NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

STATEMENT OF SPECIAL FUNDS

MARCH, 1946

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fund</th>
<th>Monthly Budget</th>
<th>Cumulative 3 Mos.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adler Trust Fund</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bequest Reserve</td>
<td>$1,050.00</td>
<td>$1,050.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>Life Membership Reserve</td>
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<tr>
<td>Branch State Conf. Tax.</td>
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<td>Willkie Memorial Bldg.</td>
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<td></td>
<td><strong>$2,143.87</strong></td>
<td><strong>$3,976.60</strong></td>
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EXPENSE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fund</th>
<th>Monthly Budget</th>
<th>Cumulative 3 Mos.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Scottsboro Committee</td>
<td>$41.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>Branch State Conf. Tax.</td>
<td>$4,656.70</td>
<td>$4,656.70</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>$4,697.70</strong></td>
<td><strong>$4,792.70</strong></td>
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# NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

**INCOME STATEMENT**

**MARCH, 1946**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Monthly Budget</th>
<th>Cumulative 3 Mos.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Branch Memberships &amp; App.</td>
<td>$14,646.32</td>
<td>$27,815.05</td>
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<tr>
<td>Contr. Members at Large...</td>
<td>2,268.61</td>
<td>5,096.11</td>
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<tr>
<td>Armed Forces Contributions</td>
<td>119.50</td>
<td>2,036.15</td>
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<tr>
<td>Christmas Seals</td>
<td>995.04</td>
<td>4,238.29</td>
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<tr>
<td>Interests &amp; Dividends...</td>
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<td>1,772.07</td>
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<tr>
<td>Branch Contr. to Travel...</td>
<td>124.88</td>
<td>319.88</td>
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<tr>
<td>Veterans' Survey...</td>
<td>120.00</td>
<td>476.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>Buttons Sales...</td>
<td>99.88</td>
<td>142.38</td>
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<tr>
<td>Literature Sales...</td>
<td>31.84</td>
<td>116.62</td>
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<tr>
<td>Life Membership Income...</td>
<td>--</td>
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<tr>
<td>Accounts Receivable...</td>
<td>1,032.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>Crisis Subs. (Q 1.50 Per.)</td>
<td>4,042.15</td>
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<td>Miscellaneous Income...</td>
<td>267.66</td>
<td>1,665.66</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>$23,747.88</strong></td>
<td><strong>$52,628.88</strong></td>
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## COMPARATIVE INCOME

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Actual, 1946</th>
<th>Budget, 1946</th>
<th>Actual, 1945</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$23,747.88</td>
<td>$27,000.00</td>
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<td></td>
<td>$52,628.88</td>
<td>$81,000.00</td>
<td>$69,569.95</td>
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### NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

**EXPENSE STATEMENT**

**MARCH, 1946**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Monthly Budget</th>
<th>Cumulative 3 Mos.</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Salaries</td>
<td>$10,814.40</td>
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<tr>
<td>Subsidies to Branch</td>
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<tr>
<td>Executive Secretaries</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bldg., Maintenancé (6 Months)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Postage (Current &amp; Pre-paid)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Printing</td>
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<tr>
<td>Telephone &amp; Telegraph</td>
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<td>1,526.79</td>
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<tr>
<td>Stationary &amp; Supplies</td>
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<td>Furniture &amp; Equipment</td>
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<td>Books, Newspapers, Subs</td>
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<td>61.84</td>
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<td>Travel</td>
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<td>Student Conference</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Crisis Subscriptions</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Leadership Tr. Conf.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bulletin</td>
<td>3,666.37</td>
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<tr>
<td>Overhead, Gen. Ex, etc.</td>
<td>1,540.88</td>
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<tr>
<td>Taxes--Fed., S.S., Unemployment</td>
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<td>927.22</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pan-African Conf.</td>
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<td>6,000.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>World Youth Conf.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Washington Bureau</td>
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<td>Votornans' Bureau</td>
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<td>West Coast Reg. Off.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Participation in Allied Activities</td>
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<tr>
<td>Annual Conference</td>
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<tr>
<td>Entertainment</td>
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<td>Medical Committee</td>
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<td>Nominating Committee</td>
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<tr>
<td>Accounts Receivable</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>$25,460.94</td>
<td>$75,087.18</td>
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**COMPARATIVE EXPENSE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Actual, 1945</th>
<th>Budget, 1945</th>
<th>Actual, 1946</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>24,140.45</td>
<td>27,407.00</td>
<td>23,460.94</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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1. **Actual, 1945**
2. **Budget, 1945**
3. **Actual, 1946**
Minutes of the Meeting of the Board of Directors

April 8th, 1946

The regular meeting of the Board of Directors was held in the offices of the Association, 20 West 40th Street, New York City at 3:30 o'clock pursuant to notice.

Present: Messrs. Chalmers, Gannett, Hall, Hammond, Holmes, Lewis, Singleton, Spaulding, Spingarn, Tinsley, Wright, Tobias, Toney; Mrs. Alexander, Miss Cuthbert, Mrs. Spingarn, Mrs. Henderson; the Secretary, the Administrative Assistant (New York Office), the Administrative Assistant (Washington Bureau), Assistant Special Counsel Perry, Carter, Williams, the Secretary of Veterans Affairs, Assistant Field Secretaries Jensen and Smith, the Director of Branches, the Membership Secretary, the Youth Secretary, the Assistant to the Director of Special Research and Oliver Harrington.

Regrets: Messrs. Cabot, Conover, Davis, Dickerson, Falconer, Callagher, Charles Houston, Norman Houston, Jackson, Jayne, Laguardia, McClendon, Murphy, Randolph, Redmond, Smalls, Steele, Taggart, Miss Ovington, Mrs. Roosevelt.

MINUTES OF THE MARCH MEETING: The minutes of the March meeting were approved as mailed out.

SECRETARY'S REPORT: The Secretary's Report was approved as sent out with addition of the following items:

PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S STAND RE POLL TAX: At a news conference in Chicago, President Truman stated that repeal of the poll tax must be left up to the states. The Secretary read a wire from the National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax asking the Association to wire the President to reconsider his shocking stand.

Upon motion, duly seconded, it was VOTED, That the Association should wire the President requesting that he reconsider his stand on repeal of the poll tax.

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN SSE UNION AND THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY: The Secretary reported that there was correspondence between the Assistant Secretary and the Social Service Employees Union which he requested permission to refer to the Committee which was set up at the March Board meeting to negotiate with the union. This permission was granted, and report is to be made at the next Board meeting.

1946 CONFERENCE: The Secretary requested authorization to establish a pre-convention resolutions committee to meet either in New York or in Cincinnati prior to the conference. This committee
should be made up of members of the National Office, the Board and representatives of the branches to draft tentative resolutions for consideration by the Conference Resolutions Committee. These resolutions would not be binding on the Conference but simply suggestions.

Upon motion by Mr. Lewis, duly seconded, it was VOTED, That a pre-conference resolutions committee be authorized.

Upon motion by Mr. Lewis, duly seconded, it was VOTED, To authorize the setting up a preliminary credentials committee which could make at least a partial report of credentials prior to the conference, in order to make the task simpler for the credentials committee of the conference.

PHILADELPHIA BRANCH: The Secretary reported that the charges preferred against the President of the Philadelphia Branch had been mailed to the President in accordance with the Constitution and there have been a deluge of letters from both sides of the controversy. The recommendation of the Legal Department is that there is insufficient legal basis to warrant our declaring the presidency vacant and ordering a new election and a conference should be arranged between representatives of the National Office, the officers of the Branch and the complainants in an effort to iron out the difficulties.

INDIANAPOLIS BRANCH: The Secretary reported that the reply from Lowell Trice, President of the Indianapolis Branch, had been received only a few minutes before the Board meeting; that the Legal Department had examined the reply and had found it not responsive to the charges made against Mr. Trice and sent to him in accordance with the Constitution; and that the reply does not answer the statements included in Mr. Theodore Berry's report on his investigation. It is therefore the recommendation of the Committee on Administration, the Legal Department, and the Secretary that Mr. Trice be removed as President of the Indianapolis Branch and that the branch be suspended pending reorganization by a representative of the National Office.

Upon motion, duly seconded, it was VOTED, That the Presidency of the Indianapolis Branch be declared vacant and the Branch be suspended pending reorganization by a representative of the National Office.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE RE VOTING: On April 5th, Solicitor General Edward A. Morath issued a statement that the Justice Department would prosecute "any state or party official who attempts to prevent a person from voting because of color" in a primary or general election. Southern newspapers the next day carried articles in which the State political parties defied the ruling of the
Justice Department, saying it would not affect elections in their state.

The Secretary recommended that the Association commend the Department of Justice on its stand.

Upon motion, duly seconded, it was VOTED, That the Association commend the Department of Justice on its stand on the matter of voting.

Upon motion by Mr. Lewis, duly seconded, it was VOTED, That we ask other large organizations to send similar letters or wires of commendation and support to the Department of Justice.

SPINGARN MEDAL COMMITTEE VACANCY: Due to the death of Dr. Neilson, there is a vacancy on the Spingarn Medal Award Committee, the term of which expires July 1, 1946.

Upon nomination by Mr. Spingarn, it was VOTED, That Mr. Henry A. Wallace be elected to fill the vacancy on the Spingarn Medal Award Committee.

VACANCY ON THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS: Dr. Neilson's death leaves a vacancy on the Board of Directors also.

Mr. Spingarn nominated Dr. Frank P. Graham of the University of North Carolina to fill this vacancy. Mr. Hammond nominated Mr. Palmer Weaber of the Political Action Committee of the CIO, who has been working with the Association in recent weeks on various matters.

It was VOTED that Dr. Frank P. Graham be asked to fill the vacancy.

It was VOTED, that if for any reason Dr. Graham cannot accept, Mr. Palmer Weaber be asked to serve on the Board.

GAYLORD CONTAINER CORPORATION STOCK: Mrs. Marion C. Ingersoll gave to the Association three shares of Gaylord Container Corporation stock which is to be sold and the proceeds divided between the Association and the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc. This calls for a vote of the Board.

