

LUCY RANDOLPH MASON

1937 - 1943

*file*

February 15, 1937

*100*

My dear Miss Mason:

Up to the moment I have no radio contract and, therefore, have no money to give away. However, if I do get a contract, I will surely keep you in mind.

Very sincerely yours,

*Keep in file  
for gifts*

Miss Lucy R. Mason  
National Consumers' League  
156 Fifth Avenue, NYC

S:DD

# NATIONAL CONSUMERS' LEAGUE

*Called  
2-15-37*

156 FIFTH AVENUE  
NEW YORK, N. Y.

TELEPHONE: WATKINS 9-1618-13

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THE NATIONAL CONSUMERS' LEAGUE IS AN EDUCATIONAL  
MOVEMENT FOUNDED IN MAY, 1899, TO AWAKEN CONSUMERS'  
INTEREST IN THEIR RESPONSIBILITY FOR CONDITIONS UNDER  
WHICH GOODS ARE MADE AND DISTRIBUTED.

NICHOLAS KELLEY, Chairman Board of Directors  
HYMAN SCHROEDER, Treasurer  
LUCY RANDOLPH MASON, General Secretary  
EMILY SIMS MARCONNIER, Associate General Secretary

February 10, 1937

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

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

You will recall that in 1935 Molly Dewson talked with you about a contribution to the work of the League and you said that your income from radio talks and other sources was all pledged for 1935, but that if you secured a radio contract in 1936 you would give the League \$3,000. Then in 1936 Molly reported to us that you had not had such a contract and could not help us at that time.

Now that the way is again open to you to make radio and other contracts we have hoped that you might consider including the League in the organizations to which you so generously contribute. And so, with much hesitation I am writing to you on this subject. I wish I could talk to you instead.

While the popular impression in these days is that "government will do it," and support for private agencies is no longer necessary, I am sure you agree with us that non-governmental instruments for creating public opinion are still needed in a democracy and that private organizations can do some things impossible for government bodies.

To give you a concrete illustration, Frances Perkins calls labor legislation conferences which are of great value in promoting state programs, but this organization has given her the names of key people to be invited in many states, and particularly in the South. After the conferences government representatives are not in a position to form pressure groups to support bills in state legislatures, but the League is able to do this, utilizing all the interest stimulated by the conference in which it participated.

We work in closest cooperation with various divisions of the U.S. Department of Labor, as well as with state labor departments. We also work with state federations of labor, bringing to the support of some of their progressive measures an entirely different group of people.

*Have had conversation  
today*

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt

February 10, 1937

While we are in active contact with people in many states, I have given especial attention to the backward southern states. We now have among our allies for progressive labor legislation in the South some of the leading newspaper and magazine editors, and teachers of classes in economics and labor relations. Through addresses at state conferences of social work I have secured an entirely new interest in behalf of labor legislation among social workers.

Not long ago George S. Mitchell, of the Resettlement Administration, recently transferred from Washington to Raleigh, said in a letter to us:

"It is a great help to meet, as I travel about, the evidence of the leavening work that the National Consumers's League has done in all of the southern states."

This week I had a letter from the Commissioner of Labor of South Carolina asking me to come to Columbia as soon as possible to speak at committee hearings on an eight-hour bill for men and women. Friday I shall be in Raleigh working up support for a similar bill in the North Carolina legislature.

I am enclosing an article by the editor of the Richmond Times-Dispatch, with whom I have worked intensively for several years, and whose paper actively supports labor and social legislation. I gave Mr. Dabney much of the information for this article. I could send you many other articles and pamphlets written by southerners in which much of the information came from this office, but I will not burden you with them.

You may have seen Thomas Stokes' series of articles on southern industry in the World-Telegram. He tells me he secured his information on the labor laws in the South from our charts, "Labor Laws of Twelve Southern States." Without hesitation I can say that there is more information on labor laws and their enforcement in this office than in any place in the South.

I am sure it is unnecessary to tell you of the contribution the League has made to the discussion of the paralyzing of the legislative branch of government by restrictive court interpretations of the Constitution. You have seen our pamphlet, "Clarifying the Constitution by Amendment," which has had wide circulation and was read into the Congressional Record by Senator Agner.

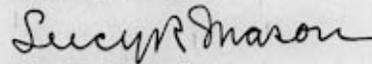
And now for our finances. Unless we can raise a substantial amount in addition to membership dues, the work is so crippled as to be largely ineffectual. Field trips have to be given up, correspondence neglected for lack of stenographic help, articles remain unwritten because I type my own letters in the daily routine of business. In every way the work is hampered and threatened unless we can secure additional income. I start South today not knowing whether the trip can be completed as planned for lack of funds.

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt

February 10, 1937

If you can make a place for the League in your list of organizations we shall be deeply grateful. Perhaps you will give me a chance to talk to you before coming to a decision. I would go to Washington on short notice for this purpose. Mrs. Marconnier knows from day to day where I shall be on this field trip.

Cordially yours,



General Secretary

LRM:MEH

SOUTHERN EMPLOYERS AND  
LABOR REFORM

Virginius Dabney (editor Richmond  
Times Dispatch & on  
board of Va. Council)

THE SITUATION which exists currently in the South—with respect to the establishment of civilized labor standards, collective bargaining, and the development of an appreciable social awareness—is not particularly heartening, although there are a few signs and portents which lead one to indulge the hope that better things may be in the offing. Reform in this sphere has been a gradual process in all countries; hence, the slowness with which results are being obtained in the Southern states is not necessarily ground for serious discouragement.

I had occasion last winter to observe at close range the *modus operandi* of the Virginia Manufacturers' Association, an organization which shares with similar bodies in other states the chief responsibility for the backwardness of Dixie in the field of industrial relationships. The Virginia Legislature was considering a program calling for social security and improved labor laws. Important items were participation in the Federal system of unemployment insurance and old-age pensions, passage of an eight-hour bill for women in industry, a minimum wage bill for women and minors, liberalization of the workmen's compensation law, and passage of a law requiring fire-escapes on all factories two stories high.

Every single one of these bills failed of passage, and by far the major share of the responsibility lies at the door of the Virginia Manufacturers' Association. The members of this group of industrialists are no more callous than their *confrères* in other sections of the South. Not a few of

## THE SOUTHERN REVIEW

them, indeed, are kindly and well-disposed men in their private capacities whom I am glad to count as my friends. But organized for the defense of what they consider their prerogative to preserve the *status quo* in Virginia industry, they are the very quintessence of Bourbonism and reaction.

They fought participation in the Federal unemployment insurance program with every weapon at their command, and succeeded in their objective, over the opposition of Governor Peery. The consequence is that some \$9,000,000 probably will be paid out by them to the Federal Government in the next two years, not a cent of which will return to Virginia. They claim that the Federal Social Security Act is unconstitutional and that they can avoid making any payments until the Supreme Court passes on the question. Both claims are of dubious validity, but even if they were not, the violent opposition of the Virginia industrialists to jobless insurance reflects little credit on their intelligence or their liberalism.

This same group of manufacturers defeated the eight-hour bill for women, although it passed the House by fifty-eight to thirty and contained numerous exemptions for industries operating under special circumstances. Unable to advance any effective arguments against this thoroughly reasonable and humane legislation, which was to have replaced a law covering women in industry passed in 1890, the association's spokesmen could only repeat the monotonous chorus, "Don't shackle us!" The industrialists admitted that in the vast majority of instances they are operating eight hours or less at the present time. Opposition to the bill was led in the Legislature by a member who is a manufacturer, and whose attitude was succinctly expressed in his statement that he could not see "why so many women worry about the hours of labor of other women who have jobs." This gentleman led the fight on unemployment insurance, saying that advocates of such insurance reminded him of those "old maids and old bachelors" who try to tell married people "how to raise a family." Another prominent legislator strongly opposed the eight-hour bill for women on the ground that it would "destroy Virginia business because industries in North Carolina work women ten and twelve hours." This is partially incorrect, since the maximum day for women in North Carolina industry is eleven hours, but the argument was effective, nevertheless.

The minimum wage bill was not even introduced, the opposition was so strong. There was a proposal that the maximum payment of workmen's compensation insurance be raised from fourteen dollars a week, the lowest in the entire South (Arkansas and Mississippi have no workmen's compensation law), to sixteen, but the manufacturers set up their accustomed plea that any such increase would be disastrous to them. Just why Virginia manufacturers can afford a maximum of only fourteen dollars, whereas those of Florida can afford eighteen and those of South Carolina twenty-five, has never been satisfactorily explained. True, some believe Virginia's administration of the law to be the most efficient and intelligent in the South, and the state has a higher minimum than a good many others, but does that justify a fourteen-dollar maximum? At the recent session, the Virginia Manufacturers' Association also defeated proposals for liberalizing the workmen's compensation law in three other respects. None of the four proposals even got out of committee.

The fact that the Virginia Legislature failed to give the Federal Government any coöperation in the field of social security should not, as a matter of fact, be considered particularly surprising, for the South as a whole has been slower to grasp the necessity for this type of law than any other section, and is showing less inclination to join with the Federal authorities in making their program effective. Similarly, it is not astonishing that the women's eight-hour law was defeated, for no other Southern State has such a law. Miss Lucy R. Mason, who led the fight for the bill with great energy and ability, hoped that if a bill of this kind could be passed in Virginia, other legislatures below the Potomac would follow suit. But the unbending conservatism of the region came into play, and although the House passed the measure by a substantial majority, it was killed in a Senate committee.

