nuys Resolution as a sort of alibi for our friends in the Senate, unconscious as they may be. Some day when I see you I will tell you what is happening to some of them this election year."

You can well imagine what will be the reaction of this individual and others like her, concerning whose sincerity and friendship there can be no question whatever, if there is further delay on the Van Nuys Resolution or if it is killed or emasculated. These friends at least will not be denunciatory in their attitude should this happen. The same cannot be said of our enemies and critics.

Just a fortnight ago more than a thousand persons paid their own expenses to attend a "National Negro Congress" in Chicago. The N.A.A.C.P. refused to participate in or to endorse this Congress, first, because we were not given sufficient information about its sponsorship, program or purposes, and, second, because there were too many rumors that it was being pushed in some respects by Communists and in others by Republicans. But at this Congress statements were made especially critical of the N.A.A.C.P., to the effect that we had been promising action against lynching and failed to show any results. I do not know yet who the sponsors were of the meeting in Chicago, but the spirit of unrest and revolt which it represented is not in the main an artificially stimulated one but is

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt - 3

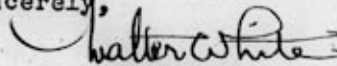
instead an expression of a widespread dissatisfaction which cannot and should not be ignored.

Investigation since I last saw you has established that there were twenty-five authenticated lynchings during 1935, nineteen of them after the filibuster; there are six additional cases being investigated; there were eleven cases where the mob spirit ran so high that troops with drawn bayonets, machine guns, tear gas bombs and the like were necessary to protect prisoners while they were being tried; and there were fifty-five cases, involving a total of eighty-five persons, where lynchings were narrowly averted by the augmenting of guards, removal of prisoners and the like. Students of the lynching situation like Dr. Arthur Raper of the Interracial Commission and Judge Orville Parks of Georgia declare that an averted lynching of this sort is fundamentally as serious as a consummated lynching, in that it shows the presence of potential lynching. If this point of view be accepted, one will realize how very serious the situation is growing when there were one hundred and twenty-seven cases in a single year of actual or potential lynching. This will amply explain the rapidly growing and very widespread feeling regarding inaction on the Costigan-Wagner Bill or the Van Nuys Resolution. Now that warm weather is coming when people can gather out of doors I look for a resumption of lynchings.

Please forgive me for writing at such length and in such a gloomy vein. But I have returned from Washington more discouraged than I have ever before. I think it is a very serious mistake to assume that it will be safer politically to pass the buck and dodge the issue simply because this is an election year. Such a course may conceivably cost in November far more than will be gained by letting the Costigan-Wagner Bill and the Van Nuys Resolution be strangled to death.

If you will do so, I would be glad if you would share these facts with the President. Should either you or he wish me to do so, I shall be glad to talk them over with you at your convenience.

Ever sincerely,


Secretary

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
The White House
Washington, D. C.

WW/RR

March 19, 1936

My dear Mr. White:

Before I received your letter today I had been in to the President, talking to him about your letter enclosing that of the Attorney General. I told him that it seemed rather terrible that one could get nothing done and that I did not blame you in the least for feeling there was no interest in this very serious question. I asked him if there were any possibility of getting even one step taken, and he said the difficulty is that it is unconstitutional apparently for the Federal Government to step in in the lynching situation. The Government has only been allowed to do anything about kidnaping because of its interstate aspect, and even that has not as yet been appealed so they are not sure that it will be declared constitutional.

The President feels that lynching is a question of education in the states, rallying good citizens, and creating public opinion so that the localities themselves will wipe it out. However, if it were done by a Northerner, it will have an antagonistic effect. I will talk to him again about the Van Nuys resolution and will try to talk also to Senator Byrnes and get his point of view. I am deeply troubled about the whole situation as it seems to be a terrible thing to stand by and let it continue and feel that one cannot speak out as to his feeling. I think your next step would be to talk to the more prominent members of the Senate.

Very sincerely yours,

Mr. Walter White
69 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

S:DD

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Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I made several attempts to secure an appointment with the President last week but was unsuccessful. I thereupon, on my return to New York, wrote him; and I am sending you copy of my letter.

Ever sincerely,

Walter White

Secretary

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
The White House
Washington, D. C.

WW/RR

27th ANNUAL CONFERENCE, BALTIMORE, MD., JUNE 30th - JULY 5th, 1936
ENDORSED BY THE NATIONAL INFORMATION BUREAU, 215 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

How do your Senators and Congressmen stand on the Costigan-Wagner Anti-Yeuching Bill?

March 14, 1936

My dear Mr. President:

I wish to place before you a disturbing situation with regard to the Van Nuys Resolution which I found in Washington this week. I made seven attempts to reach Mr. McIntyre or Mr. Kearney in an effort to secure an appointment to discuss this with you but was unable to talk with them.

I am informed that the Senate Committee on Audit and Control is deadlocked over report of the bill. It is reported that Senators James F. Byrnes of South Carolina and Nathan L. Bachman of Tennessee are bitterly opposed to a favorable report, while Senators John G. Townsend, Jr., of Delaware and Millard F. Tydings of Maryland favor the resolution. It is further reported that Senator Byrnes refuses even to call a meeting of his committee to consider the Van Nuys Resolution.

Continued inaction on the part of the committee has raised widespread suspicion and resentment among white and Negro Americans who want to see something done about lynching. In view of the fact that Senator Byrnes is generally considered your personal spokesman on the floor of the Senate, there is widespread speculation as to whether or not his hostility to the Van Nuys Resolution is due to personal reasons or because he is acting under instructions. May I add personally that I am loathe to believe the latter?

Staunch supporters of the Costigan-Wagner Bill are critical of what they consider to be a compromise in our support of the Van Nuys Resolution. Many of these persons quite seriously believe that those of us who have been active in the fight against lynching should press for action on the Costigan-Wagner Bill and make the bill an issue during 1936. You will therefore realize how exceedingly embarrassing and difficult a position Senator Byrnes' reputed opposition to the

Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt - 2

Van Nuys Resolution is causing.

Please believe that I am not exaggerating when I say that the situation is exceedingly critical.

I wished also to discuss with you certain steps with regard to anti-lynching legislation in the House of Representatives. But when I could not get in touch with Mr. McIntyre of Mr. Kearney, despite repeated efforts, we had to proceed with these steps.

I shall probably return to Washington on Tuesday, the 17th, and if it is convenient would like to confer with you for a few minutes, on any day between Tuesday and Friday.

Respectfully,
(Signed) Walter White
Secretary

Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt
The White House
Washington, D. C.

P.S. - I am enclosing copy of "The Mob Still Rides" just published by the Commission on Interracial Cooperation at Atlanta, Georgia, which I hope you will find time to read. - WW.

WW/RN

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**March 9th
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Waco, Texas	R. D. Evans
Washington	Burling A. Brown Charles Edward Russell

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I do not want to make a nuisance of myself but the enclosed copy of letter from the Attorney General, in which you will note that he declines tactfully to sponsor an amendment to the Lindbergh law which would include kidnapings for the purpose of lynching or injuring victims, is affirmation of my somewhat gloomy letter to you of February 28th. You will note also his final opinion that in view of and despite the decision of the United Supreme Court in the Gooch case he still does not feel that the Department of Justice can move against the kidnapers and lynchers of Claude Neal at Marianna, Florida, on October 26, 1934.

always I expect to be in Washington Tuesday evening, March 10th, to remain for several days. If you can find time in your busy schedule and wish to discuss this I can be reached at the Dodge Hotel.

Ever sincerely,

Walter White

Secretary.

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
 The White House
 Washington, D. C.

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27th ANNUAL CONFERENCE, BALTIMORE, MD., JUNE 30th - JULY 5th, 1936

ENDORSED BY THE NATIONAL INFORMATION BUREAU, 215 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

How do your Senators and Congressmen stand on the Costigan-Wagner Anti-Lynching Bill?

*Planned - 3/11 -
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 Spingarn - 4/11 -
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REV. A. CLAYTON POWELL
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TREASURER
MARY WHITE OVINGTON

**NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE
 ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE**

69 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

TELEPHONE: ALGONQUIN 4 3551

Official Organ: The Crisis



April 2nd
 1936 (Dictated March 21st)

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Toledo, Ohio	James B. Healy
Washington, D.C.	William H. Hastie
Wilmington, Del.	Louis L. Redding

My dear Miss Scheider:

I have your letter of March 16th and am writing to Toledo to get the facts. I shall pass information on to you as soon as it is received.

Ever sincerely,

Walter White
 Secretary.

Miss Malvina T. Scheider
 Secretary to Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
 The White House
 Washington, D. C.

WW:CTF

27th ANNUAL CONFERENCE, BALTIMORE, MD., JUNE 30th - JULY 5th, 1936

ENDORSED BY THE NATIONAL INFORMATION BUREAU, 215 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK
 How do your Senators and Congressmen stand on the Costigan-Wagner Anti-Lynching Bill?

NATIONAL OFFICERS

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69 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

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Official Organ: The Crisis



April 3rd
1936

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Pittsburgh, Pa.	Homer S. Brown
Toledo, Ohio	Jesse S. Heatly
Washington, D.C.	William H. Hastie
Wilmington, Del.	Louis L. Redding

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Here is self-explanatory copy of telegram we have today addressed to the Attorney General inquiring upon what theory the Department of Justice is investigating the alleged kidnaping of Paul H. Wendel in the Hauptmann case and asking if the Department will now proceed against the Claude Neal kidnapers.

Ever sincerely,

Secretary.

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Ww:CTF

27th ANNUAL CONFERENCE, BALTIMORE, MD., JUNE 30th - JULY 5th, 1936

ENDORSED BY THE NATIONAL INFORMATION BUREAU, 215 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

How do your Senators and Congressmen stand on the Costigan-Wagner Anti-Lynching Bill?

POSTAL TELEGRAPH

Day Letter

From: New York City.

April 3, 1936
11:05 A. M.

To:

Hon. Homer S. Cummings, Attorney General
Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

MAY WE INQUIRE ON WHAT THEORY DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE IS INVESTIGATING
ALLEGED KIDNAPING PAUL H WENDEL IN HAPTMANN CASE STOP WHAT THEORY
OF PECUNIARY MOTIVE EXISTS STOP WE KNOW OF NONE STOP WE
THEREFORE ASK AGAIN DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE ENFORCE LAWS OF THE
UNITED STATES IMPARTIALLY AND WITHOUT REGARD TO RACE OR SECTIONAL
PREJUDICES OR POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS STOP PLEASE ADVISE US IF
DEPARTMENT WILL NOW PROCEED AGAINST CLAUDE NEAL KIDNAPERS

Walter White, Secretary
National Association for Advancement of Colored People
69 Fifth Avenue

April 7, 1936.

My dear Mrs. Scheider:

The Department of Justice is not investigating the Wendel case. I replied to Mr. White's telegram, and, for your information, enclose a copy thereof.

Under these circumstances, I suggest that if Mrs. Roosevelt desires to reply to the unsigned letter, apparently written by Mr. White, she could properly say in substance that she is informed that the Department of Justice is not investigating the Wendel case, and that the Attorney General has telegraphed to Mr. White to that effect.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Malvina T. Scheider,
The White House.

HSC:MOB

April 6, 1936.

Walter White,
National Association for Advancement of Colored People,
63 Fifth Avenue,
New York, N. Y.

THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE IS NOT MAKING ANY INVESTIGATION IN
THE CASE TO WHICH YOU REFER.

HOMER CUMMINGS

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL
WASHINGTON

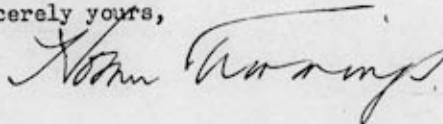
April 7, 1936.

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Sincerely yours,



Mrs. Malvina T. Scheider,
The White House.

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for
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 1936 (Dictated April 8th)

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Toledo, Ohio	Jesse B. Healy
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My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I am terribly sorry that the people I asked to get the information you wished about Mr. Brakil have just now replied. Here is the letter which, unfortunately, does not give very much information. I am sending it on to you, however, so that you may see that I did not forget my promise to try to get the information.

I am writing to our Springfield (Ill.) branch to get what information I can about him which I will send on to you.

Ever sincerely,

Walter White
 7

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
 The White House
 Washington, D. C.

ww:CTF

27th ANNUAL CONFERENCE, BALTIMORE, MD., JUNE 30th - JULY 5th, 1936
 ENDORSED BY THE NATIONAL INFORMATION BUREAU, 215 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK
 How do your Senators and Congressmen stand on the Costigan-Wagner Anti-Lynching Bill?

THE YOUNG WOMENS CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION

of Chicago

South Parkway Branch and Residence

4559 South Parkway

M A R.
30
1 9 3 6

Miss Frances Williams
600 Lexington Avenue
National Board Y.w.C.A.
New York, N.Y.

Dear Frances:

Enclosed are the copies of the letter from William Brakil to Mrs. Roosevelt and the letter from N.A.A.C.P. to you.

Mr. William Brakil is not in Chicago, Illinois. He has been rooming with relatives at 4340 Michigan Ave., Apt. 3. He can be located at 1611 Clifton Ave., Springfield, Illinois. Mr. Brakil has been unemployed and since he was unable to locate work in Chicago he returned to Springfield about five or six weeks ago. He has applied for several Civil Service jobs. The notice for the Post Office examination came after he had returned to Springfield, so he missed it. He now awaits the examination for Policeman.

I sincerely hope you will be able to locate him through some person in Springfield.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) Thelma Kirkpatrick
Industrial Secretary

TK/v

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 April 13, 1936.

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Topeka, Kas.	Hon. Arthur Capper
Waco, Texas	R. D. Evans
Washington	Sterling A. Brown Charles Edward Russell

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I want you to see the enclosed memorandum to the Washington correspondents, which will give you the present status of our efforts to get the anti-lynching bill brought up in the House of Representatives.

I am leaving for Washington tonight and will be at the Dodge Hotel Tuesday, Wednesday and possibly Thursday and Friday. Should you wish to discuss this or any other matter with me, I shall be at your command as always.

Ever sincerely,

Walter White

Secretary

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Pittsburgh, Pa.	Homer S. Brown
Toledo, Ohio	Jeane S. Healy
Washington, D.C.	William H. Hastie
Wilmington, Del.	Louis L. Hedding

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt
 The White House
 Washington, D. C.

ww:LB

27th ANNUAL CONFERENCE, BALTIMORE, MD., JUNE 30th - JULY 5th, 1936
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April 13, 1936

Memorandum to Washington Correspondents

from Walter White, Secretary, National Association
for the Advancement of Colored People - and
Secretary, Cooperating Organizations for
Enactment of Federal Anti-Lynching Legis-
lation.

Permanent address: 69 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York.

Washington address: Care of Senator Edward P. Costigan
Room 355, Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

It is planned to present to the Hon. Edward T. Taylor,
Chairman of the Democratic Caucus of the House of Representatives,
on Wednesday, April 15th, or Thursday, April 16th, a petition for
a Caucus on the anti-lynching bill which reads as follows:

"We, the undersigned, members of the Democratic Caucus
of the House of Representatives, in accordance with the pro-
visions of Rule 3 of the Caucus, respectfully request that
you call a meeting of the Caucus for the purpose of consider-
ing the position of the Caucus on anti-lynching legislation
and with particular reference to H.R. 5, H.R. 148, H.R. 184,
H.R. 2776, H.R. 2822, H.R. 3480, H.R. 5373, H.R. 5501, H.R. 5697,
H.R. 5848, H.R. 5810, H.R. 6196, H.R. 6445, H.R. 6798, and
H.R. 6867, all identical bills; that the Democratic members
of the Rules committee be instructed to report out a rule
providing for the immediate consideration of said bills.
Said Caucus to be called on or before the _____ day of
April, 1936."

Rule 3 of the Democratic Caucus, as you know, makes
it mandatory upon the Leader of the Democratic Caucus to call a
Caucus when petitioned to do so in writing by twenty-five members
of the Caucus.

To date, the petition has been signed by the following

members of the Congress:

1. Thomas F. Ford - 14th, California
2. Joseph A. Cavagan - 21st, New York
3. Louis Ludlow - 12th, Indiana
4. Herman P. Kopplemann - 1st, Connecticut
5. Caroline O'Day - At large, New York
6. William J. Granfield - 2nd, Massachusetts
7. Edward A. Kenney - 9th, New Jersey
8. Byron N. Scott - 18th, California
9. Thomas C. Hennings, Jr., - 11th, Missouri
10. Fred H. Hildebrandt - 1st, South Dakota
11. William P. Connery, Jr., - 7th, Massachusetts
12. John H. Tolan - 7th, California
13. Michael J. Stack - 6th, Pennsylvania
14. John J. Delaney - 7th, New York
15. Frank J. G. Dorsey - 5th, Pennsylvania
16. Matthew A. Dunn - 34th, Pennsylvania
17. Matthew J. Merritt - At large, New York
18. James A. O'Leary - 11th, New York
19. Henry Ellenbogen - 33rd, Pennsylvania
20. Martin L. Sweeney - 20th, Ohio
21. William M. Berlin - 28th, Pennsylvania
22. A. P. Lamneck - 12th, Ohio
23. William T. Schulte - 1st, Indiana
24. Marion Zioncheck - 1st, Washington
25. Isabella Greenway - At large, Arizona
26. Thomas O'Malley - 5th, Wisconsin
27. Mary T. Norton - 13th, New Jersey
28. Edward J. Hart - 14th, New Jersey
29. Charles Kramer - 13th, California
30. Martin J. Kennedy - 18th, New York
31. Theodore A. Peyser - 17th, New York
32. Andrew L. Somers - 6th, New York
33. James A. Shanley - 3rd, Connecticut
34. D. Worth Clark - 2nd, Idaho
35. C. G. Binderup - 4th, Nebraska
36. Robert P. Secrest - 15th, Ohio
37. Christopher D. Sullivan - 13th, New York

A number of other members of the House of Representatives have promised various organizations supporting anti-lynching legislation to sign the petition and the names of some of these will probably be added before the petition is presented to Mr. Taylor.

REASONS FOR THE PETITION

The filibuster in the Senate, of April 26--May 1, 1935, against the Costigan-Wagner bill, led by such Senators as Smith of South Carolina, Black and Bankhead of Alabama, Connally of Texas, Bailey of North Carolina, Glass of Virginia and Borah of Idaho, is well remembered. The complicated situation in the Senate makes exceedingly difficult the possibilities of initiating action in that body. On January 6th Senator Frederick Van Nuys of Indiana introduced a resolution for a Senate investigation of the lynchings which occurred between May 1st and December 31st, 1935. The Van Nuys resolution specifically provided for examination of the facts

as to action taken by the several states to prevent the lynchings which occurred during the above named period or to punish the lynchings. The Senate Judiciary Committee reported the Van Nuys resolution favorably on February 11th. Since that date the resolution has been pending before the Senate Audit and Control Committee. It is reported that the Committee is deadlocked, two-two, Senators Byrnes of South Carolina and Nathan L. Bachman of Tennessee opposing and Senators John G. Townsend, Jr., of Delaware and Millard E. Tydings of Maryland favoring.

In the House of Representatives the Hon. Hatton W. Summers of Texas, Chairman of the Judiciary Committee, is reported to be irrevocably opposed to a favorable report on any anti-lynching bill. The substantiation of this reported attitude is to be seen in the fact that thirty-one anti-lynching bills are pending before the Judiciary Committee-- seventeen of them introduced by Democrats, thirteen by Republicans and one by a Farmer-Labor Representative. No hearing has been granted on any of these bills.

It is believed by supporters of federal legislation against lynching that they have a right to a clear-cut statement of policy on lynching and federal anti-lynching legislation from the overwhelming Democratic majority in the House of Representatives. Support of such a position is not confined to any one race or section of the country. It is reported that a number of the more liberal southern congressmen favor the Caucus but for political reasons deem it unwise to make their position public.

ORGANIZATIONS BACKING FEDERAL ANTI-LYNCHING LEGISLATION

One hundred and two organizations have endorsed the Costigan-Wagner bill, among the larger being the American Federation of Labor, Federal Council of Churches of Christ, National Baptist Convention, Y.W.C.A., Y.M.C.A., Women's International League, National Association of Colored Women, National Jewish Committee, National Jewish Congress, National Urban League, Fellowship of Reconciliation, Protestant Episcopal Church, Committee on Race Relations of the Society of Friends, National Council of Methodist Youth, Nashville (Tenn.) Pastors Association, New Orleans (La.) Ministers Union, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the State Legislatures of California, Colorado, Kansas, Minnesota, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, New York and Indiana, the Massachusetts State Senate, the General Court of Massachusetts, the City Councils of Cleveland, Duluth and other cities and the District of Columbia and Maryland Departments of the American Legion.

Thirty of the thirty-one bills introduced in the House of Representatives are identical with the Costigan-Wagner bill in the Senate. The Women's Missionary Council of the Methodist Episcopal Church South recently endorsed unanimously the Costigan-Wagner bill for the third time at its annual meeting. Attached is pamphlet, "The Mob Still Rides", published by the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, with headquarters at Atlanta, which is

4/13/36

supported by leading southern churchmen, editors, educators and the like, in which federal action is also urged.

LYNCHING RECORD OF 1935

The 1935 lynching record is one of the worst within the last decade. There were twenty-five authenticated lynchings against sixteen in 1934, twenty-eight in 1933, ten in 1932 and fourteen in 1931. In addition, there were 102 other cases where lynchings were averted by a most narrow margin either through the escape of the intended victim, augmenting of jail guards or hasty removal of the prisoners to stronger jails. Students of the problem, as will be noted in "The Mob Still Rides", consider these narrowly averted lynchings as of equal significance with the consummated lynchings.

Within the last eight days five lynchings have been narrowly averted in Alabama and Georgia. In one of the Alabama cases a wire had been placed about the neck of one of the intended victims when rescued. Since then, the innocence of the four persons has been established. With the approach of warm weather when crowds may gather out of doors and be subject more easily to mob action, and should the Congress adjourn without taking action, it is feared that these lynchings and near lynchings will be more frequent.

Supporters of federal legislation against lynching have become exceedingly tired of the subterfuges and other means of avoiding definitive action by the Congress. At the same time they are much encouraged by the overwhelming sentiment in both houses of Congress for passage of a strong anti-lynching bill. It is reported that a confidential poll was taken within the last fortnight which indicated an overwhelming support in the House of Representatives for this legislation.

POSSIBLE POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS

The country-wide resentment against Senator Borah's participation in the 1935 filibuster; the resentment of many Americans, white and Negro, against a minority in the Congress being able thus far to block any anti-lynching legislation; and particularly the circumstance that Negroes, who have been the most frequent sufferers from lynching, hold the balance of power in any close election in seventeen states which have a total electoral vote of 281, give significance to the current efforts. The states in which the Negro vote holds the potential balance of power are: Connecticut, Delaware, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island and West Virginia. (Detailed figures on these may be found in the February issue of the Crisis, pages 46-47.)

So keen is the interest in this movement to secure action before Congress adjourns that failure to take a definite

#5 - Memorandum to Washington Correspondents

4/13/36

stand by the Caucus, or any back-stage blocking of the Caucus, will be considered by many individuals as reprehensible as a vote by the Caucus against anti-lynching legislation.

It is planned to ask a similar declaration of policy from the Republican Conference.

The President is reported to favor anti-lynching legislation.

WW:CTF

April 20, 1936

My dear Mr. White:

Mrs. Roosevelt asks me to thank you very much for sending her the editorial from the World-Telegram. She deeply appreciates your thoughtfulness in giving her an opportunity to see this.

Very sincerely yours,

Malvina T. Scheider
Secretary to
Mrs. Roosevelt.

Mr. Walter White
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
69 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

DD

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MARY WHITE OVINGTON

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

69 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

TELEPHONE ALGONQUIN 4 3551

Official Organ: *The Crisis*



April 18th
1936

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My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

The utter vicious and stupid attack on you and the President by the amusingly named "Southern Committee to Uphold the Constitution" is turning out to be a boomerang on them, apparently. The enclosed editorial page from yesterday's World-Telegram, with its editorial and cartoon, seems to represent pretty thoroughly the attitude of all the decent people with whom I have talked.

Ever sincerely,

Walter White
Secretary.

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
The White House
Washington, D. C.

WW:CTF

27th ANNUAL CONFERENCE, BALTIMORE, MD., JUNE 29th - JULY 5th, 1936

ENDORSED BY THE NATIONAL INFORMATION BUREAU, 215 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

How do your Senators and Congressmen stand on the Costigan-Wagner Anti-Lynching Bill?



Do not look at the Negro.

His earthly problems are ended.

Instead, look at the seven WHITE children who gaze at this gruesome spectacle.

Is it horror or gloating on the face of the neatly dressed seven-year-old girl on the right?

Is the tiny four-year-old on the left old enough, one wonders, to comprehend the barbarism her elders have perpetrated?

Rubin Stacy, the Negro, who was lynched at Fort Lauderdale, Florida, on July 19, 1935, for "threatening and frightening a white woman," suffered PHYSICAL torture for a few short hours. But what psychological havoc is being wrought in the minds of the white children? Into what kinds of citizens

will they grow up? What kind of America will they help to make after being familiarized with such an inhuman, law-destroying practice as lynching?

The manacles, too, tell their own story. The Negro was powerless in the hands of the law, but the law was just as powerless to protect him from being lynched. Since 1922 over one-half the lynched victims have been taken from legal custody. Less than one percent of the lynchers have been punished, and they very lightly. More than 5,000 such instances of lynching have occurred without any punishment whatever, establishing beyond doubt that federal legislation is necessary, as in the case of kidnapping, to supplement state action.

What, you may ask, can YOU do?

In May, 1935, a filibuster in the United States Senate, led by a small group of senators, most of them from the states with the worst lynching record, succeeded in side-tracking the Costigan-Wagner Anti-Lynching Bill. This bill will be brought up again in the 1936 session of Congress.

1. Write to your Congressmen and to the two United States Senators from your state urging them to work assiduously and vote for passage of the bill.
2. Get the church, lodge or other fraternal organization, social club, and whatever other groups you belong to to pass resolutions urging Congressmen and Senators from your state to vote for the bill.
3. Write letters to your newspapers and magazines urging their help.
4. Make as generous a contribution as you can to the organization which for twenty-five years has fought this evil and which is acting as a coordinating agent of church, labor, fraternal and other groups, with a total membership of 42,000,000, which are working for passage of the Costigan-Wagner Bill.

THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
69 Fifth Avenue, New York

N.A.A.C.P.
69 Fifth Avenue, New York

Here is my contribution of \$.....for the fight against lynching.

Name.....

Address.....

City.....

State.....

Wh - Wh

100

May 1, 1936

Dear Mr. White:

Thank you very much for your
report on Mr. Greenhow, of Toledo.
I am very glad that I did nothing about
it before I asked you to check on him.