Upon motion, duly seconded, it was VOTED, That the three shares of Gaylord Container Corporation stock presented to the Association by Mrs. Marion C. Ingersoll be sold when properly signed by Arthur B. Spingarn, President and Walter White, Secretary.

BILL FOR COMMISSION ON UNITY: New York City councilman Stanley Isaacs will introduce a bill setting up a Commission on Unity. The Secretary recommended that the Association endorse such bill.

Upon motion, duly seconded, it was VOTED, That the Association endorse the bill setting up a Commission on Unity in New York City.
CITY-WIDE HARLEM WEEK: The fifth annual City-Wide Harlem Week will be May 27th to June 1st when an intensive campaign is conducted in order to focus attention on the specific needs of Negroes in New York City and on measures that can be taken to eliminate the most flagrant causes of intergroup tension and conflict. The Secretary recommended that the Association join in sponsoring City-Wide Harlem Week.

Upon motion, duly seconded, it was VOTED, That the Association would join in sponsoring City-Wide Harlem Week.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO ABOLISH THE POLL TAX: The Secretary reported that the National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax has been doing a good job; they have lined up 61 Senators to vote for cloture. However, they need money to carry on the campaign. His recommendation was that the Association contribute $250.00 to the Committee.

Upon motion by Mr. Hammond, duly seconded, it was VOTED, That the Association contribute $500.00 to the work of the National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax.

WALTER WHITE WORK SCHEDULE: The Secretary requested of the Board that he be given authority to work four days a week, having Fridays and Saturdays off beginning about the 15th of April. This request was made because he has been asked by a publishing house to write an autobiography which must be finished by September. The Secretary pointed out that though he works a shorter week, he will not work fewer hours.

Upon motion, duly seconded, it was VOTED, That the Secretary be granted authority to have Fridays and Saturdays off as requested.

PROFESSOR RALPH H. HARLOW: A letter from Professor Harlow in which he told of his work in Greece and extended greetings to the Board was read.

COLUMBIA, TENNESSEE SITUATION: The Secretary reported on the present status of the Columbia, Tennessee situation. A National Citizens Committee has been set up for the purpose of raising funds and publicizing the truth of the matter. A national Steering Committee is being selected to serve in an advisory capacity. The chief aim is to defend the Negroes indicted, attempt to secure punishment of the real culprits, to secure financial restitution for destruction of property of the Negroes and physical injury, and awaken America to the dangers inherent in this type of situation.

Thirty-one Negroes have been indicted. A federal grand jury was to begin hearings on April 8th. The Special Counsel will be in Nashville as soon as he finishes the two franchise cases which he is trying in Louisiana. The cases will go to trial somewhere about the 14th.

The Secretary recommended that the Board invite Messrs. Weaver
and Looby to meet with them at the next Board meeting if the progress of the case permits their leaving.

Upon motion, duly seconded, it was VOTED, That Messrs. Weaver and Looby be asked to meet with the Board in May if the case permits their leaving.

It was reported that the Secretary spoke at meetings in Columbia and Charleston, South Carolina and the interest in the Columbia situation was very high. Dr. Tobias spoke at a meeting in Washington where $500.00 in cash was raised and $1,000 in pledges.

Mr. Oliver Harrington was introduced as the person doing special publicity on the case. Pamphlets have been written which are now being printed. Mr. Harrington is working on getting the story dramatized over the Columbia Work Shop. A movie on the matter is also being explored.

NEW FIELD WORKER: Mr. Rufus Smith, the new Assistant Field Secretary, was introduced to the Board.

CONFERENCE ON UNFINISHED BUSINESS IN SOCIAL LEGISLATION;

It was reported that the Association has been requested by Miss Helen Hall of the Henry Street Settlement to join in a Conference on Unfinished Business in Social Legislation. The idea was originally conceived by the National Federation of Settlements and is now being sponsored by a number of large national organizations. The Conference will be held May 1st and 2nd in Washington. Sponsoring organizations will be required to contribute up to $100 toward expenses of the conference.

Upon motion by Mr. Lewis, duly seconded, it was VOTED, That the NAACP serve as sponsoring organization and appropriate a sum of not to exceed $100.00 toward expenses.

WELCOME UNO WEEK: The American Association for the United Nations, Inc. have requested the Association to cooperate in plans for "Welcome UNO Week", April 25th to May 1st.

Upon motion, duly seconded, it was VOTED, That the Association cooperate in plans for "Welcome UNO Week".

NAACP DANCE: On May 3rd, the Association will sponsor a dance at the Savoy Ballroom for the benefit of the defense of the Columbia riot victims.

NEW BRANCH ChARTERS: Upon motion, duly seconded, it was VOTED, That charters be granted to the newly organized branches at Greensville, North Carolina; Santa Barbara, Cal.; Brownsville, Texas; Palestine, Texas; Perry, Iowa; Cumberland, Kentucky; Lonoke, Arkansas; and Fort Wayne, Indiana.
Greene County, Va.  
Greer County, Oklahoma  
Crane, Texas  
Richmond County, Va.  
Early County, Ga.  
Modesto, California

and to the newly organized Youth Councils at  
Perry, Oklahoma  
Kittrell, North Carolina College Chapter

BRANCH REQUESTS RE EXECUTIVE SECRETARIES: The Director of Branches requested that the Board reconsider the request of the Alameda County, California Branch inasmuch as they have already raised $3,000 and of the Rochester, New York Branch as they have already begun their campaign. The Morgantown, West Virginia Branch has submitted a request for permission to raise funds for an Executive Secretary and Mr. Hall of Boston reported that if not already submitted, the Boston Branch will submit request for such permission.

Upon motion, duly seconded, it was VOTED, That these branch requests for permission to raise funds for Executive Secretaries be referred to the Committee on Administration with power to act.

BROOKLYN BRANCH: Complaints have been received regarding the inefficiency of the Brooklyn Branch in handling the Hoff-Homings case which the Director of Branches made certain recommendations regarding.

Upon motion, duly seconded, it was VOTED, That this matter be referred to the Committee on Branches.

COMMISSION TO STUDY THE ESTABLISHMENT OF STATE UNIVERSITY: Assistant Special Counsel Perry notified the Secretary that she had been informed that the Governor is considering appointments to the Commission to Study the Establishment of a State University. The Board agreed that the Association should recommend the appointment of a Negro to that Commission.

SOCIAL SERVICE EMPLOYEES UNION: Mr. Spingarn reported on the negotiations between the committee set up at the last Board meeting and the representatives of the "executive" employees who have joined the union. The committee was satisfied that the Union represented 16 out of 18 eligible members, that this group would join the chapter already existing for the clerical workers. The committee further agreed to designate these employees as "other than clerical" rather than as professional. The Committee recommended that the union be recognized as bargaining for these employees.

Upon motion by Mr. Lewis, duly seconded, it was VOTED, That the Board recognize the Social Service Employees Union as bargaining for the "other than clerical" employees.
TREASURER'S REPORT: The treasurer's report was accepted as attached.

YMCA: Dr. Wright suggested that the Association should do something about getting the YMCA to change its policy of discrimination. Dr. Chalmers reported that the YMCA has recently set up a commission on race relations and has asked Dr. Chalmers to head it up. He suggested that the Association should prod them, but do it with the Commission in mind.

Upon motion, duly seconded, it was VOTED, That a resolution should be drafted asking the YMCA to change its policy regarding Negroes in view of the stand taken by the YMCA. It was further suggested that the resolution should itemize steps which might be taken.

POLITICS: Mr. Spaulding suggested that in view of the recently proved coalition between conservative Republicans and Southern Democrats the Association should study its policies on political matters.

Upon motion by Mr. Spaulding, duly seconded, it was VOTED, That a Committee be appointed to re-examine the Association's policies with reference to political activity having in mind this coalition, this Committee to bring back to the board a report to determine whether or not we should take any positive action on our attitudes with respect to politics.


There was considerable discussion concerning the Crisis Magazine. Mr. Hammond suggested that the Bulletin should be concentrated on more than the Crisis. Others suggested that thought should be given to improving the Crisis.

Upon motion, duly seconded, it was VOTED, That the Secretary give this matter considerable thought as to what to do about improving the Crisis by utilizing the present editorial Board and other methods.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON ADMINISTRATION: The Secretary reported on action taken by the Committee on Administration.

SEGREGATED VETERANS HOSPITAL: The Committee recommended to the Board that the Association condemn building of a segregated hospital in Mississippi or elsewhere. This the Board approved.
YOUTH WORK COMMITTEE: This Committee made a recommendation regarding the settling of internal conflict in Youth Councils as follows:

"That persons who do not exhaust the possibilities of settlement of grievances through regular channels and carry their fight to outsiders, either to individuals, other organizations, the press or to public meetings should be subject to discipline which may include expulsion from the council for tactics which are obviously or intended to be inimical to the best interests of the National Association."

This recommendation and a specific recommendation regarding Clinton Henry Lewis were referred to the Legal Committee, the Committee on Administration and then to be reported back to the Board.

The Committee further "recommended that its chairman and the Youth Secretary draft a set of rules to govern the National Planning and Advisory Committee. When these rules have been approved and adopted, they should be included in the constitution for youth councils."

It was agreed that these rules be drafted and submitted to the Legal Committee.

The Committee also recommended that the National Planning and Advisory Committee be called to meet in Cincinnati at the time of the Annual Conference.

The cost of calling together these youth was questioned and it was agreed that this matter be referred to the Committee on the National Conference.

There being no further business the meeting adjourned.