The attitude displayed by the Virginia Manufacturers' Association toward this and similar legislation is no new thing. It is the usual attitude of Southern industrialists, who frequently take their cue from the Southern States Industrial Council, formed in the early days of the Roosevelt Administration by Mr. John E. Edgerton, who operates a woolen mill at Lebanon, Tennessee. Manifestoes from this organization dilate at great length upon the importance of protecting "free and independent labor of the South"

## THE SOUTHERN REVIEW

from "the domination of a minority organization"—evidently the American Federation of Labor—and from the wiles of "outside agitators."

It specifically affirms "the right of any group to organize in lawful ways for lawful purposes to be lawfully pursued," but neglects to explain why so many Southern industrialists fire any workingman who lawfully joins a union and lawfully persuades others to do so. Mr. Edgerton, who probably is thoroughly convinced that the A. F. of L. is one of the most pernicious agencies in this country, is famous for the paternalistic arrangements in his Tennessee mill, where the work day always begins with a patriotic song, a prayer, and Bible reading. These religious exercises have brought about a situation, he says, where "the employees go to their work with love and goodwill in their hearts and a song upon their lips."

Prayer, in so far as I am advised, is not on the agenda of the Friedman-Harry Marks Clothing Company in Richmond, but in other respects its management seems completely in sympathy with the doctrines of Mr. Edgerton and his Southern States Industrial Council. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union sought during most of 1935 to unionize this garment factory. As in the case of the Tubize Chatillon rayon plant at Hopewell, Virginia, the previous year, employees were discharged for union activity, and when the National Labor Relations Board ordered their reinstatement, the management refused to comply. It contended that the Wagner-Connery Act is unconstitutional, and also that the board is without jurisdiction. At the same time, it announced that the case would be carried to the United States Supreme Court, if necessary. Despairing of getting a decision before hundreds of employees had been discharged, and fearing the Wagner-Connery Act might ultimately be declared in contravention of the organic law, the Amalgamated found it necessary to abandon its effort in January of this year. Violence was lacking, but otherwise the attitude of the company was in the tradition of Marion and Gastonia and Harlan. Another Southern employer had smashed an effort at unionization, and thereby had kept wages down.

A fundamental issue raised by such an episode as this is whether the apparent collapse of Federal efforts to enforce collective bargaining in the South will not lead to a great influx of industries paying low wages and operating under sweatshop standards. The difficulties in the way of

enforcing Section 7 (a) and the Wagner-Connery Act have been considerably greater in the South than anywhere else, doubtless because of Dixie's well-entrenched anti-union tradition. The consequences are now expected to be serious both for the North and the South. If there is an exodus of industries from the North, it will mean thousands upon thousands more unemployed in that section, while the arrival of such industries in the South, with its great surplus of unskilled workers, will probably debase the already low wage scale, augment the large body of exploited labor, and contribute to the economic maladjustment of the region.

It is a curious fact that manufacturers in this and other countries have usually seemed to be incapable of grasping the desirability of making important voluntary concessions to their employees. There have been, and there are, exceptions, of course. For example, after decades of the harshest kind of criticism from humanitarians and the press, the American textile operators sought voluntarily in 1930 and 1931 to limit hours of work for all employees and to abolish night work for women and minors. Not more than eighty-five per cent of the industry could be induced to sign the agreement, but the effort was commendable, nevertheless.

It cannot be denied, however, that the attitude of manufacturers is customarily the same the world over. Witness the career of the great British reformer, Lord Shaftesbury. He began his assault on Britain's industrial fraternity in 1833, and continued unremittingly for half a century, until he had brought about a revolution in the industrial life of his country. It seems unbelievable that the manufacturers of any supposedly civilized land could have worked children five years of age from 5 A.M. to 8 P.M., or somewhat older children from 3 A.M. to 9 P.M. It seems incredible that these children could have been beaten with straps by brutal overseers when they failed to work at top speed, or that parents could have borrowed money from factories to spend at grog shops, mortgaging the work of their little ones for weeks and months in advance, *at from nine-pence to a shilling a week*, but this happened also. Even more barbarous, if possible, were the conditions of labor for children in the mines, where they toiled long hours for infinitesimal wages, shut out from the sunlight, cramped in narrow corridors, and were forced to pull coal cars like beasts of burden and were frequently beaten and frequently killed or injured.

## THE SOUTHERN REVIEW

Boys and girls who labored in these infernal hell-holes became prematurely stunted and old. The joy and buoyancy of youth was denied them, for when they emerged from the pits at the end of the long day, they were too exhausted to join in the games of their more fortunate fellows.

Such was the picture which presented itself to Shaftesbury. And what was the attitude of the industrial magnates of Great Britain toward his efforts to ameliorate these unspeakably ghastly conditions? They sought by every means in their power to thwart him, and their arguments, when read today, sound for all the world as though they had been presented to a Southern legislature in the twentieth century by a group of Southern manufacturers! It was unjust and unfair to interfere with industry; legislation on such a subject would curtail individual liberty; those who desired reform were meddlers, fakes, and frauds, and were actuated by selfish motives; curtailment of hours, improvement of working conditions, and the fixing of minimum age limits for children would ruin industry.

John Bright and Sir Robert Peel almost exhausted their large vocabularies in denouncing Lord Shaftesbury's Ten Hours Bill, and it was solemnly asserted that passage of the measure would mean reversion to barbarism (*sic*). The bill was passed, nevertheless. Then came the Mines and Collieries Act, and it was bitterly excoriated by spokesmen for the mining interests, who said, of course, that its passage would doom the entire mining industry. One opponent declared that "hundreds of children would be thrown out of employment, and hundreds of families driven to the workhouse." He added that as a county magistrate, he would "not be responsible for the public peace if the bill were carried into effect in its present shape." As passed, the bill worked nothing less than a revolution in conditions in the British mines. And it goes without saying that the dismal croakings of the coal barons that their industry would be destroyed, were not realized.

It has been well said that "Britain today is a different country because of Shaftesbury's life." There is a memorial to him in Piccadilly Circus, London, built entirely from public subscription, an earnest of the esteem in which this great benefactor of mankind is held by the masses of his countrymen, whose lot was so vastly improved when he carried their cause to victory over the implacable opposition of their employers.

The conditions under which children worked in England when Shaftesbury began his long fight were not duplicated in this country, but the situation in America was certainly bad enough, and the attitude of our manufacturers was substantially the same. Almost all of them fought the humanitarians who endeavored to obtain the passage of regulatory legislation, the invariable plea being that if little children were taken out of the mills and factories, it would seriously hurt business.

The situation was extremely bad in the South at the turn of the present century. In 1900, no fewer than 234,000 children between ten and fifteen years of age were employed in industry in the fifteen Southern and border states. At the beginning of 1903, the number of textile operatives under fourteen in the South was put at 30,000, with 20,000 under twelve.

A concerted drive for the enactment of child labor laws by the various Southern states was launched at this time, with such men as Edgar Gardner Murphy of Alabama and Dr. Alexander J. McKelway of Virginia in leading rôles. Murphy said with respect to the positively appalling conditions in many factories and mills: "I have seen and photographed children of six and seven years who were at labor in our factories for twelve and thirteen hours a day . . . I have seen them with their little fingers mangled by machinery and their little bodies numb and listless with exhaustion."

When those who wished to put an end to these barbarities presented child labor bills to the respective law-making bodies of the Southern states, Murphy asserted that representatives of the manufacturers "thronged the lobbies . . . in the effort to defeat such an elementary measure as the prohibiting of factory labor for children under twelve." The prohibition of such labor would deal a severe blow to Southern prosperity, they clamorously declared. Manufacturers who one day denied that the number of children under twelve in factories was large enough to make any difference, descended on the capitol the next in a determined effort to defeat a bill prohibiting such labor. Owing to the uncompromising attitude of the industrial potentates, the foes of child labor realized that a twelve-year limit was the best which could be obtained.

By the end of 1903, nearly every Southern state had some sort of child labor law on its books for the first time, thanks to the determined efforts of Murphy, McKelway, and their co-workers. These laws were, of

## THE SOUTHERN REVIEW

course, wholly inadequate, but they represented a distinct advance. Their passage was facilitated to some extent by the fact that virtually all the legislation was adopted within the space of two or three years, and it was therefore difficult for many Southern states to claim that they were being placed at a disadvantage in competing with neighboring states which had no child labor laws.

It would seem that there is a lesson here for those of us today who wish to secure the passage of more enlightened labor laws in the South. Great difficulties seem in the way of ratification of the Federal Child Labor Amendment by any more Southern legislatures, but a concerted drive on those legislatures for more stringent state laws having to do with both women and children in industry, should bring results. Why, for example, cannot those who favor an eight-hour law for women launch a coördinated campaign throughout Dixie? A process of education and propaganda will undoubtedly be necessary, if results are to be achieved. Pressure will have to be applied in the legislative districts, and the proposed law will have to be made an issue when the law-makers are elected. Candidates should be committed in advance, if possible. Passage of a reasonable statute in a number of states the same year would tend to deprive opponents of the argument that a limitation on hours of labor for women in one state would place that state's industries under a handicap in competition with its neighbors.

