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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



February
28th
1938

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My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

You will perhaps be amused at the story
marked on page 2 of our weekly press releases
which went out last Friday.

Ever sincerely,

Secretary.

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

WV:CTF

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29th ANNUAL CONFERENCE, COLUMBUS, OHIO, June 28th - July 3rd, 1938

**PRESS SERVICE OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION
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**BOTH PARTIES WATCH
FOR REACTION TO VOTE
ON ANTI-LYNCHING BILL**

Washington, Feb. 25.— The leaders of both parties have their ears to the ground for the reaction of the public to the vote on February 21 which laid aside the federal anti-lynching bill in order to take up the President's \$250,000,000 relief program.

The White House is also reported to be deeply interested in how the country will receive the laying aside of the anti-lynching measure.

It was reported here, upon the highest authority, Monday, following the vote of 58-22 to take up the relief measure, that if the protests and indignation from the people were in sufficient volume, something would have to be done about lynching before the end of the present session.

The Gavagan-Wagner-VanNuys anti-lynching bill is not off the Senate calendar entirely and can be called up for consideration whenever the opportunity seems favorable. The bill merely has lost its preferred position on the calendar.

The vote on February 21 was preceded by a sharp debate between Senator Barkley, majority leader, and Senator Charles L. McNary, Republican minority leader.

Senator McNary, in defending the votes of the Republicans against cloture, charged that there had been very little enthusiasm for the bill on the part of those Democrats who were supposed to be for it. He said that even if the Republicans had voted for cloture, there would not have been enough votes to carry it.

In reply, Senator Barkley stated that all the speeches that had been delivered for the bill had been delivered by Democrats and that not a single Republican had spoken except Senator Borah and he had spoken against the bill.

Senator Wagner referred to the fact that he had been subjected to great personal abuse because of his sponsorship of this bill, but stated that he would not pay any attention to that since he believed in the measure and thought it was beneficial to humanity. He declared several times in the course of his remarks that the fight for the bill was not being given up, but that its supporters would not stand in the way of relief for thousands of needy Americans, white and black. He said he fully intended to call up the bill at the first opportunity and that he would continue to work for its passage.

Senator Wagner at first attempted to make a motion that the Senate take up the relief bill, but postpone action on the anti-lynching bill only until March 28 when it would be taken up again as the pending business of the Senate. The opponents of the anti-lynching bill, however, through Senator Connally of Texas,

if it were to be brought up and thus delay consideration of the relief bill.

Just before the vote was taken, Senator George W. Norris of Nebraska stated that he believed that the passage of the anti-lynching bill would reopen old Civil War wounds between the North and the South, and that all people would be worse off than they had been before. He said he thought the South had done very well with the Negro problem and that the government ought not to do anything except allow the South to solve it.

It was the consensus of opinion among some of the veteran newspaper correspondents here and editors of Washington news information services that the 47-day filibuster had done more good for the Negro and the cause of civil liberties than would have been done had the bill passed. These observers are of the opinion that the southern filibusterers made such a sorry presentation of their case that the country sees more clearly than ever the plight of the Negro in the South and knows more about lynching now than it ever did before.

However, the N.A.A.C.P., through Walter White, its secretary, let it be known that while it appreciates the fact that the filibuster put the South on the spot, it believes that as soon as the present excitement dies down, lynchings will proceed and the states, as usual, will do nothing about them. The association declared that it does not intend to give up the fight against lynching or for a federal anti-lynching bill.

Said Mr. White:

"The side-tracking of the anti-lynching bill is, of course, a bitter dose for all those, north and south and of all races, who have worked so long for its passage.

"But the emergency nature of the relief bill gave no other alternative. Both measures - relief and anti-lynching - were aimed at the alleviation of human suffering.

"The fight is not ended nor ever will be ended until lynching and all that it connotes is wiped out. We wish to express our deep appreciation to Senator Wagner and other senators who loyally, and in the face of bitter abuse and personal attacks, stood firm."

Mr. White pointed out that since this bill has been under discussion, a total of 8 lynchings have been reported as being prevented solely on its account.

WALTER WHITE THREATENED
WITH LYNCHING AS "TEST"

New York, Feb. 25.- As a "sure test" of whether or not lynchings are dying out in the South, one South Carolina editor has suggested that Walter White, secretary of the N.A.A.C.P., go into the Deep South and make himself known.

The editor declares that if Secretary White did not "wind up at the end of a rope" he could return to the North and withdraw the anti-lynching bill because he could be sure then that lynching was all but stopped. The complete editorial, written by W. W. Bruner of the Batesburg-Leesville Twin City (S.C.) News, follows:

"If Walter White, Negro head of the Association for the Advancement of the Colored Race, and the unrelenting force back of the anti-lynching bill, wants to make a test of whether or not lynchings have all but stopped in the South, he should drop down in some section of the Deep South and make himself known. If he does not wind up at the end of the rope, he can

2

NEW EDUCATION BILL
WOULD BE FAIR TO RACE

Washington, Feb. 25.- Negro schools in states having separate schools would receive a fair share of government funds for education if the recommendations of the advisory committee on education are followed. The committee sent a report to President Roosevelt recently, urging an expenditure of \$855,000,000 from the federal treasury over a period of six years to aid the states with education.

One of the recommendations follows:

"For all States maintaining separate schools for Negroes, the committee recommends that the Federal grants be conditioned upon joint plans providing an equitable distribution of the Federal funds between white and Negro schools, without reducing the proportion of State and local funds spent on Negro schools."

This recommendation is in line with the proposals urged by the National Coordinating Committee last spring, which was composed of numerous Negro and mixed organizations including the N.A.A.C.P.

ANTI-LYNCHING FIGHT
DEFICIT IS \$1700

New York, Feb. 25.-In counting up the cost of the long fight for the anti-lynching bill, the N.A.A.C.P. announced today that its deficit in the anti-lynching fund is \$1700 in round figures. The expenses of the fight from November 15 through February 22 total \$2,757.

Emphasizing that the fight, as in most cases, was conducted on a shoestring, depending upon support from the country, the N.A.A.C.P. issued an appeal for contributions, large and small, to make up the deficit.

"Of course, no one could predict that the filibuster would run for six weeks," Walter White said, "and each week meant additional expenditures for our lobby in Washington. We believe the anti-lynching fight is worth many times this deficit and we appeal to the country for contributions to wipe it out."

WAGNER AND MCKELLAR
TO DEBATE LYNCH BILL
IN RADIO BROADCAST

Washington, Feb. 25.- In the debate Monday, February 21, preceding the vote to take up the President's relief bill and lay aside the anti-lynching bill, Senator Robert F. Wagner of New York, in his speech, stated that he would go on the radio to speak for the bill. Senator Kenneth McKellar of Tennessee, who has opposed the bill, rose and stated, "some of us on the other side will go to the country, too." Senator Wagner quickly asked him if he would speak over the radio with him on the bill and McKellar replied that he would. The officials of two broadcasting chains have been approached for time when the two senators can debate the anti-lynching bill before a radio audience. As soon as definite plans are made and time is assigned, full publicity will be given.

Note to Editors:

We write this special note to pay tribute to the fight which Senator Robert F. Wagner of New York made for the anti-lynching bill. Notwithstanding his ten days of illness and the enormous pressure brought to bear upon him from within and without the Senate, and notwithstanding, most of all, the avalanche of personal abuse which has been heaped upon him for his sponsorship of this legislation, Senator Wagner kept steadfastly and faithfully to his task. We feel that a letter from you on your paper's stationery expressing appreciation for the efforts Senator Wagner has made will hearten him.

May 25, 1938

My dear Mr. White:

I am sorry to say that the President is not going with me to Morgantown. He is going to Arthurdale and I regret that he cannot have a conference with Mr. Fox. However, I shall be very glad to see Mr. Fox if it can be arranged at the dedication ceremony. In the meantime I will see what can be done by the W.P.A. and the H.O.L.C. people here. As to the mine areas, I am afraid there is nothing that can be done about them.

Very sincerely yours,

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

3:72

June 16, 1938

100

Dear Mr. Whites

I will write to Mr. Hopkins ^{see} about
speaking for you in Columbus the end of this
month.

Thank you very much for your kind
thought of Mrs. Scheider. She appreciated your
good wishes, and I am glad to say that she is
doing very well now.

Very sincerely yours,

Mr. Walter White
60 Fifth Avenue
NYC

0

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JUN 21 '38

**June 8th
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My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Through our mutual friend, Aubrey Williams, we have invited Mr. Hopkins to deliver one of the principal addresses at our Twenty-ninth Annual Conference which will be held at Columbus, Ohio, the end of this month. The meeting at which we wish him to speak will be the one on the evening of Friday, July 1st. Would you be willing to express to Mr. Hopkins a desire that he accept, if it be possible? I would be deeply grateful if you could see your way clear to do this, if it is no embarrassment to you.

I was very much disturbed to read of the emergency operation Mrs. Scheider had to undergo. Won't you be good enough to express to her our hope for her speedy recovery?

Ever sincerely,

Walter White
 Secretary.

Thank you very much

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
 Hyde Park,
 New York

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June 18, 1938

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Thank you for your letter saying you will write to Mr. Hopkins, but Mr. David K. Miles informed me over the telephone two days ago that it will be impossible for Mr. Hopkins to speak at our Columbus Conference.

However, Mr. Aubrey Williams will speak for us, and thus we will have a representative of the W.P.A.

Ever sincerely,

Walter White
 Secretary

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
 Hyde Park
 New York

WW/RR

RETURN TO

MRS. ROOSEVELT

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN.

1.6.4

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My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Here are the front and editorial pages of the Charleston, South Carolina, News and Courier of June 16 which have a bearing on the conversation I had with the President at the White House on April 12. The paper was sent to me in an envelope of the News and Courier, which has taken great delight, as you perhaps know, in assailing the President and myself.

Since the News and Courier is supporting Senator Smith, this story was obviously sent to us with the hope that we would give publicity to it.

I wish you would show these to the President after you shall have read them.

Ever sincerely,

Walter White
Secretary

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
Hyde Park
New York

WW/RR

ohn, and Miss Anne Lindsay
ark.
He had intended to leave tomorrow morning, aides said he had feared his departure tentatively still tomorrow night, but that the tour was subject to change, depending upon what congress did out adjournment.
Mr. Roosevelt had arranged to leave his train tomorrow night in New London, Conn., and cruise on the yacht Potomac to Nahant for a Saturday noon wedding.
Because of the delay in his departure he may not board the yacht until he reaches the vicinity of ston.

OLD ISSUES IN DEMAND

Wall Street Flurry Starts Over London Purchases

New York, June 15.—(AP): The largest gold purchases of the year in the London market today — presumably for hoarding purposes — whipped up a fresh flurry of inflation gossip in Wall Street today, and prompted a brief wave of buying of so-called "inflation" shares such as gold mining stocks.
The movement quickly subsided, however, as speculative quarters considered the various denials in Washington lately that further devaluation of the dollar was planned. The gossip in speculative circles generally dealt with the trip home of rich Joseph P. Kennedy, American ambassador to Great Britain, is making, and the possibility that some new international currency agreement may be under consideration.

"Hague Letter not try to send his scum up there. They'll hang 'em! Say, we've got white people up there and we don't want reds"

PANTER IS OFFERED JOB

TVA Probers Select Chief Engineer

Washington, June 15.—(AP): The Congressional committee to investigate the Tennessee valley authority agreed today to offer the job of chief engineer, to Thomas Panter, of Los Angeles.
This action wound up the committee's work until it meets in Knoxville, July, 11.

was wiped out and the state placed on a cash basis.

"I don't claim credit for it," he said. "I was only one of the 170 members who worked together with state officials. I never once cast a strictly political vote and took no part in factional politics. The people should demand that waste and extravagance be squeezed out but there is danger of another floating debt of a million or more next year unless the legislature makes changes."

Maybank said he was not running on anybody's "coat tails" and "the only people I know will be all the people".
He pledged every effort to see

(Continued on Page Two)

Governor Talks at Sumter Caucus, Negroes are Barred

Sumter, June 15.—Special: Speaking at a special meeting held for his supporters at the courthouse here last night, Governor Olin D. Johnston shouted: "I don't run from niggers, I run them from me."

About seventy-five negroes and more than 100 white citizens were gathered in the courthouse when the governor and his party came in. The meeting had been advertised as a Johnston meeting, with emphasis to one and all to hear "the friend of the working man".
One of the governor's party, said to have been John Dukes, told the

audience that the meeting was one for white Democrats and requested the negroes to withdraw. They did, very quietly, but it was generally reported today that they were much annoyed.

Governor Johnston prefaced his speech with: "You can guess who got all those negroes to come here."

He then gave much the same talk he had made in the morning.

Many whites who had held back when they saw so many negroes in the audience came in after the negroes left. The meeting was quiet and orderly, with a marked lack of enthusiasm.

ised to be faithful to, but you've got to do more than cuss niggers. You don't elect a man to the United States senate because he doesn't want a negro to pray for him," Brown asserted.

The Barnwell candidate introduced himself with the declaration that "I come to you not swinging on anybody's coat-tail, not hundred percenting." But added he was "wholeheartedly in accord with the administration policies."

Smith Reviews
"I'm proud of my support of the national administration, but I'm not

(Continued on Page Two)

Colleton Jury Frees Negro in White Case

Judge Hopes North Will Hear of Verdict Releasing Accused Slayer

Walterboro, June 15.—Special: Addressing the Colleton county jury after a negro woman had been acquitted today for the slaying of a white man, Judge J. Henry Johnson, of Allendale, said:

"I hope our friends from the North will hear of this verdict as it will show that a negro can get justice at the hand of a white jury and, after all, that Southerners understand race conditions better than those who live elsewhere."

The case was that of Lottie Kinsey, who was accused of shooting J. Scott Padgett at her home last February 21, after, she claimed, the white man had advanced on her with a stick.

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that President Roosevelt is 100 per cent... Johnston rests on uncorroborated testimony, and Mr. Edgar Brown's saying that the administration is "hands off" in the contest is saying in effect that the president is zero per cent for all candidates. Good judgment that is.

When Smith Walked South

Smith at Sumter: "They (Brown and Johnston) would have walked out of the convention, too, if they had had the presence of mind and the guts to do it." Now let's don't take that for granted. Messrs. Brown and Johnston may deny it. If they want to, they can. Is it not the fact that the Philadelphia convention walked out and away from the South? Smith, he walked south.

Information on Etiquette Wanted

"When I go to Washington (Governor O. D. Johnston is announcing in Sumter) I go in to see him, but did those who criticized me for announcing from Washington ever get in to see him?" Well, a cat may look at a king, but some cats that are alley cats and not pets, must look from afar off. What we would like to know, for the enlightenment of another who may get in to see him, is whether one should prostrate himself upon entering and walk backwards out of his presence when leaving.

Would Dodge the Question

Smith to Johnston at Sumter: "Now, if you are a hundred per center, are you for the anti-lynching bill? If you are not, you are not a hundred per center any more than I am." (If we were Governor Johnston we would dodge that question.) Has not the governor said in substance that were the anti lynching bill passed he would not be especially active as governor to prevent lynchings, leaving it to the federal government? Would President Roosevelt go 100 per cent for a governor who talked like that? Would not Walter White, Robert Vann, Julian Rainey and other colored national leaders of "our party" make it hot for the president if he did? President Roosevelt has never uttered a word against the anti-lynching bill.

The Avengers of Crime

'Blow-ups and clean-ups of vice' conditions, engineered by the good are of benefit to the state and may be necessary now and then. Talk about them on the hustings is a stale sort of buncombe. In more than forty years of observation from a newspaper desk we have seen South Carolina purged washed clean and sterilized at least eight or ten times, but it has never interfered with our ten-cent ante contests. We hope to see all gents who bet two dollars on any of the races now absorbing the interest chiefly of persons who pay the "entry" fees properly punished by the avengers of crime. If grand juries and petit juries drawn from the people do their duty, all that will be left for governors is to abstain from interference with the sentences of convicts.

Taking the Joy Out of Vienna

The Nazi regime is changing Vienna. The butterfly is being broken on the Nazi wheel. It has been decreed that dawdling in coffee shops must cease, that tzigane rhapsodies in the moonlight are tabu that

is striving for it in Chicago manifestly accompanied with pains and some shamefacedness. It is cultivated with exceeding skill in New York, though it is menaced by the tabloids and picture weeklies. In the society pages of The Herald Tribune and The Times the ancestors of the bride and bridegroom are never neglected, nor are their clubs, "prep" schools and colleges. Certain tags as a rule are placed on the aristocrats. The admissions are not free, which is to say that the innumerable hordes of the non-rich stay out.

Aristocracy is indispensable to a really high-toned metropolitan journal. The first to see it was James Gordon Bennett the elder, a shrewd Scot who once worked on our newspaper. He traveled in Europe, and there he saw the newspapers filled with the doings and misdoings of the peers and the gentry—and the plain people bought the newspapers. So, returning to the old home town (New York, not Charleston), he selected a company of persons and raised them to be of an American peerage and gentry. The old man had Scot's wit and perceived that the masses wished to read about the aristocrats, so he spread his printer's ink thickly on certain names, not too many, and the masses ate up the stuff.

They still do. When a pair of the more illustrious, bejewelled and resplendent progeny are to be married in St. Thomas's church, a regiment of police is required in the streets lest the peers prevent the peeps from getting into it and out of it. In the throng are all classes of people, except the aristocrats, and it includes some of the ladies of the CIO and the American Labor party.

There is nothing like this to be witnessed in Charleston or Savannah, or even in Atlanta, Birmingham, or Charlotte.

In the South everybody bent on seeing "the knot tied" usually sees it. In South Carolina nothing is quite so easy as to get married, and nothing is quite so hard as to get unmarried. It is not so in the great cities where the aristocrats live, though the unmarried is not a public spectacle.

Why Object to a State Deficit?

The speaker of the house of representatives of our great state, Mr. Blatt, predicts a state deficit of \$4,000,000. That should elicit applause from all 100 per centers. The difference between paying taxes to liquidate a state deficit and a national deficit is the difference between tweedledum and tweedledee.

The Wage-hour Measure

The wage-hour law will, in time, prove a humbug—unless the country become an autocracy ruled by a despot.

No such law can be enforced in a democracy. No law can enable a man to earn or get more than his day's work is worth.

With a minimum wage fixed by law men and woman who can't produce its value will be weeded out of industry and pauperized.

It may, it probably will, cause confusion, disturbance. In many states, South Carolina is one of them, it will be violated by industries if they cannot conform to it and survive.

Labor will rebel against it if and when labor discovers that it kills jobs.

The Volstead act was violated. It created a huge industry and commerce in moonshining and bootlegging.

main issue of the campaign of South Carolina elector... senator... who will uphold the hands of Franklin Delano Roosevelt is mistaken in that... the moment, is whether Franklin Delano Roosevelt Delano Johnston.

Continually

Mr. C. L. Blease, also, nor, at Lexington: "I stood in the forum a corner with my voice creasing." The population 577 in 1880 and 1,738, been continuously increasing even if the vote caused by war gotten.

Tell A

The Greenwood is that an error was made president of the John but we wish The In what the John De la is doing. Is it a ch school, or both, or w particular niche doe cost? Why was it i

Sound

Associated Press rington: "He (May 6 property tax." Gov and Courier has be erty taxes the last t

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News Our Grea The Ch

Present—The M man, Cogdell, Sey ley, Mills, Schmi minger, Mordecai

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June 30, 1938

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Dear Mr. White:

I showed your letter to the President, and he suggested that you talk with Governor Cramer just as soon as you get to the Virgin Islands.

I hope that you and Mrs. White and the children have a grand trip and a very enjoyable stay in the Islands.

Cordially yours,

mds

Mr. Walter White

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 29, 1938.

MEMORANDUM FOR

MRS. ROOSEVELT

Tell him to talk with the
Governor as soon as he gets there.

F. D. R.

Handwritten notes:
- [unclear] [unclear] [unclear]
[unclear] [unclear] [unclear]

F.B.R.

Anything you want him to report on?

E.R.

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My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

JUN 22 1938

At long last it looks as though I am going to make that trip to the Virgin Islands. Mrs. White, the children and I plan to sail on July 14 and to spend about a month in and around the Virgin Islands. There is a possibility also that I may write an article comparing the progress made in the Virgin Islands with that in Tortola and some of the other Caribbean islands.

It occurred to me that perhaps you or the President might wish me to look into some specific situations while there. If so, I shall be glad to render whatever service I can.

With cordial personal greetings to you and the President and my congratulations upon the acquisition of a new daughter-in-law,

Ever sincerely,

Walter White

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
 Hyde Park
 New York

WW/RR

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July
1st
1938

(Dictated June 30th)

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My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I cannot tell you how much it means to me that you sent that lovely floral wreath to Mr. Johnson. He was one of the great souls of our time.

Ever sincerely,

Walter White

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
Hyde Park,
New York

WV:CTF

September 28, 1938

My dear Mr. White:

The President was deeply touched by your thought of him and looks forward to receiving the cigarette box. Unfortunately, he is so busy that he has canceled every appointment for the present on account of the foreign situation. However, I will be glad to see you here between the 8th and 11th of October, or in New York City on October 2 if you prefer that. Otherwise, we will have to wait until the President feels that he can make engagements.

Very sincerely yours,

Mr. Walter White
N.A.A.C.P.
69 Fifth Ave., NYC

T:DD

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	PUBLICITY AND PROMOTION

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

When your son, James, was in the Virgin Islands he saw a sandwich tray made of local mahogany in the shape of a Tania leaf, which had been made by the local cooperative, which he admired greatly. He asked that one be made up for you. Several were made but Mr. Victor Bornn, head of the local cooperative, was not satisfied with any of them until one was made while Mrs. White and I were there this summer. I brought it back to give to James to present to you. Since he apparently will not be out of hospital for some time, I want to turn it over to you.

I also had them make a cigarette box for the President, which I think is one of the loveliest pieces of woodwork I have ever seen. To my surprise and gratification when I went down to pay for the one for the President they had made an exact duplicate for me.

I wrote the President from the Virgin Islands telling him about his present and saying I wanted to present it to him and you and to talk over the Virgin Islands situation at his and your convenience. I merely mention this now because I know the international situation is such that his time and yours will be occupied for quite a while. But when the two of you have a few minutes to spare, I do want to see you both and to present these two beautiful specimens of Virgin Island handicraft, and to tell you about some of my observations there.

With cordial personal greetings, I am

Ever sincerely,

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
 Hyde Park,
 New York.

WJ:CTF

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September 30, 1938

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Thank you so much for your nice note of September 28.

All our hearts have gone out in sympathy and gratitude to the President during these last few trying days. As for myself, I can only hope that the agreement reached last night may not lead to perhaps even more terrible war.

It would be nice seeing you here in New York on October 2, as I would like very much to have Mrs. White join me. If you would be good enough to have someone notify me the hour when we may call I will be grateful. My home telephone number is Edgecombe 4-9311.

I am sending this letter both to Washington and to your New York address.

Ever sincerely,

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

WW/RR

1111

October 10, 1938

Dear Mr. White:

I can see why Governor Cramer's speech struck terror to the souls of those running the Virgin Islands companies and any others who do not wish to conform to the Wages and Hours act.

I was also interested to read Mr. Burlew's letter on the hospital and I am not at all surprised at his answer to you. I fear his interest in whether or not the Virgin Islands have a hospital is not very active. His greatest interest is actually in the legal aspect and this coincides with some of my former experiences with the gentleman.

I do not know if we can ever really straighten out this fight in the Virgin Islands, but I am very happy to know a little more about it than I did before and I am glad you found so many of the things good.

I shall be interested in your articles in the Saturday Evening Post, and I am inclined to think that Governor Cramer should receive all of our support.

Very sincerely yours,

Mr. Walter White
69 Fifth Avenue
NYC

SO

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October 3, 1938

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Mrs. White, Jane, Walter and I certainly did enjoy that visit with you yesterday.

Here is material on the Virgin Islands you suggested I send you. It is as follows:

1. Copy of letter dated September 22 from Mr. Ickes.
2. Copy of letter from me to Mr. Ickes of September 29.
3. Copy of speech made by Governor Cramer on the applicability of the Wages and Hours Bill to the Virgin Islands, which speech was made in St. Croix on July 31.

I had hoped to stay over in St. Croix to hear the speech. Governor Cramer attempted to arrange to have me return from St. Croix to St. Thomas in a Navy plane on the morning of August 1. But the Navy authorities informed him that they could not transport me since I had no official position. I thus had to leave St. Croix by boat at the same hour that Governor Cramer's meeting began.

Governor Cramer's speech has been characterized by certain people as being incendiary. But I was told in both St. Thomas and St. Croix that there had been a misunderstanding about the actual provisions of the Wages and Hours Bill. Several of the continental Americans had complained that their house servants had informed them that the Government "was going to pay everybody in the Islands two dollars a day." You can imagine how disturbed some of the continentals were when the average wage of a house servant is ten to twelve dollars a month, some of them being paid as low as six to eight dollars a month.

Governor Cramer's speech was, therefore,

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt - 2

inspired in part by the necessity of letting people on the Islands know exactly what the Wages and Hours Bill provided and to whom the provisions of the act applied.

In saying this I do not in any way take sides in the present controversy between the Governor and the officials of the Virgin Islands Company. I had planned to become involved in it in no way. But the matter was brought up in the interview requested by Mr. Ickes.

At the risk of putting on you too much reading matter, it might be well for you also to see the enclosed copies of correspondence regarding the hospitals, leprosarium and insane asylum in St. Croix which I had while in the Islands with Messrs. Ickes and Burlew.