Acting Chairman of the Board

[Signature]

Secretary
MEMORANDUM TO MRS. ROOSEVELT, CHANNING TOBIAS AND MR. SPINGARN
FROM MR. WHITE:

Messrs. Tobias, Palmer Webber and Clark Foreman had on April 19th a conference with respect to certain points raised by Messrs. Foreman, George Marshall and John Hammond at the meeting of the sub-committee on the Columbia case on April 17th. This conference followed one between Messrs. Foreman, Webber and myself on the morning of April 19th. It is desirable that at its meet­ on April 24th which, unfortunately, I shall not be able to attend because of appointments in Washington, that certain matters be cleared up so that the Committee can begin to function effectively. Among them are the following:

1. Decision should be made on which organizations, if any, shall be given authority to raise funds officially for the Columbia case. To avoid confusion in the public's mind or any suspicion of the mishandling of funds by any organization or individual, it seems imperative to me that all funds should be raised only through the Committee or the NAACP. It would be difficult if not impossible to authorize one organization without authorizing a great many to raise funds. Aside from the possible criticism with respect to the handling of money, there would be wasteful duplications. It would be both difficult and embarrassing in some instances to require and obtain exact accountings of monies raised and expended. It would be equally difficult to work out machinery for authorization of expenditures.

It is, therefore, suggested that no organization or individual be authorized to raise funds except the Committee headed by Mrs. Roosevelt and Dr. Tobias and by the NAACP. The latter exception is made on the basis of the Association's being the organization asked by the defendants to represent them.

2. The question has been raised as to expenditures which have been made by some organizations prior to the formation of the Committee. This should be threshed out and decided upon.

3. Mrs. Marian Perry has raised the question as to the exact duties which she is to perform. There should be clarification for her sake and that of the NAACP as well as the other organizations.
2--Memorandum to Mrs. Roosevelt, Dr. Tobias and Mr. Spingarn from Mr. White--April 22, 1946

4. In this connection, stationery as ordered by the Committee has been sent to the printer but final proofs will not be okayed until after the meeting on Wednesday when the question of Mrs. Perry's status has been decided.

5. It will be necessary for me to obtain authority from the Board of the NAACP with respect to the handling of (A) funds already raised by the NAACP for the Columbia defense (B) whether those funds as yet unexpended shall be held in the Association's treasury or put into a joint fund and (C) where the final authority for the expenditure of those funds and of the Association's participation in the expenditure of funds which may be contributed to the Joint Committee. Whatever recommendation is made will be based, of course, upon the decisions reached on the above matters.
Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I want to share with you the enclosed note from Marc Connelly expressing appreciation for your and the other comments on MEN OF TWO WORLDS and telling what use he has made of your excellent and appreciated comment.

Ever sincerely,

Walter White
Secretary

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
29 Washington Square
New York City

WW: RJW
Enc.
Dear Walter:

Thanks a lot for those letters. I sent them to the producer with recommendations that all the faults pointed out be rectified before the film is shown here. Of course I haven't the faintest idea what he'll do about it, but he knows now the opinions of a group of fair-minded people and something good may come of it.

Gratefully,

(Signed)

Marc
MEMO:

Call up Paul at home. Telephone him on first page word. Should be
made quick.
WILL YOU TELEGRAPH ME COLLECT IMMEDIATELY IF YOU APPROVE FOLLOWING STATEMENT WE PLAN PRESENT TO PRESIDENT TRUMAN TOMORROW MORNING? (QUOTE ENTIRE STATEMENT)

WHILE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES TODAY LABOR AT THE PARIS CONFERENCE AND IN THE UNITED NATIONS TO CREATE A WORLD OF PEACE BASED ON HUMAN FREEDOM AND JUSTICE, THEIR WORDS AND ACTIONS ARE MADE A MOCKERY BY AN UNPRECEDENTED WAVE OF MOB VIOLENCE IN THE UNITED STATES, AMERICAN CITIZENS, AND IN PARTICULAR NEGRO VETERANS OF THE LATE WAR FOR HUMAN FREEDOM, HAVE BEEN DONE TO DEATH OR MUTILATED WITH SAVAGERY EQUALLED ONLY AT BUCHENWALD, AT LEAST THE EXCUSE WAS GIVEN FOR THE TORTURE AND EXECUTION IN NAZI CONCENTRATION CAMPS THAT THE VICTIMS WERE "ENEMIES" OF THE STATE, BUT RECENT VICTIMS OF AMERICAN LYNCHERS WERE IN NUMEROUS INSTANCES MEN WHO BUT RECENTLY RETURNED TO THE UNITED STATES AFTER HAVING Fought FOR ITS PRESERVATION OVERSEAS, INSTEAD OF GRATITUDE THEY HAVE BEEN PAID OFF IN SAVAGERY.

WE COME TO YOU TODAY, MR. PRESIDENT, HOWEVER, NOT TO PLEAD THE CAUSE OF ANY ONE SEGMENT OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

WE REPRESENT VARIOUS PARTS OF THE PEOPLE OF AMERICA—CHURCH, LABOR, MANAGEMENT, MINORITIES—AND WE ARE CONFIDENT WE VOICE THE SENTIMENT OF ALL DECENT AMERICANS WHEN WE EMPHASIZE THE OBVIOUS FACT THAT UNCHECKED—

END 1
MOB VIOLENCE CAN DO MORE TO INJURE OUR COUNTRY AT HOME AND ABROAD THAN ANY OTHER SINGLE EVIL.

THE NAMES OF A NUMBER OF MOB LEADERS AND PARTICIPANTS HAVE BEEN GATHERED AND TURNED OVER TO THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE, BUT FOR A VARIETY OF REASONS INCLUDING, WE FREELY ADMIT, THE INADEQUATE OF PRESENT FEDERAL LEGISLATION, THERE HAS BEEN NO VISIBLE ACTION IN THE FORM OF ARRESTS AND CONVICTIONS.

THIS ABSENCE OF ACTION IS SERVING AS A GREEN LIGHT TO ORGANIZED AND UNORGANIZED MOBS AND SUBVERSIVE ORGANIZATIONS WHICH SEEK TO SUBSTITUTE THE LAW OF THE JUNGLE FOR THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS.

WE, THEREFORE, RESPECTFULLY PETITION YOU, MR. PRESIDENT, TO TAKE THE FOLLOWING STEPS:

TO INSIST THAT THE LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT CONCENTRATE UPON SECURING EVIDENCE AGAINST AND PROSECUTION OF LYNCHERS WITHOUT DELAY OR APPEASEMENT OF ANY POLITICAL, SECTIONAL OR OTHER DEFENDERS OF MOB VIOLENCE.

THAT YOU RUSE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE BY RADIO, PRESS AND OTHER MEDIA TO OPPOSE ACTIVELY EVERY FORM OF MOB VIOLENCE.

THAT YOU CALL UPON THE CONGRESS TO RECONVENE TO ENACT SUCH LEGISLATION AS IS NECESSARY TO ENABLE THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, IN COOPERATION WITH THE STATES, TO STOP LYNCHING AND TO PUNISH LYNCHERS.

END 2
WE ARE CONVINCED THAT ONLY PROMPT AND UNEQUIVOCAL ACTION BY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT CAN POSSIBLY AVERT A DISASTROUS SPREADING OF THIS EVIL WHICH IS VICTIMIZING NOT ONLY MEMBERS OF MINORITIES BUT IS THREATENING TO ENGULF ALL AMERICA

WALTER WHITE

345P
Once be glad to serve on
your new committee to pray
that I can attend the meetings.
Your program seems
excellent.
Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

One of the most challenging aspects of the NAACP’s program is the new Labor Department. Under the supervision of Clarence Mitchell, former Director of Field Operations for the Fair Employment Practice Committee, action in this field is already under way on some of the vital problems such as full utilization of labor in the Veterans Housing Program and the establishment of standards against discrimination for the United States Employment Service.

In its July meeting, the Board of Directors voted to establish a committee to work with Mr. Mitchell in achieving the objectives of this part of the Association’s activity. A copy of the proposed labor program is enclosed for your study. It will be subject to discussion and revision as determined by the Committee when the first meeting is held.

I am writing you to ask that you serve as a member of this important group. Because all the members will be busy and there will be much demand on their time from other sources, we are planning four meetings a year for this Committee. We shall poll the members by correspondence or personal contact on any important policy matters which may come up between meetings.

It is my earnest hope that you will agree to serve.

Ever sincerely,

[Signature]

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt

Hyde Park

New York
(Proposed Program)

NAACP LABOR DEPARTMENT

OBJECTIVES

1. Elimination of discriminatory employment practices in industry and government which result in refusal to hire colored workers, wage differentials based on race, unequal opportunities for training and promotion, unfair dismissals, and segregation in employment because of race.

2. Greater participation of colored persons in the trade union movement.

3. Ending of segregated locals, auxiliaries, and any other discriminatory practices in labor unions.

4. Passage of state and federal FEPC legislation.

5. Inclusion of non-discrimination clauses in state and federal laws pertaining to the employment of persons in the execution of government contracts.

6. Joining with labor unions for the enactment of legislation favored by labor and for the repealing of unfavorable labor legislation.

7. Expanding and improving opportunities for vocational training on the basis of non-segregation.

STRUCTURE

The Secretary of the Labor Department is responsible to the Executive Secretary of the Association. The work of this department shall be coordinated with the activities of the Legal Department and the Branch Department by regular meetings with the Secretary and those department heads.

There shall be formed a labor committee of Board members and such other persons as may be needed to further the objectives of this program. Labor committees shall also be formed in local branches.

DUTIES

The National Committee shall work with the Secretary in achieving the objectives of this program. This committee shall also make recommendations to the Board of Directors on the labor policy to be followed by the NAACP. This shall include recommendations on the endorsement or rejection of proposed labor legislation.

Local committees shall initiate, within the framework of a specified operating procedure, positive action to achieve the objectives of this program.
Branch labor committees shall also receive and investigate complaints alleging discrimination because of race in hiring, upgrading, wage payments, training, or dismissals from employment.

RELATIONSHIPS WITH UNIONS

It shall be the duty of branches to keep informed on the local practices of labor unions. This includes giving assistance in building the membership of those unions organizing on a non-segregated basis.