It is noteworthy that when the eight-hour law was introduced at the recent session of the Virginia Legislature, opponents in the various districts were far more active in writing and wiring their representatives than proponents. Various members said that whereas they had been importuned by many constituents to oppose the legislation, not one single constituent had asked them to vote for it. This was obviously due to the fact that there was no organization in the districts to stimulate activity on behalf of the bill, whereas the Virginia Manufacturers' Association was aggressively leading the opposition and having its members shower their representatives with protests. The answer would seem to lie in the formation of an agency in every Southern state which will seek to make proponents of socially desirable legislation more articulate. Such an organization has

## THE SOUTHERN REVIEW

just been formed in Virginia, and there are agencies in one or two other states which can perhaps address themselves to the same problem. C. L.

But it would seem essential that each state group secure sufficient funds to finance at least a part-time secretary, for the detail work involved in such an operation is too burdensome for anyone who has a full-time job already. Another important consideration is that the liberals in every state must cooperate wholeheartedly with union labor, if results are to be achieved. In the North, the liberals alone are frequently strong enough to secure the passage of progressive legislation, and so is union labor. In the South, on the other hand, neither group can hope to succeed without the other. Consequently, the closest collaboration is prerequisite to success.

A substantial element of the Southern press can be counted on to support such a movement. Speaking for Virginia, I can testify that at least a dozen of the state's foremost papers cooperated in the recent campaign for better legislation governing women in industry. In all likelihood, a similar story could be told in a number of other states, if a drive for a reasonable bill were launched.

It is not my thought that every Southern employer is an ogre, or that even a majority of them are ogres. I have not tried in the foregoing pages to paint a picture in black and white, with the industrialists of the South tinted a midnight hue. There are plenty of good men among them. But they do things in the mass which they would not countenance as individuals. They allow associations to which they belong to adopt attitudes toward wage and hour legislation and toward unionization which are not only callous and cruel, but shortsighted into the bargain.

How can a continuation of the near-pauper wage scale and the unreasonable hours which prevail in so many Southern industries work to the ultimate advantage of the South as a whole, or to that of its industrialists? It is coming more and more to be recognized that the maintenance of prosperity is intimately linked with the maintenance of purchasing power. Some governmental or other agency is needed to fix a bottom for wages and a limit for hours, to the end that farsighted employers can maintain decent standards and thereby bring a sounder prosperity to the region and the country.

## THE SOUTHERN REVIEW

Now that the Wagner-Connelly Act is expected to be declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court, the South, long the most socially backward region of America, is about where it was in 1932, in so far as collective bargaining is concerned. One may argue, indeed, with a certain plausibility, that its position has in some respects grown worse under the New Deal. For technological improvements in late years have thrown thousands out of employment, and at the same time, the removal of industries from the North to the South, because of the inferior labor standards below the Potomac, is going forward at an accelerated pace, in view of the fact that Southern workers no longer enjoy the Federal protection they thought they had two years ago. Thus the Southern worker is being thrown out of a job, on the one hand, because of technological advances, and is being exploited, if he has work, on the other, while the Northern worker who had a job in a Northern factory or mill, goes on the bread line when that factory or mill moves to Dixie.

It seems hardly necessary to argue that the time has come when the South must bestir itself on behalf of decent wages, hours, and conditions of labor for its sons and daughters. A campaign such as the foes of child labor brought to a successful conclusion more than three decades ago must be organized. The opposition from reactionary employers must be submerged in a popular demand for more civilized standards.

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June 30, 1937

My dear Mrs. Mason:

Thank you very much for your letter.

You will be greatly missed in the Consumers' League, but I wish you the best of luck in your new job.

Very sincerely yours,

Mrs. Lucy Randolph Mason  
Care National Consumers' League  
156 Fifth Avenue  
NYC

**NATIONAL CONSUMERS' LEAGUE**

*air  
6-30*

156 FIFTH AVENUE

NEW YORK, N. Y.

June 28, 1937

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt  
The White House  
Washington, D. C. *JUN 28*

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Because of my cordial contacts with you I want to tell you that I am leaving the League this week to take up work with the Committee for Industrial Organization in an interpretative or public relations capacity. For the present my headquarters will be in the South, probably in Atlanta.

I hope that the Consumers' League will soon be in a position to announce my successor.

The occasions when my work brought me in contact with you have always given me pleasure and I venture to hope that our paths may cross often in the future. I have a great admiration for what you are and do, and for your public influence.

Sincerely yours,

*Lucy Randolph Mason*  
General Secretary

LRM:MEH

John G. Winant, President  
John Graham Brooks, Honorary President  
Nicholas Kelley, Chairman, Board of Directors  
Hyman Schroeder, Treasurer  
Lucy Randolph Mason, General Secretary  
Mrs. Emily Sims Marconzier, Associate General Secretary

TELEPHONE: WATkins 9-1610

13

The National Consumers' League is an educational movement founded in 1899 to awaken consumers' interest in their responsibility for conditions under which goods are made and distributed.



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October 20, 1937

Dear Mrs. Mason:

Many thanks for sending me a copy of your letter about the situation in Tupelo, Mississippi. I read it with great interest.

With every good wish, I am

Very sincerely yours,

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Letter sent on  
to the President

Mrs. Lucy Randolph Mason  
409 Atlanta National Bldg.  
Atlanta  
Georgia

From the desk of  
LUCY RANDOLPH MASON

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

You see I am back at my  
Consumers' League habits!

Yours

Lucy R. Mason

Thank you  
all  
10-25

170

February 7, 1938

Dear Mrs. Mason:

Mrs. Roosevelt was interested to have your letter of February 1 and has given it to the President to read. She asked me to tell you that she will be in Atlanta for the meeting of the Georgia Rural-Urban women on March 29. If you are there at the time, wonders if you would like to come to see her or to suggest some points that you would like to get over to that group.

Very sincerely yours,

Malvina T. Scheider  
Secretary to  
Mrs. Roosevelt

Mrs. Lucy R. Mason  
Textile Workers Organising Committee  
203 Doctors Building  
Columbus  
Georgia

*Return to Mr. Magee*

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Feb. 15, 1938

170  
2-7

MEMORANDUM FOR MISS LEHAND:

( This letter has been answered. Mrs. Roosevelt says to give it to the President to read.

Please return it to Mr. Magee's Office when the President is through with it.

M.T.S.

File

*for Mr. Schickel*

*J.P. Grand Affairs  
M. M. M.*

LUCY RANDOLPH MASON

AFFILIATED WITH  
TEXTILE WORKERS ORGANIZING COMMITTEE  
409 ATLANTA NATIONAL BLDG.  
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

February 11, 1938.

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

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I am glad to have the letter of February 7th from Mrs. Scheider saying that you were interested in the letter I wrote from Columbus. I do not remember much of what went in that letter, but I remember my horror over the labor situation there. TWOC lost by two to one the election in the Eagle and Phenix Mill which took place while I was there, but the Labor Board of its own initiative has declared the election void because of intimidation, coercion and the voting of many employes in a warehouse who were not to be included in the mill vote. Another election will be held later. The papers joined vociferously in the pre-election campaign to frighten the workers.

Indeed, I would like very much to see you before you speak here on March 29th if that is possible. Mrs. Scheider says that you "wonder if I would like to come to see you or to suggest some points that I would like to get over".

Could I see you here before you speak, or would you like me to come up to Washington? That trip is expensive, but would be worth while if that is what you suggest.

You can help the labor situation in the South tremendously by saying something about your belief in labor unions and your long association with the Women's Trade Union League. The economic value of unions and how they not only raise the standard of living for their members, but help to stabilize industry and eliminate unscrupulous competition needs to be emphasized here.

The relationship between farmers and industrial wage earners is another good point. Here in the South where malnutrition is greatest, poverty most extreme, and health deficiency greatest, there is obvious need of more purchasing power on the part of wage earners so that they can buy what farmers produce. On the opposite side of the picture is the need to diversify crops and raise locally more food.

Have you seen Howard Odum's "Southern Regions"? It is the most exhaustive study of a region that has been made in this country. No digests of this book are in the least adequate, but I am sending you one of them - "The South's Place in the Nation". Also a copy of a talk I made to the Federation of Settlements in 1936. This talk soft pedals my criticisms of the South because it was made to a national group and the summary went out to all settlements. I can criticise the South as severely as I please when in it and talking or writing to southern people, but the unpardonable offence is to criticise it outside or to the rest of the nation!

I realize that you must be careful and polite in what you say but any incidental reference to unions and their value will be helpful.

As I wrote Molly not long ago, the only hope for progressive democracy in the South lies in the lower economic groups - particularly the wage earner. The power holding group, meaning the capitalists and manufacturers and business men, are distinctly reactionary and as a rule opposed to the present Administration, whatever lip service they may give it.

In the economic middle class opinion is varied. Many people ardently support the President and his policies, many others take their opinions from the South's "economic royalists". On a vote of the middle class alone, however, the President and most of his policies would probably carry the South. In the upper layer of society he would lose.