Very sincerely yours,

SO

Walter Hill

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69 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

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Official Organ: The Crisis



April 20th
 1936

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Waco, Texas	R. D. Evans
Washington	Sterling A. Brown Charles Edward Russell

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Here is the report you asked me to get on the letter from James I. Greenhow of Toledo. The writer is Mrs. Constance Heslip, wife of a prominent attorney who is a member of our National Legal Committee. Mrs. Heslip herself is very active in local affairs and for some years has conducted a course at the University of Toledo.

Ever sincerely,

Walter White

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Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
 The White House
 Washington, D. C.

*Thanked
 with her assistance
 Tuesday, April 22nd
 C. C. Longmire*

Ww:CTF

27th ANNUAL CONFERENCE, BALTIMORE, MD., JUNE 29th - JULY 5th, 1936

ENDORSED BY THE NATIONAL INFORMATION BUREAU, 215 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

How do your Senators and Congressmen stand on the Costigan-Wagner Anti-Lynching Bill?

Mrs. J. S. Heslip
513 Belmont Avenue
Toledo, Ohio

Dear Walter -

Mr. Jas. I. Greenhow is an unmitigated ass and general nuisance, besides being a trifle dishonest and untruthful. Pay no attention to him; tell Mrs. Roosevelt the matter in which he is interested is in good hands in Toledo, and that she need not be burdened with this particular local problem.

Greenhow last year was interested in a subsistence homestead project. Besieged by him, the Toledo Council of Churches appointed a sponsor committee to work out details of the project with Greenhow. As a reluctant member of, however, a cracker-jack interracial group, I sat in on meetings all last winter, which of course petered out with the movement itself in Washington. In the meantime Gr. was holding weekly meetings with a considerable group of hopeful and almost poverty stricken prospective homesteaders, paying dues. We could not influence, persuade or urge him to disillusion and disband them.

Now he is using this group to rally round him for a consumers' co-operative - which is quite all right, except for the fact that the man is muddle-headed - cannot really execute, but has an unheard of amount of persistence. A pretty good group is taking hold and working toward such a co-operative (Jess and I are studying its possibilities). Wm. McKnight is legal adviser. Greenhow is not "spokesman". They are trying to keep Gr. from gumming up the works, and if he would just desist from his epistolary efforts to the great and near great, something good may come from it for our community.

It really isn't worth your time to read all this except for the fact that the man is so doggedly and damnedly determined he may be writing you yet, and you might as well know about him.

Sorry, I haven't achieved that typewriter yet.

Always sincerely,

Con
(Constance Heslip)

MESSAGE
SUBMITTED
IN
PERSON

To the First Lady of the United States of America.

Greeting:

The group we represent has been pleading for more than two years, hoping for favorable consideration to establish a Homestead colony. Volunteer work and service of every nature have been rendered gratis by the sponsors of the movement.

Some very outstanding influences have endorsed the proposed project.

The Council of Churches of the City advised the Race Relations Committee to appoint a board of Sponsors, which they did. We followed the Subsistence Homestead set-up through until it was merged with the Resettlement Bureau trying to see if we could be fitted anywhere in its program: I am advised by a friend in Secretary Ickes' Department to write directly to Mr. Tugwell and he might give this group the same consideration that he gave the group in Newport News, Va., however, I have now advised this group to pool their little means and put on a drive to raise funds for the purpose of establishing a Co-operative Movement to become National in scope--the plans for which, I will, with your permission, mail to your secretary.

For the present, we will confine our activities locally and establish a Co-operative business consisting of living necessities in proximity to the Rehousing district.

Method

First:-Establish a forum where weekly lectures may be given by Nationally known persons informing the public concerning the advantages of properly directed co-operative effort.

Second:- Create a committee to promote entertainments of every decent nature; the proceeds of which will be pooled until August of this year at which time, all active workers will be awarded prorata certificates of interest to the extent of the entire amount raised or realized by donations.

Third:-A director's board will be created from among the best informed minds.

Fourth:The City Manager will be requested to help secure the service of a financial adviser by whose opinion all business procedure will be governed. Will you kindly say a word concerning our efforts if you approve our ambition?

Respectfully submitted to Her Honor,

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt.

by
James I Greenhow, spokesman for the
National Co-operative Business League
of
Toledo



101
May 15, 1936

My dear Mr. White:

Mrs. Roosevelt asks me to thank you for sending her the resolution adopted by the National Y.W.C.A. convention. She is glad to know that this action was taken.

Very sincerely yours,

Malvina T. Scheider
Secretary to
Mrs. Roosevelt

0

Mr. Walter White
69 Fifth Avenue
New York
N.Y.

COLORADO SPRINGS LARGEST AND FINEST HOSTELRY
OPEN ALL YEAR



EUROPEAN PLAN
FIREPROOF

PIKES PEAK IN THE BACK GROUND

RESTAURANT FAMED
DELIGHTFUL CLIMATE

ANTLERS HOTEL
COLORADO SPRINGS, COLORADO

May 1936

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I know you will be glad to read the resolution on page five which 1700 delegates to the YWCA convention representing 2,000,000 women passed unanimously. Significantly, the resolution was sponsored spontaneously by Southern students and adults. It was presented to the convention by Nyra Jenkins, a fine young student from our friend's, Gov. Ialmadge's, state.

Cordially

Walter White

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MARY WHITE OVERTON

**NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE
 ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE**

69 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

TELEPHONE: ALGONQUIN 4 3551

Official Organ: The Crisis



May 26th
 1936

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Topeka, Kas.	Hon. Arthur Capper
Waco, Texas	R. D. Evans
Washington	Sterling A. Brown Charles Edward Russell

file
 My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Here is another editorial from a Negro newspaper published in South Carolina. I have also marked two other items which will interest you.

and, finally, you may be interested in seeing the reply we have made to Borah's charge that Negroes have been "led astray" by old guard Republicans in opposing his candidacy.

Ever sincerely,

Walter White

Secretary.

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Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
 The White House
 Washington, D. C.

Ww:CTF

27th ANNUAL CONFERENCE, BALTIMORE, MD., JUNE 29th - JULY 5th, 1936
 ENDORSED BY THE NATIONAL INFORMATION BUREAU, 215 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

How do your Schators and Congressmen stand on the Costigan-Wagner Anti-Lynching Bill?

COPY

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
69 Fifth Avenue - New York City

May 18, 1936

My dear Senator Borah:

We have read your statement attributing your defeat in the Ohio primaries to the Negro vote. While we understand your bitterness and disappointment, we cannot understand why you attribute such unworthy motives to the Negro voters who opposed your candidacy. It is apparent that, unwittingly, you have fully justified the skepticism with which Negro Americans have viewed your aspirations.

Do you, Senator Borah, think all Negroes so dumb that they can be led astray by "Old Guard" Republicans, or any other kind? You say that Negroes were led to vote against you because so-called Old Guard Republicans had convinced them that you were opposed to the anti-lynching bill. Let me make this crystal-clear: Negroes in Ohio and elsewhere in the United States were voting not for the Old Guard Republicans but against you. They did this not only because of your participation in the filibusters in 1922 and 1935 against the Dyer and Costigan-Wagner anti-lynching bills, but because your entire record so far as the Negro is concerned has been one of almost invariably consistent hostility to the Negro's ambitions, and when your attitude was not characterized by hostility it was at best one of indifference and apathy.

We have noted your persistent attempts to explain your opposition to the Costigan-Wagner Bill on the ground of "constitutionality". Again we repeat, neither you nor any other one individual has the right to arrogate to himself the determination as to whether a bill is constitutional or not. That is the function of the United States Supreme Court. In the light of your advocacy of and votes for many measures which invade states' rights far more than would an anti-lynching bill, and in view of the numerous instances in which the United States Supreme Court has declared unconstitutional

Hon. William B. Borah - 2

measures which you have supported, has it not occurred to you that perhaps you may also be wrong on the constitutionality of the anti-lynching bill?

Finally, so far as Negro Americans are concerned, I wish to repeat to you a statement recently made by the political commentator, Jay Franklin, that "It is hard to convince a man that it is unconstitutional to save his life."

Very truly yours,

(Signed) Walter White
Secretary.

Hon. William B. Borah
United States Senate
Washington, D. C.

Ww/RR

COPY

tion of lynching, to the Southern newspaper publishers association. She urged that the press to exert itself in news stories to aid in the prevention of lynchings and spread of propaganda by not suppressing facts. The white press could do a deal more than it has in the ending of cowardly mob murder, peculiar only to America, a Christian country—at least in name.

Senator Borah in his campaign for delegates to the Republican convention is beginning to learn just how colored voters feel over the lynching question. In Ohio he complains that the white Republican persuaded the colored Republicans to vote against him saying that he was in favor of lynching because he "voted against the anti-lynching Amendment to the Constitution". But how can anyone be opposed to lynching who opposes the enactment of laws looking to its suppression. In the case of the Senator there is no necessity of "persuading" Negroes to vote against him.

Tipton county (Tenn.) colored Republican convention is reported as endorsing President Roosevelt and promising to support him. Certainly that is news. But the most significant thing is, Negroes are thinking and no longer worship party names. Negroes in Tennessee vote too, just like any other American citizen.

DELINQUENT GIRLS ENTERTAINED BY MRS. ROOSEVELI

Last Saturday, Mrs. Roosevelt gave a party at the White House for the girls confined in the National Training school, our girls. Ordinarily, such a gracious act on her part, or any other big hearted woman for that matter, would be regarded as praiseworthy by all people of culture, refinement and understanding. Not so in this case however. The trouble is, in the number of girls entertained were 44 colored girls. Because of that in some parts of the South—notably Georgia—a great deal of criticism has been made. The ire of the editor of the Georgia Women's World was particularly aroused as shown by her comment. Said she, "With this precedent established the mayors of all of our states now may open up their homes for the entertainment of Negro prisoners." Of course, the lady in her statement was giving no care whatsoever to logic—but race prejudice does not lend itself to logic, only depraved emotions are served. Why a precedent in the first place? Not many ladies occupy the White House as their home, and since when has the private home of a mayor become comparable to the White House?

We do not believe the sentiment of the fair Editor of the Georgia Women's World represents the best sentiment of Southern women. For it is a fact, known to

awn. This is what Lynch... Campbell calls His Feed and Fun Hour.

Another new feature. The groups will meet two hours each day. There will be two types of certificates, one for attendance and one for credits.

Another new feature: The Display of handiwork in religion and posters. Be sure and send in at least one poster. Every school is asked for at least one good poster. St. Paul has hers.

The best new feature in the bringing together of so many different leaders, Moderators of associations, of unions, presidents of woman auxiliaries, and conventions are coming as the special guests of the S. S. and B.T.U. convention.

The three convention boards will meet in joint session at the convention. President Pinson providing for 3,000 delegates and visitors, for only \$2.00 for session. This is one session you can not afford to miss.

Field Day on Friday

The Field Day will open with a parade of 3,000 S. S. and B. T. U. young people. Sumter city county schools will parade on campus. Columbia will be with 500. Camden, Bish, Hartsville, Manning, Char and in fact from everywhere. Everybody is "Trucking" to July 15-18, for the S. S. and B. T. U. State Wide School of and Young People Conv.

MARION NEWS

Spring is here in full force. Youngsters seem to be enjoying life after a long winter. The church was packed at the annual meeting on Sunday. The pastor, Rev. J. J. Mother's day program and benefit of St. John's church was quite a success. The highest amount of his membership was \$100. Rev. Blawie's program on Sunday night was a success. More friends will be noticed at the P. S. school. Rev. Seal's sermon was a beautiful one. Mother's day program by the church on Sunday evening was a success. Citizens were going to the report that on Sunday. Adult teacher. We have Mrs. Ethel M. Latham and the big wheel turning and the national project will be that every well wisher had whom are illiterates. rolled already. 42 (including there has been 62 (including long nicely, at the present. The Adult school is now

JOHNSTON NEWS

June 1, 1936

100

Letter from Walter White, 89 - 5th Ave., N.Y.C. sent to
Mr. Chas. West, Dept. Interior, with note: "Dear Mr. West -
This does look like evasion - What is the explanation?" E.R.

June 2, 1936

100

My dear Mr. White:

Mrs. Roosevelt asks me to thank you for the editorial from the Baltimore Afro-American. She thought it was very nice and was glad to see it.

Very sincerely yours,

Malvina T. Scheider
Secretary to
Mrs. Roosevelt.

Mr. Walter White
69 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

DD

EDWARD P. COSTIGAN
COLORADO

*Collected
5-21-36*

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D. C.

22 May 1936

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

It was a joy to have had that interesting telephone conversation with you a few minutes ago.

Here is the editorial from the Baltimore Afro-American I told you about.

And here is copy of a new leaflet which reached by mail this morning each member of the House and Senate, members of the Cabinet, and about two hundred of the Washington correspondents who have indicated their interest in the anti-lynching bill.

May I again express my warm thanks for your prompt offer of aid in correcting the erroneous impression being circulated in the House as to the President's attitude on the anti-lynching bill.

With cordial personal greetings to you and the President,

I am

Sincerely,

Water White

100

June 4, 1936

My dear Mr. White:

Mrs. Roosevelt read your letter before she left and asked me to tell you that she was sorry that she had to leave this morning not to be back until the 25th of June. She thinks the synopsis of the film is interesting, but feels that the President would not have time to see it until after Congress adjourns. She could have it shown here next winter, but realizes that that would not help this session.

Very sincerely yours,

Malvina T. Scheider
Secretary to
Mrs. Roosevelt

S O

Mr. Walter White
69 Fifth Avenue
New York
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June 1st
1936

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*ack
b-t*

*Spingarn has sent today
interesting but fear
to proceed with
Congress adjourns
President has
not wanted that
kind of a
letter -*

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Washington, D.C. William H. Hastie
Wilmington, Del. Louis L. Redding

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Thank you for your telegram.

I note in your column in today's World-Telegram that you are back in Washington. I shall be there Tuesday morning.

Here is the synopsis of the film, "Fury". It carefully steers away from propoganda but is a most exciting and effective presentation.

This probably will seem like a hare-brained scheme but I want to place it before you for consideration anyhow. Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer have told me that they will arrange for a showing of the film for you at any time and place you wish. It occurred to me that if you and the President were able and willing to invite a few of the leaders of the fight in the Senate and House for consideration of the Costigan-Wagner bill and the Van Nuys resolution to the White House one evening this week, or before Congress adjourns, to see the film with you, there might arise out of this the stimulation to see that something is done before Congress adjourns.

I shall be staying at the Lodge Hotel. Should you wish me to come in to talk this over with you and to tell you more about the picture, I shall be at your command.

Fave you, incidentally, seen the news dispatches from Detroit that every time there is a lynching at least 300 new recruits joined the Black Legion? Another news story tells of a letter written to Prosecutor McCrea in Detroit that lynchings have been purposely staged by the Black Legion to stimulate recruiting. According to this letter,

27th ANNUAL CONFERENCE, BALTIMORE, MD., JUNE 29th - JULY 5th, 1936
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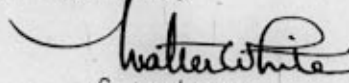
How do your Senators and Congressmen stand on the Costigan-Wagner Anti-Lynching Bill?

n2 - Mrs. Roosevelt

6/1/36

white men have blacked their faces, attacked women and then the first hapless Negro who came by was seized and lynched. How true this is, we have no way of knowing, but it is well within the range of possibility, horrible as it is.

Ever sincerely,


Secretary.

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
The White House
Washington, D. C.

wn:OTF

From
Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer
1540 Broadway, N. Y. C.

FURY

and

THE AMERICAN PROBLEM OF LYNCHING

- - - -

Cinematic realism is of two kinds: statistical and symbolic. Social problems cannot be translated into any artistic medium without automatically raising the question of art as propaganda. Essentially Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer's "Fury" is the story of an attempted lynching. Insofar as the story involves the practice of lynching, its details are patterned after countless hundreds of typical outlines which have disfigured the social scene in broad areas of the United States in the past half century. But statistics make only the baldest sort of drama. With equal fidelity, "Fury" is the story of the people who were involved in this particular lynching. Therefore the main current of the picture is a statistically accurate analysis of a lynching while the stories of the individualities involved are translations of these effects into personal symbols. It is impossible to hoist a slogan on the screen and await an effect on the audience; but when the audience can identify itself with living persons subjected to a recognized pattern of force and circumstance - the resultant effect is the most that art can yield in a constructive social sense.

Norma Krasna's book presents lynching as a social problem in tense dramatic terms. The victim of the lynching is

(more)

Joe Wilson, played by Spencer Tracy as a typical American, hard-working bright, decent. In choosing a white man, Kraena eliminated many factors which complicate the fight against lynching in its inter-racial aspects. The use of a white man is faithful to fact - fully 20% of all lynch victims have been white - and strips the story to essentials less cumbersome to present within established limits. This is in itself an important contribution to the impact of the story for it expands the subject; the audience identifies itself with Joe Wilson and appreciates the kernel of his bitter experience: it is not anything about Joe Wilson that brought the tragedy about, it might have happened to anyone. In other words, while law and order follow a principle of cause and effect called Justice, lawlessness strikes without any reason, in blindness and fury. As the District Attorney states, America witnesses one lynching every three days. The occurrence must therefore be viewed as an established custom, not as a mere accident. That is why an average town is chosen as the locale. This is the reverse side of the same proposition: not only the lynched victim but the lynchers themselves are typical people, you and I.

We follow Joe Wilson and Katherine Grant (Sylvia Sidney) through a year of normal life and familiar problems. They are arranging to be married. Joe is on his way to meet his beloved. All is serene as a summer morning, the roads are rich and verdant, it is a day for living. Suddenly the black barrels of a rifle in the hands of a half-wit interrupt the trip. Joe is stopped by "Bugs" Meyers (Walter Brennan) whose idiot face and drooling jaw are our first impression of all that is to follow. Joe is arrested. He is accused of a kidnapping. He is taken to the office of the Sheriff (Edward Ellis). There he is unable to account for his time.

(more)

He has spent it travelling. He has no alibi because he has been making the sort of trip everybody makes. What is the evidence against him? The ransom note was found to contain salt from salted peanuts and Joe has salted peanuts with him. He is coming down a side road because he has time to finish his trip - but the suspects are skulking down side roads. Finally there is the crushing coincidence that he has a bill that contains the numbers of one of the ransom bills, a five dollar bill picked up somewhere along the road. Anyone might have acquired such a bill in covering a route followed by the kidnapers. The circumstantial evidence is slender but it warrants the Sheriff's holding Joe for investigation. Joe is taken to a cell. As he leaves his dog Rainbow, he takes leave of all that is dear to him. He is not allowed to call his brothers. He is no longer Joe Wilson as the doors clang behind him - he is the Suspect.

Here is the setting for a lynching. The Suspect is in the County Jail. The Sheriff is following the course of his duties. Already the situation is tense and horrible. One ceases to be a free American. We who know Joe's innocence are locked away with him. It is the dungeon against which we rebel. We leave Joe as he shouts for attention, for permission to call his brother, for Justice.

We go to a barber shop. Shapeless and characterless behind their lather, the town banker and others are discussing the kidnapping. "Bugs" comes in bursting with his story. A Suspect has been taken. The evidence is bad - he is "one of the kidnapers." Everyone is electrified. The barber is startled into a tragic-comic sequence - he goes into a half-mad dialogue about the impulse to kill. Here again is a hint of madness. When we first

(more)

encountered it in "Bugs," the half-wit was armed with a rifle; now the barber wields a dangerous razor. We are subjected to a short tense sense of menace. It passes. The barber calls his wife. He exaggerates the story "Bugs" has told. Meantime the customers have fled the shop, lather and all, half in fear of the eccentric barber, half in excitement over the Suspect.

We follow the gossip as it passes from tongue to tongue, from home to home and along the streets. We see it mount in the market. The flashes speed up, the mouths move faster. Finally we see the cackling of geese. The talk is no longer sensible human talk. We cut to a barroom. Men are talking singly and in groups. The most vociferous circle is the rowdy mob at one end of the bar whose criminal character is concentrated in its leader, Kirby Dawson (Bruce Cabot). Dawson wants action. The more stable citizens are already agitated. They are not yet ready, however, to ignore the authority of law which has but little reality for Dawson. They decide to get more facts. Dawson goes with a delegation to visit the Sheriff. The Sheriff denies their right to question him. He tells them truthfully that there is very little fact for him to judge by, that he is awaiting a check of the few suspicious circumstances that seem to involve Joe Wilson in the kidnapping. He is firm and dignified. He appeases the group - all except Kirby Dawson. Kirby stays after the others go. To him, the Law is itself suspect. He wants the lowdown, he trusts nobody, the Sheriff is his ancient enemy anyway. Only a vigorous threat by the Sheriff sends him scurrying, with increased lust for trouble. A stone comes through the window. Close-up, the Sheriff's face is deeply wrinkled.

We follow them all back to the saloon. Liquor

(more)

flows freely. Kirby Dawson is supported by a clique which is ever ready for sorties against the law. An itinerant strikebreaker sees eye-to-eye with them. He challenges the crowd. "Bugs" is brought back and plied with liquor. In his simplicity, he tells the truth but tells it in such form that Dawson is able to seize from it facts which the Sheriff had not spoken. "The Sheriff is a liar!" The last straw. One lie may conceal many. An adolescent jumps to a barrel - "Let's have some fun!" The mob surges from the saloon. As it comes out the door, blind, chaotic, anarchic, a Negro youth ducks out of its path - a subtle masterful touch.

Our anxiety is played on a triple front. We are with Joe Wilson in his cell as he clamors for attention against steel bars and stone walls and deaf ears. We are with the mob in its reckless frenzy, and with the Sheriff in his brave front against it. At the same time, we are watching Katherine grow restless at Sycamore Corners - (sycamores are such simple peaceful trees)- because Joe is so late. Finally all three threads are woven together. Katherine hears gossip on the highway. Threats of the lynching have been flashed to the press. Cameramen speed by. She walks, she runs toward the jail at Strand. Night is coming. The crowd approaches the jail with blaring bands. The Sheriff has communicated with the Governor. Troops are promised.

We pause to see why the troops do not arrive. The Governor is conferring with the political boss. The troops will not be sent. To send troops would insult the town - troops must not be used against citizens by a party that hopes for their votes. Moreover, to send troops is to admit that the forces of law and order have failed. The Governor lacks the strength of character to make

(more)

such a decision. (Following many lynchings within the past few years, several Governors have issued precisely these explanations for their failure to send adequate protection to the danger zone.)

As we return to the jail we no longer see individuals threatening it. The Sheriff faces a new being, a monster -- the Mob. He speaks to it. He is jeered. He speaks again. A tomato strikes him. Some of his deputies desert. Women and children join the mob. To some, it is a hideous sort of carnival. Some of the women carry babies -- hold them up to see the spectacle. (This scene is a duplicate of a drawing by Reginald Marsh.) The Sheriff is compelled to withdraw within the jail. The doors are barred. A battering ram manned by Kirby Dawson and his cronies is used to smash the doors. The Sheriff struggles against time. He has been promised troops. His fight is futile. But he does not know it. Nor does the Mob. All defense is downed. The Sheriff is slugged. The Mob rushes the cell blocks. The turnkey has thrown the keys within the gates. They can't be reached. The dog Rainbow jumps through the bars and races to Joe Wilson's cell. Joe is frantic. He wants to talk to them. But the Mob gives up. They can't waste time wrecking the bars. Troops might arrive. They leave the jail and set fire to it. Katherine comes into Strand just as the flames begin to sputter. She walks through a deserted square, across a park mottled with shadows of the flames. There is the Mob, quiet, awfully quiet, watching the fire.

Joe is surrounded by flames. He comes to the window. He is being burned -- his hands grapple with the bars. One stone hits him, another, many. He is forced away from the window, back into the flame and smoke. Katherine faints away. An elderly woman sinks to her knees in prayer. A false rumor is shouted by a child that the troops are arriving. The crowd runs. Dawson's pals

(more)

and the strike-breaker will not be deprived of their prey - they throw sticks of dynamite into the burning prison. There is a loud blast. The lynching is over.

In Chicago, we find Joe's brothers brooding over their loss. Their reaction is unformed, their grief is almost grotesque. Such tragedy is senseless, they cannot accept it, they fumble with it. They make a wild decision to invade Strand, to wipe it out, to avenge their loss. Just then a Shadow appears. "Stop it!" He speaks a moment before we can see him. It is the sombre voice of Resurrection. It is Joe. The explosion opened the gates of his cell. But it killed the dog Rainbow - (Lang must have loved that symbol, nothing could better express the senseless fury.) Joe came down the side of a drainpipe, burned away half the skin of his arm and side to get away. His face and the carriage of his body are laden with memory of horror. To all intents, Joe Wilson is dead. We are ready for what follows. It is no longer Joe speaking. All of what we know before has perished in the flames. This that survives is the conscience of our own beating minds, the resolute hunger for vengeance after unconscionable betrayal. In an ordinary dramatic scene, we would resent such a character. But all that has gone before justifies him. Even if we cannot join him in his lust for revenge, we can understand its drive and sympathize.

His plan is diabolical. He will bring the whole town to justice. He has seen newsreels which identify the leaders of the mob. The brothers must join him. They do.

We come to the courtroom. The District Attorney (Walter Abel) shares with Joe Wilson whom he has never met the necessity for vengeance. Joe has been wronged brutally as an

(more)

individual but the District Attorney bespeaks the outrage of law and society. His attack is upon the whole institution of lynching. He cites figures. Then he calls his witnesses.

What is the defense? The defense is none. The Defense Attorney (Jonathan Hale) relies on a compact of secrecy. Twenty-two defendants named in the indictment are alibied by dozens of townspeople. Shame and disgrace have seized the community - not remorse. They are all on trial in a sense. Not one word of truth can emerge. Even the Sheriff lies, though his pain is evident. The eyes of America are on the scene. The press is there, cameras flash every instant. The Judge insists on a fair and adequate trial. This is important in the story. Justice must be restored to reality after injustice has been so strongly projected. When the townspeople pack the courtroom and one or two become unruly, the Judge imposes rapid penalties. In two crisp sentences, he establishes for us again the dignity and austerity of Law when he explains that lynching is murder and that murder is a supreme test of social order.

The hands of a clock spin, dozens of witnesses have told the same falsehoods. We are flashed to the last of them. The twenty-two indicted lynchers are smirking as their alibis - brazen, shocking, so far-fetched that they shake their own heads in denial and unbelief - are taken into evidence. The Defense Attorney, gloating over the failure of the State to damage his clients, moves for dismissal. Colossal vanity - a stray bit of flattery in his description of his clients makes them preen! Here the District Attorney plays his trump card. In half a dozen sentences he tells the story of lynching. He adds dramatic zest to the recital of fact as he clarifies the crucial difference between this lynching and others:

(more)

here a whole community is in the toils of the law; perhaps for the first time, a lynching can be signally punished. The victim was innocent-- the actual kidnapers have been captured and they confessed. From this trial can stem renewed security for the whole land. We are shown the faces of the jurors. They have been rather noncommittal but we see them grow sober, acquire dignity, feel the burden of their duty.