Some unions such as the United Automobile Workers have extensive machinery against discrimination. Branch labor committees should become familiar with this machinery and urge local union officials to make it work. In other cases locals of international unions with discriminatory policies are working to eliminate such policies. This is true in the case of the International Association of Machinists. Although the union has a prohibition against Negroes in its ritual, many locals have actually included colored persons and in recent conventions of the machinists, the vote to eliminate the color bar has gained new support. The branch committee can speed up this type of progress by informing the National Office of liberal persons in such unions who may be counted on to give support to a plan of ending discriminatory features. Whenever local unions are negotiating contracts with management, the branch committee should seek the inclusion of non-discrimination clauses in such contracts both as to hiring and conditions of employment. Whenever such requests are made, the National Office should be advised in order that it may obtain assistance from the international union on this matter.

It is important that branch labor committees promote a more active participation of Negroes in local unions. This means that committee representatives should meet with local union officials to study ways of increasing these meetings during which important policy questions are being discussed or elections are being held.

LABOR LEGISLATION

The labor committee of the branch shall have the responsibility of reporting to the National Office any proposed city ordinances or state laws which are against the best interest of labor. Also favorable legislation proposed shall be submitted to the National Office in order that the Association may have a uniform policy on such matters throughout the country. Such legislation shall be studied jointly by the labor and legal departments of the National Office. In submitting matters of this kind the recommendations of the branch shall be included. It is important that this phase of the program be given careful attention. Numerous state bills and proposed city Fair Employment Practices are being submitted in various parts of the country. The NAACP should endorse only the strongest and best of such legislative proposals. In addition, various state legislatures undertake the passage of hostile labor laws which should be defeated because of the adverse effect they have on the progress of organized labor with the resultant ill effect on colored persons.
By showing its recognition of the common objectives existing for both colored persons and labor, the NAACP will promote increased harmony between these groups.

VOCATIONAL TRAINING

The branch labor committee shall work with the education committee (where the latter exists) in evaluating local tax-supported vocational programs. Where such programs fail to offer equal opportunity for colored and white students, the labor committee shall take action to eliminate such inequality. The National Office labor department shall be kept informed on such matters in order that it may give advice and assistance in handling them.
Office of the Attorney General
Washington, D.C.

October 8, 1946.

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
Rye Park, New York

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I have your letter of September 23, 1946, enclosing a memorandum from Mr. Robert Carter, Special Counsel, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, concerning the Department's handling of the Columbia, Tennessee case.

Mr. Carter's memorandum has been read with interest and I should like to submit some comments concerning it. Numbered paragraphs 1, 2, and 3 of Mr. Carter's memorandum purport to set out the statutory authority for action by the Department in this case. There is no question but that the statutes he refers to are on the books and the investigation by the Grand Jury was undertaken to ascertain whether these statutes had been violated. As you may recall, over 390 witnesses were thoroughly interrogated and the Grand Jury reached the conclusion that the evidence before them would not justify indictment or presentment for the violation of any Federal statute.

Paragraph 4 of Mr. Carter's memorandum relates certain alleged activities of the State Patrol and State Guard. He states that "about six o'clock the following morning, February 26, 1946, the State Patrol and the State Guard stood off from the Negro section, drew up their machine guns and tommy-guns, and fired a barrage of shots directly into the area and then moved in." This statement does not jibe with the findings of the Grand Jury. All of the testimony before the Grand Jury from both Negro and white witnesses was reported by the Grand Jury as follows:

"Shortly after daybreak the highway patrolmen stationed at the intersections of Woodward and South Main Streets with East 8th Street, accompanied by the Sheriff, advanced into 'Pink Slide.' As they advanced they announced that no person surrendering would be harmed. As the officers came abreast of Sol Blair's barber shop they were met by shotgun fire from within, three of the officers being slightly wounded as a result. Members of the Highway Patrol, armed with machine guns,
rifles and shotguns, thereupon opened fire directing the same toward the interior of the barber shop. Continuing to voice the demand that the occupants surrender peaceably the officers forced an entrance into the barber shop and arrested its two Negro occupants, who were wholly unarmed despite the gunfire preceding the arrest. The officers then proceeded as before; they came to a building containing a lodge hall on its second floor, the entrance to which was padlocked. Despite gunfire emanating from the building, a group of highway patrolmen forced an entrance and proceeded upstairs, where they arrested a number of Negroes."

Mr. Carter's statement in paragraph 4 that, "they shot out windows, broke up show cases, stole money, tore up radios, broke up the tables and chairs, tore the top off the frigidaire, threw away all the instruments and generally wrecked a doctor's office, destroyed all the files and records in the Atlanta Life Insurance Company and Morton's Funeral Home which was completely wrecked", I understand to be substantially correct. No witness before the Grand Jury identified any State officer or State guardsman as having committed these acts.

Mr. Carter relates in paragraph 4(c) that "they went into all the Negro homes and removed from them the arms without any warrants, lined up all the men, women and children and arrested them without warrants." As we understand the facts developed by the Grand Jury, the search referred to was confined to the immediate "Mink Slide" area and involved the homes of both Negroses and whites. Only individuals in the "Mink Slide" area were arrested.

The allegation that most of the Negroes in the area were held in jail incommunicado did not amount, under the circumstances, to an invasion of any Federal right and it should be correctly stated that they were held for only a short while. The Grand Jury concluded that the death of the two prisoners at the jail in Columbia was justifiable homicide. The Grand Jury report in this matter relates as follows:

"On Thursday, February 28, 1946, three Negroes, James 'Digger' Johnson, Willie Gordon, and Napoleon Stewart, were questioned, informed that they would be permitted to make bond in nominal sums, and thereafter be released. Pending execution of their bonds, these three Negroes were placed in the Sheriff's
"office, located on the first floor of the Maury County Jail. A large quantity of guns seized during the arrests and the search heretofore mentioned were stored in the office. Two deputies sheriff were in the room with the Negroes, one of whom Deputy Darnell, was in the act of telephoning. The other, Deputy Pennington, was lying across a bed. A newspaper photographer was likewise in the room and was then engaging in loading his camera. At this point Johnson and Gordon were observed to seize guns from a group of weapons stored against the wall. Deputy Darnell dropped the telephone and seized the gun in the hands of Gordon. At the same moment Johnson fired wounding Darnell in the arm. Hearing shots, highway patrolmen outside the office rushed to the doorway, saw Gordon aiming his gun in their direction, and began firing at the Negroes. The officers continued firing until both Gordon and Johnson fell. During the firing the third Negro, Napoleon Stewart, backed into a corner and stood there with his hands raised. Commissioner Bomar obtained an ambulance by which Johnson and Gordon were removed to the hospital, where they received treatment. On the advice of attending physicians, the Negroes were rushed by ambulance to Nashville. Both Negroes died en route."

The Grand Jury concluded that they could not fix responsibility for damage to property on any identifiable officer of the law. In the absence of such identification we could not, of course, undertake further prosecutive action. A copy of the Grand Jury's full report is enclosed.

It is my understanding that Mr. Carter has had numerous conferences in the Criminal Division and I believe he is aware of the Department's position. I am sure you will understand that until an identification of the persons responsible for particular depredations is made, we cannot determine (1) whether we have jurisdiction, and (2) who might be named as defendants.

I hope the foregoing information will assist you in considering this matter and that I may soon have an opportunity to discuss it with you in person.

With kind personal regards,

Sincerely yours,

[Signature]

Attorney General

Enclosure No. 279695"
IN THE DISTRICT COURT OF THE UNITED STATES
FOR THE MIDDLE DISTRICT OF TENNESSEE

TO THE HONORABLE ELMER D. DAVIES, JUDGE OF THE UNITED STATES
DISTRICT COURT:

REPORT OF GRAND JURY IN THE MATTER OF
THE RACIAL DISTURBANCE AT COLUMBIA, TENNESSEE

We, the regular Grand Jury for the Middle District of Tennessee,
were convened on April 8, 1946, and charged by Your Honor to make a "full,
complete, fair and impartial investigation" into the racial disturbance at
Columbia, Tennessee, occurring during the week of February 25, 1946, and
especially as to the invasion of civil rights in violation of Federal law
alleged to have occurred in connection therewith.

Our inquiry has been facilitated by the several reports submitted
by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, reflecting an exhaustive and pains-
taking investigation by that agency in connection with which 390 persons
were interviewed for the purpose of securing all facts relating to the
disturbance in question.

We have had before us and have examined under oath all persons; both
white and colored, who were substantially connected with the disturbance or
who were known or believed to be in possession of factual information
pertinent and material to this investigation, and we have concluded after
careful consideration that there is no evidence before us that would justify
an indictment or presentment for the violation of any Federal statute.

Now, in keeping with Your Honor's charge, we further report as
follows:

On Monday, February 25, 1946, at about 10:00 A.M., following a
disagreement concerning repairs to a radio a fight occurred in front of a
department store located on the Public Square in Columbia, between two
Negroes, Gladys Stephenson and her son, James, and William Fleming, a white
employee of the radio section of the department store, and a white passer-by.

(over)
Police, in response to a call made during the altercation, arrived on the scene and arrested the Stephensons. At the time of the arrests Fleming was inside the store receiving first aid and the arresting officers were not at that time informed that any one else had participated in the affair.

Reports have circulated in pamphlets and press that the fight was started inside the store by Fleming, by his striking or kicking Gladys Stephenson, and that thenceon James Stephenson came to the defense of his mother. Such reports have no foundation in fact. The undisputed testimony before us shows that the fight commenced between James Stephenson and William Fleming on the street in front of the store. Thenceon the mother Gladys Stephenson entered the affray in aid of her son. At this stage the above mentioned passer-by came to the aid of Fleming and engaged in a fight with Mrs. Stephenson. Blows were struck by all parties.

At the outset of the fighting Fleming was propelled through the glass front of the store and received a gash in his leg as a result. From the statements of witnesses situated within the department store it appears that during the course of the fight Gladys Stephenson seized a piece of glass that had fallen from the shattered window and struck Fleming with the same, at about which time she was assaulted by the white passer-by heretofore mentioned.

