

PAULI MURRAY

1938 - 1944

100

December 19, 1938

My dear Miss Murray:

I have read the copy of the letter you sent me and I understand perfectly, but great changes come slowly. I think they are coming, however, and sometimes it is better to fight hard with conciliatory methods. The South is changing, but don't push too fast. There is a great change in youth, for instance, and that is a hopeful sign.

Very sincerely yours,

Miss Pauli Murray
225 West 110th St.
NYC

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gum
12/11

225 W. 110 Street
Apartment 5
New York, N. Y.

December 6, 1938

REC

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

You do not remember me, but I was the girl who did not stand up when you passed through the Social Hall of Camp Tera during one of your visits in the winter of 1934-35. Miss Mills criticized me afterward, but I thought and still feel that you are the sort of person who prefers to be accepted as a human being and not a human paragon.

One of my closest friends and pals is "Pee Wee", whom you knew as Margaret Inness. I have watched with appreciation your interest in her struggle to improve herself and to secure employment. Often I have wanted to write you, but felt that you had more important problems to consider.

Now I make an appeal to you in my own behalf. I am sending you a copy of a letter which I wrote to your husband, President Roosevelt, in the hope that you will try to understand the spirit and deep perplexity in which it is written, if he is too busy.

I know he has the problems of our nation on his hand, and I would not bother to write him, except that my problem isn't mine alone, it is the problem of my people, and in these trying days, it will not let me or any other thinking Negro rest. Need I say any more?

Sincerely yours,

Pauli Murray
Pauli Murray

*I understand perfectly
subject changes over time
I think progress is being made
it's better to try to lead
conventional methods. The South
is changing but it's not fast
change is going to be a great
lot is a hopeful sign*

December 6, 1938

To the President of the United States
Honorable Franklin Delano Roosevelt
White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear President Roosevelt:

I pray that this letter will get past your secretaries and reach your personal consideration.

Have you time to listen to the problem of one of your millions of fellow-citizens, which will illustrate most clearly one of the problems of democracy in America. I speak not only for myself but for 12,000,000 other citizens.

Briefly, the facts are these:

I am a Negro, the most oppressed, most misunderstood and most neglected section of your population.

I am also a WPA worker, another insecure and often misrepresented group of citizens. I teach on the Workers' Education Project of New York City, a field which has received the constant and devoted support of your wife, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt.

My main interest, the tradition of my family for three generations, is education, which, I believe, is the basic requirement for the maintenance and extension of democracy.

At present, in order to do a competent teaching job, a job comparable to the work of the established educational institutions, like all other professional WPA workers, I feel the need of more training. To understand the knotty economic and social problems of our country and to interpret these problems clearly and simply to workers makes it imperative that we continue our studies. Our wage standards are such that we are unable to further our education. Those of us who do not have degrees are unable to get them because of the general WPA arrangements. Those of us who have degrees, and yet feel an inadequacy of information and formal training, find it impossible to go further and obtain our Master's Degree.

Sometime ago I applied to the University of North Carolina for admission to their graduate school. They sent me an application blank, on the bottom of which was asked, "Race and Religion". (For your information, I am a confirmed Protestant Episcopalian.) As you know, no Negro has ever been admitted to the University of North Carolina. You may wonder then, why I, a Negro knowing this fact, did make application.

My grandfather, a Union Army soldier, gave his eye-

for the liberation of his race. As soon as the war was over, he went to North Carolina under the Freedmen's Bureau to establish schools and educate the newly freed Negroes. From that time on my entire family has been engaged in educational work in that state. My own father was a principal of one of the Baltimore City schools and my sisters and brothers are also teachers. You passed through Durham, where my family lived and worked, and where my aunt now a woman of 68 years, still plods back and forth to her school training future citizens of America. This aunt has been teaching since she was 15 years old, and for more than 30 years in the Durham Public Schools, and yet if she were to become disabled tomorrow, there is no school pension system which would take care of her, neither does she qualify for the Old Age Pension system which excluded teachers.

12,000,000 of your citizens have to endure insults, injustices, and such degradation of spirit that you would believe impossible as a human being and a Christian. We are forced to ride in prescribed places in the busses and street cars of those very cities you passed through in our beloved Southland. When your party reached the station at Durham yesterday, you must have noticed a sign which said "White", then a fence, then another sign which said "Colored". Can you, for one moment, put yourself in our place and imagine the feelings of resentment, the protest, the indignation, the outrage that would rise within you to realize that you, a human being, with the keen sensitivities of other human beings were being set off in a corner, marked apart from your fellow human beings?

We, as Americans and Negroes, actually have few rights as Americans. Laws are passed designed to prevent us from using the ballot, an elementary and fundamental principle of democracy. We have to live in "ghettoes" everywhere, not only in Warm Springs, Ga., but also in the city of Washington, the very heart of our democracy.

It is the task of enlightened individuals to bring the torch of education to those who are not enlightened. There is a crying need for education among my own people. No one realizes this more than I do. But the un-Christian, un-American conditions in the South make it impossible for me and other young Negroes to live there and continue our faith in the ideals of democracy and Christianity. We are as much political refugees from the South as any of the Jews in Germany. We cannot endure these conditions. Our whole being cries out against inequality and injustice. And so, we come to Northern cities to escape the mental and physical cruelties of the land in which we were born and the land we love.