Newsreels are allowed into evidence. The newsreels used are in themselves masterpieces of realism. Stop-action shots pick out one after another of the defendants in the moment of their worst iniquity. Kirby Dawson operating the battering-ram, spilling gasoline on the piled up sticks about the jail; a woman tossing the first brand into the pyre, mouth wide open in fiendish glee. Firemen try to stop the blaze - others of the defendants are shown fighting the firemen, cutting the hose. Sheer frenzy in every face! We had witnessed the lynching before when we saw the jail burn, when we saw the explosion. But Lang has not exhausted his theme. The newsreel camera picks out individual acts, details of personal wickedness. When we stood outside the jail, we were shown faces, clotted, depraved, silent. Now in the courtroom, the lynchers are more deeply etched, the depravity of each in his own terms. We intensify our former horror. Newspapermen rush for the phone. The nearest reporter is a Chinese. The whole world waits. A montage of headlines spews from the mouthpiece of a phone.

Lang has told his story. From this point on, statistical generalizations cease. Now his story reverts to the individuals who bore the pressure of the theme. From this point on the climaxes are in the souls of the characters, not in social crisis. The lynching has been presented; it has been sucked dry of dramatic content. Lang can go on to project the effects on each of his

(more)

characters.

Katherine takes the witness stand. As she describes herself and her love of Joe Wilson, one of the women among the indicted lynchers shudders. She moves her lips silently, transfixed: "they were about to be married!" Here is the first break, the first twinge of humaneness awakening among those cowering twenty-two. We are shown all their faces. Their hands fumble with their collars, they stare at Katherine, their tongues move over dry lips. What is Katherine saying? "He liked blue neckties. I made a lunch of things he liked to eat. I reminded the priest that we would come at four..." The lynchers have ceased to be a mob. Joe Wilson has become a Man again. The difference bites into them.

Joe's brothers are breaking under the strain. Whose is the Fury now, Joe's or the Mob's? The crux of the whole trial is now to prove that Joe Wilson is dead. They appeal to him. He is demonic. His plan is bearing fruit, now is the harvest-time for his triumph. No appeal works. We are thrust back into the courtroom. The judge has received a ring, Katherine's ring, partly melted. It is in an anonymous letter. The writer presents it as a souvenir taken from the debris of the burned jail. If the ring is Joe's, as Katherine can testify, the case is cinched. She rises to go to the stand. A word in the anonymous letter catches her eye. She is electrified. It is a word Joe has always misspelled. A letter from the grave! She is troubled, she hesitates as she testifies. It makes the testimony more effective. The ring was her mother's. She gave it to Joe. The details of simple love once more throb with breath. The woman whom we have been watching among the lynchers suddenly breaks. She screams a tortured confession. As she is led off, she wails her guilt louder

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and louder. The jury jumps to its feet. The District Attorney points at the door that has closed behind her. "There is your answer!"

Joe Wilson is eating voraciously in a bare room. His brothers are at a breaking-point. They stammer an appeal. Joe Wilson rages. His victory is being challenged. The brothers grow more and more unruly under the stress of their contrition. Joe draws a gun. "If you shoot him, you must shoot me, too!" Suddenly, Katherine appears behind him. Suspicion was too much, she had followed the brothers. Now Joe must choose. He can go on with his plan for the legal vengeance against the lynchers. But if he does, he outlaws himself, the life he has known ends, he is dead. He must yield even Katherine if he is to have his way. He chooses unhesitatingly, insanely. He cuts himself off from life and love. He bursts from the room.

Film soliloquies are dangerous. We enter a sequence in which Joe's spirit, the poor, mad wounded spirit, constantly attended by wisps and wraiths of smoke from the flames he survived, must undergo the new agony, the fire of conscience. Music marks the score. First in a cafe, couples dancing, jolly Bavarian musicians. Joe is alone among empty tables. It is irksome. He leaves hurriedly. Even the drink he wants is not there - another Lang symbol. He stops before a furniture store window. It is the sort of bedroom he and Katherine had planned. He hears her voice. He whirls, he is alone. Across the street there is the sound of loud music and crowds. He opens the door, it is an empty bar. The revelry comes from a radio behind a bar. A Negro serves him with simple kindness. Midnight. The bartender tears two pages from the calendar accidentally - a day is killed. Joe is shaken. He runs from the bar. On the street, he must turn aside to avoid a policeman. The window he turns

(more)

to is a florist's. It is full of flowers. They are lilies. (The lilies of death!) About him an eerie musical discord conjures forth the faces of the twenty-two people he is killing. He walks away from them, he runs. The camera shows only an open street, patches of light and shade. The camera moves slowly, dips as when one walks, suddenly breaks pace, as when one starts to run. Then races. The music mounts, the orchestration strikes unbearable crescendoes. The whole world explodes with sound. Joe bursts into his room. His agony is at its peak. The room he left, he now rushes to as a refuge. The people he abandoned, he now calls. The light he had hated, he now switches on. "Katherine, don't leave me alone!"

Court. The jury brings in its verdict. A final climax as the bailiff reads. One, not guilty. Two, not guilty. Then, with the deadly monotony of a machine gun - four, guilty; five, guilty; six, guilty. The strain is too much. All the lynchers rise. "Get it over with! Kill us!" Kirby Dawson is still Kirby Dawson. He bursts from the enclosure. He runs for the door. He freezes. There stands Joe Wilson. Joe marches down the aisle. "I am Joe Wilson!" It is a transfigured Joe. He is himself again. He is not the flame of conscience any longer. His appearance to save his lynchers is his atonement. He speaks of what has become of him, what was killed in him. Even as he is restored to sense and ennobled by sacrifice, Lang takes a parting shot at the lynchers. The faces smirk. Their tension evaporates. What has it meant to them, this tragic episode? Lang seems to keep his tongue in his cheek as he flashes their relief. Joe and Katherine reach out to each other.

By actual measurement, the lynching and the court sequences are three-quarters of the picture. The opening

(more)

sequences give us the personalities, the main current sweeps them into the lynching and then into the courtroom. The soliloquy of Joe brings us back again to individuals. The climaxes in the explosion of the jail, the confession of the woman lyncher are a necessary part of an understanding of lynch law. The final climax in the soul of Joe Wilson is another problem altogether, the private solution of a moral consequence. In some ways, it is the spiritual crisis of the whole film. Were this sequence lacking, "Fury" might be too tractarian.

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June 11th
1936

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My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

If you will let me know the date when you want "Fury" shown at the White House I will pass the word along to Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer so that they can arrange for the showing.

You will be interested to know that the film has had an enthusiastic reception here in New York and has been held over for a second week at the Capitol Theatre.

Ever sincerely,

Walter White
Secretary.

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
The White House
Washington, D. C.

wn:CTF

27th ANNUAL CONFERENCE, BALTIMORE, MD., JUNE 29th - JULY 5th, 1936

ENDORSED BY THE NATIONAL INFORMATION BUREAU, 215 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

How do your Senators and Congressmen stand on the Costigan-Wagner Anti-Lynching Bill?

COPY

June 4, 1936

My dear Mr. White:

Mrs. Roosevelt read your letter before she left and asked me to tell you that she was sorry that she had to leave this morning not to be back until the 25th of June. She thinks the synopsis of the film is interesting, but feels that the President would not have time to see it until after Congress adjourns. She could have it shown here next winter, but realizes that that would not help this session.

Very sincerely yours,

Malvina T. Scheider
Secretary to
Mrs. Roosevelt

Mr. Walter White
69 Fifth Avenue
New York
New York

S O

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June 19, 1936

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

A committee has been authorized by our Board of Directors to present to the Resolutions Committee of the Democratic National Convention next week the enclosed planks, which are identical with the document presented to the Republican National Convention.

We wanted you to be informed about this, for we feel confident that this plea will have your sympathetic interest.

Ever sincerely,
Walter White
 Secretary

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt
 The White House
 Washington, D. C.

WW/RR

27th ANNUAL CONFERENCE, BALTIMORE, MD., JUNE 29th - JULY 5th, 1936

ENDORSED BY THE NATIONAL INFORMATION BUREAU, 215 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK
 How do your Senators and Congressmen stand on the Costigan-Wagner Anti-Lynching Bill?

To the Democratic National Convention, convening at Philadelphia, Pa., June 23, 1936:

On behalf of twelve million American Negroes, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People respectfully urges inclusion in the platforms of the Republican and Democratic Parties of planks dealing with issues of vital moment to Negro Americans and to the country at large, in substantially the form as given below.

It is unnecessary for us to give a lengthy statement of the reasons why it is imperative that more specific action should be taken to end the negation of democracy which is represented by lynching, disfranchisement, denial of economic and educational justice, and the ruthless overriding in many courts of law of the legal rights of Americans because they happen to be members of the Negro race.

Lynchings continue to disgrace America. There has been an alarming tendency during recent years towards increase of this loathsome practice. Lynchings have broken out in all sections of the country, and white Americans as well as Negro Americans have been numbered among the victims as is to be seen in the killings by the Black Legion in Michigan. Since 1882 there have been 5,099

recorded lynchings in the United States. During 1935 there were twenty-five known lynchings and one hundred and two additional instances of narrowly averted lynchings, which, in showing the presence of the mob spirit, are considered by students of the problem to be equally serious with consummated lynchings, since in most instances of averted lynchings fortuitous circumstances alone caused the threatened lynching to be unconsummated. From January 1 to May 18, 1936 there have been six lynchings - three within the six days of April 28 - May 3 - and fifteen narrowly averted ones.

The Senate filibuster of April-May, 1935, against the Costigan-Wagner federal anti-lynching bill has been a notorious example of how the lynching spirit has invaded the halls of Congress. The refusal by the filibusterers to permit a vote upon the motion to consider the bill has rightly been termed a lynching of the bill designed to stop mob murder.

Added to lynching, the most dramatic manifestation of race prejudice, has been discrimination in Federal and State work and other relief on the part of local administrators; discrimination by contractors, holding federal contracts, against qualified Negro workers; continuance of disfranchisement in certain southern states in utter disregard of the clear provisions of the federal constitution; misfeasance, if not malfeasance, in the expenditure of federal moneys for education; and other forms of discrimination based upon color.

The loyalty of the Negro to American institutions and to the American form of Government has rightly been praised upon numerous occasions. But continued discrimination and brutality directed against the Negro are creating justifiable resentment and

dissatisfaction with conditions as they are. There are swift, deep currents of unrest among Negro Americans which it would be well for political and other leaders of America to recognize.

We, therefore, urge vigorously the inclusion of the following planks in the party platforms:

I.

We unequivocally pledge ourselves to passage at the earliest time possible of federal legislation against lynching and enforcement of that legislation after it has been enacted into law.

II.

We pledge ourselves to the abolishment, wherever it may exist, of discrimination against the Negro in the apportionment of relief.

III.

We pledge ourselves against discrimination in employment on all projects financed, in whole or in part, by federal funds; and we further urge upon the Congress the passage of legislation, to which we pledge our support, specifically prohibiting, with appropriate penalties, discrimination in employment on such projects, based on race, creed or color.

IV.

We advocate that Congress enforce the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments and take whatever steps are necessary to end disfranchisement of Negro Americans even to the extent of reducing of representation in the Congress of those states which deny the ballot to Negro Americans because of their race.

V.

We urge the substitution immediately of fingerprints for photographs as a means of identification in the United States Civil Service, since photographs have been used by prejudiced individuals to deny to Negro Americans the rights to jobs for which they have qualified in competitive contests.

VI.

We deplore the present discrimination in the apportionment of federal funds for education and pledge ourselves to abolish all discrimination in this respect against Negro Americans.

VII.

We pledge ourselves to oppose vigorously any and all attempts to exclude Negro Americans from the benefits of social welfare legislation such as old age pensions, unemployment, social security, and other such legislation.

100
June 25, 1936

My dear Mr. White:

Mrs. Roosevelt asks me to tell you that she finds there is not a chance of the President's having time to see the picture, "Fury", at present. Mrs. Roosevelt herself will be in Washington only a few days before leaving for the summer. She is sorry, therefore, that the showing of the picture must be postponed.

Very sincerely yours,

Malvina T. Scheider
Secretary to
Mrs. Roosevelt

Mr. Walter White
69 Fifth Avenue
New York
N.Y.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 23, 1936.

MEMORANDUM FOR MRS. SCHEIDER

The President says there
is not a chance of his seeing this
film now.

G. G. T.

Dear Missy -

Mrs. R. doesn't want this
unless Pres. can see it.

Could he have it - in July
before the 7th when Mrs. R.
leaves? J. B. C. 111

Malvina

100

June 29, 1936

Mr. Walter White
Sharp Street M. E. Church
Dolphin and Etting Streets
Baltimore, Maryland

Regret so much cannot meet with you. Hope you will have a successful
Convention.

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT.

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**NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE
 ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE**

69 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

TELEPHONE: ALGONQUIN 4 3551

Official Organ: The Crisis



**June 26th
 1936**

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*My dear Mrs. Roosevelt -
 Request your help
 in this cause
 with your own
 influence
 E.P.*

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

The Twenty-seventh Annual Conference of the Association opens in Baltimore on Monday, June 29th. We are sorry that you were unable to come and speak to us there but I hope we may have the pleasure of receiving a message of greeting to be read to the delegates. You can send it to me at the Sharp Street M. E. Church, Dolphin and Etting Streets, Baltimore, Maryland.

Ever sincerely,

Walter White

Secretary.

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
 The White House
 Washington, D. C.

nn:CTF

27th ANNUAL CONFERENCE, BALTIMORE, MD., JUNE 29th - JULY 5th, 1936
 ENDORSED BY THE NATIONAL INFORMATION BUREAU, 215 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

How do your Senators and Congressmen stand on the Costigan-Wagner Anti-Lynching Bill?

July 15, 1936

100

My dear Mr. White:

If I possibly can I shall be glad to speak at your conference in Detroit on June 29. However, it is too far ahead to be positive about it and I would suggest that you write me again nearer the time.

Very sincerely yours,



Mr. Walter White
69 Fifth Ave, N.Y.C.

DD

J

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**July 7th
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Washington	Sterling A. Brown Charles Edward Russell

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

We had a great conference at Baltimore, though we missed you. Mr. Ickes and Senator Wagner made magnificent addresses at the opening and closing sessions. Thank you very much for the part you played in helping us to secure Mr. Ickes.

We meet in 1937 in Detroit, opening on Tuesday, June 29th, and going through Sunday, July 4th. It is a long time ahead but knowing how far in advance your engagements are made I am writing now to extend a most cordial invitation to you to be the principal speaker at either the opening session on Tuesday evening, June 29th, or, at the closing mass meeting on Sunday afternoon, July 4th. Is it too far ahead to make this request? Your replying favorably would give us a head start and insure us an even finer meeting for next year.

Ever sincerely,

Walter White
 Secretary.

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Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
 The White House
 Washington, D. C.

*Yes you are the
 friend is well
 for away to the West.*

Ww:CTF

27th ANNUAL CONFERENCE. BALTIMORE, MD., JUNE 29th - JULY 5th, 1936
 ENDORSED BY THE NATIONAL INFORMATION BUREAU, 215 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK
 How do your Senators and Congressmen stand on the Costigan-Wagner Anti-Lynching Bill?

July 15, 1936

100

My dear Mr. White:

Mrs. Roosevelt asked me to send you this letter which came to her through her son, Mr. James Roosevelt. Will you be good enough to see the man and advise Mrs. Roosevelt what should be done? He probably could get on the W.P.A.

Very sincerely yours,

Malvina T. Scheider
Secretary to
Mrs. Roosevelt

0

Mr. Walter White
69 Fifth Avenue
New York
N.Y.

✓ Harvey Henderson
332 E. 23d St, NYC June 17

Veteran - colored - music student -
now a pauper - wants to be salvaged.

From the Desk of—
JAMES ROOSEVELT

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Mr. Roosevelt asked me to send the enclosed along to you in case something could be done for the man.

Would you either write to him or send me a report on it, as I have told Mr. Henderson that Mr. Roosevelt has written to you?

Very sincerely,

Barbara
Lud walks with, ask him
to see what he can do
I let the doc. Prob. could get
in on it.

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July 17, 1936

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My dear Miss Scheider:

Your letter of July 15 comes just as I am leaving the city. In order to avoid delay, I am asking a friend of mine in the W. P. A. to see this man and do what he can for him.

Ever sincerely,

Walter White
 Secretary

Miss Malvina I. Scheider
 Secretary to Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
 The White House
 Washington, D. C.

WW/RR

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27th ANNUAL CONFERENCE, BALTIMORE, MD., JUNE 29th - JULY 5th, 1936

ENDORSED BY THE NATIONAL INFORMATION BUREAU, 215 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK
 How do your Senators and Congressmen stand on the Costigan-Wagner Anti-Lynching Bill?

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July 21, 1936

100

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Waco, Texas	R. D. Evans
Washington	Sterling A. Brown Charles Edward Russell

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

We are delighted that you feel you will be able to speak at our Detroit Conference next June. We will surely remind you again around February 1st.

Ever sincerely

Walter White
 Secretary

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
 The White House
 New York City

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27th ANNUAL CONFERENCE, BALTIMORE, MD., JUNE 29th - JULY 5th, 1936

ENDORSED BY THE NATIONAL INFORMATION BUREAU, 215 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

How do your Sec

! Congressmen stand on the Costigan-Wagner Anti-Lynching Bill?

July 31, 1936

100

My dear Mr. White:

Mrs. Roosevelt and her secretary are away, and in their absence I have been asked to acknowledge their mail.

Your letter of July 25 and the enclosure which accompanied it will be given to Mrs. Roosevelt at the first opportunity.

Very sincerely yours,

Mr. Walter White, Secretary
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
69 Fifth Avenue
New York City

d.

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July 25th
1936

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My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I am taking the liberty of sending you herewith marked copy of the Crisis containing the full text of the resolutions passed at the recent 27th Annual Conference of the N.A.A.C.P., at Baltimore, which I hope you will find time to read.

Ever sincerely,

Walter White
Secretary.

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
The White House
Washington, D. C.

WW:CTF

27th ANNUAL CONFERENCE, BALTIMORE, MD., JUNE 29th - JULY 5th, 1936
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August 5th
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My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Here is self-explanatory copy of letter I have received from Mr. Lemuel L. Foster with regard to the case of ~~Harvey Henderson~~ about whom Miss Schei~~der~~ wrote me on July 15th. I shall be glad to pass on to you any further information I receive from Mr. Foster.

Ever sincerely,

Walter White

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
 Hyde Park,
 New York.

..ww:CTF

27th ANNUAL CONFERENCE, BALTIMORE, MD., JUNE 29th - JULY 5th, 1936
 ENDORSED BY THE NATIONAL INFORMATION BUREAU, 215 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK
 How do your Senators and Congressmen stand on the Costigan-Wagner Anti-Lynching Bill?

U. S. WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRATION
FOR THE CITY OF NEW YORK

111 Eighth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

July 24, 1936

VICTOR F. RIDDER
Administrator

Mr. Walter white
Executive Sec'y., N.A.A.C.P.
69 Fifth Avenue
New York City

Dear Walter:

Thanks for forwarding the case sent you by Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt to this office. Of course, we shall be glad to help this young man if it is at all possible. We are asking him to come down to the office and will be glad to let you know the outcome of our conference with him.

Sincerely,

(Signed) Lem

Lemuel L. Foster
Executive Officer
Race Relations Bureau

LF:1

September 28, 1936.

100

My dear Mr. White:

I am sorry to hear about your
sister and hope she will soon be entirely
well. I am very much afraid that I will
not be in Oneonta, but if I am I will
surely ask for her.

Very sincerely yours,

Mr. Walter White
National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People
69 5th Ave.
New York, N. Y.

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69 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

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Official Organ: *The Crisis*



September 23, 1936

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My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I am delighted to know you are recovering from your attack of influenza. Somehow, it just seems incredible that one like yourself could ever be ill.

When I next see you I want to tell you about my sister who is Secretary of the Atlanta School of Social Work and who, you will perhaps remember, met you when you and the President were at Warwick two years ago. Her health has broken under the strain of her work and other burdens. I went through the most unhappy experience of finding that she nor any other colored person could secure admission to any private sanitarium in the State of New York. Due to the marvelous cooperation, however, of our mutual friend, Governor Lehman, she has been admitted to the Homer Folks Hospital at Oneonta. It is a magnificent place. Should you at any time visit the hospital I would very much appreciate it if you would stop in to speak to Madeline.

Here is copy of letter I have just received from the sister of A. L. McCamy who was lynched at Dalton, Georgia, charged with "criminal attack".

Ever sincerely,

Walter White
Secretary

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
The White House
Washington, D. C.

WW/RR

*I had been in Kansas
but if I can with I can
ask for her name today
a very sad letter -*

(Received at N.A.A.C.P. Office September 22, 1936)

845 E. Union Street
Jacksonville, Fla.

Dear Mr. White;

I thank you very much for what you wrote in the Pittsburgh Courier. They did not give my brother a chance. They only had him on suspicions. He was in the bed asleep. He closed his stand in the north end of Dalton before 10 o'clock and he and my husband came to my cafe in south Dalton in a taxi. A. L. walk from there home. He was home in the bed asleep 10:30 o'clock. While we know so exact my sister in law was taking medicine. She was up at that time to take her medicine and passed through his room. A. L. walked home down the street behind one of the neighbor's daughter almost to his home. The white lady said it happened between 11 o'clock and 12 o'clock.

My sister went to the house and talked with the white lady and she said she did not know who it was but whoever it was did not touch her she was only standing at the foot of her bed and they ran. The police came down there to the house and arrested him about 2 o'clock Friday A.M.

We tried to get a hearing for him Friday. They put it off until Saturday. Saturday they put it off until Monday. They went to the jail Sunday A.M. about 1:15 o'clock and got him. That night one of the deputy sherrif told us that the same would happen to us if we did not get off the street so we drove to Chatt. & called the jailhouse and the sherrif told us where the body was. He made a statement in one of the papers he did not know where the body was until four hours afterward. That was a lie. We drove to Chatt. in a 1936 V8. It did not take us long.

Mother and the rest of the family have been talking to Mr. A. T. Atwater of Rome. They said you had written for information. If you want to write me - Geneva McCamy Cade- #113 Mary Street, Rome, Ga.

I am leaving Jan. Sun. night.

We would like to have some information from you what to do.

November 6, 1936

100

Dear Mr. White:

Thank you very much for your congratulations and your good wishes. Both the President and I appreciate them more than I can say.

I think Miss Gellhorn's article is fine, and I do hope that something can be done this year which will be helpful to your cause.

Very cordially yours,

0

Mr. Walter White
69 Fifth Ave.
NYC

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November 4, 1936

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Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Isn't it perfectly amazing how overwhelming the President's triumph has been?

Having noted in your column on Monday that Miss Martha Gellhorn had lunched with you, it occurs to me that you might be interested in the enclosed article by her from the London Spectator, which is so magnificent a one that we have reprinted it. Should you want additional copies I will be glad to send them to you.

With cordial personal greetings and congratulations to you and the President,

Ever sincerely,

Walter White
 Secretary

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
 The White House
 Washington, D. C.

WW/RR

Walter White
 Secretary
 Attached find 5 copies
 something you can do
 I trust you'll

ENDORSED BY THE NATIONAL INFORMATION BUREAU, 215 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

How do your Candidates for the Senate and House of Representatives stand on Federal Anti-Lynching Legislation?

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
69 Fifth Avenue - New York

October 3, 1936

My dear Mayor La Guardia

I wish to place before you for your consideration certain facts relative to the problem of institutional or other care for Protestant delinquents, particularly Negro children. I do this not so much in my capacity as Secretary of the N.A.A.C.P., though it is partly from that point of view that I write, but also as one who has served for some three and a half years on the Board of the New York State Training School for Boys at Warwick, where I have had opportunity to study this situation at firsthand, in cooperation with persons far more expert than I such as Dr. Frederick F. Tilney of the Neurological Institute, Mr. Douglas Falconer of the Brooklyn Bureau of Charities, Mr. James Marshall, Mr. Walter Mendelsohn, Mr. David T. Leahy, Mr. David C. Adie, Commissioner of Social Welfare of the State of New York, and others.

I have within the last few months seen another aspect of this problem through having been appointed by Governor Lehman to serve on the committee to inquire into the charges of discrimination at the New York State Training School for Girls at Hudson.

This letter to you is caused generally by the serious problem of delinquency and the haphazard way in which it has been handled in New York City over many years, but it is motivated specifically by a letter I have recently received from the Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies signed by Miss Louise S. Cutter, Executive Secretary. In this letter I am informed that early in July you asked the Protestant Federation, the Court and the Department of Public Welfare to confer with you in regard to the lack of facilities for the care of Protestant delinquent and pre-delinquent Negro children. Out of this conference has grown, as you know, the proposal to have a segregated institution for Negro delinquents. Miss Cutter informs me that Dr. Sunderland has suggested for possible consideration Wiltwyck, an institution belonging to the New York Protestant Episcopal City Mission Society.

As you also know, the Federation has employed Mr. Louis Evans of Chicago as consultant and he is to be here October 5-7 to discuss this situation.

I note that you have promised to be present at the dinner, which I shall attend, at the Gramercy Park Hotel on next Tuesday evening. I am, therefore, taking this means of laying before you for consideration the measured opinion of this Association which, I happen to know, is shared by others, both white and Negro.

I do not, of course, intend to say that the position we take is unanimously approved. Nor do I wish to question the sincerity of the motives of those who take what seems to us to be a short-sighted and harmful step in proposing the establishment of a segregated institution.

Permit me, as briefly as possible, to summarize the situation as it appears to us. There is no question, as we have learned at

Warwick, that the Negro aspect of the problem of delinquency is an exceedingly grave one. The percentage of Negro boys in the institution has risen steadily. But what are the reasons for that disproportionate rise? It is an inevitable development of the economic and other conditions in Harlem, though we have at Warwick boys from certain other areas such as the Red Hook section in Brooklyn, the lower East Side in Manhattan, and the foreign section centering on the east side of the late 90's and early 100's, in which the delinquency rate is high. I wish, however, to confine myself in this letter largely to the situation in Harlem. You know, of course, that the percentage of unemployment is very high today, some asserting that as high as 65% of the adult population is without employment. Such reemployment as has taken place in New York City follows the situation in other cities, namely, the re-employment rate for Negroes lags far behind that for whites. Where there is employment, the wages paid in private industry are usually so low as to necessitate both mother and father being away from home from early morning until late at night and thus unable to give proper home training and care to their children.

Parenthetically, permit me to express here once more my own personal appreciation for the manner in which your administration has increased park, swimming pool and playground facilities in Harlem, which inevitably will lower the delinquency rate through giving these youngsters an opportunity to play elsewhere than in the streets.

This lower economic status inevitably causes more Negro children to be brought into the Children's Court than otherwise would be the case. And here again do they suffer (and this is partly the fault of Harlem itself) from a lack of sympathetic and interested assistance, when brought into court. Contributory in large measure to this is the fact that the Protestant welfare agencies do not have the same attitude towards Negro children as toward white ones, such private institutions as Children's Village and Berkshire Farms drawing the color line and refusing to admit Negro children.