With cordial greetings,

Ever sincerely,

Secretary

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

MW/RR

THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR
WASHINGTON

September 22, 1938

My dear Mr. White:

I understand that you are planning to write some articles as a result of your trip to the Virgin Islands. From what I hear it is possible that you may have seen only one side of certain situations there and if you feel like it I would like to talk to you about one or two matters in which I am sure you are interested as a result of your visit.

Naturally, I have not the slightest desire to suggest any coloration of what you might write any more just as I am sure that you would wish to present a point of view that could not be sustained by the facts.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed)
Harold L. Ickes

Secretary of the Interior

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

September
29th
1938

My dear Mr. Ickes:

Mr. Johnson has told you of my effort to talk with Boyd Brown, as you requested, and of my learning upon telephoning his office that he had left for the Virgin Islands a week or so ago.

I am rather puzzled by the whole situation with respect to the apparent feud between Messrs. Brown, Herrick, Gruening and Governor Cramer. I am also very much disturbed by the fact that apparently rumors of that feud are quite widespread. For example, several persons have asked me if it is true that Governor Cramer is to be replaced as Governor of the Virgin Islands by Dr. Gruening. I, of course, told them that I know nothing whatever about any such plan. Again, shortly after I talked with you on Tuesday, I ran into a man connected with the Republican National Committee who, having read in the newspapers that I had been in the Virgin Islands, asked me if it were true that there is going to be a "big blow-up in the Islands". So, apparently, there is something in the air which might bode ill for the welfare of the people of the Virgin Islands, which is my primary interest.

I am puzzled also by the statement you made to me that you had had "complaints" from Messrs. Brown and Herrick and others that I had not gotten in touch with them while I was in the Virgin Islands. I am sure you will agree with me that "complaints" is a queer word to use in view of the fact that I went to the Virgin Islands at my own expense and in no official capacity. I made a special trip to St. Croix to see the Virgin Islands Company, homesteading projects and to talk with every person from whom I thought I could get accurate information. I found to my disappointment that both Mr. Brown and Mr. Herrick were in the United States. I talked with Mr. James Tily who was most cooperative and courteous; with Mr. Leslie Hunt who,

while not discourteous, was considerably less friendly for some inexplicable reason, particularly when I sought specific information on the financial status of the Virgin Islands Company; and Mr. Axel Shade, a native Virgin Islander who seemed to know more about the manufacturing end than anybody I talked with. As I told you on Tuesday, I left a note on Mr. Brown's desk, which was forwarded to him in Washington. He wrote me a very courteous letter, which I received while I was in the Islands, telling me of the work he has been doing in Washington.

Most puzzling to me also was the tone of your letter of September 22nd in which there seemed, to me, to be an assumption that either purposely or otherwise I had taken sides in the controversy. Had it been anyone other than yourself I would have resented this. I did not resent it, however, because through our long years of acquaintanceship I have learned to know and respect your honesty. Let me say, for your information, that I am not in the least interested in personalities or interdepartmental differences of opinion. I am deeply interested in the Virgin Islands, first, because of the people of the Island itself and the possible importance of the Virgin Islands to the United States Government. As for Governor Cramer, he was most cooperative while Mrs. White and I were in the Islands. He saw to it that I met every official of the Government, including Mr. Harry E. Taylor, Administrator of St. Croix; Dr. Knott, Dr. Knud-Hansen, Mr. Victor Bornn, Mr. Roy Bornn, Mr. Fred Dixon and others. I was particularly impressed with Governor Cramer's repeated insistence that I not only talk with officials but that I talk with homesteaders and everybody else who I thought would be able to give me a true picture. Time and time again Governor Cramer said to me that he wanted particularly criticisms of himself and of his administration so that they might consider these criticisms and correct mistakes which they might be making unwittingly. In all my contacts with him I got the impression that not only did he have nothing to hide but he was anxious to have constructive criticism no matter how severe those criticisms might be.

Coming fresh from the Islands and with this background of observation and experience there you will perhaps understand why I am puzzled at the apparent determination to get rid of Governor Cramer. I sense a nervousness which I cannot fathom. Knowing how many people, some of them in high places, want to see the Virgin Islands experiment fail, I know you share with me the hope that the fine work which has already been done in the Islands may not be destroyed.

Incidentally, Dr. Robert C. Weaver visited the Virgin Islands while I was there. Judge Hastie arrives in the United States next Tuesday and will be in Washington a day or two after reaching New York. May I offer the suggestion that it might be helpful for you to talk with them?

With cordial personal greetings, I am

Ever sincerely,

(Signed) WALTER WHITE

Secretary

Hon. Harold L. Ickes
Secretary, Department of the Interior
Washington, D. C.

P.S. - Since Mr. Brown is not available for the interview you

suggested, is there anyone else you would wish me to talk to before I write the articles on the Virgin Islands which I have planned to write?

WW.

COPY

Copied from -

THE WEST END NEWS

Frederiksted, Virgin Islands

Wednesday, August 3, 1938

GOVERNOR LAWRENCE W. CRAMER'S ADDRESS ON WAGES AND HOURS BILL

Delivered at Lower Bethlehem, Sunday, July 31, 1938.

Basic In Program

The Wages and Hours Act passed at the Third Session of the Seventy-fifth Congress and approved by the President on June 25, 1938, is a basic element in President Roosevelt's program to strengthen the economic system of our country so that we may in some measure avoid the breakdowns which have characterized it in the past generation. In the National Industrial Recovery Act of 1933 much the same purpose was embodied as is attempted to be accomplished by the Wages and Hours Act. The method employed in the case of the NIRA was through cooperative action on the part of industries and the government to prevent certain practices such as wage cutting and excessive working hours which were practiced by a small percentage of business men who were seeking to gain a larger share of competitive markets by reducing prices at the expense almost wholly of labor. That was struck down by the Supreme Court of the United States. The elaborate organization which had been built up under it collapsed with the Supreme Court's decision in the so-called Schechter Case.

During the three sessions of the seventy-fifth Congress President Roosevelt has made continuous and vigorous efforts to secure the enactment of a wages and hours bill which would meet the test of the courts and which would accomplish the results intended in the National Industrial Recovery Act in its application to labor conditions and wages. President Roosevelt's efforts met with considerable opposition both within and without his own political party. He has risked the political leadership of his party to accomplish a great reform because of his conviction that permanent industrial recovery in the United States could not be achieved unless certain practices of our competitive industrial system were modified or removed.

Better Wages Needed

Economists have for many years made the point that under consumption of consumer's goods in this country with its enormous power of production has periodically crippled our industrial system. America's great contribution to industrial development is in the field of mass production of

goods, in many cases at constantly decreasing prices, because of organizational and engineering efficiency in mass production industries, and especially because of the enormous market for goods in the free market within the tariff walls of the United States. Mass production depends on mass consumption. Mass consumption in turn depends on the ability of the rank and file of consumers to purchase goods. Consumers, who are in very large measure laborers, cannot purchase and consume goods unless they themselves are employed and employed at rates of pay which make it possible for them to purchase the necessities of life. Recurrent unemployment crises have seriously reduced the capacity of laborers and employable persons to purchase goods, which in turn has reduced the total market for consumption goods and destroyed the possibilities of mass production industries to operate profitably and at low costs.

It is of course illogical to refer to "overproduction" in such goods as wheat, pork, clothing, building materials and others when one-third of the Nation is underfed, underclothed and inadequately housed. It is this contradiction which the Wages and Hours Act is intended to strike at. If it succeeds in putting in the hands of potential consumers the means to purchase this wheat, pork, clothing, and these building materials, the over production which has disorganized markets and caused business depressions will disappear. The President's program as expressed in the National Industrial Recovery Act and in the Wages and Hours Act therefore has the merit of striking directly at a basic failure in the peculiarly American contribution to the world's industrial development.

Act Needs Study

The precise terms of the Wages and Hours Act are worth study to determine not only the underlying philosophy of the law in relation to our national economy, but also to determine their application to the few industries of which we can boast in these islands. Section 2 of the bill prescribes the reasons for the enactment of the law and the purposes intended to be accomplished by it in the following terms:

"The Congress hereby finds that the existence, in industries engaged in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce, of labor conditions detrimental to the maintenance of the minimum standard of living necessary for health, efficiency, and general well being of workers (1) causes commerce and the channels and instrumentalities of commerce to be used to spread and perpetuate each such labor conditions among the workers of the several states; (2) burdens commerce and the free flow of goods in commerce; (3) constitutes an unfair method of competition in commerce; (4) leads to labor disputes burdening and obstructing commerce and the

fr free flow of goods in commerce; and (5) interferes with the orderly and fair marketing of goods in commerce.

"It is hereby declared to be the policy of this Act through the exercise by Congress of its power to regulate commerce among the several States, to correct and as rapidly as practicable to eliminate the conditions above referred to in such industries without substantially curtailing employment or earning power."

It will be noted that Congress has confined itself to legislating on only what is within its constitutional power. Congress may not under the Constitution enact legislation directly regulating commerce and industry within any State of the Union. Under the Constitution Congress has power only to regulate interstate commerce; that is, commerce between the States or between persons within one State and persons outside that State. This limitation of Congressional power in the Constitution is a basic consideration which must be kept in mind in determining the effect of the Wages and Hours Act. The provisions of the law affect directly only persons engaged in industries producing goods which are confined within the borders of a state or territory. In other words, a manufacturer who might produce rum in St. Croix and whose entire product is sold locally so that none of his product enters the channels of interstate commerce will not be required by the terms of the Wages and Hours Act to pay the minimum wages specified in it. On the other hand, a producer of rum who manufactures that product for sale both locally and in the United States will be directly affected by the terms of the Act. Thus, to determine whether or not the provisions of this law directly affect any given industry in the Virgin Islands, consideration must first be given to the question of whether or not the business involved is engaged in interstate commerce only, or intrastate or local commerce. In the former case the law applies fully; in the latter case it does not directly apply.

Congress has made certain exceptions in the law and has established certain definitions which must be carefully considered and interpreted before it is possible to determine whether or not the Act applies directly to any given business operation. Congress has excluded agricultural operations from the business which are directly affected by the law. It has made a careful distinction between certain types of processing of agricultural products and in some cases has exempted from the application of the law such processing activities. From the terms of Sections 6 and 7 of the Act it is clear, however, that the processing of sugar cane into raw sugar or rum is intended to be subject to the wage provisions of the Act. That is, persons who work in sugar factories or in rum distilleries whose product is shipped to the United States or elsewhere outside the Virgin

Islands, must receive the minimum of 25 cents an hour specified in the Act. However, persons engaged in the cultivation and harvesting and delivery of sugar cane to sugar factories or rum distilleries are not directly affected by the law either in its provisions relating to wages or to hours. A special exception is made in Section 7 of the Act with respect to sugar factories, which permits employers engaged in this business to employ laborers for a work week in excess of 44 hours during the grinding season, provided that the grinding season does not exceed 14 work weeks in any calendar year.

Section 3(d) of the Act exempts from its application the United States or any State, territory or political subdivision thereof, when acting in the capacity of an employer. This section is possibly open to several interpretations, but it is my confident expectation that the Government will apply to its own operations which might be covered by law the same scale of wages and hours as it imposes on private industry. In fact, the Relief Act of 1938 specifically makes such provision for projects financed from that appropriation act.

The Act requires that employers who are directly affected by it shall, from its effective date, which is October 25, 1938, pay not less than 25 cents an hour to persons employed by them in the production of goods for interstate commerce. This minimum wage remains in operation until October 24, 1939. From October 25, 1939 employers affected by it must pay not less than 30 cents an hour to each employee during the period from that date until October 25, 1945. Thereafter such employers shall pay their employees a wage of not less than 30 cents an hour in accordance with orders issued by the Administrator of the Wages and Hours Act. The Administrator is authorized to convene what are known as industry committees within each given industry, whose duty it will be to recommend a minimum wage within a given industry which may not be less than 30 cents but which may not be more than 40 cents an hour under certain guiding principles set forth in Section 8 of the Act. Undoubtedly there will be issued by the Administrator a comprehensive and detailed body of regulations which will determine the method of appointment of industry committees and other means of enforcing the provisions of the Act.

Employers directly affected by the Wages and Hours Act are prohibited from employing persons who are engaged in interstate commerce for a work week longer than 44 hours during the year from October 25, 1938 to October 24, 1939. They are prohibited from employing such workers for a work week longer than 42 hours during the period from October 25, 1939 to October 24, 1940. Thereafter they are prohibited from employing such workers for a work week longer than 40 hours. Certain exceptions are made to this absolute requirement in the case of seasonal industries and in the case of contractual

agreements between bona fide labor unions and employers; but in all other cases persons who are engaged in interstate commerce who are employed for a work week in excess of the hours specified in the law, must be paid time and one half for all overtime work.

Many close questions of interpretation will arise in the enforcement of this law. A body of administrative orders will be developed which will determine the precise working out of its terms. The courts will undoubtedly take part in the clarification of its interpretation. No one can at the present time give an "official interpretation" as called for by one of the local newspapers, which will answer all questions of interpretation and application which may be raised under the law. The "official interpretation" will be developed over a period of years as experience indicates and as the realities of a complicated industrial system dictate. A great and important policy has been laid down which will in its operation make for significant changes in the economy of the nation. No one is able at the present time to describe all of the effects which will proceed from its adoption.

You will note that I have repeatedly referred to the "direct" effects of this law in its application to certain types of industrial activity. Without question there will be enormous changes effected by the law in an indirect way. It is highly improbable, for instance, that workers engaged in an industry such as the sugar industry will make so sharp a differentiation as does the law between its two parts. By the law the sugar industry is divided into two elements, one of which is the cultivation and harvesting of sugar cane which is not directly affected by the Act, the other of which is the processing of sugar cane after it is harvested which, on the other hand, is directly affected by it. Employers engaged in an industry which is thus made a dual industry by the law and who must give to their employees engaged in that portion of which it falls, within the terms of the law the minimum wage specified in it, will undoubtedly be subject to pressure from organized labor to increase wages to a greater or lesser extent for those of their employees who are not immediately engaged in the interstate commerce part of their business. In other words as one group of workers in a given community is granted increases of wages, other workers in that community will demand increases to a level somewhat approaching that of the workers affected directly by the law. Likewise, skilled workers and supervisory workers who are now being paid wages in excess of the minimum established in the law will demand increases in their wages so that they in turn will continue to be wages in excess of the minimum established in the law will demand increases in their wages so that they in turn will continue to be wages paid comparably in excess of the lowest paid workers as were paid them prior to the enforced increase of wages to the lowest paid workers. These indirect effects will undoubtedly take an appreciable time to work out and may be the cause of temporary maladjustments and disturbances.

There have been mutterings by certain employers of labor in the Virgin Islands who shall be left unnamed, that the Wages and Hours Act should not have been made to apply to the Virgin Islands. In fact, I have been criticized for failing to do the impossible in securing from Congress a special dispensation for Virgin Islands products which enter interstate commerce so that those engaged in their manufacture and shipment would not receive the benefits of the Act. I confess that I have made no effort whatsoever to secure such an exception. In fact, I rejoice that the bill has been enacted and that it does effect businesses in the Virgin Islands. As I understand the President's policy, the bill was intended to apply precisely to the situation that exists in the Virgin Islands just as it does in the Southern States of the United States. Here, as in those Southern States, labor has been paid wage which are less than that required to maintain a subsistence level. Serious regional maladjustments have developed in the United States of which we are happily an integral part, arising out of the difference in wage scales between the northern and southern sections of the country. Businesses were deserting areas in which they had long been established and were moving to other sections of the country where labor wages and conditions were at lower levels. The businessman who thus transferred his business cannot be blamed for doing so, because price competition compelled him to take advantage of every legitimate means by which he could reduce his operating costs. This transfer of factories has meant the loss of employment to thousands of persons previously engaged in gainful and useful occupations and has instead meant the employment of others at lower rates of pay. The competition from factories established in areas of low wage scale has seriously endangered the entire complex of wage levels in the nation. Although there is reasonable ground for some differentiation of wages between the cold sections of the country and the milder south, that differentiation should not be great and should not be permitted to endanger established wage scales won after many years of sacrifice and effort. Because the purpose of the President in pressing for the adoption of a national wages and hours bill included the removal of excessive wage differentials between various sections of the country. I can see no reason why the Act should not apply to the Virgin Islands. I feel this the more strongly because the worker in the low wage area is the one who has borne the burden. The public interest requires that no group of workers in any section of the nation should be compelled or permitted to work for wages below the subsistence level.

I am conscious of the fact that a difficult period of readjustment is before us and that individual businesses will need to study their methods, practices, and managerial policies with a view to meeting the new requirements imposed on them by the Act. The prophets of doom will deplore its enactment and its operation and will be ready to prove to you from their books that their businesses cannot

be operated under it. In his speech before the National Education Association held at the World's Fair Grounds, New York, on June 30, 1935, the President made the following observation:

"If you have followed the arguments of financial experts over the last few years, you have guessed that they have as many theories of keeping books as there are ends to serve. They do not always agree on the definition of capital, and they even disagree on what is an asset and what is a liability. That is true both in private business and in government."

The point made by the President is one that should constantly be borne in mind because it has an important bearing on the question of whether or not an industry can continue to operate under the provisions of the Wages and Hours Act. A company's books reflect many different factors which make for its successful or unsuccessful operation. Some of these factors may be variables and others may be fixed. All of them are reflected by the books kept by the company, which merely reflect them but do not control them. If wages and the price of a given product produced by a company are fixed, variables such as good or bad management may account for the profitable or unprofitable operation of the company. I repeat that it is probable that no one can foresee the full effects of the Wages and Hours Act on the economic system of the nation, and, therefore, I believe that the books of any given company which reflect conditions that existed in the past will not necessarily give a clear picture of whether or not the same company will be able to continue under the new conditions imposed by the law and the effects which will flow out of it. Without question, when competitors in any given industry are prevented from undercutting wages below a minimum figure, the price structure in that industry will become firmer and will tend to absorb uniformly applied additional operating costs. Increased mechanization will result. Improved personnel management will demand and secure greater labor efficiency. Wise managements will alter the policies of their businesses to meet the new requirements laid down by the law and to meet the new conditions imposed by it. These new conditions will place an increased responsibility on management to conduct any given business prudently and efficiently. Whether or not it does so will be reflected in the books of the business in black or in red talk.

To summarize briefly, therefore, the Wages and Hours Act applies to certain business in the Virgin Islands, such as the sugar and rum processing factories, which are engaged in interstate commerce; it fixes minimum wages and maximum hours for workers employed in those businesses, it does not apply directly to agricultural activities; it

imposes added responsibility on management to eliminate waste and inefficiency; it will compel increased labor efficiency.

Our great President, Franklin Roosevelt, has succeeded after a gallant fight in effecting a major reform in our industrial system. Let us not be what he has characterized as "yes-but men", let us not say that we agree with his policy but that we cannot or will not agree with his method of carrying it out. Let us rather follow his great leadership and exert every effort possible on our part to carry out his humanitarian and economically wise program.

-oOo-

COPY

Charlotte Amalie,
Virgin Islands
August 4, 1938

My dear Mr. Ickes:

I am spending a few weeks in the Virgin Islands with my family on a combination of vacation and the gathering of material for one, and perhaps two, articles on the successes and failures of what has been attempted here. I am quite enthusiastic about the homesteading, cooperative, and housing projects, the administration of the courts, and about certain phases of the Virgin Islands Company's accomplishments.

But the facilities, or perhaps, to be more accurate, the lack of them, in the hospitals, especially in St. Croix, have shocked and almost nauseated me. The condition of the insane asylum in Saint Croix is beyond doubt the worst I have ever seen anywhere, while the asylum in Saint Thomas is little better. At Saint Croix, a section of concrete wall fell from the dilapidated building recently, while a section of the concrete flooring of the gallery is in such condition that it will undoubtedly fall as soon as a strong gust of wind hits it. When one considers the almost complete absence of facilities for treatment of these poor unfortunates, it would almost be merciful for some of them to be placed under this slab of flooring so that when it falls their misery may be ended. I was informed that a P.W.A. foreman, not long since, cut down shade trees which gave some refuge from the noon-day sun because the roots of the trees were undermining the wall about the asylum. In any event, the poor devils were huddled miserably under the stairway to the gallery to escape the burning sun.

Almost as bad are the conditions in the leper colony and in the hospitals at Christiansted and Fredericksted. The buildings are antiquated and wholly inadequate to the needs. Because there are no buildings for isolation of tuberculosis patients, there were two active cases in the open ward at Christiansted in which there were also mothers who had just given birth to babies. X-ray, ambulance and other equipment are either antiquated or dilapidated through long use at both Saint Croix hospitals. The situation at Saint Thomas is somewhat better.

The brightest spot in an otherwise depressing picture is the excellent work being done by Drs. Knud-Hansen, Knott, Moorehead, Sloane, and their associates, including the nurses. Really heroic work is being done by them in the face of handicaps which would break the spirit of less devoted men and women. The remarkable work they have done in reducing incidence of malaria, filaria, syphilis, leprosy, infant mortality and other diseases is beyond

all question a chapter of service to humanity to be proud of.

When I discussed the condition of the hospitals with Governor Cramer he told me that an application for a grant to construct new hospitals in Saint Croix and additions to the hospital in Saint Thomas is now being considered by the P.W.A. May I most vigorously urge favorable action on that application? In my opinion it would be a sheer waste of money to try to patch up the present plants. Entirely new buildings and equipment are needed, not only to minister to the immediate health needs of the islands, but to permit extension of the research and preventive work in treatment of maladies peculiar to the tropics.

When I return to the States in September I will be glad to come in to talk over the situation and conditions here, should you wish me to do so.

Sincerely,
(Signed) Walter White

Honorable Harold L. Ickes
Secretary of the Interior,
Washington, D. C.

COOP

THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR
WASHINGTON

Aug. 19, 1938

Mr. Walter White,
Villa Fair View
Charlotte Amalie,
St. Thomas, Virgin Islands.

My dear Mr. White:

In the absence of Secretary Ickes, who is in Alaska at the present time, I acknowledge receipt of your letter dated August 4 regarding conditions in the Virgin Islands, particularly the lack of adequate hospital facilities and the delapidated condition of the leprosarium and insane asylum in St. Croix.

Governor Cramer could have explained to you that these institutions are under the jurisdiction of the respective municipal governments of the Islands and provision for their maintenance is carried in the local budgets. Of course, the Federal Government is interested, and Congress has made annual appropriations to meet the municipal government deficits ever since the Islands were acquired from Denmark in 1917; also, large sums of money have been allocated to the Islands by the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, Works Progress Administration, Public Works Administration, and various other relief agencies for their rehabilitation. Naturally the Department has been guided by the Governor's judgment as to priorities in considering and approving the projects.

It is true that recently, in accordance with authorization contained in ordinances enacted by the municipal councils of the Islands, the Governor filed a large number of applications with the Public Works Administration, including the following projects:

Reconstruction and extension of, repairs to, improvements and equipment of Municipal Hospital in St. Thomas.....	\$92,000
Construction of, repairs to, and equipment of municipal hospitals (St. Croix).....	250,000

These applications were on a loan and grant basis and had to be disapproved for the reason that the municipalities of the Virgin Islands lack the power to borrow money or issue bonds. Governor Cramer

was informed of this decision in a radiogram addressed to him under date of June 29, also in subsequent communications dated July 12 and July 18 addressed to him by the Acting Director of the Division of Territories and Island Possessions. I cannot understand why he did not inform you that it was a legal barrier and not a matter of administrative inaction which prevented approval of the Virgin Islands projects by the Public Works Administration.

When you return to the continent in September I hope we may have an opportunity to discuss conditions in the Islands.

Sincerely
(Signed) E. K. Burlew
Acting Secretary of the Interior

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COPY

Villa Fair View
Charlotte Amalie
Saint Thomas
Virgin Islands

23 August 1938

My dear Mr. Burlew:

I have received your airmail letter of August 19th replying to my letter of August 4th addressed to Secretary Ickes.

On re-reading my letter I find nothing even remotely implying a criticism of the Department of the Interior. And, certainly, I am not concerned with details of intra-departmental activities and communications. Therefore, I am greatly surprised and disappointed that your reply should seem to be directed at vindication of the Department and criticism of Governor Cramer.

Conditions which I observed in hospitals and asylums in the Virgin Islands shocked and sickened me. I believed Secretary Ickes would be interested to know how these conditions appeared to a disinterested outsider and would wish to do whatever was in his power to remedy them. I regret that the attitude reflected by your reply was so markedly different from the spirit which motivated my letter to Secretary Ickes.

Ever sincerely,
(Signed)
WALTER WHITE

Hon. E. K. Burlew,
Acting Secretary of the Interior,
Washington, D. C.

October 10, 1938

100
✓

Dear Mr. Whites

I helped this girl last year and will help her again, but I want to feel sure it will mean something in the future and not be something temporary. Will you let me know what you think?

Very sincerely yours,

SO

Mr. Walter White
69 Fifth Avenue
NYC

Margaret Inniss
66 W 120
NYC

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Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Thank you for your two letters.

I am particularly glad to have your opinion on the Virgin Islands. As with nearly every matter we discuss I agree heartily with your opinion.

I am asking Miss Inness to come in to see me. After talking with her I shall discuss her case with Dean Payne of New York University, who happens to be a very good friend of mine, and will see if the University cannot relieve you of the burden of helping her. I will also report to you what I am able to do.

Cordially

Walter White
 Secretary

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

WW/RR

October 27, 1938

100

My dear Mr. White:

Mrs. Roosevelt asks me to thank you for your report on Margaret Inniss. If you think she must have money, Mrs. Roosevelt will send it on condition that you do not let Miss Inniss know from whom it came.

Mrs. Roosevelt has put down the date of June 27 for your Thirtieth Annual Conference and will attend the meeting at that time unless something unforeseen comes up.