Among the rank and file of those in the lower economic groups, both in the cities and on the land, the President is adored. Yet this is the group so largely disfranchised by the poll tax requirements of eight southern states. I have been collecting material on the poll tax and its effect - which is to retard states' development in every way. The chief hope in early reform lies in the new basis of representation in Party Conventions, using the number of votes cast for the Democratic candidates in the preceding election rather than population.

While conservatives will probably soon begin to advocate removal of the poll tax as a prerequisite to voting in order to increase the South's power in party conventions, I believe that the enfranchised masses will turn the South into more progressive channels and change the type of our political leadership. This is my hope and a hope more likely fulfilled if the mass production industries, especially textiles, are organized so that the unions have real strength.

In other words, the future of a liberal or progressive element in the Democratic party depends so far as the South is concerned in greater political power for wage earners and tenants. The unions being formed here by the CIO affiliates offer much more hope in this direction than do the old line craft unions. My own state, Virginia, is an excellent example of this, with the State Federation of Labor tacitly supporting Glass and Byrd, while the miners and new textile and garment workers unions are proving politically independent.

You will scarcely have time to read more. Let me know what you think about my seeing you - and when and where. Or, is there other and more detailed information you would like by letter?

I am now in an apartment house managed by Mrs. B. M. Boykin, who edits the Georgia page of the Democratic Women's paper. She greatly admires you, the President, Molly and Senator George. Doesn't see the incompatibility. Wishes the President had appointed George to the Supreme Court - nevertheless she is a fine, honest woman and I like her.

Cordially yours

Lucy R. Mason

EXTRACTS FROM ARTICLE ON "DO POLL TAX LAWS WEAKEN THE SOUTH",  
BY BOOTH MOONEY  
THE TEXAS WEEKLY

"The South may as well recognize that it penalizes itself by continuing the poll tax ban."

\* \* \* \* \*

"In any event, wisdom dictates a course of trying to make the South's voice stronger. And strength is measured nowadays in votes. Can the South afford, under such circumstances, to cling any longer to a policy which, whatever its merits may once have been, keeps millions of its citizens from voting?"

\* \* \* \* \*

"From now on, representation of the several States at the national convention of the Democratic Party will not be computed on the former basis of total population. In the future, the factor determining the number of delegates and votes held by each State will be the number of votes the State cast for the Democratic candidates in the preceding Presidential election. That fact is a very valid reason for the States still retaining the poll tax requirement to give consideration now to the question of abandoning it. The influence of the South in the Democratic Party is certain to become ever weaker unless something is done to increase the number of citizens who go to the polls."

*This whole article was reactionary and sectional - I read it for the poll tax statement by a conservative.*  
*L. R. Mason*

February 2, 1939

70

My dear Miss Mason:

The non-quota visas for children are already being agitated. As to loans, I know of private people who are doing that now but I doubt if the Government would be willing to do so. I think Mr. Clarence E. Pickett of the American Friends Service Committee could put any one in touch with the proper people.

Very sincerely yours,

Miss Lucy Randolph Mason  
421 Atlanta National Building  
Atlanta, Georgia

DD

TEXTILE WORKERS ORGANIZING COMMITTEE  
OF THE  
COMMITTEE FOR INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION  
CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

*Called  
2-1-39*

LUCY RANDOLPH MASON  
PUBLIC RELATIONS REPRESENTATIVE

January 25, 1939.

421 ATLANTA NATIONAL BUILDING  
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

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

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

About two years ago you, Francis Perkins, Molly Dawson, Secretary Hull, and others greatly aided in making it possible for Dr. Julie Meyer to leave Germany and come to New York. She tells me that it was the influence of your name which really resulted in Nuremberg police authorities letting her visit the American Consul and get her visa. She was the object of especial suspicion because she had aided so many Jews to leave Germany.

Dr. Meyer is now doing some special work with the New School for Social Research. In a recent letter she says after discussing the present situation of Jews in Germany:

"As to immigration to this country; if only two things could be done. One, non-quota visas for children and old people who are not competitors in the labor market. Two, to give loans for the establishment of industries by expert German refugees, which were until recently German monopolies, i.e., certain kinds of electrical goods, tricot goods, glass ware (manufactured in the former Tschech Districts of Greater Germany), printed material, toys, etc. England and the Netherlands have done that before, silently but successfully.

"There would be, perhaps, a possibility of settling those industries in districts from which former industries have moved and where people and buildings are available. A plan could perhaps be worked out to give work both to Americans and refugees without creating new competition."

For what it is worth I feel compelled to pass this suggestion on to somebody and you are the somebody in this country who seems willing to have any and everything put before you and to make a <sup>(L.R.)</sup>valued effort to do something about it.

Cordially yours,

LRM:s

*Lucy R. Mason*

May 15, 1939

10

My dear Miss Mason:

I have no idea what the President would think of your suggestion, but I think the head of the new Security Agency ought to be a man. However, you may be right and it might turn out to be the best solution.

Very sincerely yours,

Miss Lucy Randolph Mason  
421 Atlanta National Bldg.  
Atlanta, Ga.

DD

*Called  
5-15-39*

TEXTILE WORKERS ORGANIZING COMMITTEE  
OF THE  
~~COMMITTEE FOR INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION~~  
CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

LUCY RANDOLPH MASON  
PUBLIC RELATIONS REPRESENTATIVE

May 11, 1939.

421 ATLANTA NATIONAL BUILDING  
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

If you let your mind wander in the direction of who may be appointed as head of the Federal Security Agency when it comes into being, I wonder if you have thought of Josephine Roche? I know that the President thinks highly of her and that you share this opinion. A little later I shall write the President venturing to make this suggestion directly - meantime, though it must have occurred to you as a possibility it seems well to mention it to you.

During your long absence I rushed in where angels fear to tread and wrote the President two letters - in care of Miss LeHand. He read them, she answered one and I think he answered the second himself. So perhaps in the future I will not have to trouble you with the letters that might go direct - but I have the habit of writing you and may not be able to stop.

I am wholly committed to a third term - the only conditions under which I would think differently are that you become President! Then it would certainly be a combination job.

Cordially yours

*Lucy R. Mason*

*From the desk of*  
LUCY RANDOLPH MASON

Miss Thompson:

That was a great article in Time  
and I am glad you were in it.

LRM

TEXTILE WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA  
SUCCESSOR TO  
TEXTILE WORKERS ORGANIZING COMMITTEE  
OF THE  
~~COMMITTEE FOR INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION~~  
CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

LUCY RANDOLPH MASON  
PUBLIC RELATIONS REPRESENTATIVE

June 1, 1939.

421 ATLANTA NATIONAL BUILDING  
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Thank you for your letter of May 15. While I have great confidence in your good judgment, I still think that the right woman can be the successful head of the new Security Agency. At any rate, you did not quite close the door in your note.

Today I am mailing the enclosed letter to the President and, in case that letter goes astray and also because I want you to see it, this carbon goes to you.

As the outstanding woman in America to establish public confidence in a woman's intelligence, common sense and social understanding, you have made a magnificent contribution to women's participation in public affairs. Surely you have opened the door to women's further promotion in public service.

Cordially yours,

Lucy R. Mason

June 1, 1939.

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

Dear Mr. Roosevelt:

You will not, I hope, think me premature and presumptuous in writing to suggest the appointment of Miss Josephine Roche as head of the new Federal Security Agency.

As I have thought of all the people who might fill this important position, and who could receive the Senate's approval, no one else seems to have quite so many admirable qualities.

Miss Roche has the unusual combination of broad range social sympathies and demonstrated business ability to successfully operate business affairs. Her good judgment, good sense and clear headed appreciation of the essential factors in the many social problems with which she has dealt during your administration are evidence of her capacity to fill yet more responsible positions.

While she has won the confidence of organized labor and social workers, she has been peculiarly free from attack by business and manufacturing interests, and there is every reason to believe that her appointment would be acceptable to the general public. This is doubtless due to her excellent balance of intelligence, integrity and tact.

You have established a magnificent precedent in recognizing and using able women in your Administration, while Mrs. Roosevelt has done more to establish women's contribution to public life than any woman in our history. I think you will not hesitate to appoint a woman to this office if in your judgment she is the best qualified person.

Respectfully yours,  
*Lusk R. Mason*

February 15, 1940

*70*  
*April 16*

My dear Miss Mason:

Mrs. Roosevelt asks me to tell you that she is trying to rearrange her schedule so that she can attend your conference on April 16th. Mrs. Roosevelt can not be there on Monday, and if she can arrange to go she will fly from Washington.

Very sincerely yours,

Secretary to  
Mrs. Roosevelt

Miss Lucy R. Mason  
Textile Workers Union of America  
421 Atlanta National Building  
Atlanta, Georgia

L

TEXTILE WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA  
AFFILIATED WITH  
CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

LUCY RANDOLPH MASON  
PUBLIC RELATIONS REPRESENTATIVE

February 10, 1940

421 ATLANTA NATIONAL BUILDING  
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

*act 2/11/40*  
FEB 12 1940

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

When Clark Howell told me that you had agreed to come to Chattanooga, my spirits went sky high. I wish you could have heard the discussion in the meeting we recently held at Chattanooga when Frank Graham told us that you felt it might not be wise for you to be part of the Conference on Human Welfare.