It has been my observation at Warwick and other places that many if not most of these children, both white and colored, are not really delinquent but are the victims of under privilege. But, as you know, neither New York State nor New York City provides for proper foster home placement or other ameliorative action. The inevitable result is the disproportionate percentage of Negroes at Warwick. This is accentuated by the fact that when these boys are ready to be released and should be returned to normal society instead of being institutionalized by too long residence in institutions, they are not able to find jobs as readily as white boys and girls. For example, at Warwick today we have between ninety and one hundred boys, most of them Negro boys who should have been returned long since to normal society but who cannot be returned because we cannot find jobs for them and their home environment has not improved sufficiently to justify their return there. This problem is also in a sense a somewhat temporary one in that the migration of Negroes to New York City from the South and the West Indies, from around 1916 through 1929, has added to the problem through the fact that many of these children and their parents come from the intolerable conditions of the South. I do not believe that this is going to be corrected overnight, but the stoppage of migration to New York City and the counter migration from New York will tend, I believe, to lessen this problem.

But I do not need to point out to you that this problem of the Negro child is only a segment of the larger problem of the treatment of delinquency in New York City. With the exception of the fact that Protestant welfare agencies do provide more institutional care and attention for the white delinquent than they do for the Negro one, the plight of the white delinquent

is but little better than that of the Negro one. Certainly, it is no secret to you that there is much to be desired in the work of such organizations as the Children's Aid Society and the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children. Nor is it any secret that in its handling of the problem of delinquency New York City is now and traditionally has been far behind many other cities in the United States. I not only believe that it would do but little good but that eventually it would do infinite harm to establish a Jim Crow institution. I, for one, would most vigorously oppose the establishment by the Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies or anyone else of such an institution. I would do so not as a matter of idle theory but because segregated institutions not only are less well kept up and financed but they broaden and deepen the chasm of misunderstanding between the races, fostering as they do fallacious notions of racial superiority and inferiority. I know that you agree that either we have got to learn how to live together with justice and amity in the United States or else we are going to have even greater disasters than in the past.

I take the liberty, therefore, of urging you to disassociate yourself from the proposal, however well intentioned, to establish this segregated institution. Such a proposal appears to me to be simply the following of the easiest course, namely, whenever a problem affecting a minority group arises to resort to the temporary expedient of setting off the group, particularly if it be a Negro one, into a separate place where consciences need not be disturbed by frequent contact with it. This is equivalent to the traditional using of vaseline to cure a cancer instead of getting at the fundamental cause of the disease.

To this end, therefore, may I suggest that you appoint a committee to study the whole question of delinquency and its treatment in New York City. I would like to suggest that not only should this committee make an impartial study of the children's courts and of the public institutions, but also of the private agencies, especially of the S.P.C.C., to which, if I am informed correctly, New York City contributes some \$400,000. a year. This committee should take the long range as well as the immediate view and seek to map out a program for the treatment and the correction of the causes of delinquency, both among Negroes and whites, which will correct the manifest and almost notorious shortcomings of the present treatment of delinquency in New York City. It is my firm conviction that such far-seeing action may conceivably go down in history as being an outstanding service rendered by you during your incumbency as Mayor.

If moneys spent for a new institution were invested instead in Harlem in day nurseries, playgrounds and other preventative work of this character, it would do far more good for the persons immediately involved, for the City and for society in general.

With cordial personal greetings, I am

Respectfully yours,

(Signed) Walter White
Secretary.

Hon. Fiorella H. La Guardia
City Hall
New York City

WW/RR

November 17, 1936.

100

My dear Mr. White:

Mrs. Roosevelt and her secretary are away, and in their absence I have been asked to acknowledge their mail.

The copy of "Studies in Sociology" has been received, and I will be very glad to bring it to Mrs. Roosevelt's attention at an early date.

Very sincerely yours,

n M s

Mr. Walter White
69 Fifth Avenue
New York
New York

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November 12, 1936

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Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I think you will be interested in and gratified by "A Texas Lynching" which I am sending you under separate cover.

I think we have made a real step forward towards interracial justice in America when an influential southern school like Southern Methodist University could make this courageous and objective study of a lynching.

Ever sincerely

Walter White
 Secretary

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Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt
 The White House
 Washington, D. C.

WW/GS

*Wanted a list
 H.P. Journal*

ENDORSED BY THE NATIONAL INFORMATION BUREAU, 215 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

How do your Candidates for the Senate and House of Representatives stand on Federal Anti-Lynching Legislation?

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**NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE
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69 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

TELEPHONE ALGONQUIN 4 3551

Official Organ: *The Crisis*



January
 5th
 1937

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Pittsburgh, Pa.	Homer B. Brown
Toledo, Ohio	James S. Heatly
Washington, D.C.	William H. Hastie
Wilmington, Del.	Louis L. Redding

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

You asked me to send you our analysis of the bill for federal aid to education which was introduced in the last session of Congress by Senator Harrison and Mr. Fletcher and which, we understand, will be reintroduced in the present session. Here is copy of a letter which we have written to the National Education Association in response to their requests to us that we join in endorsing the bill. I enclose also, as you requested, copy of the bill as it was introduced in the Seventy-fourth Congress.

Our letter to the N.E.A. sets forth in full our specific criticisms. I would like very much to have your reactions to them when you shall have had opportunity to read them.

I am to be in Washington to attend a meeting under the auspices of the National Youth Administration beginning tonight and extending through January 8th. I know how busy you are just now but if you have a few minutes to spare I would like to come in to talk with you. I can be reached at the Whitelaw Hotel, 13th and T Street, N. W.

Ever sincerely,

Walter White
 Secretary.

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
 The White House
 Washington, D. C.

Ww:CTF

December 31, 1936

Mrs. Agnes Samuelson, President
National Education Association,
1201 Sixteenth Street, Northwest,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mrs. Samuelson:

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has carefully considered the letter and data forwarded it September 23, 1936, by Mr. Sidney B. Hall, Chairman of the Legislative Commission of your Association, and the letter and data forwarded November 27, 1936 by Mr. Howard A. Dawson, your Director of Rural Service, asking us to support the "Harrison-Fletcher Bill" as it will be introduced in the 75th Congress, providing Federal aid to the states for public education. The delay in our reply has been due to the fact we desired to give the bill the considered judgment which the importance of the subject demanded.

The Association cannot endorse the bill in its present form because it contains no safeguards against racial discrimination. We favor the general principle of Federal aid for education in the states, and the autonomy of state control over public school system but the uniform accepted practice of Southern states diverting monies properly belonging to the education of Negroes to the education of whites compels us to insist on specific provisions in the bill itself against racial discrimination.

The "Harrison-Fletcher Bill" provides an initial grant of \$100,000,000 by the Federal Government to be apportioned among the several states and territories for the improvement of their public schools, in the proportion which the number of their inhabitants, aged five to twenty years, inclusive, bears to the total number of inhabitants, aged five to twenty years, inclusive, of all the states and territories. The appropriation is increased annually by \$50,000,000, until the maximum annual appropriation of \$300,000,000, is reached. The manner in which the monies appropriated and apportioned shall be expended is determined exclusively by the legislatures of the states and territories, free from Federal control, except for (1) an annual accounting by the State to the United States Commissioner of Education of the expenditures of the funds received; (2) an annual report to the United States Commissioner of Education showing the manner of disbursing the funds received and the work and improvements accomplished thereby; (3) an obligation to maintain a system of public schools available throughout the state or territory for not less than 180 days, closings due to epidemics, fires and acts of God excepted; and (4) a condition to the apportionment shall have expended from state or territorial or local revenues, a sum for each inhabitant aged five to

twenty years, inclusive, for public elementary and secondary schools, not less than the sum expended in that state or territory in the school year ending in 1934. It is interesting to note that as to (3) and (4) above no obligation is imposed on the states and territories to report the length of their respective school terms, or the expenditures of state or territorial or local revenues; and no authority is conferred on the United States Commissioner of Education or any other Federal officer to investigate these matters on his own initiative. The question suggests itself how they are to be enforced.

But our basic objection is that under the plenary power granted the state and territorial legislatures under the "Harrison-Fletcher Bill", there is nothing to prevent any state or territory from expending every cent of the monies appropriated and apportioned to it on the white schools and the white children, regardless of the needs of the Negro school population. This is no more theoretical objection, but an objection founded on the facts of present practices in the Southern states. Negro children are and will be counted when the state or county is trying to boost its population figures in order to obtain larger grants for education; but they are, and if past history is any indication will be, ignored and neglected when the counties and school districts expend the sums so boosted on the strength of the Negro population.

For example, in 1933-1934 Alabama spent on its public schools for all purposes \$18,672,027. Negroes constituted 32.7% of Alabama's school population. But the white schools received \$16,651,029 (89.2%) of the school appropriations, while the Negro schools received only \$2,020,398 (10.8%). Except for minor variations in percentages this unjust distribution of school funds is duplicated in every Southern state. Instead of the South making progress toward equalizing educational opportunity as between its white and Negro children, the differentials against Negroes are steadily increasing. Per pupil enrolled the disparity between Negro and white school expenditures in twelve Southern states in 1900 was 48%; the disparity in 1930, 25%. The statistics on education in the South reveal that left to their own devices the more money the Southern states have to spend for public schools, the less proportionately they spend on Negro schools.

What would happen under the "Harrison-Fletcher Bill" if passed in its present form without any safeguards against discrimination may be inferred from the manner in which the Southern states have administered Federal funds heretofore allocated to them in aid of education. Writing of Georgia, where Negroes constitute 36.8% of the total population, Dr. Arthur Haper in his "Preface to Peasantry" (1936) states:

"The total Federal expenditure for educational purposes in Georgia through the summer of 1934 was nearly five million dollars; of this the Negro received \$643,733.34, one eighth (12.5%) of the total... Between September 1934 and April 1935, the FERA spent \$634,967.83 in Georgia for the improvement of school property; \$614,696.67 or 96.8 per cent for white; \$20,261.16 or 3.2 per cent for Negro." (310-311)

To return to Alabama, in 1933-1934 Alabama received \$3,901,938 from the Federal emergency funds for public schools. It expended \$3,488,155 (89%) on white schools, and \$415,783 (11%) on Negro schools. The only Federal funds in aid of education, out of which Negroes receive anything like their proportionate share, are the appropriations under the Morrill land grant college acts, where the amendment of 1890 expressly provides for "a just and equitable division" between white and Negro colleges, where separate colleges are maintained by the state; and the funds administered by the National Youth Administration and more recent Federal emergency grants where express regulations have been promulgated for division of monies between the races.

Item by item, the record of public education in the South shows wholesale discrimination against Negroes. To illustrate: in South Carolina Negroes constitute 49% of the school population; but in 1932-1933 South Carolina spent \$331,932 transporting 29,264 white children to elementary schools, and in the entire state only \$628 on the transportation of Negroes to elementary schools. It spent \$310,154 transporting 17,867 white children to high schools, and not one cent on the transportation of Negro children to high schools. In Maryland, a border state where conditions for Negroes are better than in the deep South, wage differentials are prescribed in the state code itself against Negro teachers (Article 77). In North Carolina, which is usually referred to as the most progressive state in the South, Dr. Hearse Mann Bond found that

"In 1929-1930, rural North Carolina spent \$2181,130 in transporting 172,286 white children to school, but almost two hundred thousand dollars less for the salaries of teachers for 190,817 Negro children enrolled in North Carolina rural schools in this year. Indeed, in 1929-1930, North Carolina spent more money for school trucks for white children -- \$352,390-- than it did for new schools for Negro children--\$209,911. On repairs to furniture, apparatus, equipment, heating, lighting, and plumbing, the white rural schools of North Carolina spent in 1929-1930 several thousand more dollars than was spent for all new buildings and sites for Negro children....The figures here cited simply show that new services mean that the Negro children will receive a continually smaller proportion of the public school funds until these new services have been distributed almost universally among the white schools." ("The Education of the Negro in the American Social Order"--1934--p.185)

In 1930 there were 230 counties having heavy Negro populations which had no high school facilities at all for Negroes, and 195 other counties had no four-year high schools. These examples of discrimination could be multiplied without end.

The argument has been made that the States themselves do not discriminate, that they apportion the monies to the counties and school districts on the basis of population, and that the discrimination against Negroes is effected by the local authorities in the counties and school districts. Limited to primary and secondary schools, this proposition may be accepted as generally true. A typical example of the way in which the local school authorities divert monies properly belonging to Negro schools may be taken from Dr. Rapex's book, "Preface to Peasantry", above mentioned;

"In 1938 the General Assembly of Georgia appropriated to the Greene County Board of Education \$11,874.63 for 1,998 white children of school age and \$15,549.45 for 2,618 Negro educables. The total public expenditure for Negro education in 1928 was \$8,131; the remainder \$7,418 was diverted by the County Board of Education to the funds used for white schools. This same year the General Assembly appropriated to the Macon County Board of Education \$7,627.55 for 1,557 white educables and \$17,882.65 for 3,651 Negro children of school age. Of the amount appropriated for Negro education, \$10,420 was spent for Negro schools and \$7,463 was diverted to white schools.

"In 1933, according to figures secured from the Georgia Department of Education, an even larger proportion of the state's allotments for Negro education was diverted to the whites. In Greene, Negro schools received \$5,001 of the \$21,235 appropriation; in Macon \$5,964 of the \$34,339 state allotment for Negro schools.

".....The total amount diverted from Negro to white schools throughout the state in 1933, according to figures from the Georgia Department of Education was more than \$1,150,000." (306-308)

The impossibility of Negro citizens and their friends bringing suit in each separate county and school district to obtain an equalized expenditure of the Federal funds which would be available under this "Harrison-Fletcher Bill" is apparent. The only effective safeguard is to write the provisions for distribution into the bill itself and support the same with sanctions.

When it comes to education on the college and university levels, the general administrations of the states themselves directly discriminate against Negroes. There is not a single state university in the Southern or border states, except Maryland, which admits Negro students to any of its departments. Obedient to a mandamus decree, the University of Maryland has been admitting Negroes to its school of Law since 1935. Yet Negroes help to maintain these state universities through their taxes.

Most of the Southern and border states have separate undergraduate state colleges for Negroes; but without exception these Negro undergraduate state colleges are inferior, item for item, to the state universities which are reserved exclusively for whites. Except for the instance of the University of Maryland just cited, not a single Southern state provides for the professional education of Negroes at public expense; and only one state, Virginia, has made a feeble beginning at graduate work in arts and sciences for Negroes by tacking on a so-called (substandard) graduate department to its separate undergraduate Negro college.

If a Negro student wishes the same graduate or professional training offered to white students in the state university, he must leave the state and travel hundreds of miles as an exile to some outside university. Only six of the 19 states where separate schools are mandatory by law make any pretense of aiding their Negro citizens to obtain professional or graduate training. These six states -- West Virginia, Missouri, Maryland, Oklahoma, Virginia and Kentucky--make a gesture of aiding such exiled Negro students by granting a limited number of them out-of-state scholarships. These scholarships, however,

are mere pittance and no substitute on any conceivable basis for their exclusion from the state universities. Yet under the elastic provisions of the "Harrison-Fletcher Bill" the states in their discretion could expend every cent of the Federal monies appropriated for maintenance and expansion of their state universities, to the complete exclusion of Negroes from any benefits therefrom.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in its desire to see the legitimate interests of Negro school children in the Southern and border states protected, advocates the following amendments to the "Harrison-Fletcher Bill";

1. that wherever separate schools are maintained in a state or territory under authority of law, the monies apportioned to the state or territory under the bill shall be divided and expended for white and Negro schools respectively in the proportions that the white and Negro children, aged five to twenty years, inclusive, bear to the total population of the state or territory, aged five to twenty years, inclusive;

(2) that no public school in the state or territory shall be maintained for less than one hundred and sixty days, closings due to epidemics, fires, and acts of God excepted;

(3) that wherever separate schools are maintained in a state or territory under authority of law, no state or territory shall receive any part of the apportionment under the bill for any year unless during the school year next preceding the year for which such apportionment is made it has expended from state or territorial or local revenues, through state or territorial and local units combined, a sum of money for the white and Negro schools respectively not less than the amount spent on them as separate educational divisions in the school year ending in 1934;

(4) that the chief educational authority designated to represent the state or territory shall annually, within six months after the close of the fiscal year in such state or territory, prepare, and within thirty days thereafter shall file, with the United States Commissioner of Education a report which shall include; (a) an audit of the funds apportioned to the state or territory, showing the manner of distributing the same, and the work and improvements accomplished thereby; (b) a report showing the number of days in which each public elementary and high school was open during the school year next preceding the date of the report; (c) an audit of the state or territorial or local revenues expended through state or territorial and local units combined, during the school year next preceding the date of the report, showing the distribution between white and Negro schools, where separate schools are maintained under authority of law;

(5) that if the United States Commissioner of Education finds that the apportionment made to a state or territory for the current fiscal year is not being expended for educational purposes or that the state or territory has violated the provisions of the bill as regards the length of school term or the distribution of school funds, he shall give notice of these facts to the chief educational authority and to the governor of such state or territory. If, after being so notified, a state or territory continues in such failure or violation, the United States Commissioner of Education shall report thereon at once to the Secretary of the Interior, who shall be authorized and directed to withhold all payments to the state or territory until the terms and conditions of the bill have been complied with.

Fundamentally, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People opposes segregated schools because no segregated school system operates to give Negroes the equal protection and benefit of the law. It does not generally advocate a division of public monies between the races on the basis of population ratio. On principle, public money is not earmarked according to the race of the taxpayer or the race of the beneficiary, but should be dispensed according to public need. If so dispensed, Negroes would receive much more than their population ratio because suppression and discrimination have made the educational needs of Negroes many times those of the white population. For instance, the 1934 National Conference on Fundamental Problems in the Education of Negroes, held under the auspices of the Secretary of the Interior, found that if educational opportunities for Negroes were actually equalized with those of the whites 50,000 additional Negro public school teachers would be needed at once.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People regards a division of the monies which would be apportioned under the "Harrison-Fletcher Bill" by racial population ratio in states where separate schools exist, as just one step forward. Such a division is here proposed primarily in the interest of a definitely measurable, easily administered and certain program.

In the same way, the provision that the states must spend on the education of each race not less than the amounts spent from state and local funds for the school year ending in 1934 does not promote justice and equality, but merely stops the increase of discrimination. Negroes will still be short of a fair proportion of school monies. In 1930 in eleven Southern states the average educational expenditure was \$44.31 for each white pupil enrolled and \$13.57 for each Negro pupil enrolled. The proportion had not improved by 1934; all indications are that it had become worse. The fight to equalize educational opportunities in the states must be intensified; otherwise the proposed Federal subsidy to the states will merely aggravate and perpetuate present injustices.

The amendments to the "Harrison-Fletcher Bill" which we advocate do not impose on the states and territories any Federal control. All they do is to establish standards of measurements and provide sanctions to guarantee that the standards are enforced. The states and territories can still determine and execute their educational policies free of Federal control.

At your Portland Convention your Association adopted a plank in its platform providing

"Teachers should not be discriminated against because of race, color, belief, residence or economic or marital status."

We trust that the same spirit of fairness which led to the adoption of this resolution will convince you of the necessity and justice of our proposed amendments, and that you will modify your endorsement of the "Harrison-Fletcher Bill" accordingly.

Yours very truly,

(Signed) WALTER WHITE
Secretary

74TH CONGRESS
2D SESSION

S. 4793

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

JUNE 15 (calendar day, JUNE 20), 1936

Mr. HARRISON introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Education and Labor

A BILL

To promote the general welfare through the appropriation of funds to assist the States and Territories in providing more effective programs of public education.

1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*
2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*
3 That the sum of \$100,000,000, or so much thereof as may
4 be necessary, is authorized to be appropriated and appor-
5 tioned annually to the several States and Territories to be
6 used by them for improvement of their public schools in
7 the manner prescribed by their respective legislatures, and
8 the sum authorized to be appropriated and apportioned
9 annually for such purposes is hereby increased by
10 \$50,000,000 for each fiscal year: *Provided,* That the total

1 sum appropriated for any fiscal year for such purposes shall
2 not exceed \$300,000,000.

3 SEC. 2. The amounts appropriated under authority of
4 this Act (less amounts set aside for administrative purposes
5 under section 9) shall be apportioned among the States and
6 Territories in the proportion which the number of their
7 inhabitants aged five to twenty years, inclusive, bears to the
8 total number of inhabitants aged five to twenty years, inclu-
9 sive, of all the States and Territories. In the computation
10 of all sums apportioned under this Act to the States and Ter-
11 ritories for the fiscal years ending June 30, 1936, 1937,
12 1938, 1939, 1940, 1941, 1942, 1943, the population fig-
13 ures shall be taken from the fifteenth decennial census of the
14 United States. In computations for the fiscal years ending
15 June 30, 1944 to 1953, and for each successive ten-year
16 period hereafter, population figures shall be taken from the
17 decennial census of the United States next preceding the
18 beginning of each period.

19 SEC. 3. The manner in which the funds apportioned
20 to each State and Territory shall be used for the maintenance
21 of the program of public education shall be determined by
22 the legislature thereof, and no provision of this Act shall be
23 construed to prevent the use of such funds to provide a pro-
24 gram of public education for persons under five or over
25 twenty years of age, nor to delimit the States and Terri-

1 ories in their definition of a program of public education.
2 The legislative enactments shall provide for the distribu-
3 tion and administration of such funds as shall be apportioned
4 to said States and Territories and shall designate the chief
5 State or Territorial school authority, whether the State
6 or Territorial superintendent of public instruction or other
7 legally constituted chief educational authority, to represent
8 said State or Territory in the administration of this Act, and
9 for the purposes of this Act such authority so designated
10 shall be recognized by the United States: *Provided*, That
11 in any State or Territory in which the legislature has not
12 taken action as herein required, the governor of said State
13 or Territory, insofar as he may have authority to do so under
14 the law of such State or Territory, may, until six months
15 after the adjournment of the first regular session of the
16 legislature in such State or Territory following the date of
17 enactment of this Act, take such action as is herein required
18 to be taken by legislative enactment, and such action by
19 the Governor shall be recognized by the United States for
20 the purposes of this Act. The State or Territorial treas-
21 urer shall be designated and appointed as custodian of all
22 funds received by said State or Territory as apportionments
23 under the provisions of this Act to receive and provide for
24 the proper custody and disbursement of the same, such dis-

1 bursement to be made in accordance with the laws of said
2 State or Territory.

3 SEC. 4. When a State or Territory shall have pro-
4 vided for the distribution and administration of such funds
5 as shall be apportioned to said State or Territory, and when
6 the chief educational authority designated to represent said
7 State or Territory shall make a report in writing to that
8 effect, approved by the governor, to the United States
9 Commissioner of Education, the United States Commis-
10 sioner of Education shall compute the amount due each
11 State and Territory and shall apportion for the ensuing
12 fiscal years such funds as said State or Territory may be
13 entitled to receive under the provisions of this Act, and
14 shall certify such apportionment or apportionments to the
15 Secretary of the Treasury. The Secretary of the Treasury
16 shall thereupon, through the Division of Disbursement of
17 the Treasury Department and prior to audit or settlement
18 by the General Accounting Office, pay quarterly to the
19 treasurer of each State or Territory the apportionment or
20 apportionments so certified.

21 SEC. 5. The United States Commissioner of Educa-
22 tion is authorized to prescribe plans for keeping accounts
23 of the expenditures of such funds as may be apportioned
24 to the States and Territories under the provisions of this
25 Act. The chief educational authority designated to repre-

1 sent a State or Territory receiving any of the apportion-
 2 ments made under the provisions of this Act shall cause
 3 to be made annually, within six months after the close of
 4 the fiscal year in such State or Territory, an audit of such
 5 accounts by a certified public accountant: *Provided*, That
 6 no two consecutive annual audits of such accounts shall be
 7 made by the same certified public accountant. Such chief
 8 educational authority shall submit to the United States Com-
 9 missioner of Education a copy of each annual audit of such
 10 accounts within thirty days after the completion of the
 11 audit. If the United States Commissioner of Education
 12 shall determine that the apportionment made to a State or
 13 Territory for the current fiscal year is not being expended
 14 for educational purposes and that a State or Territory has
 15 not substantially complied with sections 7 and 8 of this
 16 Act, he shall give notice of these facts to the chief educa-
 17 tional authority and to the governor of such State or
 18 Territory. If, after being so notified, a State or Territory
 19 continues in such failure so to expend its apportionment,
 20 the United States Commissioner of Education shall report
 21 thereon at once to the Secretary of the Interior, who shall
 22 transmit said report to the Congress. If any portion of
 23 the money received by a State or Territory under the
 24 provisions of this Act be diminished or lost an amount equal

who has
 the authority
 to determine
 this

1 to the amount so diminished or lost shall be withheld from
2 the next ensuing apportionments until replaced.

3 SEC. 6. The chief educational authority designated
4 to represent a State or Territory receiving any of the ap-
5 portionments made under the provisions of this Act shall
6 annually submit to the United States Commissioner of
7 Education a report showing the manner of distributing
8 within the State or Territory the funds apportioned under
9 this Act and the work and improvements accomplished
10 thereby.

11 SEC. 7. After the first apportionment is made to any
12 State or Territory under this Act, such State or Territory
13 shall not receive any part of any subsequent apportionment
14 unless there has been maintained, during the school year
15 next preceding the year for which such apportionment is
16 made, a system of public schools available throughout
17 such State or Territory for not less than one hundred and
18 sixty days, the closing of school due to epidemics, fires, and
19 acts of God being excepted. ⁵

20 SEC. 8. No State or Territory shall receive any part
21 of the apportionment under this Act for any year unless
22 during the school year next preceding the year for
23 which such apportionment is made it has expended from
24 State or Territorial or local revenues, through State or
25 Territorial and local units combined, a sum of money for

1 each inhabitant aged five to twenty years, inclusive, for
2 public elementary and secondary schools, not less than
3 the sum expended in that State or Territory in the school
4 year ending in 1934.

5 SEC. 9. From the funds appropriated to carry out this
6 Act an amount not to exceed \$25,000 annually is hereby
7 made available to the United States Office of Education for
8 the administration of this Act.

9 SEC. 10. As used in this Act—

10 (1) The term "State" means the several States and
11 the District of Columbia.

12 (2) The term "Territory" means Alaska, Hawaii,
13 Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, the Canal Zone, American
14 Samoa, and Guam.

15 (3) The term "legislature" means the State or Terri-
16 torial legislature or other comparable body.

17 SEC. 11. This Act shall be construed as intending to
18 secure to the several States and Territories control of the
19 administration of this Act within their respective jurisdic-
20 tions and to preserve State and local initiative in the opera-
21 tion of schools. No provision of this Act shall be con-
22 strued to delimit the States and Territories in the appropria-
23 tion of funds for the support of schools received through the
24 benefits of this Act; nor to restrict or define the kind of
25 schools or the character of the educational programs to be

1 supported by the respective States and Territories; nor to
2 grant to any officer of the United States, or to any of its
3 agencies, departments, or offices, any power or authority to
4 approve or reject the educational programs in the States and
5 Territories; nor to confer upon any officer of the United
6 States, or of any of its agencies, departments, or offices, any
7 power or authority to supervise or in any way exercise man-
8 agement and control of the educational programs of the
9 States and Territories, it being the purpose of this Act to
10 leave all supervision, management, control, and choice of
11 educational means, processes, and programs to State, Terri-
12 torial, and local governments.