Very sincerely yours,

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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Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I know it is much too early to ask you to set a definite date. But on the other hand, our Richmond, Virginia, Branch which will entertain our Thirtieth Annual Conference next June wants above every other person yourself as a speaker at the Conference. In this wish the National Office heartily concurs.

I am therefore writing to ask you to put down on your calendar the date of June 27 next which will be the opening date of the Conference. We very much want you with us. Will you come?

Ever sincerely,

Walter White
Secretary

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

W/RR

Return to me.

*Pat on I think that I got
in your journal book file*

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October 31, 1936

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I talked with Miss Inniss. My frank opinion is that she has been so buffeted by life that it is very hard for her to make any sort of adjustment. She took out her first papers in 1927 or 1928. She states they promised to notify her when she should apply for her second papers and when they did not do so she neglected to make inquiry or do anything else about it. As a result, when the seven-year period had passed she had done nothing further. The result is that she does not have citizenship papers and therefore is not eligible for W.P.A., N.Y.A. or other government aid.

She is very passionate about her belief that something must be done to create greater recreational opportunity in Harlem.

I plan to talk with Mark McCloskey and Byrnes McDonald to see if she can get work through them which in turn will enable her to continue taking the courses she wishes to take. As far as I could learn, she has not been working towards a degree but simply selecting courses which she thinks will be most helpful to her. I will do whatever I can to help her and will keep you advised.

Ever sincerely,

Walter White
 Secretary

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

WW/RR

*V.R. - if she must have
 money will send you but don't
 let her know*

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October
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June 27

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My dear Mrs. Thompson:

I shall see Miss Inniss again soon and find out if she must have money and, if so, how much. I will then write you again.

And will you tell Mrs. Roosevelt how delighted we all were to learn, through you, that she has put down the date of June 27th to speak at our 30th Annual Conference at Richmond, Virginia? Tell her that we shall be offering prayers that nothing unforeseen will come up to deprive us of the joy of having her with us.

Ever sincerely,

Walter White
 Secretary.

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WJ:CTF

RETURN TO MISS THOMPSON

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November
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**PERSONAL AND
 CONFIDENTIAL**

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Dr. Allan Knight Chalmers is now in my office, having arrived by plane from Birmingham this morning. He did what, in my opinion, is nothing less than a miracle in snatching out of complete defeat at least a stay of execution. Dr. Chalmers found on his arrival in Montgomery Thursday that Governor Graves was determined to issue a statement that day denying the petition to release the boys. Dr. Chalmers was able to persuade him, with the aid of Grover Hall, editor of the Montgomery Advertiser, to defer action temporarily.

Most significant of all is that the narrowly averted repudiation of his explicit promise has roused to fighting pitch and extreme anger such mild-mannered individuals as Donald Comer, President of the Avondale Mills at Birmingham; Grover Hall; Dr. Henry M. Edmonds, without doubt the outstanding white minister of Alabama; James M. Chappell, editor of the Birmingham Age-Herald and the Birmingham News; Forney Johnston, and other leaders who have worked very hard and faithfully on this case. This committee is to see the Governor early next week.

I have asked Dr. Chalmers to have ready for you when we talk with you on the 17th here in New York a chronological memorandum which he can explain and leave with you. I am asking him also to bring with him for your perusal the documents which support this memorandum. He will also be able to tell you some things which it is wisest for us not to put in writing at this stage, among them the situation which caused Forney Johnston to declare that this is "the most unique sociological experiment on the working out of a racial problem that has come in my life-time, and if we fail on it we will set back the possibilities of relationship between the North and the South on some of these issues for a generation".

Will you be good enough to let me know where and at

#2 - Mrs. Roosevelt.

November 11, 1938

What hour on the 17th you can see Dr. Chalmers
and myself?

Ever sincerely,

Walter White
Secretary.

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

WI:CTF

December 10, 1938

My dear Mr. White:

The President said that Governor Graves never came to see him so before he left Warm Springs he sent him a letter, telling him that going back on his work was really making him lose caste amongst the people who respected him. He suggested that the Governor pardon the Scottsboro boys conditionally and say that they have to be removed to Ohio or some place away from the South. He has not answered by as soon as he does I will let you know.

Very sincerely yours,

Mr. Walter White
N.A.A.C.P.
69 5th Ave., NYC

T:DD

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My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Dr. Chalmers and I are very keen to talk with you at your earliest convenience to learn what developments have taken place since we talked with you here on November 17. Can you write me the facts? Or if that is not feasible, will you let me know when and where we may talk with you?

Unfortunately, Dr. Chalmers leaves New York tomorrow for lectures at Johns Hopkins University, for the Federal Council of Churches meeting at Buffalo, and for lectures at Penn State College. Should you want to talk with him over long distance, his schedule will be as follows:

Wednesday evening, December 7, to
Friday evening, December 9 - Statler Hotel, Buffalo.

Saturday morning, December 10, to
Sunday evening, December 11 - Penn State College,
State College, Pa.

He will return to New York from State College, Pa.

Dr. Chalmers is particularly anxious to talk with you before he goes to or while he is at the Federal Council meeting in Buffalo because the date of expiration of the Governor's term of office is so near at hand.

If all efforts prove unsuccessful and the Governor is adamant in his recently announced position, Dr. Chalmers plans to make public at the meeting of the Federal Council the entire story of the negotiations.

Ever sincerely,

Walter White
Secretary

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

WW/RR

Minna K. Ross, Pres. The Mary F. Waring Club, 413 W. 147th St., NYC

December 10, 1938

My dear Mr. White:

Could you tell Mrs. Roosevelt anything about this organization? She is willing to send them a letter if it is a bona fide group.

I would appreciate your returning the letter with your reply as I do not have a copy of it.

Very sincerely yours,

Secretary to
Mrs. Roosevelt

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

DD

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Official Organ: *The Crisis*



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201-12/15*

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December
13th
1938

100

My dear Mrs. Thompson:

The letter from the organization about which Mrs. Roosevelt wishes information was inadvertently omitted from your letter of December 10th. I shall be glad to give an opinion when the letter reaches me.

Ever sincerely,

Malvina C. Thompson
Secretary.

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Mrs. Malvina C. Thompson
Secretary to Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
The White House
Washington, D. C.

WJ:CTF

December 13, 1938

100

My dear Mr. White:

This letter should have been enclosed with my letter to you of December 10, asking about this organization.

Very sincerely yours,

Secretary to
Mr. Roosevelt

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

DD

*The Mary F. Wasing Club
Mrs. Minna K. Ross, Pres
413 W. 147 St. NYC.*

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NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE
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69 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

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Official Organ: *The Crisis*



November
16th
1938

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My dear Mrs. Thompson:

Thank you for your note from Columbus. Dr. Chalmers and I will be at the apartment a few minutes before 12:45 and will leave promptly at one.

Ever sincerely,

Walter White

Secretary.

Mrs. Malvina C. Thompson
20 East 11th Street
New York City.

WV:CTF

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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*



December
16th
1938

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GEORGE B. MURPHY, JR.	PUBLICITY AND PROMOTION

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Giving an opinion on the letter of December 8th from the Mary F. Waring Club and its plan for attacking the problem of delinquency is difficult. I do not know any of the persons whose names are listed on the letter-head. I am, however, making inquiry as to who they are and will advise you when I receive this information.

The difficulty arises in trying to express an opinion upon the particular approach which they propose to make in New York. Were it in a city further South I would be inclined to believe that there would be necessity for the establishment of another shelter. In most places of the South it would be an entirely new thing to have a shelter for Negro girls who are potentially delinquent.

The approach in New York, however, seems, to me, to be that along the lines which a number of us have been working on for a number of years-- namely, of keeping before the already established agencies their duty in attacking not white delinquency or Negro delinquency, but all delinquency. As you know, at Warwick we have successfully demonstrated that delinquents of all races, creeds and colors can live and work together without friction. Not only as a matter of principle but as a matter of practical common sense I think it wisest that stress in reasonably enlightened places like New York should be continued along that line.

The crux of this problem, aside from the economic disabilities from which the greater incidence of delinquency among Negro children arises, is that of getting such long-established and well-financed agencies to do their duty in helping Negroes as well as white delinquents. The Jewish and Catholic welfare agencies draw no color line, but, unhappily, the Protestant ones do. Here, for example, is copy of correspondence I have just had with Berkshire Industrial Farm when they wrote me for a contribution. Here also is copy of a letter I wrote in 1936 to Mayor LaGuardia when the Federation

#2 - Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt

December 16, 1938

of Protestant Welfare Agencies sought funds from New York City to establish a segregated unit at Wiltwick. Since this plan was abandoned there has been organized a group under Dorothy Straus's leadership, known as the Negro Child Placing Bureau of whose Board I am a member, which plans, as its name implies, for foster home placement of Negro children. This isn't the final answer, of course, and in a measure it is a compromise. We hope, however, that eventually Christianity and the Protestant agencies will not be so shackled by the color line.

You know also of the efforts we made for a number of years to secure an appropriation from the New York State Legislature for foster home placement of boys from Warwick. We eventually succeeded in getting during the last two years \$10,000 annually for such placement. I am hoping that we are going to be able to do so good a job that this will be adopted as a permanent policy for all New York State institutions, including places like Hudson. Not only do I believe that staying in an institution, however well run and however enlightened its policy, does eventual harm to any child but it actually saves the state money since it costs only about half of what it takes to keep a child in a place like Warwick as it does in a carefully selected and properly supervised foster home.

But to come to the specific proposal of the Mary F. Waring Club, there are already institutions like Utopia House and the Y.W.C.A., which are working in this field. As a general principle, it would seem to me, especially in times like these when it is hard to raise money, duplication of institutions is not a wise procedure. It would be far better and more intelligent to strengthen some of the already established agencies so that they can serve more children and thus avoid duplication of plant and overhead.

These are somewhat general observations which are subject to change in the case of this particular plan if the persons of whom I am making inquiry and who know the situation better than I do, disagree with what I have said. You will hear from me further when I have secured advice from one or two people. In the meantime, I suggest that you withhold giving your endorsement.

Ever sincerely,

Secretary.

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

WW:CTF

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MRS. MINNA K. ROSS, PRESIDENT
413 WEST 147TH STREET
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

FINANCIAL SECRETARY
MRS. MAUDE FUHRZ
TREASURER
MRS. OLIVE BRYAN
DEVOTIONAL LEADER
MRS. LUCIA M. DREW

December 6, 1938

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

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

The Mary F. Waring Club was organized about two years ago in an effort to meet a pressing need for a shelter for Negro girls whose environmental disadvantages have rendered them potentially delinquent. The girl, who by reason of family poverty, parental incompetence or neglect, finds herself socially adrift, is the girl toward whom our interest is directed. This community, despite its size, despite its large number of welfare agencies, public and private, has none which is so constituted as to enable it to care for these unfortunates. As you know, modern social work methods recognize the potentially disastrous consequences of grouping the "first offenders" with others whose history of delinquency is more serious and more lengthy.

It is our conviction that the establishment of a shelter for the type of girl described, where early treatment of the problem may be effected, will obviate the necessity for the long and tedious program of rehabilitation.

Our objective is difficult of attainment, and we have concentrated on raising funds to finance this project. The community's response has been encouraging, but our goal is still distant. We feel that your endorsement of our program would definitely stimulate greater community interest in our undertaking. In this connection, we wish you might address the club, if it is possible for you to do so. We would be so grateful to have you whenever it is convenient for you to be in New York, any time after January, 1939.

We know of your sympathetic interest in the problems of our youth and trust you will find it possible to assist us in what we believe a most worthy endeavor.

Very truly yours,

Minna K. Ross

Minna K. Ross
President.

ER 100 File

White

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

December 13, 1938

My dear Mr. Hageneyer:

Thank you for your courteous letter of December 9.

I have served for a number of years on the Board of the State Training School for Boys at Warwick. Our experience there does not bear out your conviction that the admission of colored boys would lead to dissension and dissatisfaction among the boys themselves. On the contrary, the experience at Warwick does help to prove that human beings can live together in amity and without conflict.

I freely recognize that, as we have found at Warwick, the number of colored boys in such an institution will, unhappily, be disproportionate to the percentage of Negroes in the population of New York State. This, however, as you of course know, is due to a variety of causes. Among them is the greater percentage of underprivileged Negro boys, due to discrimination in employment, segregation and over-crowding in slum areas, failure of some of the Protestant welfare organizations to face and do their duty in looking out for these boys when they are haled into court, and the difficulty of finding employment for many of these youngsters when they are ready for release. We have a wholly disproportionate percentage of Negro boys at Warwick, a considerable number of them being no more delinquent, so far as infractions of the law are concerned, than you or I. We had one case of a colored youngster sent to us by the Children's Court. The commitment papers classified him as "underprivileged". When Dr. Williams, the Superintendent, returned the boy to the Court, since Warwick cannot accept boys who are merely underprivileged, unless they are delinquent, the boy came back a day or two later with the same commitment papers but "underprivileged" had been scratched out and "delinquent" written above it. That lad will for the rest of his life, therefore, have the charge of delinquency on his record.

Finally, you will say that Warwick has no other recourse than to accept boys of all races, creeds and colors; that it is legally bound to accept whoever is sent there by the Children's Court. You will be correct. But Berkshire Industrial Farm and Children's Village, and other such institutions have a moral obligation not to draw the color line, if indeed they live up to the Christian precepts and principles which they profess.

What I have said is said in all sincerity and without bitterness. It seems to me that at a time like this when democracy is threatened with inundation by bigotry, we should as far as is humanly possible wipe out bigotry in our own country, not because it is the Christian and moral thing to do but because only by doing so can democracy itself be preserved.

With this I am sure that a man of your reputation and sincere willingness to do the right thing would agree.

With cordial greetings,

Ever sincerely,

(Signed) Walter White

Secretary.

Mr. Frank E. Hageneyer
30 Sutton Place, New York City

WJ/RR

COPY

Directors
.....
.....

Frank E. Hageneyer

BERKSHIRE INDUSTRIAL FARM
Inc.
Canaan, N. Y.

Wolcott G. Lane, President
60 Broadway
New York City

Dec. 9, 1938

My dear Mr. White,

I thank you for your letter of the 8th inst. and can understand your position while at the same time disagreeing with it.

The members of the Board of Directors have often discussed this question and are convinced that the Berkshire Industrial Farm, which has successfully carried on for over fifty years, on its present basis, would make a mistake by changing its policy. Were the Farm to take colored boys there would be dissention and dissatisfaction among the boys themselves and result eventually in an institution composed almost entirely of colored.

We hear from many sources that the Farm is considered to be accomplishing unusually good work and we would not wish to imperil it by such a radical change which, we feel sure, would not meet the approval of the many friends who are making it possible for us to carry on.

If you have never been to the Farm, I hope you will some time visit it and satisfy yourself as to any doubts you may have.

Very sincerely yours,

(Signed) F. E. Hageneyer

BERKSHIRE INDUSTRIAL FARM

Canaan, N. Y.

C
O
P
Y

November 14, 1938

Dear Mr. White:

This is a picture of a boy at the Berkshire Farm who is learning to be a farmer. He has every right to be proud of the splendid turkey he raised himself.

To many of our 150 boys like Joe and Tommy in the enclosed circular, this will be their first real Thanksgiving. They all come from destitute or broken homes, where they seldom had adequate food, shelter or clothing. They were on the verge of juvenile delinquency when Berkshire Farm took them in. Now they are learning to become upright, self-sustaining citizens.

As the boys raise a large part of their own food, they are assured of a good Thanksgiving dinner. Our most pressing need right now, is to provide them all with substantial clothing, for they face a long, cold winter in the Berkshire Hills.

Could you help us to meet this urgent need by sending a special Thanksgiving gift? This would buy shoes or a warm garment for one of our dependent boys.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) JOHN F. DEGENER, JR.
Treasurer

November 15, 1938

My dear Mr. Degener:

I have your letter of November 14th asking for a financial contribution as a Thanksgiving gift for the boys at the Berkshire Industrial Farm.

I have been informed that the color line is drawn at Berkshire Farm and Negroes are not admitted. Please inform me if this is true.

Ever sincerely,

(Signed) WALTER WHITE

Secretary.

Mr. John F. Degener, Jr.,
Berkshire Industrial Farm
101 Park Avenue, Room 806
New York City

C
O
P
Y

BERKSHIRE INDUSTRIAL FARM
Inc.
Canaan, N. Y.

November 18, 1938

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

My dear Mr. White:

In reply to your inquiry of November 15, I
wish to advise you that the Berkshire Industrial Farm
is restricted to white boys.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) JOHN F. DEGENER, JR.
Treasurer

November 25, 1938

My dear Mr. Degener:

I have your letter of November 18 in reply
to my inquiry of the 15th.

Under the circumstances I feel I cannot
make a contribution to Berkshire Industrial Farm.

Ever sincerely,

(Signed) WALTER WHITE
Secretary

Mr. John F. Degener, Jr.
Berkshire Industrial Farm
Room 806, 101 Park Avenue
New York City

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69 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

TELEPHONE: ALGONQUIN 4-3551

Official Organ: The Crisis



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January 18, 1939

100

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

You certainly did a fine job in answering so superbly the multitude of questions fired at you last Thursday. My congratulations. I told the President what a grand job you had done and how you had won the hearts of all present.

I am going to be in Washington Thursday and Friday of this week. Would it be possible for you to see Dr. Elizabeth Yates Webb, who is chairman of our Program Committee for our Annual Conference to be held at Richmond next June which you have so generously agreed to speak to, and myself on either of these days? We would like to talk to you for a few minutes about the scope of the Conference and to get your approval of certain plans.

Cordially

Walter White
 Secretary

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New York	Hubert T. Delany Morris L. Ernst Arthur Garfield Hays Benjamin Kaplan Earl N. Llewellyn James Marshall Charles H. Studin
Philadelphia	Francis Biddle
Pittsburgh	Homer S. Brown
Toledo, Ohio	Jesse S. Hostip William T. McKnight
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Wilmington, Del.	Louis L. Holding

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

WW/RR

*To-morrow's Street day
 at 5:30*

OK.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 19

Memo to ~~Mr. Clegg~~ *Miss Thompson*

The following two persons
have an appointment with Mrs. Roosevelt
at 5:30 P.M. today, Thursday, Jan. 19:

Dr. Elizabeth Yates Webb
Mr. Walter White

M. Somerville

April 12, 1939

My dear Mr. White:

It has come to my ears that your organization is helping a group of colored people here who intend to picket the D.A.R. Society during their meeting. I do not know if there is anything you could do to prevent this but it worries me very much to have anything of this kind done. In the first place, Washington is a city where one could have serious trouble and I think it would not do any good to picket the D.A.R. It would only create bad feeling all the way around. At present the D.A.R. Society is condemned for the stand it took and if picketing is done it may result in the sympathy swinging to the other side. I would strongly urge you to use your influence against this and to leave well enough alone.

Very sincerely yours,

Mr. Walter White
N.A.A.C.P.
69 Fifth Avenue
NYC

S:DD

April 14, 1939

Dear Mr. White:

Thank you very much for your letter of April 12. I am so glad to know how you feel about having me present the medal to Miss Anderson.

Very sincerely yours,

Mr. Walter White
NAACP
69 Fifth Avenue
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



April 12th
1939

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Wilmington, Del.	Louis L. Redding

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Thanks in large measure to you the Marian Anderson concert on Sunday was one of the most thrilling experiences of our time. Only one thing marred it-- that you couldn't be there. But I understand thoroughly the reason you could not come.

We were delighted to read in the newspapers yesterday in your statement to your press conference that if you were asked to do so you would consent to present the Spingarn Medal to Miss Anderson when you speak at Richmond on July 2nd. Since Dr. Webb and I talked with you at the White House some weeks ago the desire to have you make the presentation at the close of your speech has developed. We had planned to take this up with you later when we sent you the memorandum you asked us to send in May. But in view of your statement yesterday we are writing now to tell you how happy we are to know that you will make the presentation. I know this happiness is shared by Miss Anderson.

Ever sincerely,

Secretary.

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

WJ:CTF

TELEGRAM

17WUD39DL

The White House
Washington

NS New York NY 1147am April 14 1939

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt

The White House

Agree wholeheartedly with opinion your letter April 12th used almost identical language in letter written last Tuesday urging that plan be abandoned. Copy that letter being sent you by special delivery air mail. Also telephoning key people in Washington.

Walter White.

1235pm

ful

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69 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

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Official Organ: The Crisis



April 14th
 1939

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 SPECIAL DELIVERY**

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 PUBLICITY AND PROMOTION

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I have just wired you as follows:

"Agree wholeheartedly with opinion your letter April 12th. Used almost identical language in letter written last Tuesday urging that plan be abandoned. Copy that letter being sent you by special delivery, air mail. Also telephoning key people in Washington."

And here is self-explanatory copy of letter I wrote Mr. Charles H. Houston who is chairman of the Marian Anderson Citizens Committee.

Ever sincerely,

Walter White

Secretary.

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

WJ:CTF

ENDORSED BY THE NATIONAL INFORMATION BUREAU, 215 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK
 30th ANNUAL CONFERENCE, RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, June 27th - July 2nd, 1939

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

April 11th
1939

Dear Charlie:

I talked with several people, both white and colored in Washington and New York, and also placed before the Board yesterday for an informal opinion the idea of picketing the D.A.R. convention. The immediate and unanimous response of all those with whom I talked was that to do so after Sunday's superb affair would be anti-climactical. The pathetic old ladies of the D.A.R. have been completely snowed under. As Michael Mok said in the New York Evening Post yesterday, there were on Sunday 75,000 jeers for the D.A.R. and the School Board-- one of the most overwhelming condemnations of bigotry that has yet been organized. If the D.A.R. is picketed it might result in creating some sympathy for them where now there is nothing but utter contempt.

I pass this on to the Marian Anderson Citizens Committee and you for whatever it may be worth.

As more positive approaches to the problem, I think it would be much more effective if (a) the suit were instituted to deny in future tax-exemption to the D.A.R. property and particularly Constitution Hall and (b) there were vigorous support of the McGranery resolution for investigation of the School Board. This, of course, would include the efforts to change the attitude of the Board of Education and, if necessary, change the Board and its attitude with respect to the use of public school auditoriums or other facilities. The objective, however, of the fight is, it seems to us, to be against the dual school system even though we know as a practical matter that it is going to take a long time to destroy it. We ought, however, never to lose sight nor permit others to lose sight of that as our ultimate objective.

In order that the District of Columbia Branch may

#2 - Mr. Houston
April 11, 1939

know the feeling of the Board I am sending Dr. Marshall
a copy of this letter.

With cordial personal greetings, I am

Ever sincerely,

(Signed) Walter (White)
Secretary.

P.S. - Here is an editorial, "The City Was Filled With
Her Voice", from today's New York Evening Post which I
think will show the reaction on Sunday which conceivably
may be changed by picketing.

Charles H. Houston, Esq.,
615 F Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

WW:CTF

Letter from John Stewart Bryan, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Va.
asking Mrs. R. to dedicate memorial to Virginia E. Randolph

April 20, 1939

My dear Mr. White:

Mrs. Roosevelt wants me to ask
you if it would be possible to fit this in
when she is in Richmond on July 2.

Very sincerely yours,

Secretary to
Mrs. Roosevelt

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

DD



CHARTERED 1683
 COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY
 OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
 WILLIAMSBURG, VIRGINIA

John Stewart Bryan
April 20, 1939
APR 22 1939

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

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

In further reference to my letter about the dedication of the Virginia Hanolph School on July 2, I beg to hand you herewith a formal invitation from the Henrico County Board of Supervisors and School Board.

It is our plan to invite Governor James H. Price; Honorable Harold Ickes, United States Secretary of the Interior; Colonel E. W. Clark, Assistant Administrator of the Public Works Administration; Dr. Jackson Davis, of the Southern Education Board; Dr. Douglas Southall Freeman, member of the General Education Board; Mr. Arthur Wright, of the Jeanes Fund; Dr. Stanley B. Hall, Superintendent of Public Instruction; Dr. Fred M. Alexander, Virginia State Supervisor of Negro Education; Honorable Lave H. Satterfield, Jr., member of Congress from the Third Virginia District, and a number of distinguished Negro citizens to participate in this program.

I wish to again add my own earnest request that you will find it possible to come.

Believe me, with kindest regards

Cordially yours

John Stewart Bryan

John Stewart Bryan

EP

COUNTY OF HENRICO, to wit:

At an adjourned meeting of the Board of Supervisors of said County, held at the Court House on Wednesday, the 12th day of April, 1939, at the hour of 1:00 o'clock P. M.

WHEREAS, the Board of Supervisors and School Board of Henrico County are advised that the Honorable Eleanor Roosevelt and Miss Marian Anderson will be present to participate in a program of the Association for the Advancement of Colored People to be held at the Mosque in Richmond, Virginia, on the afternoon of Sunday, July 2nd, and

WHEREAS, the newly constructed buildings at the Virginia Randolph Negro Training School will be dedicated on or about that date, and

WHEREAS, these buildings have in large part been made possible by Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works funds, and

WHEREAS, this building program and the acquisition of additional farm lands facilitate the further advancement of the life work of Miss Virginia Randolph whose forty-six years of distinguished educational leadership in Henrico County as the first Jeanes Fund Supervisor of Negro education, and whose plan of Negro education has been adopted by the Jeanes Fund in the United States, and also by foreign countries,

THEREFORE, be it resolved that: The Board of Supervisors and School Board of Henrico County extend to the Honorable Eleanor Roosevelt and Miss Marian Anderson a most cordial invitation to participate in this dedicatory exercise and express the earnest hope that their personal plans will permit them to accept this invitation.