It was the unanimous agreement of the thirty or more people present, representing widely different groups and both races, that because you are the First Lady it is appropriate for you to participate, but that, far beyond that fact, we need you because you are the most beloved, trusted, respected and admired woman in America.

Please forgive the adjectives - I only use them when they come from deep conviction.

As I told Miss Thompson's secretary on the phone Thursday, if it is possible for you to be at the conference Monday evening, you will be able to share in Tuesday's program, and to speak Monday evening on your topic. Our friend Gay Shepperson is chairman Monday evening. We had lunch with Clark Foreman Wednesday to talk about it.

I have just checked with the Eastern Air Lines and find that a plane leaves Chicago at 9:15 A. M. and arrives at Chattanooga at 1:05 p. m. That would be perfect. The next Chicago plane leaves at 6:45 P. M. and arrives at 11:15 that night.

More than any one you have made this conference possible by your interest, encouragement and financial contribution, and, more than any ten persons, you will give it prestige and influence by your attendance.

Cordially yours,

*Lucy R. Mason*

*quid*  
*Mrs. Roosevelt's hoping to*  
*rearrange schedule*  
*to go on 16th. Can't*  
*be after Mrs. & will*  
*fly from Wash -*

February 26, 1940

17/0

My dear Miss Mason:

I have gone over my calendar very carefully and I am afraid it is not going to be possible for me to go to Chattanooga. I will only get back the day of the 14th of April from a three weeks' lecture trip and have official engagements on the 15th. I do not feel I should leave again and the trip from Washington by air would mean two nights in a plane.

Very sincerely yours,

Miss Lucy Randolph Mason  
421 Atlanta National Bldg.  
Atlanta, Ga.

DD

TEXTILE WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA  
AFFILIATED WITH  
CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

LUCY RANDOLPH MASON  
PUBLIC RELATIONS REPRESENTATIVE

421 ATLANTA NATIONAL BUILDING  
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

February 26, 1940.

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

You had an important part in achieving this  
Grand Jury action through your interest in the Dodge case.  
The case will go before a federal court in June, we think.

I am glad you are taking a sort of vacation,  
but who else would carry so much work on a holiday!

Cordially yours,

Lucy R. Mason

Not to be acknowledged!

P. S. The first state-wide conference of CIO unions meeting here  
yesterday passed resolutions concerning the President and a third  
term - no southern workers can get together without doing this.

Atlanta  
Journal

## Mill Officials Beat Organizer, Indictment Alleges

Four Executives of  
Fitzgerald Firm and  
11 Others Named

SAVANNAH, Ga., Feb. 17.—(AP). A federal grand jury indictment charged Saturday that four officials of the Fitzgerald Cotton Mills, Inc., and 11 others beat a union organizer, ran him out of Fitzgerald, fired union members and otherwise sought to break down union organizations.

The indictment, returned Friday, alleged a conspiracy to deprive certain employes of civil liberties guaranteed them under the constitution and the national labor relations act.

It charged mill officials discontinued all operations of the plant, employing about 300 in order to inflict economic pressure and starvation.

Named as defendants were the mill company, James William Cox, president and manager; John Henry Mayer, vice president and superintendent; James Clark and J. T. Boyter, foremen; Joseph Jackson, Minis, Botbo Lantan Rabon, Glenn Melton, Anderson Wright, Ernest Sheffield, Eugene Maxwell, William Tom Melton, Foye Ellis, David Carl Howe, Bud Clarke and Hoke Mims.

Workers in the mill were held in the indictment to have selected the Textile Workers' Organizing Committee (C. I. O.) as their bargaining agent in a ballot on February 8, 1938.

STANDARD TIME INDICATED
RECEIVED AT
(10)
TELEPHONE YOUR TELEGRAMS TO POSTAL TELEGRAPH



THIS IS A FULL RATE TELEGRAM, CABLE-GRAM OR RADIOGRAM UNLESS OTHERWISE INDICATED BY SYMBOL IN THE PREAMBLE OR IN THE ADDRESS OF THE MESSAGE. SYMBOLS DESIGNATING SERVICE SELECTED ARE OUTLINED IN THE COMPANY'S TARIFFS ON HAND AT EACH OFFICE AND ON FILE WITH REGULATORY AUTHORITIES.

MF 11 63 DL=CHATTANOOGA TENN 2 917A

MRS FRANKLIN D ROOSEVELT=

HOLLYWOOD FLO=

*free*

NOV 2 11 11

WHILE HESITATING TO ASK ANYTHING DIFFICULT AND FATIGUING GREATLY  
HOPE YOU CAN USE TRAIN AND PLANE TO MAKE CONFERENCE SPEECH POSSIBLE  
MATERIAL COVERING PANELS WILL AID IN PREPARING ADDRESS SOUTHERN  
PRESS AND PEOPLE BELIEVE IN YOU AND AS NO ONE ELSE YOU CAN KNIT  
TOGETHER SOUTHERN AND NATIONAL INTERESTS ALL OF US INCLUDING  
FRANK GRAHAM NOW RECUPERATING FROM ILLNESS URGENTLY WANT YOU  
HERE=

LUCY R MASON.

3621

*see  
summary*

May 14, 1941

70

My dear Miss Mason:

Your letter has been given to  
me and I was very much interested in it.  
Thank you for writing me.

Very sincerely yours,

Miss Lucy R. Mason  
Congress of Industrial Organization  
198 Whitehall St.  
Atlanta, Ga.

DD

Wood.

May 2, 1941

*[Handwritten signature]* ER

My dear Miss Mason:

Mrs. Roosevelt and her secretary are away on a lecture trip and in their absence I have been asked to acknowledge their mail.

I shall bring your letter to Mrs. Roosevelt's attention at the first opportunity after she returns to Washington.

Very sincerely yours,

Administrative Officer  
Social Correspondence

Miss Lucy R. Mason  
Congress of Industrial Organisation  
198 Whitehall Street  
Atlanta, Georgia

DD

CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION

LUDY RANDOLPH MARSON  
PUBLIC RELATIONS REPRESENTATIVE

198 Whitehall Street  
434-APENNIA-NATIONAL BUILDING  
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Last week I spent mostly in Memphis. The unions are still growing fast and Negroes constitute the great majority of the membership. I spoke to a number of union meetings and was keenly interested in what many Negroes had to say in the meetings - they have a wit and aptness of expression which is intriguing.

All meetings opened with prayer and a hymn or spiritual. Usually the prayer leader "lined out" the prayer - even the Lord's prayer - and the group repeated it after he read out the words - or rather said them from memory. The variations on the Lord's prayer were new to me, and apparently were optional with the prayer - that is the pray-er.

One most important thing to report is that since your Richmond speech there has been no police or administration attack on our people. The organizers feel it is too good to be true and cannot last. We all believe that your outspoken statement about Mr. Crump being reported as unfair to labor is responsible, and I hope the situation will continue peaceful as it is now.

I drove into Arkansas with Harry Eoger of the UCAPAWA (agricultural union) which is doing a far better job now than the Southern Tenants Farmers Union, which is largely a paper organization now with a chief value in publicity. Most of its members have gone into the UCAPAWA. I think. Two elderly Negro women we saw, active members of the sharecroppers union, made deep impressions on me. They want you to drive through that part of Arkansas and stop to see them. I wish you could!

Dr. S. E. Howie, Presbyterian minister and chairman of the Memphis Commission for Interracial Cooperation, Rev. William G. Gehri, Episcopalian, Rev. Alfred Loaring-Clark, Episcopalian, and Rev. Marshall Wingfield, Congregational, all urged me to write you about a visit to Memphis and a talk under the Commission's auspices.

As I understand you have told them to write you in the summer about a fall engagement, and even this far ahead I am expressing the hope that you will accept. This would not have any connection with the unions. It would be of great help to the Interracial Commission in its work and would help the morale of the Negroes. I hope you will accept the invitation when it comes later on.

As you have been so helpful about Memphis I could not resist writing you of what you have accomplished. We are deeply grateful.

Cordially yours

Ludy R. Marson

70

January 19, 1942

Dear Miss Mason:

Mrs. Roosevelt has read, with interest, your letter with regard to the Highlander Folk School and she asked me to thank you for keeping her informed.

Very sincerely yours,

Secretary to  
Mrs. Roosevelt

Miss Lucy R. Mason  
Public Relations Representative  
198 Whitehall Street  
Atlanta  
Georgia

PLF/hy

CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

LUCY RANDOLPH MASON  
PUBLIC RELATIONS REPRESENTATIVE

January 13, 1942

198 WHITEHALL STREET  
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

ACK 15  
1-19-42

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

JAN 15 1942

You will remember asking me to keep you informed about Highlander Folk School. I have just come back from a week-end conference there of the School's Executive Committee, and can make a report with the utmost enthusiasm.

Franz Daniel Charges

By a curious coincidence the Committee discussed what action can be taken to prevent Franz Daniel of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers staff from spreading false rumors about the School's being Communist.

Rev. Fleming James, Dean of the Theological School of Sewanee University (he used to be at Berkeley Divinity School, New Haven), was present during this discussion. After the meeting Dr. James said to Jim Dombrowski and me that the whole tenor of the discussion concerning Daniel's attacks on the School was to him the most conclusive proof of the falsity of Communism charges.