Both the Stephensons and the City Police officers responsible for their arrest have appeared before us and have testified fully, under oath, concerning the circumstances thereof. It is undisputed that in the course of arresting Gladys Stephenson a City Police officer struck her with a night stick. From all of the evidence before us it appears that the force used by the arresting officer in this respect was neither brutal nor wanton but was reasonably necessitated in the course of overcoming resistance to the arrest. It is undisputed that James Stephenson was not struck or harmed during the course of the arrest and that neither he nor his mother was subjected to any physical mistreatment throughout the period of their incarceration. At the City Jail the Stephensons were charged with a breach of the peace before the
city magistrate; on their pleas of guilty they were each fined $50.

While the Stephensons were still in custody warrants charging them with assault with intent to commit murder, sworn out by the father of William Fleming, were served on them and they were thereupon transported to the County Jail.

After receiving first aid Fleming was transported to the hospital where he remained until the following day. The identity of the white passer-by, who engaged in the fight, was and remains unascertained. It is our considered opinion that the responsibility for aggression in this assault is not determinable in view of the direct conflict in testimony supplied by the known participants in this connection. The evidence before us establishes that the Stephensons were the only persons arrested in connection with this disturbance of the peace although police officers, subsequent to the arrest, learned of the part played in the affair by Fleming and the passer-by who assisted him.

As is not unusual in the world of men, it is abundantly evident that throughout the day, in recounting the circumstances of the fight and the ensuing events, fact and fancy were freely intermingled in the accounts of white as well as colored citizens—especially among the less stable elements of both races. Among the group of white people attracted by the fight, indignation at the occurrence was expressed, and the matter was discussed on the streets of Columbia thereafter during the day. In the Negro districts of Columbia a rumor was circulated to the effect that a white man had bought a rope, stating that he intended to hang a Negro with it.

A thorough investigation involving inquiry at all Columbia business establishments engaged in the sale of rope has failed to lend any factual reality to the occurrence thus rumored and diligent inquiry among the Negro citizens of Columbia has likewise failed to lend the slightest substantiation thereto.

Throughout the afternoon following the Stevenson-Fleming fight, small groups of white individuals gathered from time to time on the Public Square and in the streets nearby. The Sheriff and his deputies and the Chief of Police and his force moved freely among such groups and dispersed them without
difficulty. These groups, the majority of which were composed of teen-aged youths were unarmed and were responsive to orders. To City and County officials there appeared to be no manifestation of mob spirit and no organized leadership was evident among the persons thus assembled.

At approximately 5:00 P. M., the Stephensons were released from custody on bond. Following their release, the mother was first driven to her home in Columbia, and thereafter James Stephenson was driven to "Hink Slide," a Negro district devoted exclusively to business and located one block south of the Public Square, on East 8th Street, between South Main and Woodland Streets. At the time of James Stephenson's arrival in "Hink Slide," armed and unarmed Negroes had gathered and were continuing to gather in the area, having come from other sections of Columbia and the surrounding countryside. By the evidence of several Negro witnesses it appears that such witnesses, activated by the rumor of a possible lynching, armed themselves and assembled in the "Hink Slide" area for the purpose of protecting James Stephenson from mob violence. Evidence supplied by several other Negro witnesses establishes that said witnesses circulated throughout the "Hink Slide" area during Monday afternoon and evening with no genuine apprehension of impending trouble, having discounted the rumor as baseless in fact, which it has since proved to be. By the testimony of these latter witnesses it is apparent that many of the Negroes then assembled in "Hink Slide" were not appreciably alarmed over the safety of James Stephenson or the likelihood of any serious outbreak between white and Negro citizens.

The evidence is undisputed that following his release on bond and upon his arrival at the "Hink Slide" area at approximately 5:30 P. M., James Stephenson mingled freely and openly with other Negroes on the street in front of and within several business establishments and that at approximately 6 P. M., he entered the barber shop of Sol Blair and casually procured a haircut and shoe shine. The evidence is likewise undisputed that at approximately 6:30 P. M., James Stephenson drove his girl friend from the "Hink Slide" area to her home in the colored residential section of Columbia, passing on route around the City Square without molestation in any form, returned to the "Hink Slide" section and entered Patton's restaurant where he had some drinks. That after
leaving Patton's Restaurant he again entered Sol Blair's barber shop, secured a rifle from a stack of weapons there assembled and in company with approxi-
mately twenty-five other armed Negroes climbed to the roof of the building and 
maintained a look-out, without incident, in the direction of South Main Street. 
The evidence is likewise undisputed that sometime between 7:30 and 8 P. M., 
James Stephenson descended from the roof and in company with three other 
Negroes entered an automobile which was then parked on East 8th Street and, 
thereafter, without molestation, drove to Nashville, Tennessee, where he 
boarded a train for Chicago, Illinois,

At 6:00 P. M., after receiving information of the situation in "Mink 
Slide," the Sheriff of Maury County went to that area, and found there over 
one hundred Negroes, a third of whom were openly bearing arms, on the street. 
He walked among the Negroes, told them there would be no trouble from the 
white people and asked them to disarm and return to their homes.

Some thirty minutes after leaving "Mink Slide," or about 6:30 P. M., the 
Sheriff called James Norton, a prominent Negro, at his funeral establish-
ment in "Mink Slide," and asked him if the Negroes were still armed and on the 
street. Being informed that they were, the Sheriff asked Norton to tell the 
Negroes that if they did not disarm he would enter the area with sufficient 
force to arrest those under arms. At approximately 7:00 P. M., city policemen 
went to "Mink Slide" and told the Negroes there congregated that there would 
be no violence done them by the white people, that the white people were com-
pletely under control, and ordered the Negroes to disarm and disperse. Other 
Negroes armed and unarmed continued to arrive in "Mink Slide." Evidence as to 
the total number of Negroes congregated in the block-long business section 
ranged from two to four hundred. Shortly after darkness fell, the Negroes 
extinguished all lights in "Mink Slide." The evidence is undisputed that cer-
tain armed Negroes made demand upon proprietors of several colored business 
establishments to extinguish their lights and upon refusal shot such lights 
out with gunfire. As a Negro undertaker (not James Norton) drove through the 
area on business, his car was fired upon. The car of a tourist from California 
who lost his way and drove through the area, was also fired upon.

- 5 -

(over)
At about 8:30 P. M., a group of twenty to thirty white persons the majority of whom were teen age boys went to the county jail and demanded to know the whereabouts of the Stephensons. The Sheriff, machine gun in hand, answered their demand by arresting two drunken white men who appeared to be the leaders of the group, and dispersed the remainder, who appeared to be unarmed.

At about 9:00 P. M., the Chief of Police, with three of his uniformed officers, decided to enter the "Mink Slide" area and to investigate and put a stop to the shooting which was intermittently occurring in that area. The officers crossed the lighted intersection of East 8th Street with South Main Street, and proceeded into "Mink Slide" for a distance of approximately 75 feet. At this point they were met by aimed shotgun fire. All four officers were struck, and one of them was critically wounded. The officers did not return the fire or draw their guns, but taking cover as best they could they withdrew from the scene and sought medical aid.

In certain pamphlets and press articles which have come to our attention it has been asserted that when the city police officers proceeded into the "Mink Slide" area they were accompanied by a crowd of armed white men. We have found no evidence whatsoever that tends to substantiate such assertion. However, as word of the assault on the officers spread armed white people began to assemble on the Public Square and on South Main Street near the entrance to "Mink Slide."

With one exception, the evidence is undisputed that no white citizen, saving local officials, were observed to be bearing arms until after the shooting of the policemen. The exception noted appears in the testimony of one Negro who stated that at approximately 6:30 P. M., while driving around the Public Square he observed three armed white men but that he didn't notice what kind of guns they carried.

Realising that violence threatened, the Sheriff called the Governor of Tennessee and asked for assistance. This call was made at about 9:30 P. M., and immediately thereafter elements of the Tennessee State Guard, and the State Highway Patrol were alerted and ordered to proceed to Columbia at once. Elements
of these organisations headed by Brig. Gen. J. M. Dickinson and Commissioner of Safety Lynn-Boman (head of the Highway Patrol) began arriving in Columbia within an hour.

While it is now clear from all of the evidence that many of the Negroes congregated in "Mink Slide" left the area following the shooting of the City Police officers, State and County officials were unaware of the number of armed men barricaded in the business establishments throughout the night. General Dickinson and Commissioner Boman conferred with the Sheriff on their arrival in Columbia, decided to seal off and isolate the "Mink Slide" area, and to attempt no entrance into the area until daybreak. As fast as they arrived and were available for guard duty, highway patrolmen were stationed at the several street intersections encompassing the "Mink Slide" section in keeping with the course of action decided upon.

Intermittent gunfire was heard in the "Mink Slide" area throughout the balance of the night; two white men attempted to enter the area and were wounded slightly by shotgun fire. Two armed Negroes were arrested as they attempted to enter "Mink Slide." At about 3:00 A.M., February 26, 1949, officers entered the home of James Marton, located on the corner of East 8th and Woodland Streets but a few feet distant from a guard-post which had been maintained by the State Guard and Highway Patrol throughout the night. The officers there arrested twelve Negroes and seized a quantity of arms and ammunition.