○

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NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

69 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

TELEPHONE ALGONQUIN 4 3551

Official Organ: *The Crisis*



January
13th
1937

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My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Apropos of the letter I sent you a few days ago to the National Education Association about the Harrison-Fletcher Bill, you will be interested in Arthur Raper's brilliant PREFACE TO PEASANTRY and especially Chapter XVI on "White and Negro Schools" in which this distinguished young southerner points out the gross inequalities in the expenditure by certain southern states not only of their own moneys for education but of federal funds as well.

I hope also the President will have opportunity to read this.

Ever sincerely,

Walter White
Secretary.

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
The White House
Washington, D. C.

WN:CTF

ENDORSED BY THE NATIONAL INFORMATION BUREAU, 215 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK
Have You Written Your Senators and Congressmen Urging Support of the Federal Anti-Lynching Bill?

January 14, 1937

Dear Mr. White:

Mrs. Roosevelt asks me to thank you for sending her George Milburn's Catalogue. She is, of course, very much interested to see it.

Very sincerely yours,

Malvina T. Scheider
Secretary to
Mrs. Roosevelt

0

Mr. Walter White
69 Fifth Avenue
New York
N.Y.

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Wilmington, Del.	Louis L. Redding

December
28th
1936

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt
1-13
Under separate cover
of your records
has been sent

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Under separate cover I am sending you a copy of George Milburn's CATALOGUE which is an extraordinarily interesting picture of the cultural background of lynching. Perhaps it would be more accurate to call it the un-cultural. In any event it will be an interesting and perhaps a valuable picture, especially in view of the fact that Mr. Milburn himself is a southerner.

Should he find time to read it, I think the President will be very much interested also.

Ever sincerely,

Walter White

Secretary.

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
The White House
Washington, D. C.

W:CTF

ENDORSED BY THE NATIONAL INFORMATION BUREAU, 215 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

How do your Candidates for the Senate and House of Representatives stand on Federal Anti-Lynching Legislation?

January 25, 1937

Dear Mr. White:

Thank you very much for sending me the copy of Mr. Dabney's letter. I do hope the bill goes through.

Very sincerely yours,

NATIONAL OFFICERS

PRESIDENT
J. E. SPINGARN

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**NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE
 ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE**

69 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

TELEPHONE: ALGONQUIN 4 3551

Official Organ: The Crisis



January
 19th
 1937

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Handwritten notes:
 1/25/37
 J.W.H.
 100

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I want to share with you a letter I have just received from Mr. Virginius Dabney, the distinguished southern editor, in which you will note he passes on the good news that a Southern Senator opposed to the anti-lynching bill predicts its certain passage.

I would be grateful if you would, after reading this, bring it to the President's attention as it will perhaps be heartening to him also.

With cordial personal greetings, I am

Ever sincerely,

Walter White

Secretary.

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
 The White House
 Washington, D. C.

Handwritten signatures and notes:
 J.W.H.
 1/25/37

nn:CTF

ENDORSED BY THE NATIONAL INFORMATION BUREAU, 215 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

Have You Written Your Senators and Congressmen Urging Support of the Federal Anti-Lynching Bill?

RICHMOND TIMES-DISPATCH
Richmond, Virginia

January 17, 1937

Dear Mr. White:

Sorry to be so postiferous with regard to this syndicate article I wrote you about, but the syndicate manager has asked me to see if you can help me.

As you know, syndicates have to have their material in hand a week or two before publication. The syndicate in question wishes to have my article on the anti-lynching bill sponsored by the NAACP ready to shoot out as soon as your bill is introduced.

I can't complete the article until I know the terms of the bill you are to sponsor. It may be that you don't know what they will be yet, but it also is possible that the general outlines of the measure have been determined, and that nothing but details as to exact language remain.

If the latter is the case, can you advise me whether the bill will differ in any material respect from that of two years ago? It would be very helpful to me if you could advise me as to this, in case the matter has been decided upon. All I need to know is whether the general outlines of the measure are the same as in 1935. Needless to say, I can wait, if the thing is still hanging fire. When do you expect the bill to be introduced?

Presumably the number of commitments in the House and Senate are the same as you sent me some weeks ago, i.e., 251 in the former and 62 in the latter. You will be interested to know that a Southern Senator who is, I believe, strongly opposed to your bill, told a friend of mine the other day that he thought it would certainly pass this time.

Two years ago, of course, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation and the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching were against the bill. Have you any reason to think that they will be with you this time.

With apologies for troubling you, and thanking you for your kind cooperation, I am

Sincerely yours,

Walter White, Esq.,
N.A.A.C.P.,
New York City

(Signed) Virginius Tabney.

A TRIAL BY A COURT, NOT BY A MOB

LYNCHING

"An army travels on its stomach," is a true saying, but it is just as true that an army cannot fight without ammunition.

There is an army of people in America which has been fighting against lynching, but it has been held up because it lacks funds. Campaigns cost money.

Lynching can be SMASHED if the people who hate it will each give a little money toward the fight.

For 27 years the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has been leading the fight against lynching. It has done its work on a "shoe string." Many fights were started with no funds in the treasury—because they had to be started. Money has been taken from current running expenses to finance investigations of lynchings—because the facts had to be gathered.

We know now that a body blow can be dealt lynching if we can get the money.

LEGAL DEFENSE

Coupled with its anti-lynching work, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has defended hundreds of

cases in the courts—cases where colored people were not given their constitutional rights.

Anti-lynching work and legal defense go hand in hand. People must be saved from mobs, but they must also have a fair trial.

Dimes make dollars! This nation-wide campaign to sell anti-lynching buttons at ten cents each is for the purpose of allowing a great number of people to give their mites to make up a fund to fight for a lynchless nation.

Do your share in this great crusade. This campaign is not sectional or racial. No matter where you live or what color you are, if you love justice, hate bestiality and savagery; if you would have your country honored instead of shamed before the world; if you want your children to grow up in a lynchless America, then—

BUY A BUTTON

Show Your colors — Contribute your bit.

For full information write:
The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 69 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

FACTS ABOUT LYNCHING

There have been 5,105 lynchings in the United States since 1882.

Ninety-nine women have been lynched.

From 1919 to 1936 inclusive, 25 persons were roasted alive and 20 more bodies were burned after the victims were lynched.

Since 1889, 749 white people and 3,020 Negroes have been lynched.

Only one-sixth of the victims have even been accused of any sort of sex crime.

Approximately 200 victims have been proved to be innocent after they were lynched.

In only eight-tenths of one per cent of the cases has prosecution resulted in conviction of the lynchers.

America is the only nation in the world where lynching is tolerated.

The fight to eradicate lynching, which was started in 1909 by a small group of colored and white people in the North, has spread until today it is being carried on by southern as well as northern groups, both white and colored, with a membership totaling 40 million persons, including several influential white women's church groups in the southern states.

Help the N.A.A.C.P.

STOP LYNCHING

Buy this



and

Wipe out this



Do Your Bit

If every person, man, woman and child who hates lynching would give a little bit toward the fight, mobs could be struck a death blow.

Now is your chance to help. Buy and wear a STOP LYNCHING button during February, 1937. Price 10 cents each—or whatever larger amount you wish to give. Tell your friends, your club, your school, your lodge, your church about this campaign.

Show your colors—**CONTRIBUTE YOUR BIT**—Fight the horror of lynching.



WALTER WHITE

100

February 1, 1937

Dear Sirs:

Mrs. Roosevelt has asked me to thank you for the copy of "Preface to Peasantry" by Arthur F. Raper which you sent her. She is looking forward to reading the book at an early opportunity.

Very sincerely yours,

ms

Malvina T. Scheider
Secretary to
Mrs. Roosevelt

National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
69 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

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Just
February 3, 1937
Walter White
February 3, 1937

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I know you and the President will be delighted to see the enclosed editorial from the influential Richmond Times-Dispatch, "For A Federal Anti-Lynching Bill". As you, of course, know, this paper and its distinguished editor, Mr. Virginius Dabney, are so widely and favorably known not only throughout the South but throughout the entire country that this editorial will have profound influence. When you shall have read it, I would be grateful if you would call it to the President's attention. Mr. Spingarn is sending him a copy also, I believe, but in the great mass of mail which comes into his office I fear that it might be overlooked.

I telephoned you on Monday but you were out. I talked with Mrs. Scheider and she did not know if you had seen the Institute of Public Opinion poll on a federal anti-lynching bill which shows seventy per cent of the country in favor of such a bill and, even more significant, that sixty-five per cent of the South favors the measure. I am enclosing a copy of the poll for your and the President's benefit.

With cordial personal greetings to you and the President,

Ever sincerely

Walter White
Secretary

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
The White House
New York City

WW/RR

ENDORSED BY THE NATIONAL INFORMATION BUREAU, 215 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

Have You Written Your Senators and Congressmen Urging Support of the Federal Anti-Lynching Bill?

Correspondence sent to President.

February 10, 1937

My dear Mr. White:

Thank you so much for your
letter and the enclosed editorial.
Both the President and I are very
pleased.

Very sincerely yours,

Mr. Walter White
NAACP
69 Fifth Ave., N.Y.C.

DD

February 24, 1937

My dear Mr. White:

Mrs. Roosevelt asks me to thank you for the pamphlets you sent to her. She is giving one to the President.

Very sincerely yours,

Malvina T. Scheider
Secretary to
Mrs. Roosevelt.

Mr. Walter White
69 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

DD

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February 15, 1937

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I am sure you will be interested in the enclosed pamphlet, "Can The States Stop Lynching?", which we have just published.

I send you an extra copy which I hope you will bring to the attention of the President.

Ever sincerely,

Secretary

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Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
 The White House
 Washington, D. C.

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Have You Written Your Senators and Congressmen Urging Support of the Federal Anti-Lynching Bill?

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MISS LEHAND FOR THE PRESIDENT.

Return to

Mr. Roosevelt

The President's Law

Office

Richmond Times-Dispatch

Established 1860

Published Every Day in the year by THE TIMES-DISPATCH PUBLISHING COMPANY 127 South Seventh Street, Richmond, Virginia.

JOHN D. WISE, President and Publisher.
LEON S. DURE JR., Executive Editor.
VIROVICUS DABNEY, Editor.

Entered at the Post Office at Richmond, Virginia, as Second-Class Mail Matter.

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Daily and Sunday 15c a Week
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Sunday Only 10c a Week
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TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 2, 1937.

A Challenge to Boxing

GENERAL LEBJUN'S action in cancelling the boxing schedule at V. M. I. for the rest of the year, following the death of CASEY WILLIAM J. EASTHAM from a fracture of the neck received in a match on Saturday night, is quite understandable. Boxing could not be enjoyed as a sport at the day's title while under a cloud of tragedy.

Boxing fatally, however, will not be the end of boxing at V. M. I. unless laid down. GENERAL LEBJUN has his intention of leaving the next October, and the question of permanent rule will be up to his successor. Because THE TIMES-DISPATCH would like to see the whole question of the right of boxing to a place in intercollegiate sport given thorough examination, it hopes that GENERAL LEBJUN'S justifiable action at V. M. I. will not be followed by precipitate action on the part of the heads of other Virginia colleges.

If boxing should be abolished as a college sport, that would not be the way to do it. It has a large following, and in a short time its supporters would be saying that it had been unjustly condemned without trial because of a single tragic incident, and that the many who should be revived. It would be pointed out that football has had many fatalities—that there are deaths every year on the gridiron—but that few ever proposed to abandon that traditional American sport.

If boxing were abolished in Virginia colleges without a thoroughgoing medical examination of its case, we may be sure that none would be proposed in the midst of the enthusiasm for its revival. Yet boxing as a sport should have a medical examination. Football's apologists may explain its greater number of fatalities by saying that it is a universal sport. Boxing is in a different and more questionable medical category.

The bitterest foes of football can hardly claim that it does any serious or permanent injury to players who escape the "accident." Boxing must meet a different sort of challenge. There is a serious question whether permanent injury is done college boxers by the constant pummeling of their craniums—even if they escape the "accident."

What are the medical facts? We do not think the evidence gained from autopsies held over dead professional pugilists is admissible in the case of college boxing. But we do think that Virginia college presidents should appoint a commission, with the medical faculties importantly represented, to say whether pugilism may be intelligently

THE TIMES-DISPATCH favors the enactment of the Federal antilynching bill just introduced in the House of Representatives and shortly to be introduced in the Senate. It sees no hope of ever wiping out lynching, the greatest crime against Southern civilization, except through Federal action.

If every State would enact an antilynching law similar to that which Virginia passed a decade ago, lynching could be almost, if not wholly, obliterated. The Virginia law makes lynching an offense against the State as a whole, subjects all participants in lynchings to charges of murder, and authorizes the Governor to have the attorney-general aid in the prosecution and to spend any sum he (the Governor) deems wise in convicting the guilty parties. There has not been a single lynching in the Old Dominion since that law was placed on the statute books.

But it has become plain that few, if any, of the Southern States will follow Virginia's legislative example. Although the Dyas antilynching bill of 1932 and the Cozzaman-Wagner antilynching bill of 1935 would almost certainly have passed, but for the filibusters of Southern senators, most Southern States seem to have learned nothing from these episodes. Southern senators on both occasions expressed profound resentment over the possibility that the Federal Government might be permitted to interfere in the affairs of the States, but they do not seem to have done anything to make such intervention unnecessary.

This newspaper's primary objective is to put a stop to the seemingly endless series of mob murders which have disgraced the South and America before the world. That impresses us as far more important than the preservation of something generally referred to as "State sovereignty" or "State's rights." As long as State's rights are appreciated by the States, and the administrative authorities of the States show that they recognize the duties which accompany the exercise of such rights, this newspaper believes in respecting those rights. But when the phrase, "the rights of the States" degenerates into a mere shibboleth behind which the State and local authorities ignore and flout the law of the land by permitting lynchings to go unpunished year after year, then THE TIMES-DISPATCH believes that intervention by the Federal Government is not only desirable but necessary.

The bill just introduced in Congress provides for such intervention. It provides that any responsible peace officer who fails to make adequate efforts to protect a prisoner from a mob, or to make diligent efforts to apprehend the members of the mob after a lynching, shall be guilty of a felony, and be fined up to \$5,000 or imprisoned up to five years, or both. When the attorney-general of the United States is advised through an affidavit from a citizen that an officer is guilty of either of these offenses, the attorney-general initiates an investigation by Federal G-men to ascertain whether the antilynching law has been violated. If the conclusion is in the affirmative, action is instituted in the United States District Court against the peace officer or officers. There is no provision for prosecution of members of the mob.

It also is provided in the bill that a county shall be responsible for a lynching occurring within its boundaries, and that a fine of from \$2,000 to \$10,000 may be levied against the county by the United States District Court, and paid to the

very people in the most danger of losing out in the current race for survival.

of the person lynched. If a county can show that its peace officers exercised due diligence in the protection of the victim of the mob, it is not subject to this fine.

Such, briefly stated, are the terms of the act. Some constitutional authorities, including SEWARD BOAS, regard the measure as destructive of State's rights, and hence unconstitutional. Others take the opposite view, and hold that the bill does not conflict with the fundamental law.

PROFESSOR KARL N. LLEWELLYN of the Columbia University Law School has studied the measure carefully, and has rendered an opinion that it is clearly constitutional. He says, in part:

"The Federal Government has the power and the implicit duty to assure to its citizens orderly, due, legal and even procedure in criminal cases at the hands of responsible officials. When States or officials or subdivisions of States are derelict in this regard, the Supreme Court, as one spokesman of the Federal Government, will interfere to correct. Congress can intervene to prevent the need for correction, and especially to prevent such dereliction as is irremediable. The general scope of the measure has a clear basis in the due process and equal protection clauses."

On this, as on many other constitutional questions, there is room for difference of opinion, of course. PROFESSOR LLEWELLYN may be wrong, and SEWARD BOAS may be right. But we should like to see the bill enacted and carried to the United States Supreme Court for a ruling. If the Supreme Court holds the law invalid, that will be unfortunate. But something must be done to end the present intolerable situation, and the measure just introduced seems the best way out.

We have seen no formal pronouncement of late on this subject from the Commission on Interracial Co-operation, with headquarters in Atlanta. In the spring of 1935, when the COZZAMAN-WAGNER bill was under consideration, the commission met, with its chairman, DR. W. W. ALEXANDER, presiding, and unanimously adopted a resolution calling for the enactment of Federal antilynching legislation. The commission, which is composed of 120 representative Southerners in 12 States, declared without a dissenting voice that "in not one case in 10 is an effective effort made by the [State or local] authorities to identify and prosecute the members of lynching mobs." It went on to say that "even in the rare cases in which such efforts have been made, indictments have usually proved impossible."

It is clear, then, that lynching will not be wiped out until there is a new spirit abroad in the land, or until State and local authorities bestir themselves far more vigorously than they have done heretofore. We see no likelihood that either will occur in the measurable future.

One of the most convincing demonstrations that this is true was given in the autumn of 1934, when CLAUDE NEAL was taken from an Alabama jail and lynched in Florida. At least 15 hours' notice was given in the nation's press and over the radio that NEAL was to be lynched, and from 4,000 to 7,000 white people gathered, among them many small children. NEAL was put to death with the most unpeakable and unprintable tortures. No one was even arrested.

As long as State and local officials are indifferent to these barbarities, they will continue to occur. We see no alternative but to enact a Federal law with teeth in it, and to let the G-men and the Federal courts go into action.

There is the "bite," as the dentists would say, in the whole thing. Our perfect dental specimens are losing out, and the gentleman with the teeth...

TI

"NO HE prove good news is gathering a mostly detail end field, death, or p The radio c santly and t tales of the articles of s

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Goodness i plety make ; slip or som turn the pul NO BIERHC be esce non Jr. the one-half the on Mr. Capo

Poll Voters Favor Universal Finger Printing, Federal Anti-Lynching Law

Even South Indorses Wagner-Costigan Bill

70% of Country Asks That Federal Government Curb Lynching; Opposition to National Act Is Strongest on Pacific Coast.

New York, Jan. 30.—Should Congress enact a law which would make lynching a Federal crime?

This proposition, embodied in a bill before Congress last year, has just been submitted to a cross-section of American voters by the Institute of Public Opinion. It received a thumping vote of approval—70% in the South.

Seven out of every ten, or 70 per cent, of those who expressed an opinion were in favor of a Federal anti-lynching law. Opponents were only slightly less in favor of the measure—20 per cent.

That the survey found so many voters who, in principle, favor Federal legislation on the subject of lynching is a further evidence of the growing faith of public opinion in the law-enforcement powers of the Federal Government.

Lynchings Found Declining

But the Wagner-Costigan anti-lynching bill stirred up much opposition in Congress last year, and the opposition was not confined to Southern statesmen. Senator Borah, of Idaho, opposed it on constitutional grounds.

The proponents of the measure based their case on the fourteenth amendment to the Federal Constitution, which provides that no State "shall deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of the law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction equal protection of the law."

Should the bill succeed (1) would officers of a State or municipality employed in Federal Court of Districts to prevent a mob from attacking a man would be paid \$2,000 or given a new imprisonment of 10 years if they engaged with the mob they would be liable to imprisonment of from 5 to 10 years and (2) every governmental official would have to pay \$5,000 to \$10,000 indemnity in the event of a mob attack on the Federal Court. The bill defined a "mob" as any gathering of more than three persons.

Senator Smith, of South Carolina, and Senator Bailey, of North Carolina, led the opposition to the Wagner-Costigan measure. Senator Bacon, of South Carolina, and Senator Borah, of Idaho, were the only opponents on constitutional grounds, declared.

Voters Favor Jury Verdicts By 3/4 Majority

Believe Justice Would Be Speeded Up if Unanimity Abolished.

It is interesting to note that in today's survey the opposition to a Federal anti-lynching law is strongest not in the South, but on the Pacific Coast. There 41% of the voters expressed an opinion. Federal crime, as embodied in a national statute, is opposed in a national

Should Everyone in the United States Be Fingerprinted?



John D. Rockefeller, Jr., being fingerprinted by officers of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The millionaires' prices are listed in the "civil identification" records along with those of Guy Lombardo, Wally Disney and other celebrities. A majority of voters in a survey just completed by the Institute believe that everyone should follow Mr. Rockefeller's lead and be fingerprinted for identification purposes.

Right: If universal fingerprinting were adopted it should begin, authorities say, with new-born babies. Baby John Claes Heller, of Washington, was 4 months old when he was fingerprinted by the Department of Justice. He is the youngest person to have his fingerprints on file.



I. Edgar Hoover, who advocates fingerprinting for civil identification.



68% Like System of Civil Identification

Federal Bureau of Investigation Has Already Collected 246,000 Voluntary Prints and Public, by Great Majority, Approves Its Action.

By George Gallup.

New York, Jan. 30.—Not long ago a World War veteran suffering from amnesia appeared at the United States War Department in Washington and, complaining that he could remember nothing of his previous life, pleaded with the officer in charge to help him find out his name.

The officer took his fingerprints and checked them against Departmental files which contain the prints of everyone who has ever served in the Army. Within half an hour the man had his name identified and sent home. Because a man's fingerprints are his exact identification, and will never change, they are the best way to identify a man who has been injured in an accident, has been kidnapped, or is otherwise lost.

Why Fingerprint Them?

Following is an excerpt from a report of J. Edgar Hoover's Bureau of Investigation explaining the uses of non-criminal fingerprinting.

"It is believed that the Civil Identification Section will serve many useful purposes. The possible uses of fingerprints in non-criminal, civil, and private life are extensive. They can be used in a number of ways:

In the event of a catastrophe, identification is often difficult, and in train wrecks, collisions at sea, and other disasters, there is often a long list of unidentified dead. In addition many persons suffer from amnesia or loss of memory."

"It is believed also that the fingerprinting of persons during kidnapping should be of use at Washington. Further, persons who by means of promissory notes, mortgages, or other documents, are liable to the activities of impostors may secure identification through the use of fingerprinting."

"No reduction in the maintenance of the fingerprint record which is not an extension and improvement upon all prior means of identification."

"Social security legislation has been introduced which would require fingerprinting of a new applicant. This would be a tremendous problem of personal identification which will also have unemployment insurance benefits and other possible benefits. Universal fingerprinting, it is felt, would solve innumerable cases of fraudulent claims that might arise if signature alone were used."

Lawyers Prefer Jury Decisions Be Unanimous

They Oppose 3/4 Verdict, 58%-42% While Public Favors It 57%-43%.

Public approval of universal fingerprinting is the more amazing when one considers that only 20 years ago fingerprinting was laughed at by nearly everybody in the United States. The underworld cracked and lawyers' associations when Joseph Arthur Foweraker, of the New York Police Department, began gathering and classifying prints in 1916. It was only after he cracked the "perfect" print of Charles Craig, burglar, in a restaurant that the public—and the underworld—began to have respect for the fingerprinting business.

J. Edgar Hoover, chief of the bureau, has been championing universal fingerprinting for several years. His bureau has collected 246,000 voluntary prints from

Mrs. Lohman

February 27, 1937

100

My dear Mr. White:

Mrs. Roosevelt asks me to say that she will be glad to see ~~Mr. Allan Knight Chalmers~~ when she is in New York on Tuesday, March 2. Will you ask him to meet her at the office, Room 704, 331 Madison Avenue, at 2:00 p.m?

✓

Very sincerely yours,

Secretary to
Mrs. Roosevelt

0

Mr. Walter White
69 Fifth Avenue
New York
N.Y.

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69 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

TELEPHONE ALGONQUIN 4 3551

Official Organ: *The Crisis*



February
16th
1937

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PERSONAL

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I wish very much you would see and talk with the Reverend Allan Knight Chalmers, pastor of the famous Broadway Tabernacle, who has done a superb job in bringing some sort of order out of chaos in the Scottsboro case. I think it would be of value to you to meet him and to hear from his own lips the inside story of the negotiations he has conducted so successfully in Alabama which may perhaps bring about a satisfactory solution of these unhappy cases. I believe also that you will be able to be of considerable help to him at this critical stage of the negotiations. You can rely upon his complete discretion and wisdom. It would be most convenient for him if you could see him at some time when you are in New York City.

Ever sincerely,

Walter White

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
The White House
Washington, D. C.

WV:CTF

ENDORSED BY THE NATIONAL INFORMATION BUREAU, 215 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

Have You Written Your Senators and Congressmen Urging Support of the Federal Anti-Lynching Bill?

*Can the States Stop
Lynching?*

Compiled and Published by
The National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People

69 FIFTH AVENUE

NEW YORK, N. Y.

FEB 1937

Foreword

THE first statistical research on lynching in this country was completed in 1918 when the pamphlet "Thirty Years of Lynching 1889-1918" was published by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The two best known books on lynching are "Rope and Faggot" (1929) by Walter White and "The Tragedy of Lynching" (1930) by Arthur Raper. Another excellent work is "Lynching and the Law" by J. H. Chadbourn, member of the faculty of the law school at the University of North Carolina.

It became apparent almost at once that Federal action would be necessary if lynching was to be curbed and eventually wiped out. Year after year statistics showed that the states were either unwilling or unable to curb mobs.

Accordingly, in 1921 the campaign for a Federal law became so effective as to secure the passage of the Dyer Anti-lynching Bill by the House of Representatives by a vote of 230 to 119. However, the bill was filibustered to death in the Senate.

The agitation for the enactment of the Dyer Bill stirred some states and local communities at least to express sentiment against lynching. In 1932 lynchings reached an all-time low figure of 10, but in 1933 they skyrocketed to 28. The brutality and Roman holiday character of some of the lynchings in 1933, coupled with the open approval of lynch law by the late Governor James Rolph, Jr., of California, aroused nation-wide demand for Federal intervention.

The Costigan-Wagner Federal Anti-lynching bill, introduced in the 74th Congress in January, 1934, succeeded in securing greater endorsement from more people than any similar piece of legislation prior to that time. When the 74th Congress adjourned in 1936 after side-tracking this bill and staging an 8-day filibuster against it, the legislation had a total of 42,000,000 people pledged in its favor.

In February, 1937, a new Federal anti-lynching bill, a slightly revised version of the Costigan-Wagner Bill, was introduced. It comes at a time when a southern congressman, Rep. Maury Maverick of Texas, has declared for a Federal anti-lynching law; when a poll taken by the American Institute of Public Opinion (Gallup) shows 70 per cent of its voters over the nation favoring such a law and 65 per cent of its voters in southern states favoring such a law; and when the Richmond, Va., *Times-Dispatch* has declared editorially for a Federal anti-lynching law.

Can the States Stop Lynching?

Opponents of federal anti-lynching legislation have constantly advanced the argument that lynching should be handled by the states, that the states could and would stop lynching.

During the 1935 filibuster in the United States Senate this argument was made by several senators:

"I am not in favor of the passage of that (Costigan-Wagner) bill, believing that the subject matter can be best handled by the states."