A word of explanation in regard to Mr. Daniel. He was a very warm friend of both Jim Dombrowski and Myles Horton, and for several years was a member of the resident staff of the School. About 1937 he completely turned against workers' education and began to attack both the Southern Summer School and Highlander Folk School - indeed, to attack workers' education in general.

Later Mr. Daniel began to accuse the School of Communism, though he has privately admitted to members of its staff that he knows there is no connection between the Communist Party and the School but that this is a good weapon for attack. I mention this because I am sure Franz Daniel is one of the chief sources <sup>outside of the School's staff</sup> of untrue statements about Highlander and you may come across people who have been affected by what he has said.

The Executive Committee of the School is joining in a letter to Mr. Potofsky, acting President of the Amalgamated, in a request that the union ask Mr. Daniel to refrain from further derogatory statements.

Dies Committee Investigates.

I think the most conclusive evidence that no possible connection can be established between the School and the Communist Party is found in the fact that in the spring of 1939 an investigator from the Dies Committee (named Barker) spent two days at Montecagle Hotel endeavoring to get at the truth of charges made against the School by its enemies. Mr. Barker spent many hours at the School going into its history and program material in great detail. He went through all of the financial books and statements, including the list of contributors. He was given unlimited access to correspondence and study programs. Nothing was withheld from him.

At the end of Mr. Barker's investigation of the School, he told Jim that he had been a Department of Justice investigator for twenty years and in all his

Page #2.  
Mrs. Roosevelt  
January 13, 1942

experience he had never had such access to books and records as were voluntarily given him. On leaving he said, "I certainly have to hand it to you fellows for the way you handle things here" - meaning the cordial and frank cooperation he had been given.

It is significant that after two and a half years since this investigation the Dies Committee has not brought accusation against the School. Certainly Mr. Dies is not scrupulous or exact in charges he makes and if he had had the least ground for attack he would have publicized charges against the School.

C. H. Kilby, Secretary to the vice-President of the Tennessee Consolidated Coal Company at Tracy City, Grundy County, is probably more responsible than any single individual for making charges against the School which have led to various public attacks on the School and to official investigations. Mr. Kilby has long been a leader of the Grundy County Vigilantes, known as the Grundy County Crusaders, and used solely for fighting labor unions.

F. B. I. Investigates - October 1941.

In October 1941 an F. B. I. man named Lynch came to the county and spent practically his entire time with Mr. Kilby, using his office for headquarters. Mr. Lynch stayed at the Montecagle Hotel, two miles from the School, but he not only did not go near the School but avoided contact with members of the staff when they tried to see him. Finally, Myles Horton and Leon Wilson of the staff found him in his room at the hotel late one night and had a talk with him. They gave him the names of union people and others in the county who could give him accurate information about the School but he did not follow up these leads or see the people suggested.

Jim Dombrowski was away at that time and Myles Horton tells me that Lynch offered the president of a union local in the county to pay his expenses and additional money if he would attend the School as a student and make reports to the F. B. I. The same Lynch claimed to have seen union officials who later reported to the School that they definitely had not seen him.

After this investigation Highlander made a protest to the F. B. I. about the manner in which it was made and the failure of their agent to visit the School or look at its records.

F. B. I. Investigates - January 7, 1942.

On January 7, 1942 another F. B. I. investigator arrived - a man named Hill from the Knoxville F.B.I. office. He said that he had come because of the School's complaint to the F.B.I. that the last investigation was not fair.

Mr. Hill spent a day at the School making a thorough investigation. Mr. Hill said that a complaint had been made to the F.B.I. that an annual reunion of the School's Alumni was really used for rifle practice. Of course this report must have come from Mr. Kilby. I do not need to tell you, Mrs. Roosevelt, that the School has never had a rifle practice of any kind.

Page #3  
Mrs. Roosevelt  
January 13, 1942

Mr. Hill, like Lynch, showed by what he said that his evidence had come from Mr. Kilby of the coal company. In fact Mr. Hill told the staff that in many instances in various parts of the country complaints come to the F.B.I. from sheriffs, manufacturers and other people accusing labor organizers of being Communists - frequently stating that these men are Communists from Highlander Folk School.

Invariably on tracking down these charges the F.B.I. discovers that the accused persons are labor organizers or local union men active in union leadership. The accusers of the CIO representatives and members use the words "Communist" and "labor organizer" interchangeably. Mr. Hill gave the Highlander staff many concrete examples of this.

You will recall that in talking to your guests at tea the day I was there that you explained to them this habit of indiscriminately calling union men Communists.

Railway Audit and Inspection Company Tries to Arouse Manufacturers.

There is one thing which I may have told you before but will repeat because of its significance. Rebecca Gershon, one of the finest people I know, a friend of long standing, also the friend and volunteer co-worker of Josephine Wilkins in the Fact Finding Movement, has several times told me the following story:

Something more than two years ago a liberal Georgia manufacturer, a friend of hers and a man personally friendly toward Highlander, told her that he had been visited a short time before that by a representative of the Railway Audit and Inspection Company who wanted to sell services to this manufacturer to help him prevent organization among his employees. The manufacturer did not buy these services but he was interested in knowing more about the thinking of the Railway Audit men so he drew this man out to a considerable extent.

In the course of the conversation the Railway Audit man talked about the Highlander Folk School and said, "I told those short-sighted Tennessee manufacturers that if they had let me have my way a few years ago it would not have taken much to get rid of that School, root and branch, but now it will take several thousand more dollars."

This true story ties directly <sup>with</sup> the repeated agitation kept up by the manufacturing group in Grundy County who want to destroy the unions already there and keep any more from coming.

Rebecca Gershon has just given me a very nice quotation from Walter Locke's column of some months back which I am passing on to you - "If you have never been called a Communist you have never tried to right a vested wrong."

Some people believe that only the wealthy and successful should be in charge of public affairs. Other people believe, as you, Jim Dombrowski and I believe, that democracy calls for participation by the common people in political democracy and in the economic democracy established through labor unions and cooperatives. People in the first class call us of the second class Communists simply because we believe in people - all the people.

Page #4  
Mrs. Roosevelt  
January 13, 1942

In the near future you will receive Highlander's Annual Report. I hope you will take time to skim through it. The School has never had a more successful year, including a widely varied program. Plans this year are for cooperation with the office of Civilian Defense about which you will be hearing from the staff.

Forgive me for writing such a long letter but I thought it best to cover a great many points.

Some day I hope you can visit the School and see for yourself what is being done. It is undoubtedly one of the most useful institutions in the South and I hope that its work will be progressively broadened and strengthened as the years go on.

Sincerely yours,

*Lucy R. Mason*

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



Mrs. Lund:

Telephone Mrs. Bethune and ask if there is really going to be a march on Washington. Tell her I think a march most unwise and will write to Mr. Randolph or anyone else she thinks would be helpful.

*J. L.*

*Just on  
morning  
Mr. Tolson*

*[Handwritten mark]*

Mrs. Lund

I wrote a letter to someone  
I think Mrs. James ... only  
meetings in Chi ...  
Somewhere else ... are to him same  
E.P.

70

July 27, 1942.

Dear Miss Mason:

Of course, I am going to stand by the Southern Conference and help Clark Foreman all I can. X

It is true there is adoubt about Jim Dombrowski, but I have nothing to confirm this doubt. With James Davis I feel a little differently, because I know of one occasion on which I think he acted in a manner which was distinctly questionable, though it did not prove him a Communist. It is quite possible that Mr. Mitch is right in his feeling about him, but even that might not prove he is not a Communist.

I think there are some names on the Board which perhaps eventually should be gradually weeded out, but I am not sure enough myself to give you the names.

Very sincerely yours,

Miss Lucy Randolph Mason  
Public Relations Representative  
Congress of Industrial Organizations  
198 1/2 Whitehall Street  
Atlanta, Georgia.

VDS

CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

LUCY RANDOLPH MASON  
PUBLIC RELATIONS REPRESENTATIVE

ack  
7/27/42  
1926 WHITEHALL STREET  
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

July 20, 1942.

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

As Clark Foreman and Jim Dombrowski have talked with you, and I think have also given you copies of correspondence with Roger Baldwin, I thought it might be well for me to send you a copy of my letter to Baldwin of July 4th.

I also enclosed copy of letter that has just come from him. His use of the old and wrong address must have come from the envelope to my letter, though I thought I had stamped the correct address on it - reference to my letter would have shown him my address. For this and other reasons, I think he made very little reference to my letter when he replied.

The real fact is that his friend Frank MacCallister has created the prejudices and caused the misunderstandings about which Roger constantly writes - and these prejudices are limited to certain individuals - they do not represent the views of the organizations to which he refers, or to many of their prominent members in the south.

When I get back to Atlanta I hope to engage in correspondence with some of the heads of organizations named by Roger and trace the source of criticism - for I am convinced that practically all of it goes back to MacCallister.

It is splendid that you stand by the Conference and continue to give it moral support.

Sincerely yours

Lucy R. Mason

COPY

July 4, 1942.

Mr. Roger N. Baldwin  
Robert Marshall Civil Liberties Trust  
150 Broadway  
New York City

Dear Roger Baldwin:

Your letter of June 17 has remained unanswered because of my continued absence from Atlanta, and now I am writing hastily because I must go on the field again.