Shortly after daybreak the highway patrolmen stationed at the intersections of Woodland and South Main Streets with East 8th Street, accompanied by the Sheriff, advanced into "Mink Slide." As they advanced they announced that no person surrendering would be harmed. As the officers came abreast of Sol Blair's barber shop they were met by shotgun fire from within, three of the officers being slightly wounded as a result. Members of the Highway Patrol, armed with machine guns, rifles and shotguns, thereupon opened fire directing the same toward the interior of the barber shop. Continuing to voice the demand that the occupants surrender peaceably the officers forced an entrance into the barber shop and arrested its two Negro occupants, who were wholly unharmed despite the gunfire preceding the arrest. The officers then proceeded as before;
they came to a building containing a lodge hall on its second floor, the entrance to which was padlocked. Despite gunfire emanating from the building, a group of highway patrolmen forced an entrance and proceeded upstairs, where they arrested a number of Negroes. It was at this point that a negro, John Blackwell was struck on the head with a gun butt by a highway patrolman. The blow knocked him down and he was seriously injured. The testimony with respect to the circumstances surrounding this incident is in conflict. The negro witnesses state that Blackwell was not armed. Highway patrol officers making these arrests have testified that Blackwell emerged from an ante room and aimed a shotgun at them and that he was struck on the head as a measure of self defense. Following their arrest at the lodge hall all negroes in the building were removed. Blackwell, whose picture (as he lay in the street before the entrance to the lodge hall) has been widely reproduced, was taken to the hospital by an officer of the State Guard. He was subsequently removed to the jail where he was separately confined, and later was transferred to a hospital in Nashville.

Approximately thirty Negroes were arrested, and a quantity of arms and ammunition seized, in the "Mink Slide" area. As a result of the gunfire one negro was wounded in the arm. On information obtained from the Negroes under arrest as to those present in "Mink Slide" when the officers were fired upon, further arrests were made, bringing the total apprehended to approximately one hundred.

After conferring with the Governor of Tennessee and the State Attorney General, and at their direction, the Sheriff, aided by some sixty members of the State Guard, conducted a search of the territory immediately adjacent to the "Mink Slide" area. During this search approximately 250 guns of various descriptions were seized. The search was indiscriminate; weapons were taken from Negro and white citizens alike.

Paul F. Bumpus, District Attorney General for Maury and other counties, with the assistance of the few other local officials at hand, began an investigation of the assault on the police officers immediately after the arrests of February 26, questioning all Negroes in confinement. Of the number arrested,
approximately forty were released after questioning without charges being placed against them, and without being required to make bond.

On Thursday, February 20, 1946, three Negroes, James "Digger" Johnson, Willis Gordon, and Napoleon Stewart, were questioned, informed that they would be permitted to make bond in nominal sum, and thereafter be released. Pending execution of their bonds, these three Negroes were placed in the Sheriff's office, located on the first floor of the Maury County jail. A large quantity of guns seized during the arrests and the search heretofore mentioned were stored in the office. Two deputies sheriff were in the room with the Negroes, one of whom Deputy Darnell, was in the act of telephoning. The other, Deputy Pennington, was lying across a bed. A newspaper photographer was likewise in the room and was then engaging in loading his camera. At this point Johnson and Gordon were observed to seize guns from a group of weapons stored against the wall. Deputy Darnell dropped the telephone and seized the gun in the hands of Gordon. At the same moment Johnson fired wounding Darnell in the arm. Hearing shots, highway patrolmen outside the office rushed to the doorway, saw Gordon aiming his gun in their direction, and began firing at the Negroes. The officers continued firing until both Gordon and Johnson fell. During the firing the third Negro, Napoleon Stewart, backed into a corner and stood there with his hands raised. Commissioner Bomar obtained an ambulance by which Johnson and Gordon were removed to the hospital, where they received treatment. On the advice of attendant physicians, the Negroes were rushed by ambulance to Nashville. Both Negroes died en route.

After the shooting of these Negroes, forty of the confined Negroes were transferred to the county jail at Nashville, Tennessee. They were returned to Columbia on the following day. As the questioning and investigation proceeded, bonds were fixed, and upon execution the Negroes questioned were released from custody.

After the arrest of the Negroes found in "Mink Slide" on Tuesday, various business establishments, the fixtures therein, and certain personal property located in "Mink Slide" and particularly the properties of James Norton, Sol Blair, and Julius Blair, were found to be in a wrecked and damaged condition.
The proprietors of several of the business establishments assert that merchandise and other valuable items of personal property were carried away from their premises during the course of the disturbance.

The evidence before us establishes that a portion of the damage was done by the Negroes occupying the premises throughout the night and prior to their arrest, and that extensive damage also resulted from gunfire immediately preceding and during the course of the arrests. It is likewise clear that much of the damage was wantonly committed after the arrest of the Negroes, and while the area was under the control of the Highway Patrol and Members of the Tennessee State Guard.

It is manifest from the evidence of willful destruction of property that during the confusion and excitement arising in connection with the extensive gunfire and the ensuing arrests that an efficient and adequate guard was not maintained throughout the "Mink Slide" area for a period of several hours thereafter. Throughout this period divers' civilians, including newspaper reporters and photographers and many members of the Tennessee State Guard entered the "Mink Slide" area and several business establishments situated therein. During, and for some hours following the arrests, divers' highway patrolmen likewise entered and re-entered the buildings in this area. By dint of the post painstaking investigation all persons known to have been present in the "Mink Slide" section throughout the period in question have been interrogated searchingly and at length and we have diligently examined all witnesses before us in an effort to ascertain the identity of the person or persons committing these acts of vandalism.

As recently announced by the foreman in open court it was the desire of this Grand Jury to remain in session and to continue our efforts to fasten responsibility for such property destruction. Despite the fact that we have exhausted every reasonable avenue of inquiry it has proved wholly impossible to determine the identity of such person or persons or to elicit facts upon which to predicate an indictment in this respect.

We have also particularly considered certain other matters, and have carefully viewed the action of the law enforcement officers with respect thereto.
to the end that any officer depriving an inhabitant of Columbia during this
disturbance, of a right secured to him by the Constitution, laws of the United
States, or decisions interpreting them, be made to answer an indictment of his
conduct. Among these matters are widely circulated charges that the Negroes
of Columbia were subjected to mass and indiscriminate arrests, that their
homes were subjected to unreasonable search and their weapons to unjustifiable
seizure, that excessive force was used in making the arrests; that prisoners
were subjected to brutality while in confinement, were denied the right to
counsel, were made to incriminate themselves, and were confined for unreasonable
lengths of time, being denied the right to bail.

The police officers, when shot, were in full uniform and were fired
upon immediately after crossing a lighted intersection. Negro witnesses in
"Mink Slide" at the time testified that uniforms were clearly distinguishable
in the light at the intersection. The felonious assault was committed by un-
known persons in a general area and probable cause therefore existed to believe
that those in the area had participated in the assault, were accessories
thereof, or were in possession of knowledge concerning the same. The arrests
made on account of the assault were therefore lawful. Arrests made for the
lawful purpose of preserving the peace and security of society are in violation
of no man's civil rights.

There is evidence before us that during the course of the arrests
 certain Negroes were struck by the arresting officers. The evidence establishes
that such incidents occurred as a result of a failure to comply with orders
of the arresting officers. The Negroes appearing before us from that group
arrested in "Mink Slide," have testified that some of their number were unnes-
cessarily struck during the course of such arrests. They have sworn that after
their arrest they were not subjected to physical abuse. Considering the basis
of the arrests and the tense and dangerous atmosphere under which the arrests
were accomplished, it is the considered judgment of this body that the force
shown to have been used was not unreasonable.

We consider the killing of the Negroes Johnson and Gordon justifiable
homicide. The testimony of eye witnesses, including Napoleon Stewart, admits
of no other interpretation.
In the evidence before us, it affirmatively appears that during their confinement the prisoners were not subjected to brutality or denied the right to counsel. The testimony before us establishes that before they were questioned all prisoners were advised of their constitutional right not to incriminate themselves. In the light of all of the circumstances prevailing prisoners were allowed to make bond and were released from custody without unreasonable delay. The searches and the seizure of weapons in the homes adjacent to the "Mink Slide" area were made at the direction of the Governor of Tennessee, and were not, in our opinion, unreasonable.

During the late afternoon and evening of February 25, 1946, the Sheriff of Maury County and the Chief of Police at Columbia were confronted with a grave and menacing situation. They made every effort to disperse the crowds and to prevent any clashes between the races. In doing so, they acted impartially and with an evident desire to uphold the law and to prevent violence. When the four policemen were shot, the Sheriff immediately called on the Governor of the State for assistance, and the Governor's prompt action in getting the State Patrol and the State Guard to Columbia is to be commended, as is the action of the State forces in sealing off the Mink Slide area, and in preventing any clash between white and Negro citizens. The prompt arrival and deployment of State forces, in our opinion, prevented a bloody race war which threatened to arise out of the heat of excitement following the wounding of a number of officers of the law, who, it is evident, were acting solely in an effort to preserve the peace and to fulfill their sworn duties.

There have been lurid and inflammatory stories published and circulated to the effect that large numbers of people were killed during the racial disorder at Columbia. Two Negroes were killed at the jail, as heretofore set out, and we have found that they were the only Negroes who lost their lives. During the disturbance two Negroes were wounded, one seriously. Two white civilians were wounded, and seven white officers were wounded, one seriously. These are the actual figures concerning the number killed and wounded during the action following the initial trouble on February 25, 1946.

We have found during the course of our investigation that the events transpiring at Columbia have been the subject of nationwide misrepresentation.
Falsehoods and half-truths have been widely publicised by letter and pamphlet under the sponsorship of various organisations. It has been charged that scores of Negroes were killed, that Negro women were raped, that armed mobs roamed the streets of Columbia seeking a victim and that police officers acted with indescribable brutality. Many of such accounts concerning these events are wholly lacking in factual foundation, and the conclusion is inescapable that they have been manufactured and circulated with the malicious intent and desire to incite racial discord and intolerance and to cause further racial strife.

We have explored the possibility of returning presentations against those sending such pamphlets through the mails, but to our regret, we are advised that the mailing of such pamphlets does not constitute a violation of any Federal Statute.

In disseminating such propaganda the avowed Communist Press of the country has been especially active, having carried a series of inflammatory articles on the racial disturbances at Columbia. This technique is characteristic and dangerous, and manifestly is designed to foster racial hatred and to array class against class.

In concluding our report we wish to sound a warning that the good citizens of both races be on their guard against insidious and false propaganda. In the opinion of this Grand Jury nothing is so likely to erode and ultimately destroy peaceful and friendly relations between the races as the dissemination of half-truths and falsehoods such as have been so freely circulated in relation to the events occurring at Columbia.
November 4, 1946

MRS. Eleanor Roosevelt
29 Washington Square West
New York 11, New York

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Enclosed is a copy of a letter I have sent to Mr. Walter S. Gifford, President, American Telephone and Telegraph Company, for your information and comment.