You said yesterday that you associated yourself with young people, and you emphasized their importance in the current affairs of our nation. Can you ask your young Negroes to return to the South? Do you feel, as we do, that the ultimate test of democracy in the United States will be the way in which it solves its Negro problem? No, President Roosevelt, our problems are not just those of other people. They are far deeper, far more trying, and far more hopeless. Have you raised your voice loud enough against the burning of our people? Why has our government refused to pass anti-lynching legislation? And why has that group of congressmen so opposed to

the passing of this legislation part and parcel of the Democratic Party of which you are leader?

Yesterday, you placed your approval on the University of North Carolina as an institution of liberal thought. You spoke of the necessity of change in a body of law to meet the problems of an accelerated era of civilization. You called on Americans to support a liberal philosophy based on democracy. What does this mean for Negro Americans? Does it mean that we, at last, may participate freely, and on the basis of equality, with our fellow-citizens in working out the problems of this democracy? Does it mean that Negro students in the South will be allowed to sit down with white students and study a problem which is fundamental and mutual to both groups? Does it mean that the University of North Carolina is ready to open its doors to Negro students seeking enlightenment on the social and economic problems which the South faces? Does it mean, that as an alumnus of the University of North Carolina, you are ready to use your prestige and influence to see to it that this step is taken toward greater opportunity for mutual understanding of race relations in the South?

Or does it mean, that everything you said has no meaning for us as Negroes, that again we are to be set aside and passed over for more important problems? I appeal for an answer because I, and my people are perplexed.

Sincerely yours,

Pauli Murray
225 W. 110 Street
Apartment 5
New York, N. Y.

Copy to: Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
White House
Washington, D. C.

48

Bx. 1567

January 29, 1940

amount \$ 100

My dear Miss Murray:

Mrs. Roosevelt remembers that she was to give a cash prize for the High School Contest sponsored by National Sharecroppers Week. Will you let her know how much is needed?

Very sincerely yours,

Secretary to
Mrs. Roosevelt

Miss Pauli Murray
National Sharecroppers Week
112 East 19th Street
New York
N.Y.

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January 25, 1940

Miss Pauli Murray
National Sharecroppers Week Headquarters
Room 302, 112 East 19th Street
New York, New York

March fifth is satisfactory to Mrs. Roosevelt for your dinner.

MALVINA C. THOMPSON
Secretary to
Mrs. Roosevelt

This came back to file hooked on
the back of Pauli Murray's letter -
Had you seen it?

Yes - we
accepted for
5th -

112 EAST 19TH STREET

January 15, 1940

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

The New York Committee for National Sharecroppers Week is delighted to know that you speak at our dinner. The Educator's Committee has informed us that you will award the prizes in the high school student contest on this occasion.

The best day for the dinner seems to be Tuesday, March 5th. However, if you prefer Friday, March 8th, our plans can be changed.

Will you let us know if Tuesday, March 5th is acceptable to you? We are enclosing a card for your convenience.

Very sincerely yours,

Marion C. Ingersoll, per
Mrs. Raymond V. Ingersoll *P.M.*
Co-Chairman, New York Committee
National Sharecroppers Week

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

Tuesday, March 5th is acceptable to me to
speak at the dinner given by the New York
Committee for National Sharecroppers Week.



National Sharecroppers Week

MARCH 4th to 10th, 1940

Auspices: Southern Tenant Farmers' Union

Rockwell Kent

National Sharecroppers Week
Headquarters
Organizing Committee

Room 302
112 EAST 19th STREET
New York City
ALgonquin 4-4954-5

Treasurer
HOWARD KESTER

Secretary
PAULI MURRAY

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

Dear Miss Thompson:

In accordance to my letter to Mrs. Roosevelt, January 15, I am enclosing:

1. A list of the National Sponsors of the National Sharecroppers Week.
2. A list of sponsors of the Educator's Committee for National Sharecroppers Week.
3. Description of the rules of the High School Student contest, prizes for which Mrs. Roosevelt has promised to award.
4. Copy of announcement to be made over radio station WQXR on Friday, January 26, at 9 P.M. (This announcement will be typical of the publicity which we release)

Mrs. Roosevelt, when she met with the Educator's Committee and myself in New York last Monday, gave us two alternative dates, one of which we were to confirm on the date acceptable to her. She promised to speak briefly at our annual Sharecroppers Dinner, at which time she would award the prizes.

We then wrote her at Mrs. Ingersoll's request, suggesting Tuesday, March 5, as the best day for our dinner, but stating that we would take March 8, if that were convenient for Mrs. Roosevelt.

We are sorry to continue burdening you, but our time is very limited, and we are anxious to make complete arrangements for our dinner pending Mrs. Roosevelt's confirmation of the date.

Would you speak to Mrs. Roosevelt about this matter, and let us know as soon as possible whether or not March 5 is acceptable to her.