SENATOR MORRIS SHEPPARD of Texas in a letter to the *Crisis*, December 1, 1934.

Note: Three lynchings in Texas since this statement—no serious effort by local authorities of the state to have lynchings punished.

There is no doubt that the same argument will be used in the present session of Congress as expressed in the following statement:

"I am opposed to the anti-lynching bill, as I believe it to be an effort to bring within the jurisdiction of the federal government a matter which properly belongs to the various states . . ."

SENATOR MORRIS SHEPPARD of Texas
letter to N.A.A.C.P., November 29, 1936.

5,105 persons, men and women, white and black, have been lynched in America since 1882. No punishment whatsoever was inflicted on the lynchings in 99.2 per cent of the lynchings; and in the 8/10 of one per cent of the lynchings where punishment of the lynchings followed, the punishment was slight. The two exceptions during 1935-6 are the two Black Legion lynchings of Silas Coleman and Charles A. Poole where the lynchings were given life. Michigan had not had a lynching prior to these Black Legion lynchings in 33 years.

The purpose of this pamphlet is to demonstrate the fallacy of the argument that states can or will prevent lynchings. The record of lynchings in 1935-1936 is shown with the record of the local authorities and states in efforts to punish the lynchings.

1935

January 11:

FRANKLINTON, LA.: (New York Times, January 12.)

A small group of men forced its way into the Washington Parish jail, shot and beat *Jerome Wilson* to death, dumped his body alongside a lonely road three miles from town, and dispersed. Wilson had been convicted the previous August of slaying Deputy Sheriff D. C. Wood in a gun fight on the Wilson place near Franklinton, but the Louisiana Supreme Court had just reversed the conviction and granted him a new trial—which the lynching thwarted.

State Action: Sheriff Block of Franklinton declared that the only clue to the lynchers was a large hammer and promised to investigate. *No one has been arrested.*

February 24:

MARINGOUIN, LA.: (Louisiana Weekly, March 2.)

Anderson Ward was taken from jail by a mob, hanged, and his body riddled with bullets. Ward had been arrested because of a fight with a white man.

State Action: According to rumor, Maringouin officials made an investigation but as the lynchers were said to be "parties unknown," *no one has been arrested.*

March 12:

SLAYDEN, MISS.: (New York Times, March 13.)

Ab Young, was hanged to a tree in a school yard three miles east of Slayden, Miss., by a mob of about fifty men. Young had been sought in connection with the shooting to death of Hardy Mackie, a state highway worker. He was placed on an automobile with a rope around his neck, the other end of the rope being suspended to a tree. One of his captors drove off in the car, throwing him from the top. (Young was seized near Rossville, Tennessee, and transported across the state line into Mississippi.—New York Post, March 13.)

State Action: According to the coroner's jury, Young "came to his death by hanging at the hands of parties unknown." The prosecuting attorney stated that "So far as the proof

is concerned, we don't know whether it was a hanging or a suicide." The justice of the peace who was standing nearby him when the mob riddled the dangling body with bullets said, "I'm an officer. But my friends mean more to me than being an officer." *No one has been arrested.*

March 22:

LAWRENCE COUNTY, MISS.: (ANP Dispatch.)

The body of *R. J. Tyrone*, a prosperous farmer was found shot to pieces in the woods by his house on the night of March 26, where he had been lynched by a mob of whites about March 22. Tyrone was said to have been too prosperous for his white neighbors.

State Action: *None.*

March 30:

HERNANDO, MISS.: (New York Post, March 30.)

The body of *Rev. T. A. Allen* of Marks, Miss., was found weighted down by a chain, in Coldwater River. He had been killed in trouble between sharecroppers and plantation owners. In his pockets were found papers concerning sharecroppers' organization work.

State Action: *None.*

April 7:

LETAMATCHEE, ALA.: (N.A.A.C.P. Investigation.)

Tom Scott, Negro, had a fight with a white man. Scott escaped but "the white fellow got up the K.K.K. and overtook him and cut him and hung him on a pine tree limb. Shot him to death."

State Action: *None.*

May 20:

SELMA, ALA.: (N.A.A.C.P. Investigation.)

Willie Foster, Negro organizer for the International Labor Defense, went to Selma to investigate arrests of members of the Sharecroppers Union during the cotton choppers strike. He was arrested as soon as he arrived in Selma. He was taken out by a gang, killed, and secretly buried. His body was found by friends.

State Action: *None.*

May 25:

DETROIT, MICH.: (New York Times, December 5, 1936.)

Silas Coleman, Negro World War veteran, was shot to death by Dayton Dean, Black Legion "Trigger Man," and members of the Black Legion. The only reason given for the killing was that Dean enticed Coleman to a lake for the purpose of "target practice" because Harvey Davis, a member of the mob, "wanted to see what it felt like to kill a Negro." Judge Van Zile, commenting on the killing of Coleman, told the defendants: "It is hard to understand why you killed this man, who had never done anything to you and whom you did not even know."

State Action: This lynching was brought to light after investigation of the Black Legion brought about by the slaying of Charles A. Poole (white). Five members of the mob, already sentenced to life terms for the lynching of Poole, were convicted of first degree murder and on December 4, 1936, received life sentences for the killing of Silas Coleman.

June 22:

WIGGINS, MISS.: (New York Times, June 23.)

R. D. McGee, 25-year-old Negro, was hanged to a tree and his body pierced with bullets for an alleged attack on an 11-year-old white girl. The night before the lynching McGee was taken from his bed by a posse of citizens and secreted in the woods away from officers until the next day, when he was carried before the girl and identified by his clothing. The mob then carried him across the town into a side road where he is said to have admitted attacking the girl.

State Action: Not even a casual investigation made.

July 11:

GREENSBORO, ALA.: (N.A.A.C.P. Investigation.)

Joe Spinner Johnson, leader of the sharecroppers union in Petry County, was called from his cotton patch by a small mob, bound hand and foot and beaten. He was placed in the Selma jail. Inmates heard screams that night. Next morning Johnson was not in the jail. His body had been dumped in a secret grave near Greensboro where it was found by his friends.

State Action: None.

July 15:

LOWNDES COUNTY, MISS.: (New York Times, July 16.)

Bert Moore and Dooley Morton, Negro farmers, about 26 years old, were taken from a deputy sheriff and hanged about eight miles from Columbus. They were arrested after two alleged attempts to assault a white woman. The Negroes were driven through Columbus to a Negro church eight miles south of the city where they were hanged.

State Action: None.

July 19:

FORT LAUDERDALE, FLA.: (New York Times, July 20.)

Rubin Stacy, accused of frightening a white woman with a knife was snatched from six deputies near Fort Lauderdale and hanged to a tree within sight of the home of the woman, his body being riddled with bullets. Subsequent investigation revealed that Stacy, a homeless tenant farmer, had gone to the house to ask for food; the woman became frightened and screamed when she saw Stacy's face.



Rubin Stacy, lynched July 19, 1935
at Fort Lauderdale, Fla.

State Action: Despite several investigations by private organizations and the sending of information to local authorities, there has been no state action. A coroner's inquest returned a verdict of "homicide by persons unknown."

July 30:

LOUISBURG, N. C.: (New York Times, July 31.)

Govan Ward, 23-year-old Negro, axe-slayer of C. J. Stokes, was taken from a sheriff and deputy sheriff, and hanged. His body was riddled with bullets. Ward had been arrested after the killing of Stokes and was being hurried from the county as a precaution against lynching. Ward was known to be insane.

State Action: *So far none.* Lynching in broad daylight. Sheriff lived in community all his life and knew all the inhabitants. An N.A.A.C.P. investigation by a southern white man revealed the names of nine members of the mob who lynched Ward, which names were turned over to the governor and solicitor general of North Carolina. Among the number were several county and city officials. "Investigations" by officials were barren of results; and as the Anderson (S. C.) *Record* states "it is ~~not~~ guess that this investigation will end like the rest."

August 3:

YREKA, CALIFORNIA: (New York Post, August 3.)

A mob of twenty-five men took C. L. Johnson (white) from the county jail and hanged him. Johnson was said to have confessed to being one of two men who shot down two officers when the officers stopped the men to question them about a series of robberies.

State Action: *None.* Night Marshall Richard W. Cheesborough who was stationed in the city jail next door said that he retired inside his own jail when he heard the mob of 25 men storming the county jail "because I didn't want to have anything to do with giving the keys to the mob." When asked if he had notified the authorities of the lynching, he asked, "What's the use?"

August 4:

PITTSBORO, MISS.: (New York Times, August 6.)

Bodie Bates, accused of attempting to attack a white woman, was lynched by a mob which stormed the Calhoun County jail.

The body was found swinging from a rope under a bridge. Twelve hours after the body was cut down officers said they had no information regarding the identity of members of the mob.

State Action: *None.* After lynching Bates, the mob returned to the jail and carried off another Negro whom officers could not locate. No effort was made to defend this second prisoner and no one has been arrested.

August 22:

LOWNDES COUNTY, ALA.: (N.A.A.C.P. Investigation.)

Jim Meriweather, leader of the Sharecroppers Union and of the cotton pickers strike, was arrested by a sheriff's posse which took him away and killed him. The posse gave the excuse of "self defense."

State Action: *None.*

August —:

LOWNDES COUNTY, ALA.: (N.A.A.C.P. Investigation.)

Smith Wadkins, leader in the Sharecroppers Union, was taken by a band of vigilantes during the cotton pickers strike, beaten, then shot to death.

State Action: *None.*

September 3:

HOPE HILL, ALA.: (N.A.A.C.P. Investigation.)

Edward Bracey, was shot and killed by a gang of vigilantes during the cotton pickers strike. The mob opened fire on the house and shot Bracey as he tried to escape through the back door.

State Action: *None.*

September 17:

OXFORD, MISS.: (New York Times, September 19.)

A mob lynched *Ellwood Higginbotham*, 28-year-old Negro, near Oxford while a jury was deliberating a verdict on charges that he killed Glen Roberts, a white planter. Higginbotham was seized in the county jail by a crowd of between 100 and 150 persons and hanged to a tree two and a half miles from town.

State Action: *None.* Inquiries have been answered by an announcement that no persons in the mob had been identified.

September 28:

VIENNA, GA.: (New York Sunday News, September 29.)

Lewis Harris, arrested on a charge of drunkenness and having threatened the arresting sheriff, was taken from the sheriff by a mob and hanged.

State Action: *None.*

October 16:

MOULTRIE, GEORGIA: (New York Times, November 14.)

(Albany, Ga., Herald, October 17.)

"Bo" Brinson was killed by a posse of citizens which was searching for John Henry Sloan, said to have slain a white man in Georgia. (Two National Guard companies were ordered to Moultrie to attend the trial of Sloan.)

State Action: *None.*

November 4:

WHITE BLUFF, TENN.: (New York Times, November 5.)

Baxter Bell, arrested allegedly for slapping a white woman, was taken by five relatives of hers from a city marshal and a deputy sheriff and shot to death. The killing was done with the deputy sheriff's gun which the relatives borrowed from that official at the same time they took the prisoner. The gun was returned to the officer about twenty minutes later. Reports published in the Nashville *Tennessean* stated that the woman was drinking beer in a Negro store at the time the slapping is said to have occurred.

State Action: *The five men were indicted for murder and acquitted by a jury. Judge Courtney declared "I am astonished at your verdict."*

November 12:

COLORADO COUNTY, TEXAS: (New York Times, November 13.)

A mob estimated at 700 persons, including several women, took Benny Mitchell and Ernest Collins, accused of the murder of a nineteen-year-old white girl, from Colorado County officers and hanged them to a tree four miles from Columbus, Texas. The mob then scattered in search of another Negro believed to be implicated in the murder. The two youths, 15 and 16 years old, were being taken from Houston to Columbus for trial on November 13 in Juvenile Court for the crime, said to have been committed on October 17.

State Action: *None.* County Attorney O. P. Moore issued a statement saying "I do not call the citizens who executed the Negroes a mob. I consider their action an expression of the will of the people." County Judge Hahn said: "I am strongly opposed to mob violence and favor orderly process of the law. The fact that the Negroes who so brutally murdered Miss Kollman could not be adequately punished by law because of their ages prevents me from condemning those citizens who meted justice to the ravishing murderers last night."

December 9:

TAMPA, FLORIDA: (New York World-Telegram, December 10.)

Joseph Shoemaker, Eugene F. Poulnot and Sam J. Rogers, three white men, were kidnaped, flogged, tarred and feathered by a masked mob. Shoemaker died of his injuries. The three men had been questioned by the police for "Communist activities." They were not Communists, but members of a political party known as the Modern Democrats.

State Action: Under pressure from private organizations, a series of indictments against twelve persons for kidnaping, and one against eight persons for the murder of Shoemaker were returned. In May, 1936, five former Tampa policemen were placed on trial, convicted of the kidnaping of Poulnot, and sentenced to four years imprisonment each.

They appealed, and hearing on the appeal was set for January 28, 1937. The defendants have never been confined in jail and are now at liberty on bail. No other defendants except the five former policemen have been placed on trial, and these only for the kidnapping of Poulnot. There has been no trial for the kidnapping of Rogers or the murder of Shoemaker.

1936

January 16:

CARTHAGE, TEXAS: (*Afro-American*, January 25.)

Mace Gray, 40, was slain by a posse, charged with having run down two white girls with his car. Gray is said to have barricaded himself in a barn to resist capture. His body was riddled with bullets.

State Action: None.

February 14:

MANGUM, OKLAHOMA: (*New York Times*, February 22.)

Willie Jones, accused of attacking a white woman and her daughter, was shot and killed by a mob of 300 men who were searching for him. Robbery was said by the sheriff to have been the motive for the attack on the woman and daughter.

State Action: None.

March 14:

CUSSETA, GEORGIA: (*New York Times*, March 15.)

Philip Baker, 35, hanged and shot by a mob of 30 or 40 men. He had been arrested December 31, 1935, charged with attacking two white women and a Negro woman, and had been carried to Macon for safekeeping. The sheriff was bringing him back to Columbus late at night for trial the next week when the mob took the prisoner on the road to Columbus.

State Action: None.

April 28:

COLBERT, GEORGIA: (*New York Post*, April 28.)

Lint Shaw was shot to death by a mob of about forty men eight hours before he was to go on trial on a charge of attempted



Lint Shaw lynching. Death "at the hands of persons unknown."

criminal attack. A mob attempted to seize him at Danielsville, Georgia but was thwarted by Judge Moseley who left a sick bed to hold off the mob until Shaw could be moved. He was moved to Macon, Georgia. He was returned to Danielsville but because of a mob was moved for safekeeping to Royston, a small town just about ten miles from Danielsville, and placed in a small one-story jail with the night chief of police the only officer on duty. The citizens learned of the transfer and followed.

State Action: None. Night

Chief Dickerson said all of the men were strangers to him. Coroner's

verdict was death by gunshot wounds at hands of persons unknown.

April 29:

LEPANTO, ARKANSAS: (*New York Herald-Tribune*, April 30.)

Willie Kees, 19, was accused of an attempted attack on a white woman April 18. He was whipped and ordered to leave town. Kees returned and was arrested. On the way to the jail the mob seized him and shot him to death.

State Action: None. Coroner's verdict was death by gunshot wounds at hands of persons unknown.

May 3:

PAVO, GEORGIA: (New York Post, May 4.)

John Ruslin, 55, accused of the murder of a white man. Ruslin was seized by a large group of men. Deputy Sheriff Herbert Kennedy said the prisoner was "snatched" from him as he turned his head to answer a query while on the way to his auto.

State Action: *None.*

May 13:

DETROIT, MICHIGAN: (New York Times, May 22.)

Charles A. Poole, 32, white W.P.A. worker, found shot to death. He was accused of beating his wife. Investigation revealed that Poole was shot by members of the Black Legion as a "ritual slaying."

State Action: *Five members of the mob were convicted of murder and sentenced to life imprisonment.*

May 13:

FIGHTING ISLAND, CANE: (New York Herald-Tribune, June 1.)

Roy Pilcock, after having been invited to join the Black Legion, disappeared from his home at Wyandotte, Michigan, on May 13, the same day of the Poole killing. Before leaving home he told his wife, "They're going to get me, and they'll get you, too." The next day his body was found hanging in a hut on Fighting Island in Canadian waters of the Detroit River.

State Action: *Investigation but no arrests or indictments.*

June 8:

EARLE, ARKANSAS: (Many newspapers.)

Frank Weems and others, during the strike of sharecroppers called by the Southern Tenant Farmers Union, were attacked by carloads of planters and beaten. Weems was beaten into unconsciousness, carried into a store. No one was allowed near the store. His body disappeared. On June 17 and 18 the governor of Arkansas and sheriff announced they would soon produce Weems alive, but Weems has never been seen since June 8.

State Action: *None.* October 28 the N.A.A.C.P. wrote to the governor asking if Weems had been lynched. November 30 the governor's secretary answered that the governor's office had no evidence of the lynching of Weems. December 4 the N.A.A.C.P. wrote the governor asking if his office had any evidence that Weems had not been lynched and was still alive. December 8 the governor's secretary answered "This office has no record at all concerning Frank Weems."

September 6:

DALTON, GEORGIA: (New York Herald-Tribune, September 7.)

A. L. McCawry, 21, accused of attempted attack on a white woman, was hanged near Dalton. He was removed from Whitfield to Dalton, less than ten miles away for "safekeeping." The jailer gave up the keys. The woman denied she had been attacked and said she could not identify the man who came to her room.

State Action: *None.*

September 12:

ATLANTA, GEORGIA: (Various newspapers and investigation by Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Atlanta, Ga.)

Tom Finch, accused of rape of a woman of low mentality in an Atlanta Hospital where Finch was an orderly. The crime is alleged to have occurred in a small closet just off the crowded reception room of the white clinic with white doctors in offices on either side of the closet. The doctors, nurses and staff unanimously affirm their belief that the alleged crime could not have been committed. No complaint was made at the hospital and none to the police for thirty-six hours. The police secured the address of Finch at 9 P.M. and Finch was brought to the hospital in a dying condition at 4 A.M.

State Action: *None.* Police cooperated with lynchers and reported Finch killed in attempt to escape.

September 11:

GREENVILLE, FLORIDA: (New York Herald-Tribune, September 27.)

Buckie Young, accused of attacking white woman, shot to death. The shooting was kept a secret for more than two weeks.

State Action: *None.*

December 4:

LAUREL, MISSISSIPPI: (*Chicago Defender*, December 12.)

J. B. Grant, 17, shot to death by a mob. After his body was riddled with more than a hundred bullets, it was tied to an automobile and dragged through the streets, then hanged to a trestle.

State Action: *None.*

ADDENDUM

There are several cases in 1936 which apparently should be included as lynchings, but are not included pending further investigation.

August 29:

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS: (*Norfolk Journal and Guide*, August 29.)

A. D. Adams, 48, relief client, reported shot by a carload of white people who resented his moving into a white neighborhood.

November 18:

KING RANCH, TEXAS:

Luther and Frank Blanton, white, went onto the King ranch to hunt. Shortly thereafter three shots were heard. The owners of the ranch had made statements as to what would happen to the next trespassers. Investigation has failed to reveal either the Blantons or their bodies.

LYNCHINGS BY STATES

1935

Alabama	6
California	1 (white)
Florida	2 (1 white)
Georgia	2
Louisiana	2
Michigan	1
Mississippi	8
North Carolina	1
Tennessee	1
Texas	2
TOTAL	26

1936

Arkansas	2
Georgia	5
Florida	1
Michigan	2 (white)
Mississippi	1
Oklahoma	1
Texas	1
TOTAL	13

1935 and 1936

Alabama	6
Arkansas	2
California	1 (white)
Florida	3 (1 white)
Georgia	7
Louisiana	2
Michigan	3 (2 white)
Mississippi	9
North Carolina	1
Oklahoma	1
Tennessee	1
Texas	3
TOTAL	39

Mrs. Scheider:

Mr. White returned to
New York last Friday.

Mollie

W. H. White

April 12, 1937

100
Malvina
Mrs. Roosevelt
at once

My dear Mr. White:

Your letter of April 9th to Mrs. Roosevelt has just been received, and I am writing to inform you that she is away from Washington all this week.

Very sincerely yours,

Malvina T. Scheider
Secretary to
Mrs. Roosevelt

Mr. Walter White
c/o Representative J. A. Cavagan
Room 1214, New House Office Building
Washington, D. C.

12³⁰ on Tuesday
talk with Phil - White
d.

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NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

69 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

TELEPHONE: ALGONQUIN 4 3551

Official Organ: The Crisis



April 9th
1937

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My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I haven't troubled you these last few days because I noted in the newspapers how terribly busy you have been. We have had to encounter all manner of trickery and opposition in the House but, fortunately, we have been able to meet the situation up to this time.

I enclose releases which go out today to the Negro press, branches of the Association, cooperating organizations and others, which will give you the news to date. It begins to look as though the bill will be passed by the House by a comfortable majority on Monday or Tuesday. We very much hope that the vote will be so large as to cause the bill to go over to the Senate with a very substantial majority, which should make it more difficult for the Senate to avoid action at this session.

If it will not inconvenience you too greatly, I would like to talk with you for a few minutes on either Tuesday or Wednesday morning.

Mrs. White will be in Washington with me and I should like very much to have her accompany me, if it is agreeable to you. I can be reached in Washington in the care of Congressman Gavagan, Room 1214, New House Office Building.

Ever sincerely,

Walter White
Secretary.

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
The White House
Washington, D. C.

WNI:CTF

ENDORSED BY THE NATIONAL INFORMATION BUREAU, 215 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

Have You Written Your Senators and Congressmen Urging Support of the Federal Anti-Lynching Bill?

**PRESS SERVICE OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION
FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE**

69 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY

Telephone ALgonquin 4-5551

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			Rev. John Haynes Holmes		Dr. Louis T. Wright		
			Dr. William Lloyd Jones				

NOTE TO EDITORS: The vote in the House on the Gavagan bill may possibly be taken very late Monday, April 12, and then it may not be taken until Tuesday afternoon, April 13. Please notify your Washington correspondents on this matter or watch the late editions of your evening dailies, April 12, or your morning papers, April 13.

**GAVAGAN ANTI-LYNCHING
BILL TO BE CALLED FOR
VOTE ON APRIL 12.**

Defeat of Weak Mitchell Bill, 257 - 123, April 7, Paves Way for
Consideration of Strong Gavagan Measure, April 13.

Washington, April 9. - Following the crushing defeat of the move to enact the Mitchell anti-lynching bill on Wednesday, April 7, by a vote of 257 to 123, the House is preparing to take up on Monday, April 12, the stronger Gavagan bill (H.R. 1507).

The Gavagan measure was forced upon the floor of the House by a discharge petition signed by 218 members. This action was necessary because the judiciary committee, under Chairman Hatton W. Sumners of Texas, has refused for years to take any action on an anti-lynching bill. However, as soon as it became apparent that the Gavagan discharge petition would secure the required number of signatures, Chairman Sumners, in an effort to block off the Gavagan bill, suddenly announced and held hearings on the Mitchell bill, generally considered a weak document.

The Mitchell bill was reported out favorably by the committee on April Fool's day and notice was given that it would be called up for vote on April 7 when the judiciary committee had preference on the House calendar.

Trickery by Committee

The reporting of the Mitchell bill by the House judiciary committee was accompanied by unparalleled trickery, with the southern opponents of any anti-lynching legislation going to all lengths to block the legislation.

It is rumored that the judiciary committee at first voted to report out the Gavagan bill on the ground that 218 members of the House - a majority - had signed a petition for it. It is reported that thirty or more ballots were taken in the committee, all favoring the Gavagan bill, whereupon some members of the committee, thinking the issue had been settled, left the meeting. Then a move was made to reconsider the vote and the weak Mitchell bill, further emasculated, was approved.

Upon learning of this action, it is reported that at least three members of the committee - Tolan of California, Walter of Pa., and Byrno, of

(Continued on Page 2)

New York - objected vigorously to the procedure and called for a new meeting of the committee. Chairman Sumners is said to have promised to withhold a report of the bill until Monday and if possible, to hold another meeting of the committee.

The committee, through Congressman Murdock of Utah, asked unanimous consent on Monday to extend the time for filing its report to midnight, but Congressman McKeeough, of Illinois, objected.

Mitchell Opposes Substitution

In the bitter maneuvering back and forth, it was learned that Congressman Arthur Mitchell, of Illinois, lone colored member, had twice refused to allow the committee to substitute the Gavagan bill for his bill and still have his name attached to it.

On Thursday, April 1, Mr. Gavagan was approached by a member of the judiciary committee who told him the committee was having a hard time with the anti-lynching bill and asked him if he would not consent to the striking out of all the Mitchell bill after the enacting clause and the substitution, from there on, of the Gavagan bill, with Mitchell still having the credit for the legislation.

Mr. Gavagan replied that he was interested only in the enactment of a strong anti-lynching bill and that he would gladly sacrifice the honor of having his name on it and would give that honor to Mr. Mitchell if Mr. Mitchell would consent to the substitution. Mr. Mitchell refused.

On Tuesday, April 6, Mr. Gavagan was again asked the same question and gave the same answer and again Mr. Mitchell refused. It is believed that Mr. Mitchell was following the instructions of southern congressmen, particularly Chairman Sumners, who did not want a strong anti-lynching bill considered no matter whose name was attached to it.

Wednesday morning, April 7, before the Mitchell bill was considered, Congressman Mitchell came out in the Washington Post with a strong statement attacking the Gavagan bill.

When the House convened at noon, Congressman Emanuel Celler of Brooklyn, N. Y., was selected by the judiciary committee to call up the Mitchell bill for consideration. This happened after some delay caused by the calling for a reading of the Journal, the suggestion that a quorum was not present, and the calling for the reading of the entire Mitchell bill.

Telegrams Aid Fight

Congressman Beiter of Buffalo, New York, asked permission to read into the record three telegrams which he had received from his constituents, asking for the passage of a strong anti-lynching bill. Unanimous consent is necessary for this procedure and Congressman Mitchell, of Illinois, objected to Congressman Beiter reading into the record three telegrams supporting the anti-lynching bill. Mr. Beiter, however, was permitted to extend his remarks on anti-lynching legislation in the Congressional Record, but not to include the telegrams.

The Mitchell forces are also said to have spread the rumor (which was wholly false) that the White House was in favor of the Mitchell bill.

One of the important factors in the vote, April 7, was the flood of telegrams which came from all parts of the country on Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday to Congressmen asking them to support the Gavagan bill. Perhaps the most influential of these telegrams were those from editors of influential Negro papers: Robert L. Vann of the Pittsburgh Courier; Carl Murphy of the Afro-American; Drs. C. B. Powell and P. H. M. Savory of the Amsterdam News; C. A. Franklin of The Call; Elmer A. Carter of Opportunity and Roy Wilkins of The Crisis. Editor Robert S. Abbott of the Chicago Defender was out of his office and did not personally authorize the use of his name, but one of his staff members stated that he felt certain Mr. Abbott would endorse such a telegram.