Sincerely yours,

Clarence Mitchell
Labor Secretary

Enclosure

CMM:mbh
Mr. Walter S. Gifford
President, American Telephone
and Telegraph Company
195 Broadway
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Gifford:

With the closing of the Fair Employment Practice Committee, there were left unsettled a number of cases involving the telephone companies of the country. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was instrumental in bringing some of these complaints to the attention of the FEPC. They came mainly from California, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin. In all of these cases, the local companies had refused to hire colored operators.

Now that non-white operators are working in New York and New Jersey, the policy question in these areas appears to be resolved. We are also advised that recently the telephone companies in Detroit and Minneapolis have hired colored operators. We are eager to see a similar policy in the other areas. Accordingly, we would like to know whether the telephone company will now hire colored applicants in these states without discrimination.

We are interested in establishing a national policy which would provide for the hiring of all persons by the telephone company solely on the basis of qualifications. Favorable action in those areas where there were clearly defined instances of discrimination against colored applicants for operator jobs would be an indication of good faith on the part of the company. Any follow-up conversations on this matter will be useful, but I sincerely hope that your company is now ready to make a public commitment on specific action it will take.

Sincerely yours,

/s/ Clarence Mitchell
Labor Secretary
Meeting of the National Labor Committee

Thursday, October 24, 1946

The first meeting of the National Labor Committee of the NAACP was held on Thursday, October 24, at 11 a.m., in the offices of the Association, 20 West 40th Street, New York City, pursuant to notice.

Present: Messrs. Frank Fenton of the American Federation of Labor, Boris Bobshkin of the American Federation of Labor, Alfred Baker Lewis, Joseph Waddy representing Charles H. Houston of Washington, the Secretary, the Labor Secretary, the Assistant Secretary, the Administrative Assistant in the New York Office and the Special Counsel, and the Director of Branches. Mr. Walter Reuther had promised to send an alternate, but was unable to do so. However, Mr. Victor Reuther was in the office on other business and stopped in the meeting for a few minutes. He expressed full cooperation of the UAW with the Labor Committee.

Mr. George Weaver was unable to be present but sent written approval of the program. Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt also sent her approval of the Committee's objectives. A similar letter was received from Father Francis J. Gilligan of St. Paul.

LABOR DEPARTMENT OBJECTIVES: The proposed objectives of the Labor Department of the Association as outlined by the Labor Secretary were discussed.

Upon motion, duly seconded, the Committee voted to accept the following as objectives of the Labor Department:

1. Elimination of discriminatory employment practices in industry and government which result in refusal to hire colored workers, wage differentials based on race, unequal opportunities for training and promotion, unfair dismissals, and segregation in employment because of race.

2. Greater participation of colored persons in the trade union movement.

3. Ending of segregated locals, auxiliaries, and any other discriminatory practices in labor unions.

4. Passage of state and federal FEPC legislation.

5. Inclusion of non-discrimination clauses in state and federal laws pertaining to the employment of persons in the execution of government contracts.

6. Joining with labor unions for the enactment of legislation favored by labor for the advancement of wage and welfare standards and for the repealing of unfavorable labor legislation.

7. Expanding and improving opportunities for vocational training on the basis of non-segregation.
POST-WAR UNEMPLOYMENT AMONG COLORED WORKERS: In the discussion on this subject, it was pointed out that many Negroes were hired during the war time only because of the pressure of having to get someone to work or pressure from FEDG. In most instances they were the last to be hired and so on the basis of seniority, they are the first to be laid off when there are curtailments in the industry.

There was discussion on the matter of securing figures on the number of Negroes being laid off, downgraded, and presently hired in the various industries. It was pointed out that there is great difficulty in securing such figures as they are not available from usual government sources. The Labor Secretary suggested that if the unions were willing to cooperate such figures might be secured from them.

The Director of Branches asked whether it was inconsistent to fight on one hand to keep unions and government from identifying workers by race on their records and then on the other hand request such information from them. The Special Counsel pointed out that he did not feel this to be inconsistent because even though we are fighting against the keeping of such records, they are being kept in a great many instances.

It was understood that exact figures could not be secured, but it was generally agreed that unions should be contacted and asked to give an approximation. Thus, at least in certain industries where there have been large cutbacks, we would have an idea of what the picture is with regard to Negroes.

Mr. Fenton stated that he felt that we should use as much affirmative action as possible—that is we should try to get representatives on the various boards and committees set up by government and unions so that in that way we will know what is happening. He further stated that he felt the NAACP should work with all groups in its labor program and not single out any particular one.

SOUTHERN ORGANIZING DRIVES: By a resolution adopted at the Cincinnati conference in July, the NAACP voted to support the organizing drives of the AFL and CIO in the South.

Mr. Lewis suggested that the National Office should contact all branches in the areas where drives are going on and inform them where they can contact AFL and CIO and urge them to take part in the organizing. It was suggested that heads of the drives in the South should be contacted and asked to furnish NAACP with information about when they are going into certain areas in order that this information can be furnished to branches.

EMPLOYMENT IN THE CONSTRUCTION INDUSTRY: Some information has been secured re shortages of workers by skills in specific areas in the construction industry. The Labor Secretary reported that this information has been sent to the branches with the request that they check to see if it throws any light on their communities. Suggestions have been made as to how they might obtain full use of available skilled colored workers. They are urged to get colored workers to apply to the USES for jobs in the industry, determine whether they are sent out on any of these jobs, and whether or not they are hired. The branches were also asked to aid in locating colored veterans who performed construction jobs in the armed services.
It was agreed that the stairs for the front of the house should stay.

It was agreed that the stairs for the front of the house should stay. The committee then went back to the house and made the necessary changes.
The Labor Secretary pointed out that the Secretary of Labor indicated he would not withdraw federal funds from those states who discriminate because the Department would be open to too much criticism.

The Administrative Assistant suggested that in states where there are fair employment practice laws in effect, it would be well to ask the branches to work with the FEPC set-up in policing the USES to see that there is no discrimination.

The question was asked about possibility of bringing suit in cases of discrimination. Mr. Waddy pointed out that suit might be brought on the grounds that such discrimination is against rights guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States. That would be the only grounds. It was agreed that the possibilities of a legal approach should be explored as a last approach.

LABOR LEGISLATION: Mr. Shishkin announced that in December the Department of Labor held its conference on labor legislation. Labor union representatives are invited to this conference, and they have opportunity to get across some good things at this time.

The Committee listed a number of bills the passage of which both labor unions and the NAACP are working toward. Included were:

- Anti-Lynching Bill
- Anti-Poll Tax Bill
- FEPC Bill
- Federal Control of the USES
- Fair Labor Standards Act
- Wagner-Elender-Taft Housing Bill
- Federal Aid to Education Bill
- Strengthening of the Civil Rights Act.

Mr. Fenton pointed out that state legislatures need to be watched, and suggested that the NAACP get on state mailing lists so that it might know of new legislation in the states. He also said that the AFL plans to campaign against unfair state legislation.

LABOR EDUCATION: The Labor Secretary stated that he understood that both the AFL and CIO as well as the National Association of Manufacturers and the Chamber of Commerce were to be given free radio time over a period of several weeks to present their programs to the public. He wondered how the NAACP could tie into these programs with the unions in order that the Negro aspect be included as part of the whole and not as a separate part of labor's program.

Mr. Fenton explained that the advertising Council which handled most war-time advertising or propaganda is going to furnish most of material for the AFL and suggested that NAACP contact them.

The Administrative Assistant suggested that we get our branches to secure local radio time over some of the smaller stations and work on labor education in that way.
Mr. Lewis recommended that the Association officially urge its branches
to activate their members who are union members. Many belong to unions
only because they have to and never take part in union activity. The
Branch and Labor Departments should jointly notify the membership of
the part that they can and should play in organized labor. Many Negro
members are new members and do not know their responsibilities as union
members.

SETTING OF MEETING DATES: It was decided that regular meeting dates
would not be set up over any long period of time - but it was the
consensus that quarterly meetings would be good. It was decided that
the tentative date for the next meeting should be Tuesday, January 14, 1947.

The Labor Secretary stated that when issues arose which needed immediate
attention, he would contact the Washington members of the Committee,
if that were agreeable, for their opinion, mailing the material to the
members of the committee who are not in Washington. This was generally
agreed to.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned.

Clarence Mitchell
Labor Secretary
November 6, 1946

Dear Mr. Attorney General:

I communicated the contents of your letter about the Columbia, Tennessee case to Mr. Thurgood Marshall of the N.A.A.C.P.

Enclosed is a memo of part of his reply and I am sending it to you so you will know how he feels.

Very sincerely yours,
Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I returned to the office a few days ago and have gone over the correspondence between you and Attorney General Tom Clark, concerning the Grand Jury investigation of the Columbia, Tennessee, case.