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W. Thorburn Clark
Holmes C. Turner

Willard F. Day, County Manager

C. K. Holsinger, Superintendent of Schools



Attested:

W. H. Gullett Clerk
Board of County Supervisors of Henrico
County, Va.

Attested:

Pearl A. Tideman Clerk
School Board of Henrico County, Va.

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May 1, 1939

My dear Miss Thompson:

I know it will be difficult for Mrs. Roosevelt to say "No" to Dr. John Stewart Bryan's request about the award to Mrs. Randolph. But, as she and you will understand, Mrs. Roosevelt's participating in the memorial on the morning of July 2 would conceivably make the Spingarn Medal Award to Marian Anderson in the afternoon somewhat of a conflict if not an anti-climax.

For this and other reasons which I would prefer telling Mrs. Roosevelt in person I hope Mrs. Roosevelt will find some way of declining Dr. Bryan's invitation without hurting his feelings.

Ever sincerely,

Walter White
 Secretary

Miss Malvina C. Thompson
 Secretary to Mrs. Roosevelt
 The White House
 Washington, D. C.

WW:RR



COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
WILLIAMSBURG, VIRGINIA

APR 22 1939
April 20, 1939

Mrs. F. D. Roosevelt
The White House
Washington

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt

The career and services of Virginia E. Randolph, of Richmond, certainly must be known to you. Virginia is one of the great leaders of the Negro race in this country, and her work is known and admired not only in America, but it has had a great influence on the Negroes everywhere as having evolved a new method of approach to fundamental problems of her race.

Thirty years ago I served on the school board under which Virginia worked, and during the interim I have followed her career with admiration and delight.

A memorial to her achievement is to be dedicated just outside of Richmond, Virginia, on the morning of July 2d, and at the earnest request of the County Board of Supervisors and the Trustees of the Virginia Randolph School, I am writing to ask if you will not do us the honor to participate in these ceremonies, especially as you plan to be in Richmond on that day for the exercises incident to the award for Marian Anderson. It would be difficult to imagine an occasion which reflects more credit on the Negro race, or one which gives greater hope for its future than the work Virginia Randolph has accomplished, and the inspiration of your presence at this ceremony will be sincerely appreciated. I do hope that you can be with us.

Believe me, with kindest regards

Cordially yours

John Stewart Bryan

May 8, 1939

100

My dear Mr. White:

Thank you so much for your note. I am glad that you liked the talk I gave at Mrs. Dodge's and I appreciate your writing me.

I have written to Dr. John Stewart Bryan, telling him that I will not be able to attend the dedication at the Virginia Randolph school.

Very sincerely yours,

Mr. Walter White
69 Fifth Avenue
NYC

DD

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Topeka, Kans.	Hon. Arthur Capper
Washington	Hon. William H. Hastie
	Hon. Frank Murphy
	Charles Edward Russell
	Dr. Charles H. Thompson
	Dr. Elizabeth Yates Webb

May 3rd
 1939

Handwritten initials: H. R.

Handwritten: Acted 5-6-39

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

That was a most charming and able
 speech you made at Mrs. Dodge's yesterday.

May I tell you how deeply grateful we are?

With cordial personal greetings, I

am

Ever sincerely,

Handwritten signature: Walter White

Secretary.

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

WV:CTF

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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 13th
1939

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My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I have just this minute completed arrangements for the second Coast-to-Coast network which will broadcast the July 2nd meeting from Richmond. N.B.C. is giving us their blue network and the Columbia Broadcasting System is giving us their entire chain of 106 stations. To do this Columbia is canceling a foreign broadcast.

Both chains are carrying the program from 4:00 to 4:30 Eastern Standard time, on which Richmond operates.

Both chains are anxious to get on the air your address and Miss Anderson's acceptance. Since Miss Anderson is reluctant about speaking we have suggested to her that she respond briefly to your presentation of the Medal and then sing perhaps one or two numbers.

Compressing both your speech and Miss Anderson's response into half an hour is going to be rather difficult for you both. Do you think it can be done? Please let me hear from you as I have been asked by the broadcasting companies to let them know by the end of this week what we can do.

Ever sincerely,

Secretary.

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

P.S. - A letter identical with this was sent to you at Hyde Park because I wasn't sure at what address I could reach you.

W.W.

WV:CTF

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July 6, 1939

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

It is difficult for me to tell you how much we appreciated your coming to Richmond last Sunday and making that occasion so significant. Your speech was magnificent. Already we are receiving letters from various parts of the country telling us how great was the impression on those who listened on the air, and we were inundated by those who were fortunate enough to be present.

With cordial greetings and the sincere thanks of all the N.A.A.C.P.,

Ever sincerely,

Walter White
 Secretary

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

WV:RR

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This Certifies that
Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt
Washington, D. C.

is a Gold Certificate Member of the National
Association for the Advancement of Colored
People for one year from date.

In Witness Whereof the Board of Directors
has caused this Certificate to be issued.

Date recorded July, 1939
at 69 Fifth Ave., New York,

Henry T. ...
Treasurer

*This certificate acknowledges the receipt of your contribution
through the branch
toward the furtherance of the objects of the N. A. A. C. P.*

1. To educate America to accord full rights and opportunities to Negroes.
2. To fight injustice in Courts when based on race prejudice.
3. To pass protective legislation in State and Nation and defeat discriminatory bills.
4. To secure the Vote for Negroes and teach its proper use.
5. To stimulate the cultural life of Negroes.
6. To stop lynching.

100
July 14, 1939

Dear Mr. White:

Thank you very much for sending me the card of membership in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. I am glad to accept it.

Very sincerely yours,

Mr. Walter White
69 Fifth Avenue
NYC

0

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July 10th
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My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Because we so much want the name of so good a friend as you on our membership list, we are listing your contribution of Sunday, July 2nd, as a membership and are enclosing our official receipt. Thank you very much.

Ever sincerely,

Walter White
 Secretary.

Thank

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

WJ:CTF

110
August 19, 1939

Dear Mr. Hite:

I will be in New York on Wednesday, but can't be there Tuesday. Could you come up here on Tuesday and be at the cottage at 2:00 p.m.? If you are driving, you take Route 9-3 out of Poughkeepsie, drive for about five miles, and after passing a little cottage and "Mobiloil" gas station, turn in at the first lane marked "private" on the right.

Very sincerely yours,

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Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
 Hyde Park, New York

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Will you read the enclosure about an exceedingly serious situation I recently investigated at Tampa, Florida, and let me come and talk with you at your earliest convenience. I apologize for the bulk of this but the matter is so important that it is necessary that I give you the full story. I enclose the following documents:

- (1) Copy of memorandum of facts.
- (2) Copy of letter from Attorney Oliver C. Maxwell, a prominent white attorney of Tampa.
- (3) Copy of letter to the Maritime Commission asking that some provision be included in the new contract just awarded the Tampa Shipbuilding corporation which would permit the employment of qualified Negro workers in the event the labor unions do not change their attitude with respect to Negroes.
- (4) Copy of letter to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

No reply has come as yet from Admiral Land or William Green.

I have requested an appointment with the Attorney General. It is our fervent hope that the Department of Justice will act in this case as it has in Louisiana, Kansas City, and other places. It is generally known in Tampa that Pat Whittaker who was defense counsel in the notorious Shoemaker case contributes heavily to the election of

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(2) copy of letter from Attorney Oliver C. Maxwell, a prominent white attorney of Tampa.

(3) Copy of letter to the Maritime Commission asking that some provision be included in the new contract just awarded the Tampa Shipbuilding corporation which would permit the employment of qualified Negro workers in the event the labor unions do not change their attitude with respect to Negroes.

(4) copy of letter to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

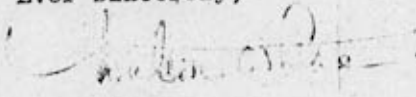
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Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
August 18, 1939
Page two

Charles Silva as president of the Florida State Federation of Labor with the hope that Silva in turn could deliver the labor vote to Whittaker next year when he plans to run for Governor. It would be a calamity, according to thoughtful and decent people in Florida, for Whittaker to become the State's chief executive.

Ever sincerely,


Secretary

Ww:CEM
encl.

P.S. - Since dictating the above, Mr. Schweinhaut of the Department of Justice has telephoned me to make an appointment for next Wednesday. It would be most desirable if I could talk with you on Tuesday, if that be possible.

W.W.

MEMORANDUM ON DISCRIMINATION AGAINST NEGRO WORKERS IN

THE TAMPA, FLORIDA, SHIPBUILDING YARDS

Submitted by

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

This memorandum presents a situation in Tampa, Florida, involving the displacement of several hundred skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled Negro laborers and mechanics formerly employed by the Tampa Shipbuilding and Engineering Company. This displacement has been brought about by certain labor unions and officials of these unions who secured a closed shop agreement from the employer on June 1, 1938. Before the agreement Negroes and whites were hired on a 50-50 ratio. At the present time there are about 1200 employed at the plant, of which number 118 are Negroes and 116 of these Negroes are employed as unskilled laborers.

The federal government is also involved because the controversy at present involves men working on ships being constructed for the U. S. Government under a contract with the National Maritime Commission.

BACKGROUND

Prior to June 1, 1938, the Tampa Shipbuilding and Engineering Company had always employed Negro skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled laborers at its plant. The Negroes working at the plant considered the employers as not only fair to them as employees but also as Negroes.

In 1933 the Tampa Company applied to RFC for a loan, which was granted, to build a dry-dock. The dry-dock was built and the company began to bid on government contracts. In 1938 it was awarded a contract for the construction of four merchant ships. Under this contract the Tampa Shipbuilding Company was required to maintain a closed shop.

STATEMENT OF FACTS

Eighteen months ago twelve Negroes and one white man went on strike against the Tampa company for higher wages. As a result of this strike and the provision in the contract from the U. S. Maritime Commission for a closed shop, a local union was organized and became recognized as local #1207 of the International Hod Carriers' Building and Common Laborers' Union of America. At this stage of construction of the ships the majority of the men employed were unskilled laborers who would normally come under the jurisdiction of this class of craft union.

When the local was organized a verbal agreement was made to assign the jobs on a 50-50 basis between Negroes and white laborers. This agreement was made between R. H. Epps, organizer of the local, H. L. Sanders, who was business agent and four Negro members of the local.

On May 18, 1938, William Sullivan, an agent of Charles E. Silva, who was later to be appointed "supervisor" of the Negro unit of local #1207, raised the question of white and Negro laborers meeting together in the same meeting place and voting together. This question had never been raised before.

After much negotiation between union officials, employer, and Thomas F. Neblett, Field Examiner of the National Labor Relations Board, the Tampa Shipbuilding Company signed a closed shop agreement and contract on June 1, 1938. (A copy of this contract is attached hereto as "Exhibit B".) The contract was signed by the following labor unions:

International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Shipbuilders and Helpers
of America.

International Association of Machinists

Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers

International Union of Steam & Operating Engineers

International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers

Int. Ass'n of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers

United Ass'n of Plumbers and Steam Fitters

Sheet Metal Workers Int. Ass'n

Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators, and Paperhangers of America.

Int. Bro. of Carpenters and Joiners

Int. Bro. of Teamsters and Chauffeurs

Int. Bro. of Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers

In June, 1938, the local was split into two units: Unit A (Negro) and Unit B (white). The Negro unit was required to maintain separate headquarters while the white unit met in the Central Trades Building. H. L. Sanders retained control of the Negro unit and began putting on more white men than Negroes and thereby violated the verbal agreement. He took over the bank accounts also.

When the Negroes continued to be denied their share of employment they appointed one of their officers, J. J. Bradley, as their business agent to meet with employer. The employer was unable to negotiate or to make any agreement with Bradley because of the closed shop agreement.

The Negro unit appealed to the International and as a result of this appeal Charles Silva was made "custodian" of the Negro unit. On January 19, 1939, all books and records of the Negro unit were seized and taken to the Central Trades Building.

As the work on the ships progressed more semi-skilled and skilled laborers were required. Charles Silva organized a local of the International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Shipbuilders and Helpers of America. Most of the white members of the Hod Carriers' Union were transferred to the new union. Many Negroes qualified for semi-skilled and skilled jobs applied for admission to the new union and were refused admission. The Negro unit of the Hod Carriers tendered the dues of thirteen Negroes for admission and they were also refused.

In April, 1939, the colored workers applied for an auxiliary charter from the International Brotherhood of Boilermakers. They made the application to the Secretary-Treasurer of the International Union, William E. Walter. They were advised that J. F. Schmitt, Field Agent, would grant them an auxiliary charter. Schmitt came to Tampa, collected \$81.00 from 13 Negroes, administered them the oath of the Union and promised them an auxiliary charter. Later Schmitt refused to grant them the charter and tendered

them their dues back.

On April 12, 1939, a number of Negro workmen were sent to St. Petersburg, Florida, by the Tampa Shipbuilding Company to make repairs on a ship, but the business agent of the local Boilermakers Union went to St. Petersburg, and had all the Negro workers discharged and replaced with white workers.

Unit A of the Hod Carrier's Union is still struggling for existence. Several members of the white unit attend the Negro meetings in an effort to help. H. L. Sanders and Charles Silva continue their efforts to destroy this unit. Whenever notices are posted in the shipyard of a proposed meeting of both units these notices are torn down. When a joint meeting was called for July 11, 1939, for the purpose of election of officers Sanders posted notices that the meeting was called off. Despite this 185 of the 235 members were present and Charles Silva was ousted as "custodian" of Unit A. Officers were elected and on July 13 these officers received the following letter:

"Acting upon authority invested in me by the International Hod Carriers' Building and Common Laborers' Union of America, this is to advise that each of you are hereby relieved of any official capacity in Local Union #1207 of the above named International Union.

"You are also advised that you are prohibited from acting in any official capacity in this Union and that you are also requested not to attempt to collect any dues of the said Local Union or to perform any duties of any office of this Local Union.

"This is to further advise that any one interfering with the ordinary procedure of this organization or collecting any monies legally belonging to the said organization, legal procedure will immediately be instituted against them."

Signed: Chas. E. Silva

"Chas. E. Silva, International Supervisor-Local Union #1207 of the International Hod Carriers' Building and Common Laborers' of America."

At the present time there are about 1200 men employed in the plant of which 118 are Negroes, but not one is employed on the ships because of the Boilermakers' Union. Of the 118 Negroes employed, 116 are employed as unskilled laborers and two are working in the fabrication plant.

William Fletcher, a Negro who is an expert rivet driver has been forced to accept work as a common laborer. J. J. Bradley, a skilled hoisting engineer with 20 years experience is now picking up paper in the yards. John Walls, operator of an air compressor for more than 25 years was given a white helper at the insistence of the union. When the assistant believed he was qualified he replaced Walls. Walls who had not had an accident during his 25 years was discharged and the white assistant given his job. Within a few days the new man completely wrecked the machine because of his inability to properly run it. Walls is now working as a greaser.

On August 1, 1939, there were 190 paid up Negro members in the Unit A of local 1207 of the Shipbuilders Union who are unemployed and walking the streets, yet H. L. Sanders, business agent, is certifying white men to positions in the shipyard, men who are non-members of the local, and allowing them to work on a permit.

CONCLUSION

The entire difficulty can be traced to the officials of the unions in Tampa, Florida and the failure of the International Officials of these unions to correct the wrongs. Charles Silva is now president of the Florida Federation of Labor. His attitude toward the Negro working man is clear. The officials of the locals are working under his orders and their attitude is anti-Negro.

The two unions in question have deprived Negroes of their livelihood. The Hod Carrier's Union set up a segregated unit and then proceeded to cripple the Negro unit and to make all assignments of jobs from the white unit. The Boilermakers' Union refused to admit Negroes to membership and refused to grant them an auxiliary charter. All of this is done in a plant operating under a closed shop agreement. The inevitable result is that the Negro worker in the Tampa Shipbuilding and Engineering Company is being completely replaced.

Depriving these hundreds of Negroes of jobs by unions under a closed shop agreement is as effective as the taking of these jobs by force and violence.

(C O P Y)

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Tampa Theatre Building

Tampa, Florida

Oliver C. Maxwell
Luther W. Cobbe

August 14, 1939

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

Dear Sir:

I regret, that I have delayed so long furnishing you with the information which you requested, concerning the local political situation, which so definitely operates to deprive most of the laboring people of Hillsborough County of their constitutional and statutory rights. The delay has been occasioned by the fact that we represent the Cigarmakers Internstional Union of America. Their contract has just expired and I have been forced to devote my entire time to negotiations for a new contract. An existing laundry strike and a threatened city-wide sympathy strike have complicated the situation.

Tampa is recognized throughout the entire State, if not throughout the entire South as one of the worst spots in the nation in so far as the absence of civil liberties is concerned. The periodical reports of the American Civil Liberties Union will confirm this statement, and political racketeering is so rampant that it furnishes a constant subject for conversation throughout the entire State. The fact that the Shoemaker case was one of the few which has attained national notoriety is due primarily to the apathy of news gathering agencies, as similar conditions have prevailed in this community for many, many years.

As far back as 1901, a group of individuals who were endeavoring to organize the workers in the Cigar Industry, were kidnaped and spirited away to Honduras by some of the then leading citizens of the community. Similar conditions have existed throughout the intervening years.

We believe that the keystone to the entire situation in Tampa is and always has been in the control of the gambling rackets with the accompanying political ramifications which protection of these rackets necessitates. As you know the principal industry in Tampa is and has been for many years the cigar industry. This was brought to Tampa from Havana and Key West and was originally exclu-

sively in the hands of Spaniards. A large Latin population, Cubans, Spaniards and Italians were imported into the community as workers in this industry. They lived to themselves in separate communities, maintained their native language and were not absorbed as many foreign elements were in northern industrial centers. This condition still exists today and we have, in a town of one hundred thousand people, approximately thirty five thousand Latins, many of whom do not speak the English language. These people have always had a liking for gambling, particularly in the lottery or numbers rackets, the two most popular forms in Tampa being "Bolita" and "Cuba". There are in Tampa many individuals who have made their sole living for a period of as long as twenty-five or thirty years doing nothing except selling "Bolita" and "Cuba" tickets. Gambling of this nature is so wide spread that it is customary to greet an acquaintance at any social gathering with the inquiry of what came out on "Cuba".

The large Latin populations, invited the creation of political bosses, who must control local politics in order to insure proper protection for the operation of these rackets. For many years, the head of this gambling racket has been an individual named, Charlie Wall. This fact can be easily proved due to the fact that in July, 1938, Mr. Wall, who was then being tried in the criminal court of record for violation of the gambling laws, testified that he was the head of gambling in this county. I am enclosing a copy of the Tampa Daily Tribune under date of July 28, 1938 including a portion of this testimony. All of the testimony is available if desired.

Charlie Wall comes from one of Tampa's oldest most influential and respected families. His family organized and for many years controlled a hardware store which is one of the oldest business institutionals in this community. His first cousin, Edgar Wall is at present Postmaster in Tampa and so far as I know is a very useful and law abiding citizen. Another first cousin, Perry Wall has been active in political and civic life of Tampa and Hillsborough County. He is also, first cousin to the Lyke's brothers, who are large stock holders in the First National Bank of this city and who own and control the Lykes Steamship Company and operate some of the largest cattle ranches in Florida and Cuba.

Charlie Wall is today one of the most powerful political figures in Florida. It is quite easy to understand that he must be powerful to be able to conduct his wide spread gambling operations, for gambling is illegal in Florida and needs ample police protection. In order to successfully gamble in Hillsborough County, it is necessary that the gambler control certain key officers. He must first have a fairly friendly relationship with the governor as under our constitution the governor has great power in appointing public officials and also the power of removal. He must completely control the sheriff and City administration so that he can have protection from all police officials. He must control the County Solicitor who has the authority to file direct information against criminals. He must control the constables to a certain degree for they can make arrests independent of the sheriff's office, although if he controls the County Solicitor he can bury any case which might be made by an obstreperous constable.

Finally and most important he must control or have a working arrangement with the State Senator from his district as, under our Constitution, Judges, Sheriffs, County Solicitors and many other key officials are appointed by the governor with the consent of the Senate and Senatorial courtesy gives to the State Senator the absolute power of veto on appointments in his district. He must also, have a smooth working political machine because these appointive officers are by custom as well as edict of the Democratic committee placed in the Democratic primaries, and it is seldom that a Governor fails to appoint the choice of the democratic primary.

The fact that gambling flourishes openly in Tampa is in itself proof, that Charlie Wall and his cohorts do control or have a perfect understanding with the above named officials. However, if further proof were needed, an organization named the Church Laymen's League, headed by William Sawyer has in its possession ample facts to prove these alliances. This organization came into being as a result of a Grand Jury investigation a couple of years ago, into the shooting of one "Tito" Rubio who was Charlie Wall's first lieutenant and the operator of Tampa's swankiest gambling resort. The Church Laymen's League was designed to eliminate gambling, and its vicious political and sociological consequences by bringing out the facts and inducing the public to boycott the gamblers. The boycott has not been a success, but the organization has succeeded in keeping closed the principal roulette and crap establishments, although it has made no progress in the numbers racket. This organization attempted to secure protection from the County Solicitor and other law enforcement officers for the witnesses who were willing to testify against the political bosses of Tampa, but were never able to secure such protection and consequently these parties are extremely hesitant to come into the open and subject themselves to the most sure retribution of the political over-lords of Tampa. All of these facts are common knowledge in this community and have appeared frequently in the local press.

The manner in which these individuals perpetuate their power is by stealing the election in eleven Latin Precincts, which have a very large vote. This has been going on in Tampa for thirty years. The method of stealing the elections is effective but very crude. A number of "plug-uglies" are deputized by the sheriff and special police officers are sworn in by the chief of police and they crowd around the Latin precincts armed with black jacks, pistols, shotguns and even machine guns and intimidate the Latin voters from going to the polls. Additional thugs are used as repeaters and vote the names of the real Latin voters. In the event a Latin citizen protests, he is speedily carried off to jail by a special police officer on the sheriff's force. Such tactics naturally call for sound organization and that is where our friend Charlie Silva, now president of the State Federation of Labor, fits into the picture. Each election finds Charlie Wall and Charlie Silva fighting for the same candidates. Silva has an army of thugs which he has used for many years, to intimidate the

rank and file of labor, and also, to form the nucleus of a ballot stealing organization. This unofficial army is maintained with the full knowledge of the city police, a fact which we personally are in a position to prove. While Silva has never been tried for violation of the election laws an investigator could find scores of people in Tampa who could and would testify (if assured protection) that they have personally seen him armed with black jack and pistols and actually engaged in election frauds. It is interesting here to note that last spring in an election fraud case Charlie Silva was foreman of the jury which promptly acquitted the accused.

Silva, has been for many years in control of the Central Trades and Labor Assembly, which is the executive organization of all American Federation of Labor Unions in this county. His only apparent source of revenue is from his salary as such officer, plus the profits of the Florida Labor Advocate, a labor newspaper published weekly. Nevertheless, Silva lives in sumptuous style. His newspaper, which carries a banner exhortation to buy only from its advertisers, has as its advertisers almost exclusively non-union concerns. An investigation into his advertising rates would doubtless prove interesting. During the 1938 convention of the A. F. of L. in Tampa, one witness, whose name can be furnished stated to me that a Mr. Latimer, told him and another party that he, Latimer, had collected \$3200.00 for the purpose of printing an annual book of the A. F. of L. convention and had remitted all except \$290.00 of this amount to Silva. The year book was never published. The same witness on the same occasion stated that Silva had proposed to him that he and Silva jointly engage in an advertising venture using Silva's paper, the Florida Labor Advocate as a medium to secure advertising and using labor pressure to secure the advertising. It is my opinion that a competent investigator could easily prove that Silva has engaged in this and many other types of labor racketeering. These witnesses must be assured of protection, however, as they can expect none from local officials. Silva has as cohorts "muscle men" acting as business agents for most of the member unions of the Central Trades and every time a rank and file member seeks to inject some democracy into the organization such member is intimidated and becomes quiescent.

To revert to the political effect of this situation, I should like to call your attention to an election which was held in Hillsborough County in 1934. Pat Whitaker who was and had been State Senator for many years, was running for re-election and Charlie Wall and his followers, who have made it a practice of playing one faction against the other in local politics was at that election supporting the candidacy of Henry Tillman, the son of Fitch Fork Ben Tillman of South Carolina. Tillman is an attorney in Tampa and at that time was candidate for the local utility company. State regulation of public

utilities was the ostensible issue but the real issue, as usual was the control of the rackets. In the race for this office, which pays a few hundred dollars, approximately \$100,000.00 was spent. Whitaker carried the entire county with the exception of the eleven Latin precincts and they went unanimously for Tillman, by way of ballot stuffing, and Tillman was elected. We have two primaries in Florida and in the same primary election Claude Pepper and Park Trammell were forced into the second primary from a field of four or five candidates. Charlie Wall's machine swung to Trammell and in the second election the United State Senatorship was stolen from Claude Pepper in the eleven Latin precincts. Pepper had a majority from the entire balance of the state but so many ballots were stuffed in for Trammell in the eleven Latin precincts that he was sent back to the United States Senate by the grace of Tampa's political bosses. All Tampa elections smell bad, but the odor of this one was worse than usual. I personally assisted a group of Pepper's supporters (of whom I was one) in obtaining a great number of affidavits showing the fraud in this election. The originals of these affidavits were sent to Claude Pepper, and I assume that he still has them in his possession.