The night before the vote was to be taken the N.A.A.C.P. sent night letters from this city to 282 friends of anti-lynching legislation in the House urging them to repudiate the weak Mitchell bill and vote on April 12 for the Gavagan bill. Following the vote the N.A.A.C.P. sent 176 telegrams of thanks to congressmen and 113 telegrams to those congressmen who voted to consider the Mitchell bill, inviting them now that it was lost to vote for the Gavagan bill April 12.

In addition the N.A.A.C.P. has sent today a letter to 337 congressmen further inviting their consideration of and support for the Gavagan bill.

The House gallery on April 7 had a goodly number of white and colored people interested in the anti-lynching bill and their presence was noted by

(Continued, on Page 3)

In a speech which was inserted in the Congressional Record for April 7, Congressman Mitchell made a bitter attack upon the Republican members of the House, southern Democratic members and northern and border state Democrats concluding with a blistering castigation of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People which he accused of sending out "false, vicious and unwarranted statements" about him and about anti-lynching legislation in general.

Congressman Mitchell told newspaper men that the southern Democrats had "deceived" him. In this connection, it was recalled by the N.A.A.C.P. that on March 13, 1936, Congressman Mitchell stated: "There is no man on the floor of the House that Congressman Sumners thinks more of than he does of me." Mr. Mitchell also has declared from time to time in the public press and in letters that he had many friends among southern Democratic congressmen. In the face of those declarations, it is interesting to know that Chairman Sumners submitted a minority report flatly opposing the Mitchell bill and any other anti-lynching bill.

The vote of congressmen on the proposition to consider the Mitchell bill April 7 was as follows:

YEAS — 122

Aloshire, Allen, Del.; Anderson, Mo.; Arnold, Biemann, Boland, Pa.; Boyer, Boylan, N. Y.; Buck, Buckler, Minn.; Cannon, Mo.; Celler, Champion, Claypool, Colden, Colo, Md.; Creal, Crosby, Crosser, Cummings, Daly, Dingell, Dockweiler, Dowell, Drowry, Va.; Eckert, Elmiston, Eicher, Faddis, Farley, Ferguson, Flanagan, Fletcher, Ford, Calif.; Frey, Pa.; Fries, Ill.; Gambrell, Gilda, Ginzery, Goldeborough, Gray, Ind.; Greenwood, Groover, Griswold, Gwynne, Haines, Hamilton, Hancock, N.C.; Harrington, Hartor, Hill, Okla.; Hook, Houston.

Also, Inhoff, Jacobsen, Keller, Kelly, Ill.; Kennedy, Md.; Kirwan, Klobb, Kniffin, Kopplemann, Kramer, Larrabee, Lea, Lesinski, Lewis, Colo.; Lewis, Md.; Long, Lucas, Luecke, Mich.; McAndrews, McCormack, McGrath, McLaughlin, Massingale, Maverick, Mead, Mooks, Mitchell, Ill.; Moser, Pa.; Mosier, Ohio; Murdock, Utah; Nelson, O'Brien, Ill.; O'Brien, Mich.; O'Connor, Mont.; O'Connor, N. Y.; O'Neal, Ky.; Palmisano, Patterson, Pottongill, Phillips, Pierce, Polk, Rabaut; Rayburn.

Also, Reece, Tenn.; Reed, Ill.; Reilly, Rigney, Robinson, Utah; Robison, Ky.; Romjoo, Ryan, Sabath, Sadowski, Schafer, Ill.; Schuets, Schulte, Short, Sirovich, Sumners, Tex.; Sweeney, Taylor, Tenn.; Thomason, Tex.; Thompson, Ill.; Transue, Voorhis, Wearin, Williams, Zimmerman.

NAYS — 257

Allen, La.; Allen, Pa.; Aulis, Anderson, Minn.; Andrews, Arcene, Atkinson, Bardon, Barry, Bates, Beiter, Bell, Bernard, Bigelow, Binderup, Bland, Bloom, Boehne, Boileau, Boren, Boykin, Bradley, Brewster, Brooks, Brown, Burch, Burdick, Caldwell, Carlson, Carter, Cartwright, Case, S. Dak.; Casey, Mass.; Chandler, Church, Citron, Clark, N.C.; Clason, Cluett, Cochran, Coffee, Nebr.; Coffey, Wash.; Colo, N.Y.; Collings, Colmer, Connery, Coolay, Cooper, Costello.

Also, Cox, Crawford, Crowe, Crowther, Cullin, Cullen, Deon, Delaney, Damsay, DeMuth, DeRouen, Dickstein, Dies, Dirksen, Disney, Ditter, Dixon, Dondoro, Dorsey, Doughton, Douglas, Doney, Drew, Pa.; Driver, Duncan, Dunn, Eaton, Eberhartor, Ellenbogen, Engel, Enlebright, Evans, Fish, Fitzgerald, Fitzpatrick, Flannery, Flegler, Forand, Ford, Miss.; Fuller, Fulmer, Gasque, Gavigan, Gearhart, Gehrman, Gifford, Gray, Pa.; Green, Gregory, Griffith, Guyer.

Also, Hallock, Hancock, N. Y.; Hart, Hartley, Havanner, Healey, Hendricks, Hildebrandt, Hill, Ala.; Hill, Wash.; Hobbs, Hoffman, Holmes, Hope, Hunter, Jarman, Jarrett, Jenkins, Ohio.; Jenks, N.H.; Johnson, Minn.; Johnson, Okla.; Johnson, Tex.; Johnson, W. Va.; Jones, Kelly, N. Y.; Kennedy, N. Y.; Kenney, Kinser, Kitchens, Kleberg, Knutson, Kocialkowski, Kvalo, Lamberton, Lambeth, Lanhan, Leavy, Lemke, Luce, Luckey, Nebr.; Ludlow, McClellan, McFarlane, McGranary.

Also, McKeough, McLean, McMillan, McRaynolds, Maas, Magnuson, Mahon, S. C.; Mahon, Tex.; Maloney, Mansfield, Mapes, Martin, Colo.; Martin, Mass.; Mason, May, Merritt, Michener, Millard, Miller, Mills, Mott, Murdock, Ariz.; O'Connell, Mont.; O'Connell, R. I.; O'Leary, O'Malley, O'Neill, N.J.; O'Toole, Oliver, Owen, Pace, Patman, Patrick, Patton, Pearson, Peterson, Fla.; Peterson, Ga.

Also, Poyser, Pfoifer, Plunley, Peage, Powers, Quinn, Ramsay, Ranspock, Randolph, Rankin, Reed, N. Y.; Rees, Kans.; Rich, Robertson, Royers, Mass.; Rogers, Okla.; Rutherford, Sacks, Sanders, Sauthoff, Schneider, Wis.; Scott, Soror, Shafer, Mich.; Shanley, Shoppard, Smith, Conn.; Smith, Maine; Smith, Va.; Smith, W. Va.; Snell, South, Sparkman, Spence, Stack, Starnes, Steagall, Stefan, Sutphin,

Swope, Taber, Tarver, Taylor, S.C.; Teigan, Terry, Thom, Thomas, N.J.; Thomas, Tox.; Thurston, Tinkham, Toboy, Tolan, Towey, Turner, Umstead, Vincent, E.M.; Vinson, Ga.; Vinson, F.M.; Wallgren, Walter, Warren, Weaver, Welch, Wene, West, Whelchol, White, Ohio; Whittington, Wigglesworth, Wilcox, Withrow, Wolcott, Wolfenden, Wolverton, Woodruff, Woodrum.

MARYLAND HIGH SCHOOL
CASE BEFORE COURT

Annapolis, Md., April 9.- The Maryland Court of Appeals will hear the argument during the week April 12-17 on the suit to force the Baltimore County Board of Education to provide high school facilities for Negro children in the county. The county, at present, has eleven high schools for whites and none for Negroes.

The suit, which was lost in the lower court, was brought in behalf of a colored girl who had finished the elementary school in the county and had applied and been denied at the high school in Catonsville, Md., on the ground that the school was for whites and she was a Negro. Attorneys for the appellants are Charles H. Houston and Thurgood Marshall of the N.A.A.C.P. legal staff, and Leon A. Ransom and Edward P. Lovett of Washington, D. C.

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**May 21st
 1937**

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**AIR MAIL--
 SPECIAL DELIVERY**

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

It was certainly nice having that talk with you last evening, particularly because you are looking so well despite the strenuous program you are carrying.

If it be possible, I hope that the appointment with the President for Mr. Spingarn and myself can be arranged for either Monday or Tuesday, May 24th or 25th. My reason for asking this is because Mr. Gavan and I are leaving New York on the 27th on a speaking trip in behalf of the anti-lynching bill which will carry us as far as Los Angeles. We will not return to New York until June 7th.

I know you and the President will be pleased to see the enclosed copy of letter from the new Tennessee Senator, Mr. Berry. If the Congressional Intelligence figures are right, and they are confirmed by letters and other communications we have had from the Senators they list as favorable, this gives a possible vote of 73 for the bill against only 23 opposition votes.

Cordially,

Walter White

Secretary.

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
 The White House
 Washington, D. C.

WW:CTF

28th ANNUAL CONFERENCE, DETROIT, MICH., JUNE 29th - JULY 4th, 1937

ENDORSED BY THE NATIONAL INFORMATION BUREAU, 215 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

Have You Written Your Senators and Congressmen Urging Support of the Federal Anti-Lynching Bill?

George L. Berry, Tennessee

C O P Y

UNITED STATES SENATE
Committee on Military Affairs

May 18, 1937

Mr. Walter White, Secretary
National Association For The
Advancement of Colored People
New York, N. Y.

My dear Sir:

This is to acknowledge your communication of the 14th. I am not familiar with the status of the bill to which you make reference but I want to make it very clear that I have been in the past and shall continue to be interested in and favorable to this legislation.

Very sincerely,

(Signed) Geo. L. Berry

file 1003
May 22, 1937

Dear Mr. White:

The President says that he is not familiar enough with the proper procedure to give you really good advice. I think you had better trust to the people in charge of the bill. As far as he is concerned, the only thing which bothers him is on the enclosed memorandum, which I would like you to return to me when you have read it. He says he is quite willing to have the bill brought up now or to have you do anything you can to get it passed, and, while he does not think that there is anything for him to talk over with Mrs Spingarn, I am sure if Mr. Spingarn writes him, he will see him.

Very sincerely yours,

Mr. Walter White

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 20

Cady

Memo to Mr. Muir:

Mr. Walter White has an appointment
to see Mrs. Roosevelt this evening
at 7:00 P. M.

Mollie

June 16, 1937.

My dear Mr. White:

I am glad your trip was
successful. The President has sent you
a telephone message which I am sure you
will get in a few days.

Very sincerely yours,

n

Mr. Walter White
Nat. Ass'n for Advancement of Colored People
69 5th Ave NYC

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June 10th
1937

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1/1/1937
Acted 6/16/37
Blod trip was successful. Pres has sent her a telephone message.

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Mr. Gavagan and I have just returned from a speaking trip in behalf of the anti-lynching bill which carried us as far west as Los Angeles. It was a remarkable and gratifying experience to find the enormous enthusiasm for the anti-lynching bill, particularly among white people. In some of the more southern cities, like Louisville, Kentucky, and Kansas City, Missouri, the audiences were made up of fifty percent or more whites. In Los Angeles on a Sunday afternoon when the weather was delightful and when there were many counter attractions such as baseball games, bathing beaches, commencements and the like, we had 4500 people at a meeting in one of the very large down-town churches. Warner Brothers staged a special broadcast which covered the entire Coast. It was gratifying to know of this tremendous interest.

Have you had opportunity as yet to take up with the President the two points raised in my letter of May 25th?

There is another matter I want you and the President to know about that is causing tremendous concern among Negroes-- namely, the talk about appointment of Senator Robinson to the Supreme Court. I am enclosing a few of the editorials which have appeared in the colored newspapers. The N.A.A.C.P. is being besieged as to its attitude on such an appointment if it is made. We have, however, refrained thus far from making any statement. After reading these editorials I hope you will call them to the attention of the President.

28th ANNUAL CONFERENCE, DETROIT, MICH., JUNE 29th - JULY 4th, 1937

ENDORSED BY THE NATIONAL INFORMATION BUREAU, 215 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

Have You Written Your Senators and Congressmen Urging Support of the Federal Anti-Lynching Bill?

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**NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE**

69 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

TELEPHONE: ALGONQUIN 4-3551

Official Organ: The Crisis



June 10th
1937

11/19/37
Ac'd 6/16/37
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Waco, Texas	
Washington	

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28th ANNUAL CONFERENCE, DETROIT, MICH., JUNE 29th - JULY 4th, 1937

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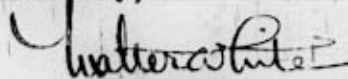
Have You Written Your Senators and Congressmen Urging Support of the Federal Anti-Lynching Bill?

#2 - Mrs. Roosevelt

6/10/37

With cordial personal regards, I am

Ever sincerely,


Secretary.

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
The White House
Washington, D. C.

WW:CTF

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**NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE
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69 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

TELEPHONE ALGONQUIN 4-3551

Official Organ: The Crisis



**June 24th
 1937**

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Washington	Charles Edward Russell Dr. Charles H. Thompson Dr. Elizabeth Yates Webb

I have read your letter and am glad to hear that you are so interested in the anti-lynching bill. I will be glad to hear from you again.

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt;

Thank you for your letter about the telephone message, which I shall await with interest.

You doubtless saw in the newspapers that the Judiciary Committee of the Senate last Monday reported favorably the Gavagan-Wagner-Van Nuys bill, H.R. 1507, by a 13-3 vote. The two members who were absent are both recorded as favorable to the bill. We expected Senators Connally of Texas and Borah of Idaho to vote against the bill but were very much surprised that Senator Pittman was the third Senator to vote against it. We have made inquiry of him as to his reason for doing so.

We are making all possible effort to get the bill called up before the Supreme Court measure is brought up for debate on the Senate floor. We were somewhat alarmed to read in today's papers that Senator Robinson plans to call the Court bill up next week. We have wired Senator Wagner urging him to put forth every possible effort to get the anti-lynching bill brought up and passed before the Court bill is considered.

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Perhaps most significant in connection with the Judiciary Committee report was the statement in the Washington Star last Monday evening by Senator Connally that southern Senators would not filibuster against the bill and, he added, that he thought the bill would pass. The following morning in the Washington Post, however, he hedged a bit by saying he was not yet ready to say there would be no filibuster.

Ever sincerely,

Walter White

Secretary.

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
 The White House
 Washington, D. C.

WN:CTF

28th ANNUAL CONFERENCE, DETROIT, MICH., JUNE 29th - JULY 4th, 1937

ENDORSED BY THE NATIONAL INFORMATION BUREAU, 215 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

Have You Written Your Senators and Congressmen Urging Support of the Federal Anti-Lynching Bill?

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 29, 1937.

MEMORANDUM FOR MRS. ROOSEVELT

The Bill has been reported
out by the Senate Committee.

F. D. R.

December 7, 1937

100

Dear Mr. White:

I will be glad to see you in Washington at any time when I am free.

I am not asking Mrs. Cronwell for money or doing anything about what she gives away. She is so isolated that it is very difficult to feel that she really knows much about things.

Very sincerely yours,

Mr. Walter White
69 Fifth Avenue
NYC

0

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JUANITA E. JACKSON SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE SECRETARY

November
 30th
 1937

*am
 12-1*

Dr-2-1937

*Send to see
 have any time
 in room -
 Mrs. E. J.
 b. 2-1937*

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My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I want very much to talk with you at your convenience about the very exciting developments in Washington since last I saw you. Senator Barkley has been magnificent in his integrity and courage.

Here are recent articles, among many, which have been published about lynching and the Wagner-Van Nuys bill. We have sent copies of these to each member of the Senate, including those who oppose the bill.

I was delighted to read of your introduction of Mrs. Doris Duke Cromwell to the West Virginia conditions. I have made several unsuccessful attempts to interest her in the work of the N.A.A.C.P. In many respects I feel that a person like herself is more or less insulated against life by her wealth. It is certainly a great thing to have a President's wife who can introduce her to aspects of life which she could not see ordinarily.

With cordial personal greetings, I am

Ever sincerely,

Walter White

Secretary.

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
 The White House
 Washington, D. C.

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Have You Written Your Senators Urging Support of the Federal Anti-Lynching Bill?

Lynching Picture Blurred

Senator Graves'
Hopes Illusive
to Columnist

By
DOROTHY DUNBAR BROMLEY.

My dear Senator Graves:—
I am glad that we have a vocal
woman Senator, and I hope that
you will make more speeches from
time to time in what is supposed
to be the country's first debating



Dorothy Dunbar
Bromley.

society, but
which too
often degener-
ates into a
flibustering
free-for-all.
Speaking
against the
federal anti-
lynching bill,
you pleaded
with your
colleagues,
"You should
seek the
truth, know the truth, and the
truth will make you free." In
analyzing your argument I have
tried to seek the truth, and I may
add that I am anxious that not
only Senators shall be made free
but also the Negro race, who rep-
resent almost 20 per cent of our
American citizenry.

Defending the South, you told us
that it has-by effective law en-
forcement, aided by an aroused
public opinion-reduced lynchings
two-thirds in the last ten years,
and you assure us, although I am
afraid you can give us no guar-
antee, that another five years will
see the end of lynchings.

Looking at the record,

"Isn't that an amazing record?"
you ask. I agree with you that
the record is amazing, although
I should say that this was an
understatement. You will find,
if you look in the newspaper files,
that there were 24 lynchings in
1933, all but two of those having
occurred in Southern States and
all but one of the 24 having af-
fected a Negro. For 1934 the pic-
ture was a little less gloomy—
there were 11 lynchings, 11 of
Negroes by Southern States. So
far in 1937 we have had 8 lynch-
ings—all in the South, all of
Negroes.

Let us review, please, I repeat, that
a section of public opinion in the
South has been aroused against
lynchings. But it does not prove,
unhappily, that "effective law
enforcement" has stopped any
lynchings. No arrests, no indict-
ments, no convictions of the in-
dividuals responsible for the lynch-
ings—that has been the epitome
of each of these instances of
mob murder.

One of these lynchings, as you
are aware, Madeline Strasser, oc-
curred in your own State of Ala-
bama, at Abbeville. It was the
old story of an assault on a white
woman and of the Strasser's sup-
posedly arresting the first Negro
he could lay his hands on to
whom the populace, but the
proceedings was not to be opened
until the 23-year-old Negro had
been kidnaped from the jail and
rodded with bullets. After the
Grand Jury had refused to take
action your husband, Governor
Bibb Graves, to his credit, in-
structed Attorney General Car-
michael to bring impeachment
proceedings against Sheriff J. L.
Corkin before the Alabama Sup-
reme Court.

Verdict Decried Inevitable.
In presenting the case to the
court, the Attorney General, as
you will recall, asserted that he
could prove conclusively that in
this case an innocent Negro had
been lynched. Yet the Alabama
Supreme Court refused, by a vote
of 4 to 3, to punish the respon-
sible official by removing him
from office.

That decision must have given
the Attorney General and the
Governor and you—the Govern-
or's wife—who say you "saber
lynchings" a belated feeling. It
caused the Birmingham News to
come out frankly and say, "It is
hard such cases that tend to in-
spire a federal law against lynch-
ing."

Each paper as the Richmond
Times-Dispatch, the Greensboro
Daily News, the Memphis Press-
Scimitar, the Louisville Courier-
Journal, the Knoxville News-
Sentinel are for the bill. They
do not fear, as you do, that
Southern States will lose their
"sovereignty" if it becomes law.
As one woman citizen to an-
other I ask you to be all sincerity.
How else can we stop lynching?



Virginia Rhine



Left to right
above, from
California,
swim suit
and coat of
cotton print
and latex.
"Fish tail" shirt
in striped cotton,
over matching
swim suit.
Beach coat of
quilted white
pleated with
leopard spots.
Duck of patent,
shorter than
the knee-length
peasant beach
coat of
red and white
cotton.
Last, beach
shirt of
pleated jersey
with fitted
jumper of
pink jersey.

Luxurious and Sport

While fourteen hundred
"Fashion Pictures, American
last night in the ballroom of
Edison" are significant, the
American fashion authorities
circumstances, interpretive
terms of the American scene
American good taste. As a re-
sult in industry, the fashion bu-
siness in twenty-five years old.
"Fashion Pictures, American
ton," showed that it has
reached a new, internal
reasonable peak.

"This important fashion
presented not only the cloth
technique in fashion shows
fashionable were used to
scenes out-of-doors with the
specific. Double gauge cu-
recovered cyclorama affect-
ing horizons and illusions of
space.

"Fashion Pictures, American
ton," was divided into sec-
tions such as "winter of
America on winter"
Borneo a ship. Deck cloth-
ing was a really at-
swim suit with bra darted
fill the hat. A tricky new
string swim suit of black
which first appeared on the
as shorts above knee-length
the mood drew two cords
waist, pulled the skirt up
curtain and draped it slim
swim suit.

Beach attire presents
headline beach news at
they have two and a half to
inch soles and five-inch he-
els.
Also shown for deckwear
the costumes attached
From California comes a
columbus shown at extreme
heavy and white cotton
swim suit and coat as
shirt," which uses latex
linings. It consists waist-
full-length coat, the waist
of the "slop shirt" and entire
are of latex. With this
was shown the white cu-
pique beach hat.

"Fish tail" beach attire a
rare. Beside the coat of stry-
lion stretched second. The
above stripes are used in
the effect. In the longer-
skirt, matching the swim
decrease. Black and white
do not occur primarily on 1938.
For example, the costume at
above, second from right,
a sand-length beach coat of
ed white latex, fastened a
leopard spots of black
leather. The coat is worn
black swim suit.

Walking Mile a Day Will Help to Preserve Beautiful Figure

By ALICIA HART.

When, in spite of the fact that
your weight is the same, you dis-
cover that last year's skirts are too
small, take warning. You're losing
your shape, and you might as well
be honest with yourself about the
matter. The extra inch means that
you have been sitting too much and
walking too little so that you have
neglected to do any kind of benefi-
cial exercise for a good many
months.

There are several ways to keep
hips from spreading. Walking a
mile a day is one. Rolling on the
floor for five minutes once a day is
another. Simply lie flat on your
back with arms at your sides. Then,
keeping the shoulders flat against
the floor, roll to the right until all
weight is on the right thigh, bend
to the left until weight is on left
thigh. Repeat at least twenty times.

When you walk, step along
briskly—dones high, chin up, back-
bone straight but relaxed. If you
work in an office, try to figure out
some way to do at least part of your
work while standing. Naturally, you
have to sit when taking dictation or
using the typewriter, but occasion-
ally get up and file letters while stand-
ing before the filing cabinet instead
of doing it while sitting at a desk.
And why not take a ten-minute
walk during each lunch hour?

Several experts agree that the di-
mensions of one who wears a proper
foundation garment are less likely
to change unless she gains weight
than those of the girl who thinks
girdles are something to be avoided

until after an operation or until she
is at least 50. The support which
even the lightest weight girdles offer
rarely does much good, spreading of
weight on hips and thighs.

If your waistline seems thicker,
you probably have taken on weight
as well as inches. Get busy with your
favorite bending and stretching
routines. Also, you might remem-
ber that bathroom scales and a non-
stretchable tape measure are worth-
while investments. If you are seri-
ous about wanting to stay as you are,
the rest of your life, check-up equip-
ment is pretty important.

Laundrying Crazy Quilts.

Patchwork quilts can be laundered
successfully with warm water and
plenty of soap, says. If the water
is hard use a softener, but be sure
the softener and the soap are thor-
oughly dissolved before putting in
the quilt. Allow the quilt to soak
for about five minutes, then work
the soap well through all parts. Do
not rub on a board. If the edges are
extra soiled, rub with soap and
scrub with a small brush. Three or
four rinsings in clear water should
be sufficient. Do not wring. Press
the water out between the hands or
by pressing the quilt hard against
the side of the tub. Squeeze into
shape on the line. If the wrinkles
do not show out sufficiently allow
the quilt to dry thoroughly, and
press dry.

IF YOU'RE CATCHING COLDS

DAILY NEWS
 Registered U. S. Patent Office
 Entered as 2d class matter Nov. 21, 1913, at the Post Office, New York, N. Y.
 Publication Office at No. 210 N. York St., New York, N. Y.
 Published daily except Sundays, Wednesdays, and Holydays.
 Published by the Daily News Corporation, 210 N. York St., New York, N. Y.
 Telephone: News Building, 210 N. York St., New York, N. Y., 4-1234
 Second-class postage paid at New York, N. Y., and at additional mailing offices.
 Postage paid at New York, N. Y., under permit No. 1038.
 Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Act of October 3, 1917, authorized on July 2, 1937.
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 Printed at the Daily News Printing Plant, 210 N. York St., New York, N. Y.

DOES SENATOR CONNALLY FAVOR LYNCHING?

Senator Tom Connally (Dem., Texas), leading the six-day Senate filibuster against the Wagner-Gavagan anti-lynching bill, made some choice remarks about Southern womanhood, the danger of renewed carpet-baggerism in the South if the bill should pass, the outrage of letting the Federal Government try its hand at stopping lynching since Southern States can't or won't stop it, and so on.

For all the Senator's sincerity and righteous manner, his remarks sounded like a defense, or at least a condonation, of murder by mobs, without trials and frequently without evidence. Nor was Southern womanhood involved in the blowtorch lynching pictures displayed in the Senate by Senator Bennett Champ Clark (Dem., Mo.) during the filibuster. The luckless colored men in these pictures were murdered by a Mississippi mob on suspicion of having killed a white merchant.

The anti-lynch bill makes liable to a \$5,000 fine or five years or both any state officer who surrenders a prisoner to a mob; also makes the county where a lynching occurs liable for damages of \$2,000 to \$10,000 payable to the victim's family—proceedings to be held in federal courts.

Such a law will not stop lynching, probably; but it ought to help discourage lynching. Yet Southern statesmen and statesladies (Mme. Senator Dixie Graves from Alabama, for example) almost unanimously oppose the bill—as statesmen from the poverty-corroded South habitually oppose measures to help the economically or socially oppressed.

This Southern attitude is markedly different from the Northern Southern statesmen and statesladies like to make sarcastic remarks in lynch-law debates. Up North, we deplore gang killings and hire men like Thomas E. Dewey to try to break up rackets; we don't defend them with flowery speeches about Northern womanhood or insults to our dignity.

We hope the Southern opposition to the anti-lynch bill can be overridden and the bill passed.

FIFTY RUSSIAN PLANES TO CHINA

It is reported that fifty Russian fighting planes have been shipped to the Chinese armies defending Nanking, and that two of these have already been in action, one being shot down.

Should Help Chinese Morale, at Least

Fifty planes aren't many. If this is only a token payment, so to speak, showing that Russia sympathizes with China, it won't help much. If it is an advance guard of a lot more Russian planes to come, it may mean eventual superiority in the air for the anti-Japanese forces. You can't tell which it is. Every time it looks as if Russia may be about to do something vigorous for the Chinese, a Russian ambassador or military attache is called home, presumably to be shot as a Trotskyite—indicating anew that Russia is too ripped up internally to be of any real help to any of its friends.