In the first place, Mr. Clark takes the position throughout the letter that there is no positive identification of any of the state officials responsible for the destruction of property and other items. I have always been surprised at these statements because the United States Department of Justice never seems to have any hesitancy in admitting its inability to perform its functions in regard to Negroes' rights. The F.B.I. has one of the finest records of any investigating organization that we know of. They have been able to ferret out spies and other espionage agents, saboteurs, well-known gangsters such as Dillinger, etc., and I know of no instance where they have been unable to get positive identification of criminals or to build up cases where there has been a violation of federal law except where the victims are Negroes. A huge National Guard Unit was present on the scene when this property was destroyed. There were also a tremendous number of Highway Patrolmen. There were large numbers of white former mob members standing around, and now the Department of Justice says they cannot get a single person to identify at least one person guilty of what can only be termed as
"COMMITTEE OF 100"

William Allan Neilson, Chairman
William Agar
Mrs. Jerome R. Alexander
Joseph Clark Baldwin
Roger W. Baldwin
Robert W. Barnow
Jacob Barnea
Augustus M. Behn
Abbot Beal
Ralph H. Bay
Henry A. Bay
Van Wyck Brooks
T. V. W. Boynton
Mrs. Samuel McCune Crofut
Alfred Eaton Dick
Mrs. Richard C. Childs
Bernard C. Channing
W. M. Cleveland
Rufus S. Clement
Fanny Travis Codman
William F. Codman
Henry S. Codman
James Bryant Conant
Albert Burgess Conant
Mrs. Elizabeth S. Conant
Mrs. John D. Conant
Henry Hirt Crane
John Warren Davis
Albert Edward Day
Mrs. Henry V. Day
Rev. Albert C. Deffebach
Stephen Douglas
Samuel A. Eliot
Edward A. Ely
Dorothy Canfield Fisher

Harry Emerson Fosdick
Leo M. Franklin
Christian Gauss
Harry G. Griffin
George G. Hersey
Henry M. Hill
E. H. Hildreth
R. Ralph Hoxie
Horace Hart
James C. H URLs
Harry H. Helen
Henry H. W. Holborn
John Haynes Holbrook
Robert H. Hinton
Charles H. H Poston
Paul Hootman
Mrs. Raymond V. Irwin
Mrs. Henry A. Ingalls
D. V. James
Charles E. Johnson
William W. Johnson
Edgar J. Kellogg
Helen Keller
Paul Kellogg
Frank Kingman
Franklin Klopman
Basil H. L, Croft
Florence H. Lawlor
John Howard Leacy
William W. Appomattox Lawrence
John Earl Leland
Henry Smith Leiper
Era A. Lewis

Alain Locke
Bishop Francis J. McConnell
Earl M. Hines
Frank Ford
Carl Murphy
Harold R. Norey
Robert Reid
Robert Lincoln O'Brien
Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam
George L. Parks
Bishop Edward L. Parsons
Pelley Perkins
Ralph Barton Perry
David Philipson
Mrs. Clifford Pickard
Robert McCullough Peers
A. Philip Randolph
Frederick S. Reing
Alice E. Robinson
Grace Z. Robinson
Bishop John S. Rhoades
James T. Rollins
George N. Rorer
Bishop David H. Sisco
Arthur B. Spalding
Norman Thomas
Ernest Freund
Carl Van Doren
Oswald Garrison Villard
Carrington Wyeth
Judge Joseph H. Wolfe
Mary A. Werten
Bradford Young

The "Committee of 100", a voluntary cooperative group of individuals headed by William A. Neilson, has sponsored the appeal of the N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., since 1943, and has called for public subscription of $100,000 during 1946 to enable the Fund to meet urgent problems arising out of the post-war emergency.
"wholesale destruction of people's property."

Either the Department of Justice, including the F. B. I., fell down on the job of investigating the case or they deliberately closed their eyes. However, I would not be completely frank unless I admitted that I did not expect a whole-hearted attempt by the Department of Justice to bring about any convictions of any state officers in Senator McKellar's home state. I am always aware of at least one other very important case where a sheriff killed at least one Negro without cause and the Department of Justice found itself unable to prosecute because it was, I imagine, too close to Boss Crump's territory. This was, of course, before Attorney General Clark's term of office.

As to the Grand Jury investigation itself, there are several questions which Attorney General Clark has ignored, one of which is that the Negro witnesses who were the victims were placed before the Grand Jury without any consultation whatsoever with any lawyer of the United States Department of Justice. In all of my years of practice, I have never heard of a prosecuting attorney presenting a complaining witness, or witnesses, to a Grand Jury without first talking with him. It has also never been satisfactorily explained to me why it was necessary to hear all of the state officials accused of committing the crimes before hearing from the complaining witnesses. It has never been satisfactorily explained to me why the Negro complaining witnesses before the Grand Jury were required to stand around in the hall waiting day after day to be called in. It likewise has never been satisfactorily explained to me why the Federal Government permitted one of its witnesses, while waiting to testify before the Grand Jury, to be carried away by state officers to be questioned for a long time and otherwise threatened. It is also an anomaly to consider the all-white jury investigating an occurrence between white and colored people where the whole question was as to whether the Negro or the white group was responsible.

Last, but not least, it has never been satisfactorily explained to me why the Attorney General, while conversant with the conditions in Nashville, and especially in view of the fact that the United States District Attorney was a resident of Columbia, Tennessee, who had already issued a statement that no federal rights had been violated, did not proceed by the filing of an information rather than by having a Grand Jury investigation. I do not think there is any doubt that the Grand Jury investigation turned out to be an investigation not of a violation of the civil rights of Negroes, but an investigation of organizations and other matters foreign to the subject.

As to the Grand Jury report, I think we can gather from the admissions of Mr. Bomar at the Columbia trials that there can be no question that federal civil rights were violated. If the
Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt

Department of Justice would only go after Mr. Bomar as they should, I have no doubt, after observing him at the earlier portions of the Columbia trial, that he would "tell it all".

Sincerely yours,

Thurgood Marshall
Special Counsel
Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I have your letter of November 6, 1946, relating to the activities of the National Guard at the Columbia, Tennessee, Courthouse. The letter indicated that the national guardmen were responsible for the destruction of property and that no indictments were filed.

Mr. Marshall expresses surprise at this statement. He points out that, at the time the property was destroyed, the National Guard was not present. The record shows, however, that some of the witnesses were interviewed by the National Guard or National Park Police, and that no indictment was filed.

Mr. Marshall also notes that the National Guard was not responsible for the destruction of property. In this connection, Mr. Marshall states that the Grand Jury was unable to return an indictment because there was no evidence of any person violating federal law.

I am enclosing the contents of my letter to you of October 8, 1946, as indicated in your letter.

Sincerely yours,

[Signature]

Office of the Attorney General, Washington, D.C.

November 20, 1946

[Signature]

Assistant Attorney General in charge of the Criminal Division.

[Stamp]
and others of the Department conferred at length on October 23, 1946, with Mr. Leon A. Ransom, one of the NAACP attorneys in the Lawrenceburg trials. At that time, Mr. Ransom expressed an opinion similar to that of Mr. Marshall and promised to furnish the Department with a Transcript of the Testimony containing Mr. Bomar's alleged admissions. The Transcript has not yet been received, but, when it is placed in our hands, it will be given careful study and attention. Should our examination reveal evidence of violation of Federal civil rights statutes, appropriate measures will be quickly taken.

With kindest personal regards,

Sincerely,

[Signature]

Attorney General
December 30, 1946

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
Apartment 15-A
29 Washington Square, West
New York 11, New York

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Pursuant to Mr. Marshall's instructions, I am enclosing herein copy of a self-explanatory letter to Mr. Tom C. Clark re the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Mr. Marshall extends his best wishes to you for a very happy New Year!

Very truly yours,

Gloria Samuels
Secretary to Mr. Marshall

Enc.
December 27, 1946

Hon. Tom C. Clark
Attorney General
U. S. Department of Justice
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Clark:

You will remember that sometime ago, I agreed to bring to your personal attention matters which affect Negroes in connection with the Department of Justice. The Federal Bureau of Investigation has done a good job on package in the South. With the exception of package the record of the F.B.I. in investigating cases involving Negroes has been notably one-sided. The inability of the F.B.I. to identify any members of the Lynch mob in the Monroe, Georgia, lynching is the latest example of this. In the disturbance at Columbia, Tennessee, on February 25th and 26th of this year, it is reported that F.B.I. agents were sent in almost immediately and were supposed to have made a thorough and complete investigation, yet, they were unable to produce the name of a single individual responsible for the acts of violence and the destruction of the property of the Negroes in that town.

In the past, the N.A.A.C.P. and other organizations have used inexperienced investigators who have usually been able to produce the names of the members of the mobs. In the recent Minden, Louisiana, lynching, the President of our New Orleans Branch, with no experience as an investigator, was able to produce the names of members of that mob. In the beating of Isaac Woodard by Officer Shull, in Batesburg, S. C., we were able to produce eyewitnesses and the name of the police officer.

The F.B.I. has established for itself an uncomparable record for ferreting out persons violating
Hon. Tom C. Clark

December 27, 1946

our federal laws. This great record extends from the prosecution of vicious spies and saboteurs, who are trained in the methods of evading identification and arrest, to nondescript hoodlums who steal cheap automobiles and drive them across the state lines. On the other hand, the F.B.I. has been unable to identify or bring to trial persons charged with violations of federal statutes where Negroes are the victims. Such a record demonstrates the uneven administration of federal criminal statutes, which should not be tolerated.

You have called for a strengthening of the Federal Civil Rights Statutes, yet, I am sure it is apparent that there would be very little use to strengthen these Civil Rights Statutes if the F.B.I. continues its policy of being unable to produce the names of persons guilty of such crimes.

You will remember that Section 49 of Title 8 provides that you and other officials of the Federal Government are specifically required, at the expense of the United States, "to institute prosecution against all persons violating any of the provisions of Chapter 3 of Title 18 ... and to cause such persons to be arrested and imprisoned, or called, for trial before the Court of the United States or the territorial court having cognizance of the offense." This statute places an additional burden upon you and other law enforcement officials of the Federal Government over and above other duties included in the oath of office. For this reason, I believe that you, as Attorney General of the United States, have the clear duty and responsibility of making a complete investigation of one of your departments, namely, the F.B.I., to determine why it is impossible for this department to maintain a record as to crimes in which Negroes are victims comparable to its record as to other crimes.

This letter is being sent to you without being released to the press, and no publicity whatsoever is being given to it other than possible discussion with members of our staff. I expect to be in Washington during the early part of January and would appreciate an opportunity to discuss this matter further with you if you so desire.

Very truly yours,

Thurgood Marshall
Special Counsel

P.S. In connection with the failure to identify members of the mob in the Monroe, Ga., lynchings, I imagine you have noticed the editorial in the NEW YORK TIMES for Saturday, December 21st, captioned "The Silent Indictment".