There was a ground swell of sympathy for both Pepper and Whitaker after this election and it was generally conceded that this would aid them materially when Pepper ran for the Senate and Whitaker for governor, which he then intended to do in 1936. Right after this primary Whitaker's supporters, who wanted to get back into power, revived the K.K.K. as a political vehicle and a nucleus for the support of their candidate. This fact can be positively proven. At this time the Klan was a moribund organization but it grew steadily and new political affiliations developed which seemed to assure Whitaker of a good chance to be elected governor in 1936, until one night in November 1935, a group of police officers invaded a private home, without a warrant, picked up a group of people who were meeting for the purpose of forming an organization known as Modern Democrats and turned them over to a group of floggers. Three men, Shoemaker, Poulnot, and Rogers were taken to the woods and brutally flogged and Shoemaker died of the results of this. There is no doubt in the minds of anyone that this was the work of the Klan. Public indignation over the Shoemaker case put a temporary brake on the development of the K.K.K. but as time went on the organization grew and in 1938 Whitaker again ran for the State Senate and was overwhelming elected, having been supported by Wall and Silva at this time.

These individuals have always been bitterly opposed to the New Deal although when occasion demanded they gave lip service to its principles. An alliance between them and the Klan was only natural. The Klan has grown to large proportions at the present time. I am enclosing two Evening News, a small newspaper published twice each week which will show you to what extent the Klan is active in

Tampa today. I particularly call your attention to the issue of February 1, 1939, in which the paper attempts to justify the burning of a fiery cross near the Davis Island Coliseum while President Roosevelt's birthday ball was in progress.

At the present time Whitaker, Wall and Silva are friendly allies politically. Wall has considerable influence with Governor Cone and can practically dictate to the City Administration, Sheriff and County Solicitor. Most of the city officials, as well as most of the county officials are Klansmen or Klan sympathizers and almost without exception they are bitterly anti-labor. The Klan likewise is working in harmony with a group of the Catholics who are the followers of Father Coughlin, in fighting the laboring man and also raising a great cry against the Negro. Recently the Klan called every business and professional man in Tampa and solicited contributions for a Klan convention in Tampa. We were called and had a very instructive conversation with the gentlemen at the other end of the line. He assured us that the Klan no longer hated Jews and Catholics but that it was after "communism" and the Negro. A "communist" is defined by the Klansmen as being any one who sympathized with the objectives of the New Deal. In the Evening News, which seems to be the Klan's official organ, all sympathizers of constitutional guaranties including President Roosevelt are called "Reds", "Fellow Travelers" or "Communist".

In 1938, we were employed to represent the local unions of the Cigarmakers International Union of America in an attempt to negotiate a new union contract. The contract was signed in August 1938 but certain matters were left open for arbitration before the department of labor. Considerable controversy arose and a strike was not an impossibility. In October, Silva wired the International President of this union urging the arbitrary suspension of the union officials on the ground that they were attempting to throw the organization C.I.O and that they were "promulgating communistic propaganda." The charge with respect to the C.I.O. was patently false, as we had already signed a closed shop agreement with the A. F. of L. and the charge of Communism simmered down, when a bill of particulars was produced to the fact that the union leaders had urged support of the wage and hour law, the Wagner Act and the policies of Mr. Roosevelt. An injunction was brought against these parties on a Friday and in order to avoid a sympathetic strike on Monday, a mass meeting was called of the workers by the remaining officers of the union at the Labor Temple in Ybor City, one of the Latin sections of Tampa. Just prior to all this, Silva had been in constant conference with Senator Whitaker. When this meeting was called, Silva threatened the union members with blood-shed, if they attempted to hold the meeting. Such threats were also made by the representative of the International President, who was accompanied at the time he made such threats by a group of deputy sheriffs. Attempts were made to kidnap and slug union leaders. In order to avoid blood-shed my

partner, Luther W. Cobbey, went to the captain of the city police and asked for police protection for this union meeting. The captain suggested to Mr. Cobbey that he go see Charlie Silva, "who keeps about 200 thugs in tow for such purposes". When Mr. Cobbey protested that it was from these thugs that we expected the trouble the captain consented and did send us two men. However, a large body of deputy sheriffs posted themselves in front of the Labor Temple with machine guns, in an effort to intimidate the workers from going to this meeting. The meeting however was held without incident.

Subsequently, Mr. Van Horn the International President of the union, came to Tampa and efforts were made to adjust the intra union controversy. A very significant thing happened at this time. One of Charlie Wall's principal lieutenants approached an officer of one of the local unions and told him that the union was becoming too much of a political menace in Ybor City, but that if it would refrain from political activities, the controversy could possibly be settled. During negotiations to settle the injunction suit the officials of the union were constantly threatened with K.K.K. if they persisted in refusing to accede to the demands of Van Horn and Silva. Ample evidence along this line is available. These threats were so openly made that on one occasion such a threat was actually made to the head of the local union in the presence of a conciliator from the department of labor in Washington.

While this controversy existed an election was held at one of the local unions and an effort was made by the rank and file to oust the officers who were friendly to Silva with a view of eventually ousting the racketeers from their hold on Central Trades. Silva sent some of his thugs out to try to steal this election, but they were so closely watched that they had to slip a pack of marked ballots unfolded into the ballot box in a side opening. When the ballots were counted a group of Silva's thugs were present attempting to intimidate the workers but they were unsuccessful. The election officials threw out the unfolded ballots, which could not legally have been put in the box. Immediately Silva's men called the sheriff and police and eleven cars of police officers swooped down on the Labor Temple setting up machine guns in an effort to frighten away the union members. I was personally called out of bed at 11 o'clock at night to help cope with this situation and eventually, through the help of a City Alderman, who had at one time been a cigar maker, we were able to induce the sheriff and policemen to leave.

Another illustration of how this group operates is afforded by an incident which occurred last Saturday, August 5th. I have previously stated that the Evening News is a small newspaper which has been actively supporting the interest of Wall, Silva, and their allies. One of Silva's prime allies is W. E. Sullivan, who is head of the local Teamsters Union and president of the Central Trades. A laundry workers' strike is now in progress in Tampa and for some reason

the Evening News, which is published by William Placie, has deserted Silva, Sullivan and company during this controversy and last week the Evening News carried a rather caustic editorial against Sullivan. Sullivan took issue with this statement and accompanied by four or five thugs, marched into Placie's newspaper office last Saturday afternoon and beat him up, breaking his nose, blacking both his eyes and knocking out four teeth. None of this has appeared in any of the local newspapers nor have any arrests been made for this assault. I do not intend to leave the impression that Placie is in any wise a martyr. He is a vicious influence in Tampa, but it pretty well illustrates the power and tactics of the political and labor racketeers.

With the foregoing background, the problems of the Negro are much more easily understood. These first came to our attention last winter, when we were approached by the local officers of the International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborer's Union of America, Local 1207. This local union was organized early in 1938 under the direction of one R. H. Epps, a seaman, of questionable antecedents as president and one H. L. Sanders as financial secretary. At the time this local union was organized workmen in the yards of the Tampa Ship Building and Engineering Company was being paid 25¢ per hour. Certain colored workmen then employed in the yards struck for higher wages and out of this strike local 1207 was formed and an agreement was entered into between the Ship Building Company and the Union. This local Union was composed of 13 men, 12 Negroes and 1 white. The Union grew rapidly with a mixed white and black membership, until it had 250 members.

The local was subsequently divided into two units, Unit A being for the Negroes and Unit B for the whites. Since they were Negroes, Unit A members were not encouraged at the Central Trades Building; so they maintained a separate office for their own use, employed an office girl and maintained a telephone where they could receive notification when men were wanted by the Ship Building Company, which was then and is now engaged in building two ships for the Maritime Commission. The Ship Building Company had a ship building contract with a number of A. F. of L. Unions. These are controlled locally by Silva and his associates. It was understood that the work at the Ship Building Company should be divided as evenly as possible between Negroes and whites and that all workmen should be permitted to advance according to their skill without discrimination as to race.

Another Union which is a party to this contract and whose members do identical or very similar work as the members of the Hod Carrier's Union is the International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America. This Union is also under Silva's control. Silva and his associates, by insisting that certain work be done by members of the Boiler Makers Union and by refusing to

accept Negroes in the Boiler Makers Union have effectively kept the Negroes from obtaining employment, although many of them are entirely capable of handling the work. Silva's juggling of the various unions under his control has actually resulted in the discharge of skilled Negro workers who have been employed at the ship yards for many, many years. This racket now affects not only the Negro but also the white worker. If a worker, black or white is "in" with Silva, and pays the necessary transfer dues he can obtain work; otherwise he is barred from employment. Such complaints have come to us from white as well as colored members.

During July, August and September of 1938 work was slack at the ship yards and a Negro, J. J. Bradley, was appointed agent to deal with the employers but the employers refused to negotiate with Bradley and the colored workmen had no one to look after their interests. When the strike which gave birth to the Union occurred it was understood that the original members would be the first to receive jobs. When the union was recognized, six of these original members were never re-employed. While this was a patent violation of the Federal Laws no effort was made by Silva to protect these workers, five colored and one white.

Last spring, Epps, the white seaman, who organized the local union and Silva had a falling out. By some devious method Silva had become Supervisor of the local union, with authority from the International Presidents, on the theory that he had advanced some money for dues of employed members and that he would be Supervisor until this money was paid back. Last spring while acting as Supervisor, Silva suspended Epps as business agent and secured an injunction against him enjoining him from interfering with the union or its affairs. While Epp's record is none too good, he was, according to the statements of many employees made to me, fair to the colored workmen. Silva appointed in his place, H. L. Sanders, a white man, who consistently connives to deprive the Negroes of their jobs.

I wish to digress a moment concerning the subsequent history of Mr. Epps. After he was ousted, Epps operated a fruit stand and one night last January, while Epps was at his place of business two men attempted to kill him. Epps was shot in the leg. He definitely identified his assailants, and they were arrested. Shortly thereafter, the American Federation of Labor executive committee was meeting in Miami. Silva went there to confer with them. I was personally informed by a friend of Silva's that on his return, he boasted that he had received assurance of sufficient funds to see that Epps' assailants never went to jail. He was true to his boast. They were not ever tried and although they had admittedly shot a man, with apparent intent to kill, all charges against them were dropped.

After Epps was ousted and Sanders substituted in his place

Sanders sent a truck to the Negro headquarters of the union with orders from Silva and removed all records and equipment of the Negro unit to Silva's office and forbade the Negroes from meeting. By this device and the refusal to recognize the Negro business agent all employment came through Sanders, but all he has done for the Negroes is to collect dues from them, frequently giving them receipts on the back of envelopes. No accounting has ever been made of these collections.

When the Negro members of this union consulted with us, we realized that they could get no assistance locally and they wrote to Joseph Moreschi, the president of the Hod Carriers Union. The first of these letters of which you have a copy, was dated January 20, 1939. (Epps was shot on January 29, 1939) The Negroes received no encouragement from Moreschi. From what we now learn there is little hope of them ever receiving any. The Negroes also sought entrance into the Boiler Makers Local Union and hoped by this means to gain employment, but they were not allowed to join this local. At our suggestion these men also wrote a letter to the President of the Boiler-makers Union but they received no encouragement from this source either.

It became evident to us last spring that our only hope was through the Federal Government in Washington and it was by virtue of this conviction that you received the letter dated April 15, 1939 from your corresponding secretary in Tampa. I shall not reiterate the facts set forth in that letter.

Recently the local units, having long since paid off the alleged loan of Silva, wrote their International President requesting some voice in their affairs and the removal of Silva as supervisor. They received no action from the International President but shortly after this letter was written Silva arbitrarily suspended all of the parties who signed the letter. Another meeting was called in protest of this illegal act and one white member of the union, a Latin named Lopez, was directly threatened by one of Silva's henchmen with the K.K.K. if he attended the meeting. Similar threats were made to the Negroes. In fact, the Negroes are constantly threatened in this manner but it is difficult to get them to talk.

This problem has become more acute since you were in Tampa. We have a Slum Clearance Project in Tampa using a number of Negro workmen. About two weeks ago Silva's group voted to insist upon a closed-shop upon this project, which will force all Negro employees to join the Hod Carrier's Union, supervised by Silva and pay tribute to him in order to get a job. If Silva is successful in this maneuver, he likewise will get a closed-shop on two other slum clearance projects scheduled for Tampa in the near future. Negro workmen will be practically at his mercy. Since he is working closely with the K.K.K. and since the K.K.K. is fighting against all employment of Negroes you can readily see what this will mean.

There is no hope for correction locally. The present political combination of Silva, Charlie Wall, Pat Whitaker and the City Administration is so powerful that the local courts and law enforcement officers will do nothing.

Since we had our talk, I have conversed with a number of my friends in Tampa who have in their possession or have the means of obtaining sufficient evidence to completely clean out this town by federal action. I regret to say that most of them are very cynical about the chances of Federal assistance. Many of them have told me that they believe that there is now a political alignment between Wall, Silva, Whitaker and Senator Pepper. This is merely rumor of which I have no personal knowledge. My informants believe that Wall is so firmly entrenched and has such political influence through his friends and relations with the Administration, that any federal investigation could and would be checked. Consequently, these parties believe that any affidavits which they give would be a futile gesture and that the information therein contained would inevitably seep back to the local political bosses; and that the affiant's would be the only ones to suffer.

Until I talked with you, I myself, shared some of these views. Last spring I endeavored to invoke federal assistance when the events hereinbefore related culminated in one of my clients being slugged when he left the Labor Temple in Ybor City. I sent a letter of complaint to Brian McMahon then in charge of Criminal Division of the Department of Justice. After some delay my letter was referred to H. S. Phillips, United States District Attorney in Tampa. I had a long talk with Mr. Phillips, whom I regard as an extremely able, high class, liberal and conscientious man. Mr. Phillips was sympathetic but, quite naturally, insisted that the department be furnished with definite evidence in affidavit form at which time perhaps an agent would be sent in, if the proof warranted it. Unfortunately at that time I had neither the time nor facilities to do the spade work for the Federal Bureau of Investigation. I had no way of insuring my informants of the protection which they will definitely need unless steps are taken to ham-string the racketeers. Furthermore the local people are suspicious of the good faith of the Administration. Many have pointed out to me that the present political combine has controlled appointments in all Federal agencies in Tampa. This is unfortunately true to a large extent. I mention this merely to show you reasons why local people who really want to see Tampa cleaned up are so realistic and skeptical; and why they hesitate to give assistance in concrete form.

Our only hope is in a Federal investigation similar to that now being conducted in Louisiana. An experienced investigator can easily obtain ample evidence of violations of many federal laws.

I feel morally confident that the income tax laws must have been violated and I believe that I have included in this letter sufficient facts upon which indictments could be returned for conspiracy to deprive citizens of their rights and privileges. I also want to point out that the Federal Government has recently designated Tampa as a location for one of its major air bases. This means that many thousands of soldiers and their families will soon reside in our community. This in itself should be some inducement to the Federal Government to clean house in Tampa. If you can accomplish anything in this connection you will not only protect the rights of Negroes, in whom you are primarily interested, but likewise, protect the rights of the thousands of common citizens who are terrorized by the local gamblers, racketeers and accomplices.

I have asked Mr. Sawyer, President of the Church Layman's League to give me a short statement of what he thinks is wrong with Tampa and I enclose his statement herewith.

Sincerely,

MAXWELL & COBBEY

By/ Oliver C. Maxwell

OM:sw

P. S. If we are assured that Washington means business I will endeavor to secure affidavits supporting any of the facts enumerated in this letter.

PP.S. I will send Sawyer's statement later.

August 11, 1939

United States Maritime Commission
Washington, D. C.

Attention: Rear Admiral Emory S. Land,
Chairman.

With respect to the award by the Maritime Commission on August 8 to the Tampa Shipbuilding and Engineering Company of a contract to construct five C-1 cargo ships at a cost of \$1,814,430. each, or a total of \$9,072,150., we respectfully urge that there be written into the contract provisions prohibiting discrimination in employment in the construction of these vessels on account of race, creed or color, similar to the clauses in contracts of the Department of the Interior and of the United States Housing Authority.

In substantiation of this request we enclose herewith the report of an investigation made within the last month by myself of flagrant and notorious discrimination against skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled Negro workers in employment on the construction of four vessels now being built for the Maritime Commission by the Tampa Shipbuilding and Engineering Company. This discrimination is in no wise practiced by the Tampa Shipbuilding and Engineering Company. It is instead caused wholly and solely by the closed shop agreement signed June 1, 1938, between the Tampa Shipbuilding and Engineering Company and twelve unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Certain of these unions, and in particular the International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Shipbuilders and Helpers of America, exclude Negroes, whatever their qualifications, experience or skill, from membership in these unions. This circumstance, combined with the closed shop agreement concerning which negotiations are now in progress with respect to renewal of that agreement, have resulted in almost complete exclusion of Negro

United States Maritime Commission - 2

workers from the Tampa shipyards, despite the fact that a number of these Negroes are highly skilled and have worked for the Tampa shipyards for periods in some instances running as high as twenty to twenty-five years.

In the attached memorandum are set forth carefully authenticated details of the undemocratic and vicious method by which these unions have denied to Negro citizens the right to work on contracts financed in toto by the federal government, for the support of which twelve million American Negroes are taxed at the same rate as their white fellow Americans.

We formally request opportunity to be heard before these contracts are signed. We further suggest that the Maritime Commission, prior to signing of the contracts, summon to Washington the following persons:

- Ernest Kreher - President of the Tampa Shipbuilding and Engineering Company, Tampa, Florida.
- James Long - General Superintendent of the Tampa Shipyards and Representative of the Maritime Commission at Tampa, Florida.
- William Green - President of the American Federation of Labor
- Joseph V. Moreschi - President of the International Brotherhood of Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers, 25 School Street, Quincy, Mass.
- Frank McCallister - Secretary of the Workers Defense League, 117 - 31st Street, North, St. Petersburg, Fla.
- J. A. Franklin - President of the International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Shipbuilders and Helpers of America, Brotherhood Block, Kansas City, Kansas. (And in the event his advanced age and health do not permit him making the trip to Washington, we suggest: William E. Walter, Secretary-Treasurer, or Charles J. McGowan, Vice-President)
- Rev. M. D. Potter - Editor, Tampa Bulletin, P. O. Box 2232, Tampa, Florida.
- P. W. Watman - Secretary of the International Brotherhood of Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers, Local 1207.
- Charles E. Silva - President of the Florida State Federation of Labor, C/O The Florida Labor Advocate, Tampa, Florida.

Respectfully,

(Signed) WALTER WHITE

Secretary

WW:RR

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

August 11, 1939

American Federation of Labor

Attention: Mr. William Green,
President.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People herewith places formally before the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor in meeting assembled at Atlantic City a memorandum containing carefully authenticated facts with respect to the notorious discrimination in employment, based on race and color, practiced by the International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Shipbuilders and Helpers of America and certain officials of the International Brotherhood of Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers.

This discrimination is now taking place at Tampa, Florida, in employment at the yards of the Tampa Shipbuilding and Engineering Company. In the memorandum enclosed herewith you will find the following facts set forth:

The Tampa Shipbuilding and Engineering Company was awarded a contract totalling approximately \$7,000,000. to construct four vessels for the Maritime Commission of the United States government. It was and has been the practice of Mr. Ernest Kreher, President of this company, to employ the best workers available regardless of race or color, he and his associates having done so for a period of more than twenty-five years.

When the above mentioned contract was awarded the Tampa Shipbuilding and Engineering Company was required to maintain a closed shop and an agreement was signed June 1, 1938, to this effect between the Shipbuilding Company and several American Federation of Labor Unions.

When the question was raised as to employment of skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled

Negro workers, because the International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Shipbuilders and Helpers of America excluded Negroes from membership because of race and color, appropriae was made but was subsequently broken that Negroes would be given a separate union. Largely on the strength of this promise the Tampa Shipbuilding and Engineering Company signed a closed shop contract, whereupon the union dues which had been paid by the Negro workmen, who also had taken the oath of the union, were tendered back to them and notice was served on the shipyards that none but union men might be employed.

As a result of this double-crossing and chicanery reputable and highly skilled Negro workers have been excluded from the Tampa ship yards and either are walking the streets or are doing menial work about the plant.

The Maritime Commission yesterday awarded the Tampa Shipbuilding and Engineering Company another contract to construct five 6-1 cargo ships at a cost of \$9,073,150. If the closed shop contract which expired on May 31, 1952, is renewed, negotiations to that end now being in progress, Negro workers will be excluded from employment not only on the four ships now being built but on the five for which contract was granted yesterday by the Maritime Commission to the Tampa Shipbuilding and Engineering Company.

We are today formally requesting of the Maritime Commission that in the contracts for these five ships there be included iron-clad provisions prohibiting discrimination in employment, by anyone, including employers, labor unions and agents else, on account of race, creed or color.

We are herewith requesting opportunity to be heard by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to the end that it may take vigorous action against the International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Shipbuilders and Helpers of America; the International Brotherhood of Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers; and all others under its direct or indirect jurisdiction who are responsible for this outrageous situation. Failure to take decisive action by the American Federation of Labor will create increased resentment on the part of all believers in the rights of union labor and the public generally. We know that you will agree that union labor, like all others, must come into court with clean hands. We know that you will further agree that organized labor cannot expect its demands that discrimination against it be ended when organized labor itself is practicing discrimination. We know further that you will agree that white labor can never be free as long as black labor is enslaved. We are confident that you will agree that this Tampa situation is a stench in the nostrils of decent people and, unless corrected, will cause those responsible for it in the American Federation of Labor to stand indicted of bigotry and intolerable injustice.

We respectfully urge uncompromising action on this case and ask that you advise us of the action which you will take.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) Walter White
Secretary.

WW:RR

September 19, 1939

Dear Mr. White:

Mrs. Roosevelt asked me to reply to your letter of September 6th, and to explain to you that you had not received word sooner because we have no record of a letter from you dated July 23th. I am sorry for the delay and regret to tell you that Mrs. Roosevelt is very sorry she can not accept your invitation to serve on the board of editors. Her time is so filled that she has found it necessary to refuse all requests of this nature for the time being.

Very sincerely yours,

MCT:mds

Secretary to
Mrs. Roosevelt

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

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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



September
6,
1939.

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My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

On July 28th we wrote you to extend an invitation to serve on the board of editors of a series of informational pamphlets which the N. A. A. C. P. proposes to publish. Will it be possible for you to serve? We very much hope so.

You will be interested in learning that the following have agreed to serve:

Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune
Sterling Brown
Mark Etheridge
Earnest A. Hooton
Charles H. Thompson
William Allan Neilson
E. George Payne
A. Philip Randolph
Theodore Roosevelt
Arthur B. Spingarn
Charles S. Johnson
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Horace Mann Bond
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William H. Hastie
Franklin F. Hopper
Austin H. MacCormick
Thomas Parran
Raymond Pearl
Floyd W. Reeves
T. V. Smith
Maxwell Stewart
Robert C. Weaver
Louis T. Wright
Donald Young

And we have had a most remarkable response from branches of the Association who, to date, have ordered 15,820 copies, which is an average of 1,318 for each of the twelve pamphlets. It has been decided to reduce the number from 16 to 12. A number of the branches are yet to be heard from and we have not yet sought advance orders from a large number of organizations, a number of which have manifested interest in the project and expressed a need for such literature.

Ever sincerely,

Charles E. Spingarn
Sec. staff.

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

WJ:LC

100

September 19, 1939

Dear Mr. White:

Is there a school in Texas, or nearby, where three boys, ages eleven, ten and five, can go to learn trades? The oldest boy wants to be a carver and mechanic, and the second boy wants to be a musician and dancer. The mother hasn't much money but she would try to pay something.

Very sincerely yours,

MCT:mds

... ..

Reply from Mr. White - saying that no school could be found for these children - sent to Mrs. Walker 10-23-39.

... ..
National
69

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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



September
25th
1939

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BRANCH COORDINATOR
GEORGE B. MURPHY, JR.
PUBLICITY AND PROMOTION

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I am writing to my friend, President Banks of the Prairie View Normal and Industrial School at Prairie View, Texas, to ask his advice regarding a school where the three boys can go to learn trades.

I am also asking the same information of Mr. Maceo Smith of our Dallas Branch and who is also Secretary of the Dallas Negro Chamber of Commerce.

If you will let me know where the boys live and how much the mother is able to pay it would help us in trying to find a place.

With cordial personal greetings, I am

Ever sincerely,

Walter White
Secretary.

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

WV:CTF

3
September 26, 1939

My dear Mr. White:

I brought your letter of the 21st to Mrs. Roosevelt's attention and she says she is sorry but she must abide by her decision as given you in my letter of September 19. She is too busy to take on anything new which will mean active work of any kind, either in meetings or added correspondence, and she is even refusing to lend her name to new organizations in an honorary capacity.

Mrs. Roosevelt appreciates your writing again but is sure you will understand why she must refuse your request.

Very sincerely yours,

Secretary to
Mrs. Roosevelt

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

DD

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Official Organ: *The Crisis*



September
21st
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PUBLICITY AND PROMOTION

*Added
7-26-39
100*

SEP 20 1939

*Received at
Miss Thompson*

My dear Miss Thompson:

I am so sorry Mrs. Roosevelt did not get the letter of July 28th. Here is a copy of it and the enclosure which was sent with it.

We have had a most remarkable and gratifying response to our invitations to prospective members of the board. Among those who have agreed to serve are Dr. Earnest A. Hooton, head of the department of Anthropology at Harvard; Dr. Franz Boas; Mrs. Bethune; Dr. Raymond Pearl, biologist at Johns Hopkins; Dr. Thomas Parran, Surgeon General of the United States; Professor Paul Douglas of the University of Chicago; Judge William H. Hastie; Professor Charles S. Johnson of Fisk University; Dorothy Canfield Fisher; Jonathan Daniels of the Raleigh News and Observer; and Mark Ethridge of the Louisville Courier Journal.