I greatly regret the tenor of your letter to Clark Foreman and that of Messrs. Marshall and Finerty to Gardner Jackson. In the first place you assume that John Thompson is either a Communist or under Communist influence. I am absolutely sure that John is not in any way Communist dominated or influenced. He was a Pacifist for many years and his efforts for peace were affected thereby.

I think he was wrong and told him so long ago. I too was a pacifist, but cut all connections with the Episcopal group and the FOR long ago, when I saw that war was inevitable. John and I have talked about this. To accuse him of communism is to refuse to take the word of a sincere, honest and truthful person.

There are many people in the south who call you a Communist. Your organization is widely branded as communist in this region. You may recall that I wrote you some years ago, explaining that I could not continue my membership in the Union because it was so grossly misunderstood down here and I had to consider the CIO and the work I do for it. I have never believed that you have the remotest connection with the Communist Party or are influenced by it.

You are doing to John Thompson what ignorant people in this area do to you. It is unfair in both cases.

So much for the former chairman of the Southern Conference. You told me in Nashville, when you, John Beecher and I were talking, that there was no evidence that Jim Dombrowski is a Communist. Yet your letter, while not accusing the present secretary of being a Communist, would leave any one under the impression that the Conference leadership is Communist influenced.

I have talked to another member of the board who you told me in Nashville was probably a Communist or fellow-traveler. He is Gerald Harris, of the Farmers Union. We were having lunch together in Memphis - at the Conference board meeting. When I told Harris that he was one of three persons on the board accused by you of being a Communist, his eyes widened in amazement. He said that Jim Myers, Alva Taylor and some other church leader I forget were his strongest influences and that if believing in the Christian religion as something to be lived in economic relations causes one to be called a Communist, that was the only basis he knew of for the charge.

The third person you said was probably a Communist was John Davis. I have no evidence whatever to believe that he is a Party member or a fellow-traveler. I have not talked to him about this matter and my opinion as to whether he is or is not a Communist is worth nothing, because I have no facts. I know that in various contacts with him since 1933 I have found him intelligent and fair, and I know that he offered to resign from the board before the last election lest he embarrass it by the charges made against him. William Mitch, President of the Alabama branch of the United Mine Workers, told me this himself and said that he urged Davis to stay on because he had been a useful board member.

Please note that Mr. Mitch is about the most anti-Communist labor man I have ever met. Then remember that he has known Davis several years and nominated him for reelection on the Board.

I have dealt so fully with these persons because they are the only ones you can conceivably accuse of being too close to the Communists, and the only ones that you talked about in this connection when I saw you in Nashville.

As to the last conference appearing to be under Communist influence I cannot imagine what you mean. I was behind the scenes in that conference and if there were any Communists trying to run things I did not see them. Paul Robeson sung and spoke, it is true, and he is said to be close to the Party - I do not know whether he is or not - I do know that he sings before thousands of people and hundreds of audiences throughout America - of all kinds and types.

I hate to go into all of this petty detail about what people may or may not think or be. The time has come when all of us have got to work together for our country and the world. I personally happen to dislike Communists tactics and greatly prefer that people find some other and wiser way to express their social and economic concern than in or thru that Party. But I cannot see myself saying I will never cooperate with a Communist for a good cause and by good, legitimate means.

Roger, I think you are being misinformed - or else, much as I hate to say it, I think you are being unfair. I do not like to think this about a man who is so useful and whom I regard so highly.

One more point, you say that the A. F. of L. and other unions are refusing to cooperate with the Conference. Have you noted that both A. F. of L. and CIO are represented on the Board? Do you note that the president of Atlanta University, Dr. Clement, is on the Board? Do you know who Lillian Smith, Arthur Raper, Tarleton Collier, Mrs. M. E. Tilly and Jimmie Woodward are? If you do not, I shall be glad to give you the history of each of these friends of mine, ranging from the YWCA to the Farm Security Administration.

I am writing in much haste and have made typographical errors - please excuse them. Basically the fight on the Southern Conference stems from what I believe is the effort of a few people in the Socialist Party to either destroy what they cannot control - or control it. I do not count you in this, and do not think that you realize it - but I believe it to be true. It makes me very sad that this sort of bickering has to go on and I hope you will help put an end to it.

Sincerely yours

COPI.

ROBERT MARSHALL CIVIL LIBERTIES TRUST.

150 Broadway

New York

July 14, 1942.

Miss Lucy Randolph Mason  
421 Atlantic National Bldg. (the address is wrong - note by LRM)  
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Lucy Mason:

I appreciate all you say in yours of July 4th, but none of your comment alters the fact that the Southern conference, as now led, cannot get the cooperation of the agencies in the South I cited in mine of June 17th to Clark Foreman. I have heard directly from all of them, and they express the same attitude and for the same reasons. A sense of statesmanship would have avoided giving any ground for their refusal to participate actively. Whether any particular person is a "Communist" is difficult to prove, since Party members habitually deny membership, and others who share their political views are precisely like them and are therefore for all practical purposes under the control of a foreign government.

I suppose that reactionaries in the South, as elsewhere attribute Communist aims to anybody trying to upset the status quo, but there is all the difference in the world between that sort of loose name-calling and the facts of allegiances that prevent the cooperation of such progressive agencies as those I cited.

With regards,

Sincerely yours

(signed) Roger A. Bladwin

August 25, 1945

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Dear Miss Mason:

Your letter of August 18, enclosing a memorandum from ~~Sergeant Bernard Borah~~, has been received. I am sorry that it can not have Mrs. Roosevelt's prompt attention, as she is away.

Very sincerely yours,

Secretary to  
Mrs. Roosevelt

Miss Lucy R. Mason  
75 Ivey Street Building  
Atlanta, Georgia

CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

LUCY RANDOLPH MASON  
PUBLIC RELATIONS REPRESENTATIVE

78 IVY STREET BUILDING, N. E.  
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 3

August 18, 1943.

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Tho it seems wicked to ask your attention to the case of one person just now, I am nevertheless writing you because as Bernard Borah writes in his letter to me a principle affecting many people is involved. That principle is discrimination against men who have been active in a CIO union.

I have known Bernard six years and consider him one of the finest young men of all my acquaintance. We have spent hours in long drives together and in talks in towns where we have worked at the same time. I am entirely convinced that he is not a communist, communist sympathizer or cooperator in any sense whatever. The fact that he was with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers until he resigned to take a larger job in ~~July~~ 1942 is sufficient proof that he was not a communist.

You met Borah at Nashville and he has the most profound admiration for you. For months I have known of his situation, but he has never asked me to help until now. I am sending you copy of his letter to me and of his "case history" written by himself.

How the President could take time to look into these papers at this time I do not know. But if he could intervene to secure justice and war service opportunity to Bernard Borah and men like him, it would help our cause. I mean the cause involved in winning the war.

I have not attempted to rewrite and shorten Borah's statement because it is so convincing. If you can help, I know you will.

Sincerely yours,

Lucy R. Mason

This letter should probably not be sent any Army  
Office in Washington. I.R. Martin

Copy of Letter from Bernard Borah.

Squadron A, 52nd Training Group  
Keesler Field, Miss.  
August 14, 1943.

Miss Lucy Mason  
Congress of Industrial Organizations  
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Lucy:

It has been a long time since I wrote you, and now I come asking for help for me and for a principle.

Enclosed is a history of my case. You know the background.

I have sent a copy of this to Phil Murray, and to Gladys Dickason for submission to Sidney Hillman, asking both to get word to Administration officials.

You correspond with Mrs. Roosevelt. I would appreciate your having a copy of the history made, or an abstract in your own words, and sending it to Mrs. Roosevelt. When I talked with her in Nashville before entering the Army, she was interested in this sort of thing.

I would appreciate also your writing Mr. Murray about it. Also letting Ralph McGill know about it. Any other people in high places you can communicate with about it would be helpful. Only, let's not give it publicity. I don't want any public stink that might weaken workers' faith in the Army's attitude towards the workers when such a thing might, however slightly, affect war efforts.

There is reason to believe that papers on my candidacy are now before top <sup>Army</sup> officials in Washington. Some speed is therefore essential.

Please write me. You'll get the thrill of knowing that your letter will probably be read by Military Intelligence here at the post, but I don't mind that and I am sure you won't.

With best wishes to every one,

Buck

(Sgt. Bernard Borah, #24359738

Memorandum from Sgt. Bernard Borah, of Squadron A, 52nd Training Group,  
Keesler Field, Miss. August 14, 1943.  
Sent Lucy Randolph Mason, 75 Ivy Street, N. E., Atlanta, 3, Georgia.  
The following is Sgt. Borah's "case history", written by himself.

Most of my adult life has been spent in the service of the Congress of Industrial Organizations and the organized labor movement.