We hope there will be more Russian planes in China. Any Russian planes at all will accomplish one thing, at least, as long as they last: build Chinese morale. When a fight is on, you feel much better when planes of your own take the air to meet the enemy's planes.

"P. R." IS A FLOP HERE

"The interest evoked by a P. R. election is not likely to stop on Election Day," remarks a recent book on Proportional Representation. To which we can only reply, "You said it!"—and wonder when the interest evoked by New York City's first P. R. election WILL stop. It's twenty-two days now since the election, and nobody knows the full membership of the City Council. Nor does anybody know when we'll know.

This scheme looked good to us; had worked well in various other places. Apparently it will not work in New York City. We hereby formally apologize to our customers for having supported it when it was put up to the voters as a referendum question in the 1936 elections. And we recommend that "P. R." be taken out of Chapter 43 of the new City Charter, where it now reposes, as fast as the machinery for amending the charter can be fired up. Also that the Constitutional Convention be extremely wary of proposals to write P. R. into the State Constitution for elections of representative bodies all over the State. This City's P. R. experience has been sad, costly and profitless.

THE INQUIRING PHOTOGRAPHER

By Jimmy Jemall.
 The News will pay \$5 for every timely, interesting question submitted and used in this column. Today's award goes to Hugh Morrison, 18 Rivington St.

THE QUESTION.
 Of all the peculiar or erroneous beliefs the American people have concerning your country or people, which do you find the most surprising?

THE PLACE.
 Greenwich Village.

THE ANSWER.
 (By persons of various nationalities.)

Konstantinos Kiliaris, W. 14th St., restaurant at 1520.
 "Most Americans believe that the average Greek is either a restaurant owner or waiter. The average Greek is a merchant and you'll find him in every industry.

The Americans believe the Greeks should remember that their civilization is copied from the Ancient Greeks."

Theodore Schalk, Horatio St., sole capitalist and body builder.
 "Many people feel that the Czarist tradition comes to this country in a small future and return to his native land. That is not true. He finds his country so far, and I did, that he becomes anxious to make it his country by becoming a citizen."

J. Gregory Kapp, Hudson St., chemist.
 "Although I came from Russia and am an American in my making, I still understand the main Russian characteristics. The Americans think the Russians are people who fight, because they were beaten by the Japs and Germans. The truth is, they are very brave."

Paul Sen, Hudson St., laundry proprietor.
 "The uninformed American thinks that the Chinese are an ignorant people. That is so far from the truth as to be stupid. The educated Chinese is as intelligent as a person, as you thought found in Christianity can be found in Chinese literature thousands of years before Christ."

Jacques Cormier, Jane St., courier messenger.
 "Most Americans believe that French are people who wear small hats and frog's legs. I'm a French Canadian, from a section of Canada where the people still speak French in their daily lives, and I know it isn't true there. I never knew a Frenchman who ate small hats or frog's legs."

Philip Interdonato, Hudson St., proprietor barber shop.
 "I am surprised to see that the people of the United States are misunderstanding our present government. The Italian government of today is a democratic democracy, exactly like that in this country before the present regime."

STALIN KEEPS 'EM HOME
 Manhattan: Since Maxwell Bonheim speaks with such authority on Communism, perhaps he would give us a satisfactory, concise, non-alusive answer to a question I have asked several of the comrades. Why, if the Soviet fathers love their citizens as Bonheim says they do, is a Soviet citizen machine-gunned if he is caught trying to slip across the Russian border? Is it because they can't bear to part with any of their brothers, Maxie? Or am I too fresh?

U. S. ENDORSE HITLER!
 Brooklyn: Artemusians may think the whole country is with you, but the vast majority of Americans think Hitler has done a good job.

PRO-NAZI

All the same, Senator Connally, it's hard to justify it.



VOICE OF THE PEOPLE

Please give names and address with letters. We will withhold both as requested.

ABSOLVED!
 Manhattan: You're wrong, Anarchist, when you say The News editorials are Fascistic. Those aren't Fascistic editorials, Hutch; those are just ignorant editorials.

MORRIS WIENER
HIS ALL FOR LYNCHING
 Brooklyn: This is far Colored American, who thinks in the Voice that Southerners commit murder when they lynch people. What do you call all those Northern gangster killings? Sunday school play? Are you ignorant enough to believe that a federal law can stop lynching? Lynching deals out more justice than crooked lawyers and juries, and is a lot cheaper on the taxpayers.

GEORGIA CRACKER.
THAT'S QUITE RIGHT—YOU COULD
 Brooklyn: Why all the newspaper fuss about President Roosevelt's toothache? I'm sure I could lose all my teeth, and it wouldn't be in the papers.

JULIUS STEINBERG.
STALIN KEEPS 'EM HOME
 Manhattan: Since Maxwell Bonheim speaks with such authority on Communism, perhaps he would give us a satisfactory, concise, non-alusive answer to a question I have asked several of the comrades. Why, if the Soviet fathers love their citizens as Bonheim says they do, is a Soviet citizen machine-gunned if he is caught trying to slip across the Russian border? Is it because they can't bear to part with any of their brothers, Maxie? Or am I too fresh?

U. S. ENDORSE HITLER!
 Brooklyn: Artemusians may think the whole country is with you, but the vast majority of Americans think Hitler has done a good job.

PRO-NAZI

REVENGE ON THE TREES
 Manhattan: Hows inland Democratic member of Congress propose to uproot all Japanese trees from federal lands. How anybody with such narrow views could get elected to Congress in the first place is beyond this humble person. The proposal is on a par with the Nazi's burning of books by people they hate.

SEES N. Y. U. BANNED
 Bronx: Get out your crying towels, shrieking Violas of N. Y. U., because Fordham is going to take you to the tune of 25-0. Fordham is rolling in the Ross Bowl, sugar, and say Violas in the way will simply be mowed down. Better concede the game and save hospital expenses.

W. M.
SAYS LABOR CAN'T LEAD
 Manhattan: Every thoughtful American's head must hang in shame over the ideas, amounting to lack of manners displayed by some labor unions and newspapers toward the Duke of Windsor. Windsor had hoped to bring more peace and good will to all nations—Jew, Nazi, French, English, American, labor, capital. It is becoming increasingly evident that, if labor is entrusted with leadership, it will only make a mess of things and shame the rest of us.

TRUE LIBERAL.
SOLIDARITY
 Brooklyn: Any high school boy or girl who roasts for either the CIO or AFL is cutting his own or her own throat. These unions already working at the unskilled trade or industry, then they close the membership books, calling new recruits only after those already inside are well fixed. Initiation fees in many cases are plenty, too. Then, if you do get in and get a job, you're likely to be called out on strike before you get back your initiation fees. So what do you win, anyway?

DOUG.
FAINED BY PICKET
 Bronx: I admit I needed a shave today—but that was no excuse for an Anarchist picket to shoot at me for a foreign accent! "Support your own kind!"

R. V. M.



They Lynched

How long will America stand for horrors like these? Can we—and will we—end them?

BY WILL IRWIN

READING TIME • 6 MINUTES 20 SECONDS

In this special session of Congress the Senate is to consider the Wagner-Van Nuys anti-lynching bill, which gives the federal government power to deal with our blackest national disgrace. In the regular session, the House passed this measure by 277 votes to 119. When it appeared in the Senate, at least two thirds of the members favored it. But in the minority were certain men representing lynching states. Not to oppose this bill might lose them votes. In a session where the administration program was going none too rapidly, they threatened a filibuster.

The sponsors of the anti-lynching bill arranged a compromise: it became "must" legislation after the agricultural bill. The Senate adjourned before it got round to crop control, and the lynching bill would have gone into the garret but for the extra session. Meantime, between introduction of this bill and adjournment we had eight lynchings, including an especially atrocious affair where the mob used acetylene torches on the victims.

It would seem that only a filibuster could now defeat this attempt to erase the blot on our civilization. No filibuster can stand up in face of adverse public opinion. Let me call attention to one count in the indictment against Judge Lynch: He is a hopelessly incompetent judge. In at least a third of the recorded cases the mob has probably lynched the wrong man.

Now and then a mob has seized a culprit whom a real judge has just sentenced to death, taken him out and

lynched him. Otherwise, we can never say that any man executed by lynch law is guilty in the legal sense. Studying the imperfect evidence in 5,000 lynchings, one concludes that the majority of the victims were probably guilty of the offenses charged against them. But in the large minority are cases where events proved—after his death—that the accused had nothing whatever to do with the crime, cases of mistaken identity, cases where the evidence was as thin as tissue paper, cases where a mob lynched for an offense which a real judge would not punish with a dollar of fine or a day in the workhouse.

For that small element of sadistic morons who perpetrate our lynchings act on impulse and in the first heat of public indignation. Any one who reads criminal news knows how often the police hold on suspicion some man whom, when they find the real culprit, they release. There is the recent Gedeon murder in New York City. Some one killed Mrs. Gedeon, her daughter—an artist's model—and a male lodger. The police fixed their suspicion on Mrs. Gedeon's husband. For a week they grilled him; and some newspapers seemed almost to take his guilt for granted. Suddenly interest turned to Robert Irwin, an eccentric sculptor who had disappeared. Identified in Cleveland, he went to a newspaper in Chicago, sold an alleged confession, and is, as I write, awaiting trial.

The police exonerated Gedeon. New York is not a lynching community. If it were, we might have witnessed the old barbaric spectacle—following which the community in general, now a little frightened, might have built up so strong a tradition of Gedeon's guilt that any other suspect would have gone his way undisturbed.

That is a hypothetical case. Here are a few real ones: Some one murdered a sheriff. The deputies arrested six



The Wrong Man

Negroes for questioning. The mob, gathering at once, lynched five of them. The police rescued the other. This survivor, indicted and arraigned for "complicity," was convicted and sent up for life. A year later, after evidence pointing to the real culprits appeared, he was granted a new trial and acquitted. The evidence showed that the five dead men also were innocent.

In the mountains of northern California a mob started after a man named Black, accused of assaulting a child. The officers spirited him away. But the mob had to satisfy its thirst for blood. So it strung up his aged father.

After a racial mix-up in which a white planter and a Negro died of bullet wounds, a mob burned Mr. and Mrs. Holbert at the stake. There was some evidence against Holbert, but against his wife only the feeling that she must have been involved in her husband's doings.

A posse had hunted during two days for a man charged with some crime or other. A farmer saw a burly individual running across one of his fields. Commanded to halt, the stranger climbed a tree. The farmer sent word to the posse. They surrounded the tree. A mob gathered and took charge. Having no rope along, they sent for one. While they waited, the stranger started to slide down the trunk. So the mob shot him to pieces. It turned out that he was a hopeless lunatic, escaped only that morning from a neighboring asylum. At the time when the crime occurred he was behind bars.

I could pile up the instances of Judge Lynch's ways with the provably innocent. Far more numerous are the cases where there is some possibility of guilt. Allen Green, Negro, died at the hands of a mob in 1930. In his youth he was accused of an attempted assault on a white woman. He got a long term on the chain gang. Three years later there appeared such evidence as proved this accusation virtually impossible. The prosecutor and the jury joined in asking the governor to grant him a parole. This the governor did. Green settled in the nearest town and went to work. He proved industrious, intelligent. Very soon he was making money. Among other irons in the fire, he had a contract with the town government which returned him seven dollars and a half a day.

This became an issue in small-town politics. Candidates were running for office on a pledge to "throw out Green." Some of his unpopularity was his own fault: he had assumed a superior air toward the poor whites. Also it is possible that, as the town afterward declared in its own defense, he had a disagreeable interest in white women.

Suddenly came a charge of assault. Most of the testimony at the preliminary hearing was flimsy. Nevertheless the authorities held him in jail. Boys and loafers, many from out of town, began to gather at the baseball park. Some one told them that if they enrolled a hundred men a lynching would become legal. They counted noses until they had a hundred and eight and then started for the flimsy jail. The man who served as both jailer and sheriff had gone to bed. "I couldn't believe that anybody thought Green was guilty!" he said afterward. They knocked him over the head and bullied his wife into giving them the cell keys. "White men, won't you let me talk?" pleaded Green. They wouldn't. They tied him to a post and pumped a hundred bullets into him.

The Black Legion case is fresh in public memory. Mrs. Charles A. Poole, with a baby coming, had gone to a hospital. Some one started the rumor that she was laid up because her husband had beaten her and broken her

ribs. "And he never laid a hand on me—he was the best husband a woman ever had!" sobbed Mrs. Poole afterward. When his executioners found him he was awaiting news of her condition.

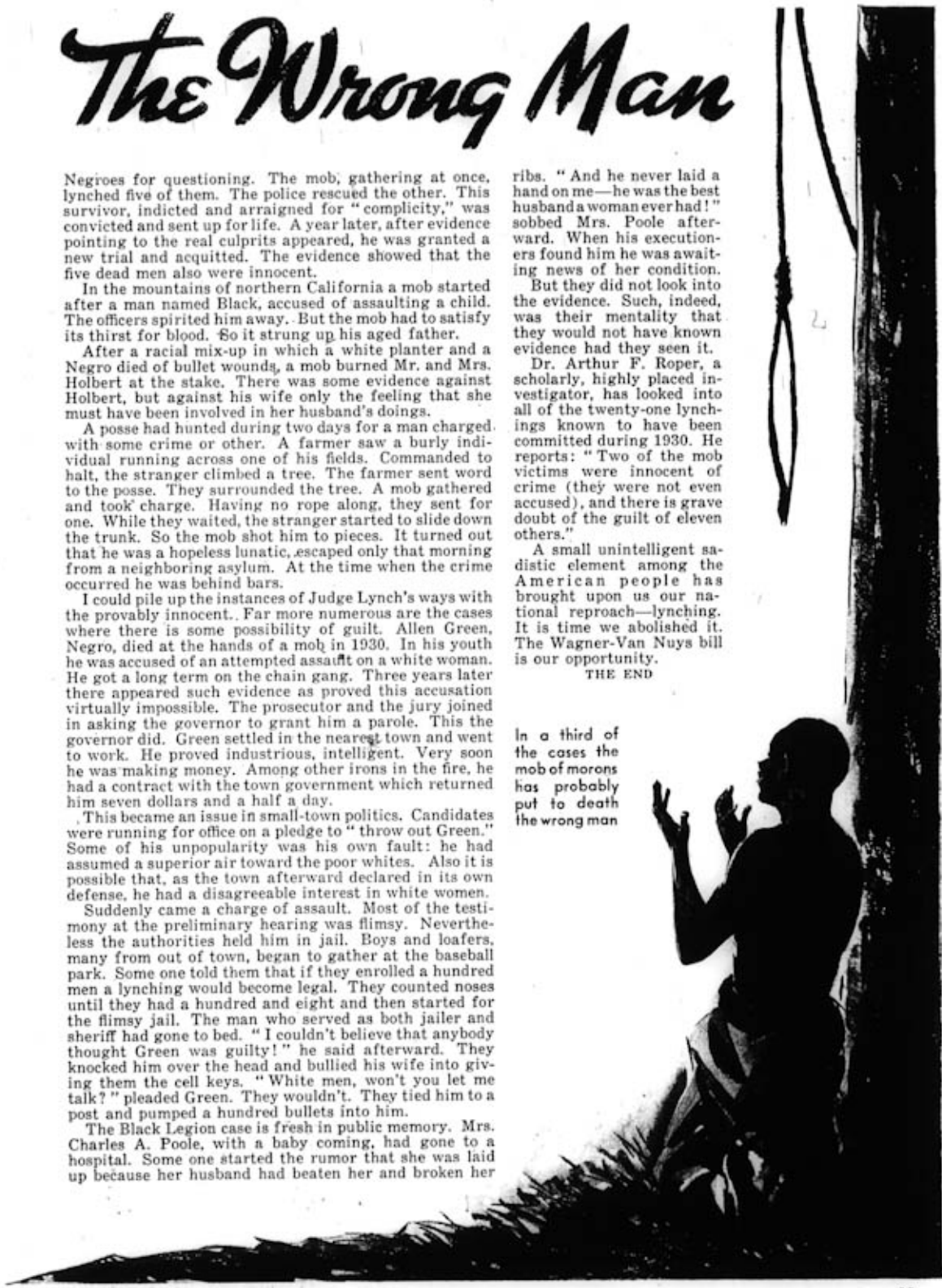
But they did not look into the evidence. Such, indeed, was their mentality that they would not have known evidence had they seen it.

Dr. Arthur F. Roper, a scholarly, highly placed investigator, has looked into all of the twenty-one lynchings known to have been committed during 1930. He reports: "Two of the mob victims were innocent of crime (they were not even accused), and there is grave doubt of the guilt of eleven others."

A small unintelligent sadistic element among the American people has brought upon us our national reproach—lynching. It is time we abolished it. The Wagner-Van Nuys bill is our opportunity.

THE END

In a third of the cases the mob of morons has probably put to death the wrong man



Dixie Rejects Lynching

BY VIRGINIUS DABNEY

A CHANGE has come over the South. Congress is almost sure to pass a federal anti-lynching bill in the present session, but there is no excitement in Dixie. Twenty years ago the mere thought of such legislation would have caused Southern colonels to tear their mustachios with rage and Southerners of lesser rank to implore the deity to save Dixie for white supremacy and protect the fair name of Southern womanhood. Fortunately such hysteria is no longer widely prevalent.

I do not mean to say that the South is anything like a unit in desiring federal anti-lynching legislation. There are thousands who resent the impending passage of the Wagner-Van Nuys bill, and who doubtless will do all in their power to nullify its effects after it is on the statute books. At the same time there apparently is a much larger body of Southerners who either favor such a law or are willing to give it a trial. The diehards are distinctly in the minority.

If such were not the case, the value of a federal bill would be doubtful, since the hates and rancors engendered by its passage would probably overbalance the anticipated benefits. All too frequently Southern juries, even in the federal courts, would refuse to convict derelict officers, and Negroes would be subjected to all kinds of persecution and discrimination at the hands of resentful whites. This would mean, in all likelihood, that the Negro's lot would be made worse rather than better. But since so many Southerners have awakened at last to the true nature of lynching, the federal bill is expected not only to pass but to achieve a great reduction in the number of these crimes below the Potomac and the Ohio. There has been a gradual change in the attitude of thoughtful citizens of the South toward such legislation, an attitude largely conditioned by their judgment as to its probable effects. Symbolic of the change is the recent shift in the policy of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, which includes 130 representative Southerners from thirteen states and has its headquarters in Atlanta. For years this body refused to indorse federal anti-lynching legislation, but in 1935 it gave unanimous approval to the Costigan-Wagner bill and now similarly favors the Wagner-Van Nuys bill.

An incident which must have had enormous influence in swinging many citizens of Dixie over to the view that the time has come to stop playing around the fringes of the lynching problem was the sickening killing of Claude Neal. Taken from an Alabama jail in the autumn of 1934, Neal was carried to Florida and put to death with unspeakable savagery. In earlier days special trains were operated for men and boys who wished to take part in or to witness lynchings which had been

announced in advance, but those in charge of the Neal affair carried the process a step farther. Fifteen hours' notice was given the nation in the newspapers and over the radio that Neal was to die. From 4,000 to 7,000 whites, including many children, came by automobile from various nearby states and witnessed his prolonged agony. No one was even arrested.

The Neal affair was convincing evidence to unbiased minds that some Southern states were wholly unwilling to proceed against lynchers. If any further demonstration was needed, it came soon after with the blow-torch barbarity at Duck Hill, Mississippi. Two Negroes accused of murdering a white storekeeper were taken in broad daylight by an unmasked mob from the custody of three officers and tortured to death with a blow-torch, while hundreds of men, women, and children looked on. The officers failed to recognize anybody in the mob, and no one was arrested.

At least six other persons have been lynched in the South so far this year, and state and local authorities have brought no one to justice for any of these crimes. The cumulative effect has naturally been to demonstrate once more that while a few Southern states are willing to take the steps necessary to eradicate mob murder, the official spokesmen for the others content themselves with pious declarations that they "hate lynching," and vociferous arguments that the states should be permitted to "manage their own affairs."

Southerners who are disgusted with this situation have concluded that lynchings will continue below Mason and Dixon's Line until a federal law with teeth in it is placed on the books. This opinion is far more prevalent in the South today than it has ever been before. A survey conducted by the Institute of Public Opinion this month showed that 57 per cent of all Southerners favored such legislation. The validity of this poll might be challenged by skeptics, despite its astonishingly accurate prediction of the extent of Roosevelt's victory at the polls last year, if other evidence did not point to the same conclusion. Most significant is the fact that an increasing number of Southern newspapers are advocating a federal anti-lynching bill. Although Virginia has a strong law of its own against lynching—there has not been a lynching in the state since the law was passed in 1928—no fewer than eight Virginia dailies are advocating federal anti-lynching legislation at the present time. These include the Norfolk *Virginian-Pilot*, the Richmond *News Leader*, and the Richmond *Times-Dispatch*. Other important Southern papers taking a similar stand are the Chattanooga *Times*, the Miami *Daily News*, the Birmingham *Age-Herald*, the Greensboro *Daily News*, the San Antonio *Express*, the Columbia *State*, the Louisville

Courier-Journal, and the *New Orleans Tribune*, as well as most of the Scripps-Howard chain, including the *Knoxville News-Sentinel*, the *Birmingham Post*, the *Houston Press*, and the *Fort Worth Press*. Just as remarkable is the fact that hardly a single leading Southern daily is actively fighting the Wagner-Van Nuys bill.

It is also noteworthy that the papers which are urging federal legislation have had no severe kickback from their readers. The *Richmond Times-Dispatch* has carried a dozen editorials and cartoons this year strongly advocating the passage of a federal bill and has reprinted several dozen editorials and cartoons of similar import from other papers. It has received exactly two letters of protest. To my query concerning the reaction of their readers, editors in Louisville, Greensboro, Miami, Birmingham, New Orleans, and San Antonio have replied that the volume of protest was negligible. What is more, when the *Greensboro Daily News* attacked Senator Josiah Bailey for his filibuster against the Costigan-Wagner bill in 1935, the blast brought the heaviest batch of laudatory letters to the editor received by the paper in seven years.

Despite these clear indications, the impression apparently still prevails among Southern Congressmen that the South is violently opposed to "interference" in its affairs by G-men acting under the provisions of a federal anti-lynching statute. Almost all the Southerners in the House voted against the Gavagan bill when it was passed early this year by a vote of 277 to 119. Maury Maverick of Texas, who spoke and voted for the bill, reported several weeks later that he had not had a single protest from his district. But with the exception of Representatives

Creal and Robson of Kentucky and Reece and Taylor of Tennessee, the rest of the Southern contingent went solidly against the bill. It is apparent that many Southern Representatives and Senators are out of touch with sentiment among their constituents on this issue.

Some Southerners who see no objection to the other provisions of the federal bill dislike the proposal to fine a county or city from \$2,000 to \$10,000 when negligence on the part of local officials is found to have led to a lynching. It is important to note, however, that twenty-two states now have laws under which fines ranging from \$1,000 to \$10,000 can be imposed on cities or counties where lynchings occur—and the provision has proved effective. The South Carolina law has been on the books since 1896. The minimum fine of \$2,000 was assessed and collected in at least seven counties of the state between 1913 and 1931, and no lynching has occurred in any of the seven since the fine was imposed. Moreover, as James H. Chadbourn points out in his "Lynching and the Law," "the average number of lynchings per year in the state has declined sharply after the infliction of each penalty."

It is possible that the Wagner-Van Nuys bill, if passed, will be pronounced unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. It is also possible that if the measure is upheld by the court, lynchings will continue on the same scale as before. But that seems unlikely. For the first time the bulk of Southern opinion appears to be definitely favorable to federal anti-lynching legislation, or at least not disturbed over the prospect of its passage. That fact should assure the public support which in the last analysis must determine the effectiveness of any law.

THE SENATE'S FILIBUSTER AGAINST THE anti-lynching bill represents political reaction and hypocrisy at their lowest point. The Southern Democratic Senators who oppose the bill have been acting ostensibly not only in behalf of the sacred principle of states' rights but to speed up the "real business" of the special session. They want Congress to "quit wasting time." Has it occurred to Senators Bailey, George, and Connally that an excellent time-saving device would be a prompt vote on the anti-lynching bill? We have an idea that it has occurred to them; but they know too that seventy Senate votes are already lined up for the measure, and that it stands an excellent chance of being passed. So they throw the hours away talking about the shocking delays involved in debating a controversial issue like the use of federal powers to suppress lynching. The South, however, is not to be judged by the Senators from Texas, North Carolina, and Georgia. Virgiffus Dabney's article in this issue shows how widespread is the support for a federal anti-lynching measure; while a recent Gallup poll indicates not only that 72 per cent of the people throughout the nation favor the Wagner-Van Nuys bill but that 57 per cent in the South feel the same way.

(EDITORIAL)

100
December 15, 1937

W.H.
Dear Mr. White:

I have your letter of December 10 and
am sorry that I have no actual information.
I think you had better ask Dr. Mary Anderson,
in the Department of Labor, about the article.

Very sincerely yours,

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69 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

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Official Organ: The Crisis

**December
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 1937**

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My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Thank you for your letter of the 7th. I was in Washington yesterday and the office here telegraphed me but noting in the newspapers that you were at Greenbelt, and my having to return to New York last night, I had to postpone seeing you until I return to Washington, probably on Tuesday.

The outlook is good if and when the Senate ever votes on the farm bill.

Cordially,

Walter White
 Secretary.

P.S. - I would like to have your critical opinion of the point of view with reference to geographic differentials which is expressed in the enclosed letter to the Herald-Tribune.

W.H.

*I have no objection inf. Art May
 Anderson about article
 ER*

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
 The White House
 Washington, D. C.

U.S.C.T.F.

ENDORSED BY THE NATIONAL INFORMATION BUREAU, 215 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

Have You Written Your Senators Urging Support of the Federal Anti-Lynching Bill?

FDR

This seems a good suggestion.

ER

[Handwritten signature]

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Official Organ: The Crisis



**December
 22nd
 1937**

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My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I want you to be familiar with the enclosed copy of letter which I have written to the Secretary of State.

Ever sincerely,

Walter White
 Secretary.

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
 The White House
 Washington, D. C.

WW:CTF

ENDORSED BY THE NATIONAL INFORMATION BUREAU, 215 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK
 Have You Written Your Senators Urging Support of the Federal Anti-Lynching Bill?

March 4, 1938

My dear Mr. White:

I read your press release
and I'm horrified! Will some of these
people ever become enlightened?

Very sincerely yours,

Mr. Walter White
69 Fifth Avenue, NYC

DD

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 2, 1933

My dear Mr. White:

Mrs. Roosevelt is away at the present time but when she returns I shall give her your letter. I am sure she will be amused by the story.

Very sincerely yours,

Malvina T. Scheider
Secretary to
Mrs. Roosevelt

I'm not amused, I'm horrified —

MR.

Mr. Walter White
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
69 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

*I read your press release
& I'm horrified! Will some of
these people ever become
enlightened?*

ER