I can well understand how limited Mrs. Roosevelt's time is and I do not want to add to her already overwhelming burdens. But it is probable that we will need to have only one meeting of the board and all the rest of the minimum duties that editors will be asked to assume can be handled by correspondence. And it would mean so much to have the name of Eleanor Roosevelt on the board of editors.

Would you and Mrs. Roosevelt think me ungracious or unkindly if I ask her to reconsider?

With cordial personal greetings, I am

Ever sincerely,

Walter White

Secretary.

Miss Malvina C. Thompson
Secretary to Mrs. Roosevelt
The White House
Washington, D. C.

WV:CTF

COPY

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

July 28th
1939

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I would be very happy if you would read the enclosed tentative plan for a series of informational pamphlets on the race question which we hope to publish. If after reading it you would be willing to give me your opinion of the plan, and particularly any criticisms which may occur to you, I will be grateful.

Would you be willing to serve as a member of the editorial board if the project goes through? Among those also being asked to serve are Dr. Floyd Reeves, Professor Franz Boas, Mr. Mark Ethridge of the Louisville Courier-Journal, Judge William H. Hastie, Dr. Raymond Pearl, Dr. Frank Graham of the University of North Carolina, Dr. Charles S. Johnson of Fisk University, and Professor-Congressman T.V. Smith. Your experience and advice would be invaluable to us. Increasingly am I convinced that the majority of human beings are not incurably prejudiced. I am also increasingly of the opinion that the presentation of the facts, especially to younger people, on this problem, about which there is more misinformation than any other single question, would do a great deal towards building up an affirmative opinion which would help all Americans.

With cordial personal greetings, I am

Ever sincerely,

Secretary.

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

WW:CTF

A Proposed Series of Information
Pamphlets or Aspects of the Negro Question

Submitted by the

National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People

Race prejudice is neither innate or immanent in human beings. It is most often the product of misconceptions unwittingly based on insufficient or unreliable information.

Demands are steadily increasing on the N.A.A.C.P. and many other organizations for simple factual information on practically all phases of Negro life, work, and their relation to the American scene. This is a positive indication of a growing concern with the validity of the foundations upon which current opinion of the Negro is growing.

Such indications are heartening to those whose aim is to draw attention to the problems which must be attacked to gain for the Negro recognition as a respected and responsible factor in American life and an understanding of his problems. But, preoccupied, as they must be, with meeting the pressure of present problems, neither this association nor any other has been able to develop the equipment necessary to meet the increased volume of inquiry.

This lack of organized information is distinctly the loss of this Association and of all agencies seeking to further favorable race relations. We feel that a body of factual information on the Negro which could be used by all organizations that have felt this demand and have been only inadequately able to meet it, is vitally

needed at the present time.

Sources of Inquiry

Approximately 90% of the requests for information on the Negro are from white people. They write in from nearly every state in the Union, from China, Japan, India, Africa, Europe, South America (See list A.) and when in New York they come to the Association office seeking information.

The most vocal and numerous of all groups who want information are high school and college age people, not all of whom are actually at school. They are receptive to ideas which to some of their parents have been anathema when those ideas are soundly based on facts. That they are remarkably without preconceived prejudice has been demonstrated by their response to the Lloyd Gaines' decision and brought home to those in closest contact with them.

Teachers and college professors form another large group seeking information for presentation in their class rooms.

The geographical extent of interest in our own country and the lack of inflexible regional prejudice is well demonstrated in Ira DeA. Reid's Negro Youth: A Selected Bibliography on their Social and Economic Backgrounds published by the American Youth Commission. Of the 1065 Master's and Doctor's theses dealing with problems of the Negro listed, 404 were written at southern colleges, 88 of them white colleges in the South.

Other requests are received from leaders of forums, study clubs, youth groups, women's missionary and other church societies, federal, state and city officials. All these groups want to think and to judge for themselves, but they lack the requisite facts.

The matter of textbooks which intensifies this problem is a vicious circle. A majority of the books now available for use either ignore completely, or present a prejudiced, misinformed conception of the Negro. Those dealing adequately and objectively with the Negro are extremely few in number.

Yet when an author comes along, anxious to add to these few that do deal adequately with the Negro, he finds the facts necessary for an honest historical presentation of the Negro practically unavailable. Attached hereto are copies of correspondence carried on by the Association with Harry Elmer Barnes and S. Ralph Harlow in which they ask for material for books they are writing on the Negro question. These letters are typical of what often happens. (See Exhibit B and C.)

Making facts accessible not only to writers of textbooks, but to those writing plays, motion picture scripts and histories generally where they relate to contemporary American problems may, conceivably, assist profoundly in giving a more accurate picture of the part played by the Negro in American and world history.

Present Inadequacy:

Obviously, among the hundreds, if not the thousands of pamphlets and books written on all conceivable phases of the problem, the answer exists, but not in usable form. But at present there is no volume or set of volumes in which this collecting and condensing has been done. Some of the literature available has been written for propaganda, and while excellent for that purpose, is not unbiased. Much material which does exist in factual form is widely scattered. To answer a single broad question on the part played by the Negro in politics, for example, might require several articles in several different magazines, a single paper in an expensive journal, a chapter or two in an authoritative, but costly book.

Page missing in original

issues which go to combine to form the problem as a whole.

. Contents:

On the whole, requests indicate a desire for specific factual information and need for a background against which to place these facts. Each brochure needs to give an accurate and factual description of the conditions which originally produced the problem. Certain fundamentals must be grasped before details and subtle nuances are of significance. Moreover, knowing what is true today lacks point until one understands why and how these things have come into existence.

From this point, changes or intensifications of these conditions which led to the present issues can be traced. By doing this objectively, a substantial and permanent basis for thought can be established. Through this an understanding of the ideas and attitudes which grew out of these conditions can be achieved.

It is equally important that ideas be presented honestly and objectively. The most effective method of tracing developments in ideology is in the light of the thoughts and actions of outstanding Negro thinkers and leaders. It is important that potential thinkers build their own ideas on facts uncolored by inter or intra racial prejudices or biases. But since it is more difficult to judge what is "accurate" in discussing ideas, where the theorists have disagreed on various subjects, both sides should be presented with a brief evaluation of each.

From these attitudes have grown techniques to meet various situations. In some instances, over a period of time, they have grown powerful and effective. In others, they have lost their potency. A description of them and a commentary on their relative success would demonstrate the persistence and intelligence with which the Negro

has struggled to obtain recognition and obtain and maintain for himself equal social and legal rights.

With this background established for him, the reader can more readily understand the present problem, so that current vital issues may be summarized and their implications indicated. It is hoped that through this gradual approach, a sense of values may be developed to enable the reader himself to measure the significance of issues which are cropping up with increasing frequency and publicity.

However, in considering what information is needed the form in which it is required is equally important. We feel that in writing these brochures the simplest approach would be the best.

Since the requests seem to spring from a sense of lack of information or incomplete information it can be assumed that the readers are interested (or they would not ask questions) but completely uninformed.

The educational backgrounds of the various groups addressed are so varied, that the brochures should be understandable to high school age people, even those who have not had the opportunity to attain that rank. Yet at the same time they must contain, in simple form enough facts to be of value to more advanced readers.

Work Required

To accomplish this in one set of pamphlets is not a small or easy job. It requires much time in the actual writing, but more in the preliminary tasks which divide themselves somewhat as follows:

1. The actual gathering of existing books and pamphlets containing factual information.
2. Collection of further material and field trips to fill in gaps in existing material.
3. Checking, condensation and organization of material to be used.

The first is necessary not only to insure inclusion of all pertinent material, but to avoid duplicating work which has already been done. The second is to insure, as far as possible, a complete presentation of each issue. We do not propose to do a definitive job in these pamphlets. We do feel however, that well done, they can form a permanent foundation on which more detailed pamphlets may be based, in the future. The third item is self explanatory.

Further Uses:

In so far as these brochures are to be factual objectives and not propaganda, they can be used to stimulate interest in more conservative groups such as Parent Teachers Associations & Women's Clubs. They shy away from propaganda, but are receptive to information in so far as they can be assured of its validity. By approaching them with accurate information and techniques of study already compiled for them their active interest can be stimulated and another group may be added to the potentially growing number of informed and sympathetic friends of the Negro.

Distribution and Price of Brochures:

As stated above the association is equipped to effect a widespread distribution of these brochures, as they have done with their own publications to date. The three major means of increasing and insuring extensive distribution which are available to the Association are as follows:

1. Through their own 600 Branches, Youth Councils and College Branches.

These agencies can be urged, not only to purchase copies for themselves but also to place them in the hands of teachers in schools and colleges, newspaper editors, study clubs, women's groups and the like. This may well stimulate further sales in itself, where the brochures are adopted by teachers and professors and study clubs as required basic reading in study of the Negro.

2. Through the Negro Press.

The Negro Press can be counted upon to give enthusiastic cooperation in publicizing such brochures. This is true not only of Negro newspapers, but of educational publications such as these, the National Education Association, Opportunity Magazine, the Journal of Negro Education and others as well.

3. Through working arrangements now in force with other organizations such as -

the Y.W. and Y.M.C.A.s, -Parent Teachers Associations and Labor groups would not only be glad to publicize these brochures as they have done with other association publications but would provide a market for them.

Thus, if the brochures are sold for even so small a sum as five cents, the extent of publicity available, would over sell so that some return from their sale could be counted upon once the project was under way and some of the brochures had been printed.

A tentative list of subjects is presented below - these have been selected on the basis of questions most often asked staff members, requests received at the office and the relative significance of these subjects in the complete picture of the Negro, his relation to and place in society.

These brochures will run approximately 30 pages in length though some subjects will require 40 or perhaps 50 pages for adequate coverage. While we wish to avoid statistical tables as much as possible, we do feel that the use of "Pictorial Statistics" would be most effective in presenting any necessary statistics. If the budget permits, we feel that the use of illustrations such as charts, maps, photographs and other illustrative material would add much to the value of the brochures.

It is proposed further that authorities in each field be asked to serve as a "board of editors" They will be asked to suggest additional sources of information and their critical judgment in

selecting material to be used, planning and editing; the final drafts will be solicited. A tentative list of members proposed for the boards of the various pamphlets is presented below.

(1) The Negro in Politics:

This pamphlet may well start with a definition of the status of the Negro politically up to and at the close of the Civil War, pointing out how at that time, as in the future he was "used" by politicians. The barriers raised to prevent him from exercising his right to vote and his attack upon these barriers should be pointed out. The first break of significance from "conventional" voting and the cause for this break; the implications of this break; what the Negro can potentially do with his vote; what he will do and why are further points to be covered.

(2) The Economic Status of the Negro and its Effects:

This brochure is to cover the Negroes' reaction to freedom - what he did and what he thought; how he has, by various means, been "kept in his place" economically; the reaction and relation of the Negro to trade Unions; the Negro sharecropper; the Negro in the professional world - what he can potentially do on the basis of merit and what he has so far been allowed to do. The effect of the law economic status of the Negro on his philosophy, life and health (to be developed in detail in succeeding brochure) is to be described, together with the techniques which he has developed to combat this condition.

(3) Health:

This brochure will touch on the following aspects:

1. Comparative Negro and white health statistics with reasons explaining the differential. T.B. and Syphilis in particular.
2. Health facilities for the Negro in various sections of the country such as: - hospitals, clinics, visiting nurses, well-baby clinics, etc.

3. Industrial diseases of the Negro and provisions made to lesson them and care for victims.
4. What opportunities exist for Negro doctors and nurses to receive training and use it in working with Negroes.
5. Contributions in the medical field by Negro doctors and scientists.

(4) The Press:

This brochure is to answer questions such as - the following:

When did the Negro first become vocal? What were the first Negro papers and magazines? Were they actually started by and for Negroes and what was the motivating reason for starting them? What have these developed into? What are the leading papers in the U.S., who dominates them and what is their power and influence?

(5) Negro Youth:

This is to present a picture of the average family background of Negro youth and of what agencies exist for their recreation, vocational guidance and training. Their chances for getting the jobs for which they are trained is of significance as is the proportion who get jobs which fully utilize their abilities. In short, the brochure is answer to the question how many young Negroes can follow their wishes as far as a job is concerned and what happens to the rest.

(6) What the Negro thinks:

This is to be based on interviews with a widely diversified representative group of Negroes such as Mordecai Johnson, A. Philip Randolph, Sharecroppers, iron workers, students, artists, writers, etc., in order to show what they themselves think. It will present their statement of their position and what they intend to do or think should be done about it. This can most effectively demonstrate that the Negro no longer is the docile and unintelligent being as he has too long been considered by too many people.

(7) Theories of Racial Inferiority:

A discussion of common misconceptions of the mental and physical inferiority of the Negro. The complete lack of foundation for these ideas will be demonstrated on the basis of the findings of scientists who have made tests refuting these ideas. The studies of Dr. Bean on relative Negro and white brain weights will be discussed in the light of later studies invalidating his findings.

(8) Crime and Juvenile Delinquency:

The studies of Miss Boic in Minneapolis will be cited to show that the crime rate among Negroes rises as a result of wholesale arrests of groups of Negroes to cover the inability of the police to find the actual offender. The actual differential between white and Negro crime statistics will be shown with a summary of conditions which most often cause juvenile delinquency. What preventative and curative measures are taken with special regard to the Negro will be compared to similar measures for white juveniles. Techniques which may be instigated and promoted by individuals or individual groups in a community will be outlined.

(9) Amplification of Racial Inequalities in Education:

This existing pamphlet will be rewritten data with a broader approach to include more background and fewer statistics. The cause and effects of inequalities in education will be pointed out. Current conditions, such as the exclusion of qualified Negroes from colleges and graduate schools in the South and facilities supplied in leading cities such as New York and Chicago will be compared and described. student reaction in the South to the Lloyd Gaines decision and the implications of that decision will be discussed together with cases now pending regarding teachers' salaries in Virginia and Florida.

The need for equality in library service as well will be stressed.

(10) Negro Housing:

The following points will be discussed

1. Segregation - social and legal
2. High rentals
3. Sweet case in Detroit
4. Results of inattractive living places, clubs, pool rooms, delinquency.
5. Housing as a health factor:

Spread of infectious disease
Negro T. B. rate
Weakened resistance resulting from heavy demand of rent on income affecting amount and quality of food permissible

6. Housing projects for benefit of Negroes

Number that have bettered housing
Number built for Negroes, but with rentals too high to reach this group
Problem of intensifying overcrowded conditions in vicinity when buildings vacated to erect improved buildings which Negroes never get back into.

If available much of material used in "one third of a nation" would be excellent to use here.

(11) N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense Cases:

This would outline the cases carried to the Supreme Court by the N.A.A.C.P. and indicate the actual and potential force of the decisions handed down as affecting present conditions and as setting precedent for decisions for both Negroes and white people, in future controversies.

(12) Errors of Omission and Commission in History:

This will be an amplification of present pamphlet, excluding propaganda and considering further the difficulties teachers meet in trying to obtain unbiased and complete information on the Negro in American history; some outstanding examples of such omission and mis-statements to be found in books currently used in public schools. This

to be done on basis of historical accuracy and not on plane of racial sensitiveness.

(13) Contributions to American Culture:

Such contributions of the Negro as the "Uncle Remus Stories", spirituals, the rhythm of ragtime now basic to swing music, and the cakewalk which helped produce present day dances will be considered. In general contributions in the field of science, inventions, music and entertainment, art, literature, sports, government, law and health will be covered. This brochure is to deal broadly with the contributions mentioned in other brochures to show how both by concrete acts and intangible forces the Negro has influenced American culture and contributed to its growth. The presentation will be made in relation to as absolute standards of literary and cultural excellence as is possible.

(14) The Negro Problem:

This is to sketch briefly what factors go to make up the Negro problem as a whole. It will serve to answer very general questions, give a large picture of the various issues and cover with extreme brevity each of the subjects covered by the other brochures with a view to familiarizing the reader with the broad aspects of the "Negro Problem" and provoke him to read the individual brochures on the subject most stimulating to him.

(15) Photographic Brochure:

This will show dramatically through pictures actual conditions. Pictures contrast Negro & white schools, homes, hospitals, recreational centers (if there are any Negro recreational centers) and such other subjects as can be covered

in this way. Pictures of the type which we would like to be used are enclosed with this memorandum. They were taken during a recent tour of the Soviet by Bradley Smith.

(16) Lynching:

1. The rise and growth of lynching.
2. Discussion fallacy of theory that it is necessary in certain sections of the country
3. Number of lynchings of
 1. White people
 2. Women and children
 3. Persons later proved innocent
 4. Persons already proved innocent
4. Psychological affect of Lynching on lynchors
5. The federal anti-lynch bill

Provisions

Opposition to

Present status in Congress - why some in favor of bill actually - continually vote against it

6. State what are present issues
7. Present attitude of South toward lynching as expressed by individuals and demonstrated by groups such as the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching

(17) Effect of the Negro on Trends of Legislation:

This pamphlet will present the problem dealing with Reconstruction faced by whites of helping the Negro use his freedom, or curtailing it as much as possible.

The prevalence of the latter attitude, which exists only in relatively less degree today will be considered as it affected and produced labor laws, disfranchisement laws, many laws limiting and denying the Negro a right to vote and to make the Negro a potential criminal by creating laws against many petty and picyune acts. The effect of the chairmanship of Senate and House

Committees being in the hands of Southerners because of their length of service as a factor in Legislations and its import will be pointed out. The effect of cases involving the Negro carried to Supreme Court on attitudes and economic issues will be described - to be elaborated on in following brochure on Legal Defense and Civil Liberties. The durability of citizenship as a factor in the framing of the 13th and 14th amendments, will be discussed, as will the effect of the political economic and social effects of the legal status of the Negro on other Americans.

(18) Legal Defense and Civil Liberties:

This brochure will consider two general aspects of this subject:

- (1) The extent of the denial of due process of law in the several states.
- (2) The effect of the lack of adequate legal defense on a community in general, as it causes the breakdown of justice for both white and Negro members.

Much valuable material as to current conditions can be obtained for this through the Branches of the N.A.A.C.P. and other organizations.

(Prepared by - Elizabeth Strother)
June, 1939

FOREIGN COUNTRIES

From which visitors have come to visit

THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

69 Fifth Avenue, New York City

- 9 - London, England
- 2 - Barnsley, England
- 1 - Leeds, England
- 1 - Oxford, England (Exeter College)

- 6 - Port-au-Prince, Haiti
- 1 - Bellegarde, Haiti

- 4 - Paris, France

- 3 - Virgin Islands, U.S.A.

- 3 - Hamilton, Bermuda

- 2 - Berlin, Germany
- 2 - Hamburg, Germany

- 2 - Monrovia, Liberia

- 2 - Copenhagen, Denmark
- 1 - Aarhus, Denmark

- 2 - Nagpur, India (High Court)
- 1 - Bombay, India (Congress House)
- 1 - Batavia, Java, India
- 1 - Coona, India
- 1 - Madura, India

- 1 - St. Lucy, Barbadoes, B.W.I.
- 1 - Dominica, B.W.I.
- 1 - Guadeloupe, F.W.I.

- 1 - Ancon Canal Zone Panama

- 1 - Warrandyte, Australia

- 1 - Zeist, Holland

- 1 - Djursholm, Sweden

- 1 - Warsaw, Poland

- 1 - Bulgaria

- 1 - Iznir, Turkey

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- 1 - Tokyo, Japan (Tokyo University of Commerce)

- 2 - Capestown, South Africa
 - 2 - Natal, South Africa
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 - 1 - Lovedale, South Africa

 - 1 - Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia, Africa
 - 1 - Northern Rhodesia, Africa

 - 2 - Angola, Portugese West Africa
 - 1 - Cameroon, West Africa
 - 1 - Calabar, Nigeria, West Africa
 - 1 - Lagos, Nigeria, West Africa
 - 1 - Sierre Leone, West Africa
-

LIST C

BOOKS FOR WHICH THE NAACP HAS SUPPLIED
PARTIAL INFORMATION

Daker, Paul E., NEGRO-WHITE ADJUSTMENT

Bowen, Trevor, DIVINE WHITE RIGHT

Brown, Ina Corrinne, STORY OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO

Corwin, E. H. L., and Gertrude E. Sturges, OPPORTUNITIES FOR THE MEDICAL
EDUCATION OF NEGROES

Daniels, Jonathan, A SOUTHWESTerner DISCOVERS THE SOUTH

Franklin, Charles L., NEGRO LABOR UNIONIST OF NEW YORK

Johnson, Charles S., THE NEGRO COLLEGE GRADUATE

Johnson, James Weldon, ALONG THIS WAY
NEGRO AMERICANS, WHAT NOW,
IN OUR RACIAL AND NATIONAL MINORITIES

LaFarge, John, INTERRACIAL JUSTICE

Lewinson, Paul, RACE, CLASS AND PARTY

Shay, Frank, JUDGE LYNCH: HIS FIRST HUNDRED YEARS

White, Walter, ROPE AND FAGGOT

High, Stanley (Saturday Evening Post), BLACK OMENS

Beard, Charles & Mary, RISE OF AMERICAN CIVILIZATION

Allon, Frederick Lewis, ONLY YESTERDAY

Nearing, Scott, BLACK AMERICA

Tannebaum, Frank, DARKER PHASES OF THE SOUTH

Gallagher, Buell, AMERICAN CASTE AND THE NEGRO COLLEGE

Claton, Horace R., & Mitchell, BLACK WORKERS AND THE NEW UNIONS

Holms, S. J., THE NEGRO'S STRUGGLE FOR SURVIVAL

Murray, Raymond W., & Flynn, Frank T., SOCIAL PROBLEMS
NEW YORK STATE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION COMMITTEE

Raper, Arthur - THE TRAGEDY OF LYNCHING

Villard, Oswald Garrison - FIGHTING YEARS

Alaino Locke - THE NEW NEGRO

Books (continued)

Harrison, Charles Yale, CLARENCE DARROW

Hays, Arthur G. TRIAL BY PREJUDICE

Holass, Odd, NEDERST VED BORDER

Howe, Mark A. DeWolfe, PORTRAIT OF AN INDEPENDENT

Dabney, Virginus, LIBERALISM IN THE SOUTH

Macy, John, AMERICAN WRITERS ON AMERICAN LITERATURE

Kester, Howard, REVOLT AMONG THE SILLICLOFFERS

September 26, 1939

My dear Mr. White:

I think the statement which
you made on the anti-lynching legislation
is all right. Many thanks for letting me
see it.

Very sincerely yours,

Mr. Walter White
69 Fifth Ave., NYC

DD

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ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

69 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

TELEPHONE: ALGONQUIN 4-3551

Official Organ: The Crisis

SEP 22 1939



*Actual
9-26-39*

September
Twenty-second
1939 (Dictated September 21)

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I want you to see the enclosed statement which we made to the newspapers today following inquiries of us after the morning papers had carried stories that the anti-lynching bill might be used to hold up action on neutrality legislation. I hope you will feel that this is a wise statement.

Very sincerely yours,

Walter White

Secretary.

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

WW:DW

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IMMEDIATE RELEASE

**N.A.A.C.P. STATEMENT ON
ANTI-LYNCHING LEGISLATION**

New York, Sept. 21,- In reply to inquiries from members of Congress and newspapers as to the position of supporters of the anti-lynching bill in relation to neutrality and other legislation dealing with the national welfare in the light of the war in Europe, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, co-ordinating agency of organizations and individuals supporting federal anti-lynching legislation, made the following statement at its national office in New York City today:

"Supporters of the anti-lynching bill are more convinced than ever of the necessity for the enactment of a law to end this horrible practice. Because of their apprehension about the fate of democracy in America, they are particularly concerned with legislation to be considered by the special session of Congress dealing with neutrality. If the President's request of the Congress that the special session be confined to legislation dealing with the war in Europe is agreed to, then, of course, supporters of the anti-lynching bill will submit to the judgment of the Congress and wait until the regular session in January.

"If, however, the Congress does not agree to limit the special session to consideration of war legislation, supporters of the anti-lynching bill who have worked for it for many years will most certainly not jeopardize the present position of the bill which has the highest parliamentary status in the House of Representatives.

"It is our conviction that before the United States sets

forth again, directly or indirectly, to preserve democracy beyond the borders of the United States it must wipe out such undemocratic practices as lynching in the United States. Negroes, who are the chief sufferers from lynching, will be among those American citizens called upon once again to fight for democracy. Congress must see to it that there is no repetition of what took place during the first world war when relatives of Negro soldiers, fighting in France for democracy, were seized by mobs in the United States and lynched, some of them being burned at the stake."

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69 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

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PUBLICITY AND PROMOTION

October 10, 1939

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

President W. R. Banks of the Prairie View Normal and Industrial School at Prairie View, Texas, has written me that he is not certain that a school can be found in Texas for children so young as those in whom you are interested. However, he has suggested that I make inquiry of Jarvis Christian College, Hawkins, Texas; and of the Dunbar High School at Little Rock, Arkansas. This I am doing and will write you what I learn.

Ever sincerely,

Walter White
Secretary

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

WW:RR

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October
9th
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My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I enclose self-explanatory copy of letter from A. Maceo Smith of our Dallas Branch. If you will let me know the Texas town in which the mother of the 11, 10 and 5 year old children lives I will pass that information on to Mr. Smith in the hope that he can find a suitable school.

I wish also to report that the President of our Philadelphia Branch telegraphs this morning that they are investigating the case of Mrs. Trossman and the colored maid and will report to us within two or three days. I will write you again when the report comes.

Ever sincerely,

Walter White
Secretary.

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

WW:CTF

C O P Y

A. MACEO SMITH, Executive Secretary

NEGRO CHAMBER OF COMMERCE
Executive Offices
814 1/2 Good Street Dallas, Texas

October 5th, 1939

Mr. Walter White, Secretary
N.A.A.C.P.
69 Fifth Avenue
New York City, N. Y.