Having graduated from the University of Tennessee with a degree in psychology and philosophy, I worked from 1935 to 1937 for the Tennessee Valley Authority as a Research Aide, helping to conduct economic and sociological studies, at one time as assistant to Dr. Maurice Leven of Brookings Institution

From 1937 to the summer of 1942 I was in turn representative and southern director for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America; upper south director for District 50, United Mine Workers of America, and southern director for the National Council of Gas, Coke and Chemical Workers. (*Borah was with Amalgamated about five years.*)

In July of 1942, I became convinced that Mr. John L. Lewis, for whose organization I was at that time working, was conducting a program for the destruction of the C. I. O., and the embarrassment of President Roosevelt. Mr. Lewis' program seemed to me to be detrimental to our war effort. Consequently my resignation was tendered to the United Mine Workers of America, and I aided in the formation of the National Council of Gas, Coke and Chemical Workers, CIO, until my induction into the Army.

On August 31, 1942, I enlisted in the Army as a volunteer officer candidate. Before being accepted for enlistment, I had to make a score of at least 110 on the Army General Classification Test, called the GCT, to pass a physical examination, and to appear before an Officer Candidate Board to earn its recommendation.

Under the VOC program, there was a basic training period of three months, during which time the candidate must have shown progress in training, military aptitude, and that he was officer material. Upon completing his basic training, he must then have passed another Officer Candidate Board, and a physical examination, succeeding in which he would be sent to an Officer Candidate School to compete for a commission.

I ranked among the top 5 or 10 per cent of the Officer Candidates. My GCT grade was 140. I passed all the Army Air Forces classification tests, making myself eligible for any branch, from typing to mechanical work. My record was unblemished as a soldier. From the standpoint of civilian experience, there were few, if any, candidates who had had experience comparable to mine in handling large administrative jobs. Few, if any, had directed the work of so many men in an organization whose set up in many respects is similar to that of the Army.

During my basic training Military Intelligence kept close tab on my activities, questioning my associates and reading my mail. Apparently they were satisfied.

At any rate, the Officer Candidate Board at Keesler Field passed

for the Officer Candidate School at Miami Beach, Florida.

- Just before shipment an order came from higher headquarters to hold me up. Higher headquarters had ordered an investigation of my civilian life because of my connections with the C. I. O.

Since that time, for nine months, an extensive investigation of my past life has taken place. Wherever I have worked or lived, F.B. I. or Military Intelligence agents have interviewed people who knew me. They checked my wife and investigated her family. All my mail has been delayed, and upon receipt, shown evidence of having been opened, read and resealed.

Military Intelligence has questioned me at length upon two occasions.

All of that I have not minded particularly, because I have nothing to conceal. What has bothered me is the basis for and trend of the investigation, and the long delay which has kept me "on ice" at Keesler Field during a war in which I am sure my talents could be used.

The time here has not been entirely wasted. While waiting, I have been a drill instructor, special duty, teaching extended order and combat technique, thus helping to train practically all the basic trainees who come through Keesler Field.

For many months, being unassigned and waiting, I was not eligible for ratings as a noncommissioned officer. The officials of the Field were kind enough in April to make me permanent party, to enable me to earn a rating if I could, while waiting for a decision on my case. In less than three months, having skipped the grade of corporal, I was made sergeant.

From questions asked me and others, I have gathered that the Army has held up my candidacy on the following grounds:

1. My connection with the CIO. There seems to be some objection to my labor background as such (representatives of unions being agitators - I was once asked if I was going to undertake to organize the Army into a union), but a particular objection to the CIO, which seems to be considered a dangerous organization.
2. The CIO has had on its payroll men believed to have been communists, and I have served on committees, in connection with my union work in the south, and my participation in the work of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, on which there also sat persons believed by Military Intelligence to have been communists.
3. And apparently, almost unbelievable, there is objection to the fact that I resigned from Mr. John L. Lewis' organization to support the CIO. There has been a hint that had I remained loyal to Mr. Lewis, my candidacy would have been viewed at least more favorably.

Memorandum concerning Sgt. Bernard Borah, page 3

No action has been taken on my case as yet. I am still waiting. There is some indication that the hold-up is in Washington, among high officials, and that for all practical purposes, the investigation itself has been completed.

On the basis of the records of others who entered the Army when I did and who have, in several cases, received promotions as commissioned officers above the grade of second lieutenant, I believe I am entitled to compete for a commission at school, or even to be granted a direct commission.

The basis for keeping me "on ice" is a reflection on the democracy for which we fight, and on the CIO as an integral part of our society. I had intended to say nothing about all this until the war's end, but maturer reflection convinces me that this type of discrimination is dangerous to the security of the post-war United States.

It has occurred to me that mention of my case to high Administration men in Washington, perhaps to the President himself, might, together with the weight of other similar cases that must exist in the country, break the jam and cause favorable action. This is particularly true now that I believe my papers to be in Washington for action.

Bernard Borah, Sergeant.  
Squadron A, 52nd Training Group  
Keesler Field, Miss.  
August 14, 1943.

Copied by and transmitted through  
Lucy Randolph Mason,  
Southern Public Relations Representative  
Congress of Industrial Organizations  
75 Ivy Street, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia

CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

LUCY RANDOLPH MASON  
PUBLIC RELATIONS REPRESENTATIVE

78 IVY STREET BUILDING, N. E.  
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 3

August 24, 1943.

*hrs*

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

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X Supplementing my letter to you about the case of Sgt. Bernard Borah, Squadron A., 52nd Training Group, Keesler Field, Miss., I had a talk with Ralph McGill, Editor of the Atlanta Constitution, about Borah.

Ralph has just returned from a mission to England. He gave good advice to Borah when he was leaving the CIO for the Army. The two of them had become friends through me and McGill thinks very highly of Borah.

I told McGill about Borah's being held up for something like nine months and the extensive investigations of his case by men from the FBI and Military Intelligence. McGill said two such men had been to see him on different occasions.

He told me to write Borah that he had distinctly gathered the impression that CIO activities - or rather being on the CIO payroll - was the real basis of the delay in advancing Borah to an Officers' Training Camp. I think it is significant that without knowing anything from Borah himself, McGill got the impression that the only reason for investigating Borah was his union affiliation.

McGill was quite depressed over this case, but did not see what he could do to help clear it up, as he had given the facts when the two investigators called on him. He believes in Borah.

Sincerely yours,

*Lucy R Mason*

Quotations from letters to Lucy Randolph Mason from Sgt. Bernard Borah, Squadron A, 52nd Training Group, Keesler Field, Mississippi, September 14, 1943 and October 3, 1943.

September 14, 1943. "Did I tell you of my most recent talks with my commanding officer? He called me in to tell me that he had gotten disturbed over the long delay and had talked with Military Intelligence. He found that Military Intelligence here and in the regional offices at Atlanta had found my record clear and had recommended that I be sent to school, and that there was no longer even a pretense of a reason for holding me up. There you are. I thought you would be interested in the fact that MI and the post have definitely found me clear and have recommended me."

"Word has come to me that Haywood has actually talked with the War Department about the case, which means that the CIO is actively interested and that Phil Murray must have put his OK on it."

"The war situation has taken a slightly bad turn tonight. I've been sitting here listening to the radio. We were bound to have some set backs, and it is just as well that the news comes now, to sober public opinion and make us buckle down. Too many people were about to get too lackadaisical about the war effort. - - - Thank God for Labor Union experience. It teaches one patience, and the ability to accept set backs without being greatly disturbed by them, knowing that diligence will bring eventual success. After all, working people always have more failures than successes, but like the traditional British, they always win the last battle."

"And the war and the labor movement are alike in that: you must keep fighting, paying little attention to successes or failures along the road, keeping your equilibrium and your good sense and your passion for justice and your diligence, because after all the last battle and the whole war are the important things."

October 3, 1943. "There is no additional news. I have been unable to learn anything else. In recent days I have not even gone to the higher post officials here to talk with them. I certainly looks as if they mean for me to wait for the duration."

"Here at Keesler we have stepped up our training program, and the job is most enjoyable. For instance, this next week I'm to take a group of rookies to the range for some practice in mock battles -- small military problems embracing examples of individual security. Seven days and seven nights of it, and we ought to have a grand time. The rookies will know a great deal more about how to protect themselves when the thing is over, and I hope to know a great deal more about how to help the rookies. The things I teach can save lives, and it is good to feel that one may have helped these boys that soon will be out where the bombs and the bullets fall."

\*Memo states that Sergeant Bernard Borah has been investigated by Military Intelligence and it has been concluded that he never belonged to Communists Part and does not now. His wife probably is. Bars to his attending Officer Candidate School have been removed and entry into Army Air Forces Administrative Officer Candidate School beginning January 8th has been secured.

December 17, 1943.

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My dear Miss Mason:

Mrs. Roosevelt has asked me to send you the enclosed Confidential memorandum from the War Department.

Very sincerely yours,

Secretary to  
Mrs. Roosevelt.

Miss Lucy Randolph Mason  
75 Ivy Street Building  
Atlanta, Georgia.

VDS

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

November 9, 1943

Dear Major Davenport:

I have read your confidential report on the case of Sergeant Bernard Borah.

It is very odd to me how many labor organizations are suspect. They cannot all be communists.

Very sincerely yours,

*Eleanor Roosevelt*

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

*12/17/43*

November 11, 1943

Memorandum for Major Davenport:

Miss Lucy Mason, who is interested in Sergeant Bernard Borah, insists that he is not a communist and that the union for which he worked, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union, is one of the few unions absolutely free of communist control.

M. C. Thompson  
Secretary to  
Mrs. Roosevelt

*met*