My dear Walter:

An attempt is herein made to answer your recent letter which contained an inquiry from Mrs. Roosevelt. To my knowledge there are no schools, either public or private, in Texas which provides Trades Courses for students of 11, 10, and 5 years of age. However, there are some semi-technical high schools in the larger cities within the State. If you can find out from Mrs. Roosevelt what Texas town this Mother lives in I might be further able to give some helpful advice.

Ever sincerely,

(Signed) A. Maceo Smith
Secretary,
Dallas Branch, N.A.A.C.P.

AMS/c

October 10, 1939

My dear Mr. White:

Mrs. Roosevelt asks me to thank you for sending her copies of the correspondence with the Department of Justice concerning the Tampa situation.

Very sincerely yours,

Secretary to
Mrs. Roosevelt

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

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September 26, 1939

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I thought you would be interested in seeing the enclosed copy of letter from Mr. Schweinhaut of the Department of Justice regarding the Tampa situation and copy of my letter in reply.

Ever sincerely,

Walter White
Secretary

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

WW:RR

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

HAS:ML

Washington, D.C.

September 19, 1939

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

Dear Mr. White:

Upon my return from vacation I took up the Tampa, Florida, situation with the Federal Bureau of Investigation and Tax Division. For your information, and not for publication to any one, the Tax Division is requesting the Bureau of Internal Revenue to make an investigation looking to the exposure of possible income tax violations. The FBI is now studying the material you left with me in the light of certain investigations it has already made in Tampa to determine whether or not there is any basis for their intervention. They assure me that they will do everything possible to be of assistance. I must say frankly, however, that except for possible income tax violations, I am unable to spell out a Federal case. I would appreciate it if your legal staff would give consideration to the matter and suggest to me any other statutes they think may be involved.

Mr. Rogge, Assistant Attorney General in charge of the Criminal Division, of which my Section is a part, is still away from the city, but I will discuss the matter at length with him upon his return. I shall be glad to keep you advised of developments.

I have made copies of the material you left with me and am returning the originals as you requested.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) Henry A. Schweinhaut
Special Assistant to the Attorney General

September 26, 1939

My dear Mr. Schweinhaut:

I have discussed with several members of our Legal Committee the request made in your letter of September 19 with respect to the Tampa situation and I give you herewith a consensus of their opinion.

On the record we have submitted to you to date we do not contend that there is irrefutable evidence of violation of federal law. We make no attempt to spell out a case. We are strongly of the opinion, however, that there is sufficient information available to establish a presumption or at least a strong suspicion that there have been violations of Section 51 of Title 18 of the Federal Criminal Code in preventing Negro workers from taking advantage of their rights under the National Labor Relations Act. It is also our belief that investigators of the Tax Division of the Bureau of Internal Revenue, if it be possible to instruct them to look for such violations and also violations of other federal laws, would probably find considerable evidence.

We sincerely trust that because of the far-reaching importance of the Tampa situation in its effect upon employment of Negroes in shipyards and on other federal-financed contracts, in the matter of political and labor union corruption, and in other issues affecting both white and Negro citizens of Florida and of the South involved in this case the Department will see fit to act.

It is our belief that just as in the Kansas City and Louisiana situations where the Department, if our facts are correct, went in on investigations of possible income tax law violations and uncovered violations of other federal laws, so will it do the same thing in the Tampa situation.

A New York columnist today makes the statement that "Federal men are about to launch an

Mr. Henry A. Schweinhaut - 2

investigation of the labor unions and their affiliates in the motion picture industry, with the object of uncovering graft, rackets and kickback systems, if any." Would it be possible to tell me if this report is correct? If it is, is there not a possibility that the authority to make this investigation of labor unions is also applicable to the Tampa situation?

If you, Mr. Rogge, or the Attorney General would wish a further conference on this matter I shall be, of course, glad to meet with you.

With cordial personal greetings,

Ever sincerely,

(Signed) WALTER WHITE
Secretary

Mr. Henry A. Schweinhaut
Special Assistant to the
Attorney General
Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

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WALTER WHITE.

Telephone Your Telegrams to Postal Telegraph

December 26, 1939

Dear Mr. White:

Thank you for sending me a copy of your telegram to the Vice President. I would like to know what his answer is.

Very sincerely yours,

Mr. Walter White
69 Fifth Avenue
NYC

0

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December 20, 1939

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I thought you would be interested in seeing the enclosed telegram which we sent to Vice-President Garner.

Ever sincerely,

Walter White
 Secretary

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

WW:RR

I wd like to know what the P. [unclear]

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IMMEDIATE RELEASE

New York, Dec. 18.— Vice-President John Nance Garner was asked today by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People whether he included Negro Democrats in Texas and other southern states where they are excluded from voting in the Democratic primaries in his statement saying he trusted "that all Democrats will participate" in the primaries and conventions.

The question was put to the Vice President in a telegram sent to his home in Uvalde, Texas, where Garner on December 16 issued his forty-four word statement placing himself in the Presidential race.

That part of the Vice President's statement which gave rise to the N.A.A.C.P. query said:

"The candidate (for president) should be selected at primaries and conventions as provided by law, and I sincerely trust that all Democrats will participate."

The complete text of the N.A.A.C.P.'s telegram, which was signed by Walter White, follows:

"The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People notes with interest the statement in your announcement you would accept Democratic nomination that 'I sincerely trust that all Democrats will participate' in primaries and conventions as provided by law to select the candidate. We would like to ask if you include Negro Democrats in Texas and other southern states where Negroes are now barred from participation in so-called Democratic white primaries. Would appreciate your clarifying this point which is of very great concern to Negroes in these and other states."

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My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

No reply has come to our telegram to the Vice President as yet, though it was sent to him on December 18th.

Ever sincerely,

Walter White
 Secretary.

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

WV:CTF

January 3, 1939

100

Dear Mr. White:

I read over your letter to the President with a great deal of interest. The first two things have already been recommended and I do not think there will be any question if we succeed in getting federal aid for education and whatever is allotted to the south will be safeguarded.

I do not know that it would be constitutional to actually put into the law your fourth suggestion, but I should think that you could bring enough pressure to bear on labor unions without actually having it written into the law.

No. 5 I should think would have to be discussed with the Secretary of the Interior.

I am quite sure that the President will not include in his first message to Congress any specific things. I think if you take the public utterances of some of the southern people during the Conference on Human Welfare you really have an opportunity to get them to frame their opposition to the bill. Luther Patrick definitely said, and was recorded in the newspapers as saying, he thought it is the south's responsibility to put through an anti-lynching bill.

Of course, what you say in your last two paragraphs was said in this country and has been said again and again. There is a difference, which the south will of course point out, but I think there is enough similarity to make quite a good argument along these lines.

Very sincerely yours,

SO

Mr. Walter White
69 Fifth Avenue
NYC

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Official Organ: *The Crisis*



December
23rd
1938

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My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I wanted you to see copy of a letter we have today addressed to the President. Here it is.

Ever sincerely,

Walter White
Secretary.

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

W:CTF

December
23rd
1938

Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. President:

We acknowledge with thanks telegram of Mr. McIntyre but we regret exceedingly that the pressure of engagements makes it impossible for you to grant us an interview before the Congress convenes. Probable renewal of the filibuster against the anti-lynching bill which is to be introduced and vigorously pushed in the 76th Congress may have a bearing upon other legislation and the Board of Directors of the N.A.A.C.P. had hoped you would grant us an opportunity to submit to you our plans for legislation so that we might fit these plans into the general pattern of legislation. In addition to the anti-lynching bill we wished also to place before you the other items in our legislative program which include:

Efforts to amend the Social Security Act to extend its benefits to domestic, agricultural and casual workers, which is a matter of great concern to Negro Americans since so many of them are engaged in these lower paid branches of employment;

Extension of the benefits of the Wages-Hours Act to include agricultural and casual labor;

Adequate safeguards in any Federal aid to education legislation to insure equitable distribution of Federal funds in states where Negroes are required to attend segregated schools;

Possible amendment of the National Labor Relations Act to prohibit unions which bar from membership persons on account of race creed or color from being recognized as the authorized bargaining agencies of workers in those industries;

Provisions in the Appropriations Bill of the De-

#2 - Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt

December 23, 1938

partment of the Interior to assure equitable distribution of funds for education to be distributed by the Department.

It was also our hope that we might be able to persuade you to include in your address to the Congress a reference to lynching. Seven lynchings have taken place since the Congress adjourned. No member of any one of the seven mobs, which total more than 1000 in membership, has even been arrested, much less punished. Four of these lynchings have occurred in Mississippi; one in Georgia, one in Florida and one in Louisiana. Although the Senators from and the Governors of those states declared during the filibuster last January and February that Federal legislation was not needed as the states would and could act, absolutely no steps have been taken to make good on those assertions.

It is our conviction that a strong word is needed from you as the leader of the nation to the effect that while we rightly condemn racial persecution abroad we as Americans should at the same time clean up our own domain. We hope that you will see fit to urge vigorously upon the 76th Congress that it pass without delay adequate Federal legislation against lynching and that the democratic right to a vote on any measure presented to the Congress should not be denied by a shameless filibuster. We believe that the vast majority of Americans, both South and North, would heartily welcome such a statement from you.

In this connection you will be interested in the attached United Press dispatch from Berlin in which your own fine pronouncements against the horrible persecution of minorities in Germany is discounted by Germany's pointing to unpunished and unrelaxed lynchings in America. May we call your attention particularly to the statement telling of the featuring of your photograph in German newspapers surrounded by pictures of lynchings and riots in the United States?

Respectfully,

Secretary.

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**February
 16th
 1939**

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My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I noted in the newspapers a day or two ago that you are planning to be in New York for a number of days during the coming week. If you can spare a few minutes I would like to come in and talk with you about certain impending developments in the Virgin Islands about which I should like to give you certain information and get your advice as to procedure.

And do you remember in 1937 reading the report of a young woman who then was a senior at Vassar, on the work she and other Vassar students had been doing at Dutchess Junction in the brick-yards settlement? On reading the report you brought it to the attention of the relief authorities and urged that something be done.

Miss Strother is now working in New York and her interest in social problems has continued. She has been doing for the last few months volunteer work with the N.A.A.A.C.P., in an efficient fashion. If it is agreeable to you, I should like to bring her with me when I come to see you. You will be interested, I am sure, in hearing how as a result of your work and hers there has been very great improvement in the very bad conditions which existed at Dutchess Junction.

With cordial greetings, I am

Ever sincerely,

Walter White

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
 20 East 11th Street
 New York City.

Secretary.

WV:CTF

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My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Here is the memorandum about the Virgin Islands situation which I promised to send you.

Wasn't it an interesting coincidence that just about the time I was talking with you about the Virgin Islands the President unexpectedly put in at the harbor of St. Thomas where he had a talk with Governor Cramer and other officials?

I have written to our Birmingham branch to get information about the conviction of Joe Hart in Alabama. As soon as I get a reply I shall report to you.

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

10th ANNUAL CONFERENCE, RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, June 27th - July 2nd, 1939

February
24th
1939

69 Fifth Avenue
New York City.

MEMORANDUM RE: SUCCESSOR TO JUDGE WILLIAM H. HASTIE
AS FEDERAL JUDGE IN THE VIRGIN ISLANDS.

From Walter White.

It is my earnest hope that careful consideration will be given to the choice of a successor to Judge Hastie. I, personally, am opposed, as is the N.A.A.C.P., to "Negro jobs". I would rather see a first-rate white man appointed to the Virgin Islands' Judgeship instead of a poorly qualified Negro who was appointed largely because of his race. But there are several Negro lawyers who, if not the equal of Judge Hastie, are as well qualified as any white lawyer who would be interested in the Virgin Islands post. It is probable that some of the available Negro lawyers would be superior, certainly in understanding of the situation in the Islands.

But aside from these considerations is the fact that the appointment of Judge Hastie, being the first Negro to be appointed to a Federal Judgeship, has broken new ground and thereby become a symbol in the minds of Negro Americans and of many white Americans as well, of a definite advance towards recognition by the Federal government of ability and character of Negroes. To appoint a white man to the post, unless he were of superlative ability and unless a Negro of at least equal qualifications were unavailable, would be a sore disappointment to many people.

I would like to make the suggestion that the President or the Secretary of the Interior or the Attorney General invite Judge Hastie to Washington for consultation as to the type of person to be chosen as his successor. Judge Hastie will be returning to the United States when his resignation takes effect on July 1st. But I assume that the President would wish to send the name of his successor to the Senate considerably in advance of that date in order that Judge Hastie's successor may be ready to assume his duties when Judge Hastie steps out.

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My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

It was very nice indeed to see you yesterday. Miss Strother was very greatly heartened by her contact with you in her determination to devote herself to the kind of work which she started at Dutchess Junction. I know you have many persons of good will to come to you for advice about careers but Miss Strother combines an excellent educational background with intelligence and unselfishness to a remarkable degree. Should you have any suggestions I know Miss Strother would be glad to have them. You can either write her directly at 228 West 11th Street, New York City, or through myself.

Ever sincerely,

Walter White
Secretary.

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

WW:CTF

February 13, 1933

My dear Mr. White:

Mrs. Roosevelt asked me to thank you for sending her a copy of the broadcast made by Mr. Richard Brooks on February 3.

Very sincerely yours,

Secretary to
Mrs. Roosevelt

Mr. Walter White
69 Fifth Avenue
New York
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My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

You will be interested in the enclosed copy of a broadcast by Richard Brooks, the well known news commentator, over Station WJLB on Friday, February 3d.

Ever sincerely,

Walter White

Secretary.

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

WJ:CTF

From a broadcast by Richard Brooks over
Station W N E W, New York delivered
February 3, 1939 ---- 7:45 P.M.

From Washington comes word that Senator Barkley of Kentucky, the majority leader, is worried. He is concerned that the present session of Congress will extend into the hot summer months.

Well Senator.....from what I have learned....it seems more than likely that this session will not only extend into the summer months, but may work all through the summer...and perhaps into the winter.

One of the principle reasons will be the battle over the anti-lynching bill introduced into the Senate by Senators Wagner, Van Nuys and Capper. These three gentlemen have sponsored a new measure which is milder than last year's in several respects. It is said to have the approval of a majority of senators. Now ordinarily that would mean a quick passage of the bill in the senate.

But will it?

No.

For before a vote can be taken on a bill placed before the Senate all debate must have ceased. Now that would seem a simple matter. But is it? Again, NO.

two

Last year, when it seemed almost certain that the anti-lynching bill would be passed...several senators from the South arose and began a filibuster that lasted for six full weeks ...six weeks of talking that finally forced the bill to be shelved so that other business could be transacted in the Senate.

And this year with a modified measure to be placed before the Senate....the opponents of a square deal for the Negro...have given notice that they will again filibuster until "the entire Senate gets blue in the face from listening."

The anti-lynching bill has fast become the bugaboo of the Senate. Most of the legislators dread the measure, for it means an extended battle....it means a virtual standstill in the Senate with all other business waiting while a few in the distinct minority stand up and read page after page of nonsensical material, irrelevant, immaterial and unnecessary to the issue.

The chief fighter for the South in its battle to prevent federal interference in lynchings is Senator Tom Connally of Texas. Mr. Connally makes no bones about the anti-lynching measure.. ..whether it be proposed by Wagner, Van Nuys, Capper or anybody else. He's against it if it means the saving of a Negro's life.

Here are the senator's views, expressed early during this session of Congress, and I quote:

"Any attempt to revive this bill (anti-lynching measure) will result in wasting half the time of this Senate and

three

accomplishing nothing. It will not pass."

When the three senators who are proposing this measure stated that the fight for an anti-lynching bill must go on, Senator Connally said: "So the fight must go on. Well, let me inform the Senators that those opposed to this legislation are ready to carry on the fight as long as their legs hold out and their mental faculties function." Those, mind you, are the words of a man who calls himself a Senator from one of the 48 states of these United States of America.

It is all well and good for us in America to talk about the Bill of Rights and to swagger because of freedom of religion, speech and press. But until we have a federal anti-lynching law....until we wipe out this barbarian practice of lynching....we will continue to have a blot on our record.

Let us look at the record.

Since 1882 the United States has found itself shamed by 4,681 lynchings. These are cases which have been recorded. I don't know how many more lynchings have occurred on which there are no available records. Of this number about 1200 were white persons...more than 3300 were colored folk.

In 1937 while the House of Representatives was arguing about a proposed anti-lynching bill...seven were lynched in this country...two of these cases are now famous. For while the governor of Mississippi was addressing a gathering on how his state could take care of lynching without interference from the Federal Government...two Negroes were being lynched less than 100 miles away from the scene of his anemic speech.

These two colored men were seized while in the custody of police and were tied to a tree. Then they were burned

FOUR

to death at the end of two blow torches in the hands of lynchers.

In 1938 while the proposed measure was being fought out on the floor of the Senate....there were no lynchings whatsoever in this country. For six weeks while Senator Tom Connally blew off steam before his compatriots, the entire South was clear of any missteps. It was almost too good to be true. For the first portion of 1938...there was not a single blotch...not a single lynching...and the Senators who supported Tom Connally proudly pointed to the record.

The big cry was..."we can take care of ourselves... give us state rights...we want no federal police meddling..."

But as soon as the issue was placed in the refrigerator...as soon as the proposed anti-lynching law was set aside for the rest of the year...the lynching broke out.

Perhaps it was coincidental....that cannot be proven.. ..perhaps it was just one of those things...there is nothing on the record to deny this...but the fact remains that in the latter part of 1938...seven lynchings were chalked up. And all seven took place in the South, the section that is so ardently fighting against a federal measure.

According to a statement by the three Senators who are proposing the new measure..."of the seven lynchings that took place....there has not been a single conviction, prosecution or even arrest."

Let us look at the record of Texas, the state from which the ardent speaker, Mr. Connally, hails. Since 1882 there has been 488 lynchings in Texas.

488 people have been murdered through mob violence and Tom Connally tells the Senators of the United States that it

Five

wants no interference from the Federal Government.

And so later on during this present session of congress we can again expect a filibuster by the eminent Senator from Texas. As a matter of fact we are assured of it by his own promise.

Here are a few questions I think most Americans would like answered.

"What has a state to fear of a federal anti-lynching law?

"What has any Senator to fear of a law which would put to an end this shameful practice which is directly contradictory to the United States Constitution and the rights for which America's greatest leaders gave up their lives?

"Is it a matter of race hatred and the color line which is preventing passage of this bill?

"Have not the colored people of this country as much right to protection of the law as any other citizen?

"Why must the majority of the Senators and Congressmen be forced to sit by idly while a minority forces its will upon them?

"Why must the bigotry and prejudice which we have fought against for 150 years be permitted to flourish?

"How can Tom Connally and his supporters in the Senate blandly say that the state can take care of its own lynchings when the facts have proven otherwise?"

The anti-lynching law is necessary to keep the Bill of Rights from becoming a sham. And the fight will go on for the passage of this law...despite filibusters...despite lengthy talking...despite the petty politics of petty politicians.

March 6, 1939

My dear Mr. White:

Mrs. Roosevelt asks me to thank you for your telegram. She appreciates your offering to get in touch with Miss Anderson, but the program for June 8 is still in the formative stage and even the date is uncertain. The people handling the program will get in touch with Miss Anderson when things are more definite.

Very sincerely yours,

Secretary to
Mrs. Roosevelt

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

DD

TELEGRAM

*Called
5-6-39*

The White House
Washington

40wumc 23 435p

NSH New York, Feb. 28, 1939.

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt.

Our warm thanks and congratulations on resignation from D.A.R.

Would you wish me to inquire re availability Miss Anderson June eighth.

Walter White.

*Yes but contact
date 2/28/39*

*Thank for wire
Very program as
sent in formalized stage
& date uncertain. Pearl handling
etc.*

100



March 21, 1939

My dear Mr. White:

Mrs. Roosevelt has asked me to thank you for your telegram of March 13 and to say that she regrets not being able to accept your invitation to attend the Marian Anderson concert on April 16. She finds that she will have to be in Seattle at that time.

Very sincerely yours,

Secretary to
Mrs. Roosevelt

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

0

TELEGRAM

act
11.21

The White House
Washington

20wumc 38

NSH New York, March 13, 1939.

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt.

Would you care to be a guest of Mrs. White and myself at Marian Anderson's concert Carnegie Hall, April 16th? Other guests will be Mayor and Mrs. LaGuardia. For numerous reasons hope you will be able to accept.

Walter White.

553pm

*Sorry but will have to
in L.A. to be*

104
April 4, 1939

Dear Mr. White:

Mrs. Roosevelt has never succeeded in finding a place for Margaret Inniss, about whom she wrote to you sometime ago. She is sending you the latest communication from Miss Inniss and would appreciate your advice as to how she can best help the girl at this time.

Mrs. Roosevelt is making inquiry as to the possibility of a job in the Virgin Islands, which Miss Inniss indicates she is desirous of obtaining.

Very sincerely yours,

Secretary to
Mrs. Roosevelt

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

0

May 20, 1939

Dear Mr. White:

I am sending you this letter from a woman who sounds most sorry. Is there no Negro Credit Union association which could help her?

Very sincerely yours,

Mr. Walter White
69 Fifth Avenue
NYC

Viola B. Harris, Va. State College, Ettrick, Va.
Teacher of 50 yrs. old built a home last year and has had trouble ever since - had to pay hospital bills for relatives. Adopted two girls and raised them, - one of them has had to go to NY for treatments on eye - she has borrowed money and is now in desperate straits - Wants to borrow \$5000 and pay it back in monthly payments

100
May 22, 1939

My dear Mr. White:

Mrs. Roosevelt asked me to thank you for your letter of May 18 about Margaret Inniss. I am enclosing a letter from the Department of the Interior concerning the job in the Virgin Islands about which Mrs. Roosevelt wrote to you. 2

Very sincerely yours,

Secretary to
Mrs. Roosevelt

Mr. Walter White
69 Fifth Avenue
New York
N.Y. 0

Dr. Gruening has taken up with Mr. Boyd J. Brown, President of Virgin Islands Co. - there may be an opening.

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May 18, 1939

Dear Miss Thompson
for a letter
of about 1/2 page

My dear Miss Thompson:

I owe you and Mrs. Roosevelt a very great apology for waiting so long to answer your letter of April 4 about Miss Margaret Inniss. I have been away a great deal and thus have not had opportunity to get the advice of one or two persons whose judgment I wanted.

From my talk with Miss Inniss I am strongly of the opinion that if the job in the Virgin Islands can be secured it would be the best thing for her. There is a real opportunity for service there which Miss Inniss, being from that part of the world, could probably do better than one not as familiar with the West Indies as she is.

To quote one of the persons whose advice I sought, this might also save Mrs. Roosevelt from "continuous correspondence and fault-finding on Miss Inniss's part." This person also suggests that if a job is found it would be wise for Mrs. Roosevelt to give Miss Inniss to understand that that is all she can do.

Ever sincerely,

Walter White

Secretary

Miss Malvina C. Thompson
 Secretary to Mrs. Roosevelt
 The White House
 Washington, D. C.

WW:RR

P.S. - I am returning Miss Inniss's letter which was enclosed in yours of April 4. - WW

June 10, 1939

100

My dear Mr. White:

Mrs. Roosevelt asks me to write you and say that she agrees with all you say in your letter of June 7. She has given it to the President as you requested.

Very sincerely yours,

Secretary to
Mrs. Roosevelt

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

DD

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**June 7th
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My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I want you to see this letter, for your own information. After reading it will you then be good enough to pass it on to your husband?

Ever sincerely,

Walter White
 Secretary.

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

WW:CTF

free 100
June 19, 1939

Dear Mr. White:

Thank you for your letter about the arrangements in Richmond.

Am I to speak only when presenting the medal? I ask because I understood originally that I must be in Richmond at two o'clock.

Have you any special suggestions or points which I might make in my speech? How long will Miss Anderson talk? Of course, her singing is worth much more than anyone's speech!

Very sincerely yours,

MCT:mds

Mr. Walter White
69 Fifth Avenue
N.Y.C.

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Ch
6/19/39

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I have just this minute completed arrangements for the second Coast-to-Coast network which will broadcast the July 2nd meeting from Richmond. N.B.C. is giving us their blue network and the Columbia Broadcasting System is giving us their entire chain of 106 stations. To do this Columbia is canceling a foreign broadcast.

Both chains are carrying the program from 4:00 to 4:30 Eastern Standard time, on which Richmond operates.

Both chains are anxious to get on the air your address and Miss Anderson's acceptance. Since Miss Anderson is reluctant about speaking we have suggested to her that she respond briefly to your presentation of the Medal and then sing perhaps one or two numbers.

Compressing both your speech and Miss Anderson's response into half an hour is going to be rather difficult for you both. Do you think it can be done? Please let me hear from you as I have been asked by the broadcasting companies to let them know by the end of this week what we can do.

Yes. Can I do speech only when presenting medals?
Ever sincerely,

Walter White

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt *regional* Secretary.
Hyde Park, Dutchess County *near the Washington*
New York

*Two - How many very special suggestions of yours
you will hear covered in my speech? How
long will it take? Will I talk - Will I sing or
sing & speak?*

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My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Thank you very much for your letter. I am waiting now for a telephone call from Miss Anderson who is to let me know whether or not she will only speak briefly in response to your presentation of the medal or whether in addition she will be able to sing one or two numbers. She is so very tired from more than seventy concerts during the past season that I am reluctant to impose upon her. In addition, she tells me that her management has turned down all summer engagements including several radio appearances, and that her management feels that it would be somewhat embarrassing to have her sing on July 2nd after having turned down these other engagements. However, I will know more about this later, perhaps before this letter is transcribed.

It had been our original plan to ask you to speak and then, a few minutes later, make the presentation of the medal as a separate item on the program. But the two radio chains who are broadcasting the program from 4:00 to 4:30 EST are naturally very anxious to get in your address and Miss Anderson's response. NBC is giving us its blue network and CBS its entire chain of 106 stations which have been cleared for the program.

As it would take two or three precious minutes away from you if you made your speech and then were re-introduced to make the presentation to Miss Anderson, would it be possible for you to speak for, say, twenty minutes and then turn your remarks into the presentation of the medal? Mrs. Lampkin, who will preside, will take forty-seven seconds in introducing you. Allowing for applause and time for you to reach the microphone, you should be able to begin speaking by 4:02 p.m. If you used twenty minutes for your speech and the presentation, this would leave about seven minutes for Miss Anderson's response and, if present difficulties are cleared up, perhaps one song since her response is, she

#2 - Mrs. Roosevelt

June 20, 1939

tells us, to be a very brief one.

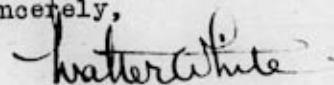
I am enclosing a leaflet which tells the purpose of the Spingarn Medal and the names of previous recipients.

To one who is so well informed on the whole question, it is quite difficult to give you "special suggestions or points" which you might include in your speech. I send you herewith a press release which gives an outline of the program. In addition to the speakers listed herewith, Nathan Straus will speak at the opening mass meeting. I send you also copy of the June issue of the Crisis which contains a good deal of additional information about the subjects to be covered.

Dr. Webb is preparing, as you requested her to do, a memorandum which will supplement these two statements.

We are delighted to know that Mrs. Morgenthau and Miss Thompson are going to be with you. I am asking Mr. Wilkins to reserve seats on the platform for them. The demand for seats has been so great that though The Mosque will seat 5200 persons it has been found necessary to issue reserved seat tickets. If there are any others who you would like to have present, let us know and we will be glad to send you as many reserved seat tickets as you wish, or send them directly.

Ever sincerely,



Secretary.

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

WW:CTF

Spingarn Medalists

18. Robert R. Moton - Tuskegee Institute,
Presented May 20, 1932, by Hon. Bronson Cutting
U. S. Senator from New Mexico; Washington, D. C.
19. Max Yergan, for ten years American Y.M.C.A. secretary among the native students of South Africa, "a missionary of intelligence, tact and self-sacrifice, representing the gift of cooperation and culture which American Negroes may send back to their Motherland; and he inaugurated last year an unusual local movement for interracial understanding among black and white students."
Presented July 1, 1933, at Chicago, Ill. by Mr. Edwin R. Embree,
President of the Julius Rosenwald Fund.
20. William Taylor Burwell Williams, Dean of Tuskegee institute. "The Spingarn medal for 1934 is presented to William Taylor Burwell Williams, Dean of Tuskegee College, for his long service as field agent of the Slater and Jeanes Funds and the General Education Board, his comprehensive knowledge of the field of Negro education and educational equipment, and his sincere efforts for their betterment."
Presented June 29, 1934, at Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, by the Rev. J. Raymond Henderson of Atlanta, Georgia, at the Twenty-fifth Annual Conference of the N.A.A.C.P.
21. Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, founder and President of Bethune-Cookman College, Daytona Beach, Florida. "In the face of almost insuperable difficulties she has, almost single-handedly, established and built up Bethune-Cookman College, which is recognized by the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools of the Southern States as a standard junior college. In doing this she has not simply created another educational institution. Both the institution's and Mrs. Bethune's influence have been nationwide. That influence has always been on a high plane, directed by a superb courage. Mrs. Bethune has always spoken out against injustice, in the South as well as in the North, without compromise or fear."
Presented June 28, 1935, by Mr. William Pickens, Field Secretary of the N.A.A.C.P., at the Twenty-sixth Annual Conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, St. Louis, Missouri.
22. John Hope, President of Atlanta University, characterized by the Committee of Award as "a distinguished leader of his race, one of the foremost college presidents in the United States, widely and favorably known throughout the educational world."
Presented (posthumously) July 3, 1936, at Baltimore, Maryland, by Dr. Mordecai W. Johnson, President of Howard University, to Mrs. Hope.
23. Walter White, Executive Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, for his personal investigation of 41 lynchings and 8 race riots and for his "remarkable tact, skill and persuasiveness" in lobbying for a federal anti-lynching bill.
Presented July 2, 1937, by Governor Frank Murphy of Michigan, at the Twenty-eighth Annual Conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Detroit, Michigan.

RICHMOND READY FOR
30TH ANNUAL N.A.A.C.P.
CONFERENCE

Major Problems Confronting Race to Be Discussed; Mrs. Roosevelt to Speak and Present Medal to Marian Anderson

Richmond, Va., June 16.- Everything is in readiness for the entertainment of the 30th annual conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People here June 27 - July 2, inclusive.

The meeting of the race's foremost civil rights organization bids fair to eclipse any similar gathering in the past ten years. This will be the third time in the history of the N.A.A.C.P. that the annual conference has gone below the Mason and Dixon line. The first trip was in 1920 to Atlanta, Ga. The second in 1934 to Oklahoma City, Okla., and the third this year in Richmond.

From the opening meeting Tuesday night, June 27, in Richmond's huge Mosque to the closing meeting Sunday afternoon, July 2, also in the Mosque, the sessions will be packed with discussions of the major problems affecting race relations in America.

Headquarters of the conference will be the Fifth Street Baptist Church, N. Fifth and E. Jackson streets.

The opening night speakers will be Judge William H. Hastie, who recently resigned his post on the federal bench in the Virgin Islands, and Samuel B. Solomon of Miami, Fla., who organized and led the Negro voters of his city to the polls May 2 in defiance of threats made by the Ku Klux Klan. Judge Hastie will sound the keynote of the conference and will review briefly the major achievements of the association during the past three decades. Mr. Solomon will tell the inside story of the organization of Negro voters in the South and is expected to point out that colored citizens in Dixie are determined to exercise their citizenship rights.

Among the speakers and discussion leaders on Wednesday, June 28, will be S. H. Dykstra of the staff of the wages and hours act administrator; Dr. Charles S. Johnson of Fisk university; Lester B. Granger and Howard Kester. They will discuss low wages and low income farming. Edward S. Lewis of Baltimore will preside June 28 in a panel discussion on economic security and other speakers will tell of the work of the New Negro Alliance in Washington and of the organization of tobacco workers in Richmond.

Health and housing problems will be considered at the general session Thursday, June 29, with Dr. John B. West, of New York, and Harold Lett, of Newark, N. J., as the discussion leaders.

One of the most interesting of the group discussions is expected to occur Thursday afternoon, June 29, when Thurgood Marshall, T. G. Nutter, Enolia McMillan and Lester B. Granger will speak on the general subject of education.

Friday afternoon, June 30, the whole subject of civil rights will be discussed by Hubert T. Delany, James M. Nabrit, Leon A. Ranson and Mrs. Grace Towns Hamilton. This session will be presided over by P. B. Young, Sr., of Norfolk, Va.

On Friday morning, William Pickens, director of branches of the N.A.A.C.P. will preside at a session in which the problems of branch organization will be gone into.

The Saturday morning session, July 1, will be the business meeting at which resolutions will be adopted and the time and place of the 1940 conference determined.

The Wednesday night mass meeting, June 28, will be a panel discussion on economic opportunity in which one of the leading participants will be Elmer Anderson Carter, one of the three members of the appeals board of the New York State Unemployment Fund.

Dr. Louis T. Wright, chairman of the association's board of directors, will speak on the national public health program Thursday night, June 29; and Charles H. Houston, of the association's legal

staff, will discuss the implications of the University of Missouri case.

Also at this Thursday night meeting, the Merit Medal, awarded annually for distinguished service in the performances of N.A.A.C.P. work, will be awarded to Dr. Tinsley, president of the Richmond branch, for his continuous activity as president bringing the branch from 202 to 2,200, and for his work in organizing the Virginia State Conference of Branches.

Also to be presented Thursday night are the medals to life members of the association - those who have paid \$500 into the association's treasury. Medals will go to: The Alpha Kappa Alpha sorority, Mrs. Lillian A. Alexander of New York, Duke Ellington, Marshall Field, and Dr. John L. Reeves of Philadelphia, Pa. The presentation will be made by Dr. William Lloyd Ines of New York, member of the association's board of directors. The principal speaker at the Friday night session June 30, which has been designated as youth night, will be Dr. Arthur Raper, research director of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation at Atlanta, Ga. Other short talks will be given by Edward Strong, secretary of the Southern Negro Youth Congress, James H. Robinson, and W. Willeroy Wells of Richmond, Va.

The closing meeting on Sunday afternoon, July 2, will be addressed by Governor James H. Price, of Virginia, Walter White and Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt. Mrs. Roosevelt will close her remarks by presenting the 24th Spingarn Medal to Marian Anderson, famed contralto.

The following living Spingarn medalists have been invited to be present at the ceremonies, when Mrs. Roosevelt presents the 1938 medal to Miss Anderson:

Professor E. E. Just, William Stanley Braithwaite, Harry T. Burleigh, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Dr. George Washington Carver, Roland Hayes, Dr. Mordecai W. Johnson, Dr. R. R. Moton, Dr. Max Yergan, Dr. W. T. B. Williams, Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, and Dr. Carter G. Woodson.

The address of Mrs. Roosevelt and the response of Miss Anderson will be carried over the two major radio networks - NBC and CBS - from five to five-thirty p.m., eastern daylight saving time.

One of the features of the conference will be a luncheon, June 30, celebrating the twenty-one years of service which Walter White, N.A.A.C.P. secretary, has given to the organization. At that luncheon reports are to be received from branches of contributions to the legal defense fund of the association in honor of Mr. White's service.

Another feature will be the youth fellowship dinner Friday night, June 30. Still another entertainment arranged for the branches is the living newspaper play "Place: America" which has been written especially for this conference and which covers the central philosophy and some of the main events in the thirty years history of the N.A.A.C.P. It will be produced by the Richmond Community Theatre players under the direction of Thomas Richardson.

The youth delegates to the N.A.A.C.P. conference will have a meeting each morning in a separate youth section and on Thursday noon, June 29, a debate on socialized medicine will be staged between the Detroit youth council (affirmative) and the Boston youth council (negative).

The separate morning sessions for young people will hear several speakers including George Smith of the Delata Cooperative Farm at Rochdale, Miss.; Brank Fulton of New York; Mrs. Ann Caution, director of NYA activities among colored youth in Oklahoma; John Holly of Cleveland, O.; Ed Strong and Miss L. Pearl Mitchell. Walter White, N.A.A.C.P. secretary, will speak to the youth delegates Friday morning, June 30. Gloster B. Current, president of the Detroit youth councils, will preside at the youth night mass meeting Friday, June 30.

Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefield

Mrs. F. D. Roosevelt and Other Prominent Speakers Will Draw Record Crowd to N.A.A.C.P. Conference June 27-July 2

ALL roads will lead to Richmond, Va., the last week in June for the 30th annual conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which opens the night of June 27 and runs through Sunday afternoon, July 2.

Approximately 1,000 delegates from branches, youth councils and college chapters are expected to be in attendance. The Wednesday, Thursday, Friday and Saturday sessions, day and night, will be held in the Fifth Street Baptist church, Fifth and Jackson streets.

From the opening night mass meeting in Richmond's Mosque—seating 4500—to the closing meeting Sunday afternoon, to be held, also, in The Mosque, the program is packed with headline speakers, and experts in various fields including employment, health, housing, political action, legal defense work, education, and branch administration problems.

Man Who Defied Klan in Miami to Speak

Undoubtedly one of the high points of the conference will be a speech by Samuel B. Solomon of Miami, Fla., president of the Negro Citizens' Service League. Mr. Solomon led Miami colored voters to the polls in the city primary May 2 in defiance of threats made by the Ku Klux Klan of that city. He will tell the inside story of the events in Miami which thrilled colored people all over the nation.

Indications are that the closing meeting of the conference on Sunday afternoon, July 2, will be too large for the largest auditorium in Richmond. At this meeting, Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt will speak and present the 24th Spingarn medal to Miss Marian Anderson, the world-famous contralto. Walter White, executive secretary of the N.A.A.C.P., will also speak. Governor James H. Price, of Virginia, will deliver brief welcoming remarks to the First Lady and to the conference. Mrs. Daisy E. Lampkin, field secretary of the association, will preside and introduce Mrs. Roosevelt.

Arrangements already are being made

to install loud speakers to accommodate the overflow crowd that is expected to occupy the street surrounding The Mosque and the park directly across the street. Special music will be rendered by a huge chorus and the speech of Mrs. Roosevelt will be carried on a nationwide radio network.

One of the principal speakers for the opening night, June 27, will be Judge William H. Hastie, who has returned from the Virgin Islands where he resigned his post to take up his duties as dean of the Howard university law school. Judge Hastie will deliver the keynote address, reviewing briefly the most significant accomplishments of the N.A.A.C.P. in its thirty years of existence and sounding a call for the work yet to be done.

On Wednesday night, June 28, there will be a panel discussion on employment led by Roy Wilkins, assistant secretary of the association. One of the principal participants in this panel will be Elmer A. Carter, one of the three members of the appeals board of the State Unemployment Insurance Fund in New York. This appeals board handles hundreds of cases involving unemployment insurance in New York State.

The full significance of the victory in the University of Missouri case will be outlined Thursday night, June 29, by Charles H. Houston, who argued the case before the U. S. Supreme Court. The other address at the Thursday night meeting will be given by Dr. Louis T. Wright of New York, chairman of the board of directors of the N.A.A.C.P., who will speak on the proposed national health program and its relation to the health problems of colored people.

The Friday night program, June 30, will be youth night. Edward Strong, executive secretary of the Southern Negro Youth Congress, will give a short talk on "Problems of Southern Negro Youth". There will be short talks, also, on registration and the poll tax, and on the youth work of the N.A.A.C.P.

Experts to Lead Discussions

The discussion groups which will meet

during the day sessions of the conference will be led by experts in various fields and promise to be the most interesting and spirited sessions of this kind in recent years.

For Wednesday morning, June 28, the general subject will be "Economic Problems of the South" and these will be attacked under the headings (a) low wages; and (b) low income farming.

The speaker on low wages will be S. H. Dykstra from the office of Elmer F. Andrews, administrator of the wages and hours act. Discussion of this topic will be led by Lester B. Granger, formerly of the National Urban League and now with the Welfare Council in New York City.

The speech on low income farming will be made by Dr. Charles S. Johnson, head of the Department of Social Science at Fisk university, and the discussion leader will be Howard Kester, organizer of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union. Other participants in this discussion will be Albon L. Holsey of Tuskegee Institute and Washington, D. C., and George H. Smith from the Delta Cooperative Farm at Rochdale, Miss.

The afternoon session on June 28 will be in charge of Edward S. Lewis, executive secretary of the Baltimore, Md., Urban League. The general subject will be "Economic Security". The rights of labor with particular reference to Negro workers under the Social Security Act, the National Labor Relations Act, the Wages and Hours Act, and other legislation, will be presented by James G. Tyson, Joseph C. Waddy and Charles H. Houston of Washington, D. C.

Methods used by labor groups to secure these rights will be outlined by Eugene Davidson of the New Negro Alliance in Washington, D. C., and James Jackson, Jr., of Richmond. Mr. Davidson will tell of the picketing in Washington to secure jobs and Mr. Jackson will tell of the successful organization of Negro tobacco workers in Richmond.

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WIRE

31 June 29

Walter White
Fifth St. Baptist Church
Richmond, Va.

Mrs. R. will be coming from North Carolina and lunching with Governor and Mrs. Price and can be reached there after 12:30. Impossible to make any plans for broadcasting upon entering city as too uncertain of time. Do not wish any escort. Do not need reservation at hotel.

Malvina C. Thompson

TELEGRAM

OFFICIAL BUSINESS—GOVERNMENT RATES

FROM

The White House
Washington

*** 10-5431

RICHMOND VA

MRS F D ROOSEVELT

PLEASE WIRE CARE OF FIFTH STREET BAPTIST CHURCH RICHMOND WHEN YOU WILL ARRIVE
SUNDAY. DO YOU WISH US TO MEET YOU AT CITY LINE AND ESCORT YOU INTO CITY?
IF SO PLEASE ADVISE BY WHAT ROUTE YOU WILL COME FROM WASHINGTON AND EXACT TIME
AND PLACE EN ROUTE YOU WISH US TO MEET YOU. SHALL WE MAKE RESERVATIONS FOR
YOU AT HOTEL NATIONAL BROADCASTING COMPANY LIGHTS INTERVIEW WITH YOU AS YOU
ENTER CITY BY MEANS OF PORTABLE MICROPHONE IN CAR DURING WHICH WELCOME TO
RICHMOND WILL BE EXTENDED. WOULD THIS MEET WITH YOUR APPROVAL?

JALTER WHITE

5-11-11

August 29, 1939

Dear Mr. White:

I was glad to have the memorandum
of your conference in the Department of Justice.
I wrote, after seeing you, to both the Attorney
General and Admiral Land.

Very sincerely yours,

Mr. Walter White
89 Fifth Avenue

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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



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Talladega, Ala.	Rev. Joseph W. Nicholson
Topeka, Kans.	Hon. Arthur Capper
Washington	Hon. William H. Hastie Hon. Frank Murphy Charles Edward Russell Dr. Charles H. Thompson Dr. Elizabeth Yates Webb

August 28, 1939

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Following my talk with you last Tuesday I talked in Washington with Mr. Schweinhaut of the Department of Justice on Wednesday. I was accompanied by Dean William H. Hastie of our Board of Directors and Mr. Frank McCallister of St. Petersburg, Secretary of the Workers Defense League.

I enclose self-explanatory copy of our office memorandum on the results of that conference.

Letters from you to the Attorney General and Admiral Land of the Maritime Commission may, therefore, conceivably be the key in solving this situation.

Ever sincerely,

Walter White
Secretary

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
Hyde Park
New York

WW:RR

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MEMORANDUM ON CONFERENCE, WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 23
at the Department of Justice, Washington
With Mr. Harry Schweinhaut, Chief of the Civil Liberties Division

Judge William H. Hastie
Mr. Frank McCallister
The N.A.A.C.P. Secretary

THE TAMPA SITUATION:

At the outset of the conference the Secretary told Mr. Schweinhaut that while we are certain that federal laws are being violated, we have no absolute proof as yet and that we were certain that if the Department was willing, as it had done in other instances, to go on a "fishing expedition" it would undoubtedly be able to turn up startling evidence.

It was obvious that Mr. Schweinhaut, though very sympathetic and interested, had prepared himself to argue that there were no clear-cut violations of federal law and that he expected us to assert that there are. When, however, we freely admitted that we did not have the proof but that Mr. Maxwell's letter and the Secretary's report of his investigation gave many leads, Mr. Schweinhaut began to discuss the possible violations which seemed to be evident in the situation. He stated that he did not doubt but that inquiry would reveal that Silva and perhaps Whittaker and others had not reported their full income to the Income Tax Bureau; that while this was an oblique approach it was worth looking into as a means of justification of getting at other possible violations not so easily reached. He felt also that there was a possibility and even a great likelihood that there were violations of Sections 51 and 52 of Title 18 of the Federal Criminal Code.

There was very lengthy discussion at the conclusion of which Mr. Schweinhaut stated that as soon as the Attorney General returned from vacation on Labor Day a conference would be held at which would be present, in addition to Mr. Schweinhaut, the Attorney General, J. Edgar Hoover of the F.B.I., O. John Rogge, Assistant Attorney General, now in charge of the investigation of Louisiana; and the head of the Income Tax Bureau of the Department of Justice; that at this conference the situation would be gone into thoroughly and the action to be taken, if any, decided upon.

The Secretary pointed out to Mr. Schweinhaut that there would seem to be as much, if not more, justification for federal action in the Tampa case, since it involved expenditure of federal money, as in the Miami case in which the F.B.I., as reported in the New York World Telegram of August 15, is making inquiry as to political and crime conditions.

The George F. Porter Case, Dallas, Texas

Mr. Schweinhaut stated that the F.B.I. had completed its

1 investigation and the Department is now studying its report and will shortly determine on what action it will take.

Greenville, South Carolina, Case

Mr. Schweinhaut stated that Mr. Doyle, United States Attorney at Greenville, had stated that the election for which the attempted registrations are being blocked by the Ku Klux Klan was solely a local city election. Judge Hastie, however, pointed out that the South Carolina law provides for a county registration which is a prerequisite to registration for a city election; that the county registration is for a period of ten years and includes local, state and federal elections; that this clearly justified federal action.

Mr. Schweinhaut thereupon stated that he would personally take charge of the case.

(After leaving the Department of Justice the Secretary asked Judge Hastie if he would put into a memorandum to Mr. Schweinhaut the facts regarding the nature of the South Carolina registration so as to make it a matter of record. Judge Hastie told the Secretary that he and Mr. Leon A. Ransom had prepared such a memorandum and he would send a copy to Mr. Schweinhaut.)

Peonage Case

Mr. Schweinhaut told the Secretary of a case of a Negro reputed to have been held in peonage in Louisiana. This case was first reported to the Department from California and later from Haverford, Pennsylvania. Efforts to locate the man and get the facts so as to permit action had been unavailing. Mr. Schweinhaut stated that he was now convinced that the man is an impostor and is using the sob story to get handouts, which he felt militated against corrective action in bona fide cases. Mr. Schweinhaut promised to send the Secretary a memorandum of the facts when they located the man who is now reported to be in New York City. If it turns out that the man is an impostor, Mr. Schweinhaut asked the Secretary if the Association would send out publicity asking editors of the Negro press to check more carefully on stories before featuring untrue stories by impostors as was done by the Philadelphia Independent in this case.

August 31, 1939

My dear Mr. White:

If the President can get away, Mrs. Roosevelt will leave with him on October 1. In any case, she can not make any engagements while his plans are uncertain. As you can easily understand, her calendar for the fall and winter and even next spring is fairly full! And no one could call this summer an idle one.

Very sincerely yours,

Secretary to
Mrs. Roosevelt

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

mlt

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August 18, 1939

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
Hyde Park, New York

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I in no way would attempt to interfere with your choice of speaking engagements, but purely for your information I want you to see the enclosed copy of letter asking our intercession in getting you to speak and copy of our reply. This is a worthy organization, but those of us who appreciate so much what you are doing for Negroes also feel that you should not be imposed upon.

Ever sincerely,

Secretary

WW:CEM

Encl.

CITY-WIDE YOUNG PEOPLE'S FORUM

1344 Druid Hill Avenue

Baltimore, Md.

July 15, 1939

Mr. Walter White
N.A.A.C.P.
69 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y.

My dear Mr. White:

We are planning a big opening night for the Forum the first Friday evening in October which will also be the Rally Night closing the N.A.A.C.P. Drive in Baltimore.

Do you think you could secure Mrs. Roosevelt as our guest speaker? The N.A.A.C.P. and the Forum could sponsor the meeting together.

Please let us hear from you.

Cordially yours,

The City-Wide Young People's Forum

Howard L. Cornish, Pres.

Katrine N. White, Sec.

Signed: Katrine N. White

August 16, 1939

Miss Katrine N. White, Secretary
The City-Wide Young People's Forum
1344 Druid Hill Avenue
Baltimore, Maryland

Dear Miss White:

Please pardon my delay in answering your letter of July 16 which came while I was in the South.

I really don't know how to advise you about inviting Mrs. Roosevelt to speak for the City-Wide Forum. Confidentially, I happen to know that Mrs. Roosevelt has gone to the front as often for the Negro that there are a number of her close friends, who are equally as friendly to us, who feel that we should not call on her too often. I am sure you understand what I mean. I have said the same thing recently to one of the regional conferences of branches of the N.A.A.C.P.

Ever sincerely,

Secretary

WW:CEM

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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



September
5th
1939

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My dear Miss Thompson:

Thank you for your letter of August 31st. You are quite right in saying that no one could call this summer an idle one especially in the light of what I saw of Mrs. Roosevelt's hectic life at Hyde Park a few weeks ago. And, the situation in Europe being the horrible thing that it is, it looks as though the past summer is going to look "idle" compared with the months ahead.

I have advised the Baltimore people of the unavailability of Mrs. Roosevelt and I shall continue to try to save her strength and energy as much as possible so far as these engagements are concerned.

With cordial personal greetings, I am

Ever sincerely,

Secretary.

Miss Malvina C. Thompson
Secretary to Mrs. Roosevelt
Hyde Park,
New York

September 15, 1939

*file -
100*

Dear Mr. White:

Mrs. Roosevelt asks me to thank you for sending her a copy of "The Crisis" for September and for calling to her attention the text of her speech in Richmond.

Very sincerely yours,

Secretary to
Mrs. Roosevelt

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

*Give message
Mrs. Roosevelt
Office with
speeches*

0

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September
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My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I thought you would like to see the enclosed copy of the Crisis containing, at page 265, the text of your speech delivered at our 30th Annual Conference in Richmond.

Ever sincerely,

Secretary.

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

WM:CTF

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

✓ Mrs. Henry Trossman, 4802 N. Broad St., Phila. Pa. - tells about an incident she had with a colored servant - how her husband was sued and tried by a colored judge - etc.

October 3, 1939

My dear Mr. White:

Mrs. Roosevelt asks me to send you the enclosed letter. If you can do so, she would like you to find out if there is any truth in the story which the woman tells. She would appreciate whatever information you may be able to obtain concerning it.

Very sincerely yours,

Secretary to
Mrs. Roosevelt

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

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