Sincerely yours

Pauli Murray

Pauli Murray, Secretary

How much do we owe the farmer?
JANUARY 23, 1940

*Woke
March 5th OK*

Sponsors of the Educators' Committee
National Sharecroppers Week, 1940

Honorary Chairmen

Mary E. Woolley
Abram L. Harris

William R. Amberson

Eunice Fuller Barnard

Edmund De S. Brunner

Paul F. Brissenden

Lewis Corey

George S. Counts

John Dewey

W.E.B. DuBois

A. Fichandler

Charles W. Gilkey

Frank P. Graham

Louis M. Hacker

Sidney Hook

Charles S. Johnson

Clinton W. Keyes

Harry W. Laidler

Alain Locke

Robert S. Lynd

J.M. McDaniel

Spencer Miller, Jr.

Broadus Mitchell

William Allan Neilson

H. Clarence Nixon

Hortense Powdermaker

Joel Seidman

James T. Shotwell

Mark Starr

Horace Taylor

Norman Thomas

Doxie Wilkerson

William Withers

Morris R. Mitchell

NATIONAL SPONSORS
NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS WEEK, 1940

Mrs. Ernest R. Alexander
Talullah Bankhead
Joseph Baskin
Alfred M. Bingham
Paul Blanshard
John H. Bosch
Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt
Stuart Chase
Frank R. Crosswaith
Hubert T. Delaney
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Hubert Herring
Adolf Held
T. Arnold Hill
John Haynes Edmes
Charles H. Houston
Fannie Hurst
William Lloyd Ines

Rabbi Edward L. Israel
Paul Kellog
Freda Kirchwey
Alfred Baker Lewis
Ferdinand Lundberg
William M. McKee
Reinhold Niebuhr
Kirby Page
John Dos Passos
Ralph Barton Perry
A. Philip Randolph
Alex Rose
Augusta Savage
Joseph Schlossberg
Vincent Sheean
John Sloan
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Alva Taylor
Pierre Van Paasen
Oswald Garrison Villard
Frances h. Williams
J. Finley Wilson
Rabbi Stephen S. Wise
Walter White
William Allen White
Art Young
William Pickens

Chairmen, New York Committee

Mayor F.H. La Guardia
Mrs. Raymond V. Ingersoll

Chairman, Labor Committee

A. Philip Randolph
Joseph Schlossberg

Chairman, Theatre Committee

Paul Muni

Chairmen, Writers' Committee

Margaret Marshall
John Chamberlain

Chairmen, Educators' Committee

Mary E. Woolley
Abram L. Harris

112 E. 19 Street
New York City

RULES FOR HIGH SCHOOL CONTEST
Sponsored by the Educator's Committee
for NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS WEEK

1. Open to all senior high school students
2. A Book Review on ----- or ----- A Letter "to the Editor"
 - a) You Have Seen Their Faces
 - b) A Southerner Discovers the South
 - c) The Sharecropper
 - d) Land Without Moses
 - e) I Was a Sharecropper
 - f) Revolt Among the Sharecroppers - Howard Kester
3. 300-500 words in length
4. Typed, double-spaced, one side of sheet
5. Bibliography must be included
6. Deadline, February 26, 1940 -

PRIZES TO BE AWARDED

- 1) Book Review -- First Prize \$15.00
Second Prize \$10.00
- 2) Letter "to the Editor"
First Prize \$15.00
Second Prize \$10.00

JUDGES SUGGESTED

Dr. Harry W. Laidler
Dr. Hortense Powdermaker
George S. Schuyler, CRISIS Magazine

ANNOUNCEMENT OVER RADIO STATION WQXR, New York City
Friday, January 27, 1940 9:00 P.M.

It has become an annual custom for NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS WEEK to be observed throughout the nation, to acquaint the public with the sharecropper problem and to raise funds to finance a program of remedial action. This year NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS WEEK will be observed from March 4th to March 11th, under the auspices of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union and sponsored by a group of nationally prominent citizens. Funds raised will be used to finance the Union's educational and organizational program. The sharecroppers need funds more than anything else -- to publicize their plight and to remind the public of the increased necessity for governmental aid. Because few of them realize any cash income, thoughtful Americans must dig into their pockets and help. The sharecroppers do not ask for charity -- merely the opportunity to help themselves.

The New York Committee of National Sharecroppers Week, of which Mayor F. H. LaGuardia and Mrs. Raymond V. Ingersoll are co-chairman will sponsor a dinner during the week of March 4th. A distinguished group of writers headed by Miss Margaret Marshall of Nation Magazine and Mr. John Chamberlain, editor of FORTUNE, will run an authors' manuscript for the benefit of the sharecroppers. Paul Muni is chairman of a theatrical committee which will run a "night of stars". Dr. Mary E. Woolley, president-emeritus of Mt. Holyoke College and Dr. Abram L. Harris of Howard University are Co-chairmen of an Educator's Committee which is cooperating with National Sharecroppers Week for the purpose of stimulating interest in the sharecropper

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS WEEK -2

problem throughout the schools and colleges.

All contributions in clothing or cash for the sharecroppers may be addressed to Rev. Howard Kester, Treasurer, National Sharecroppers Week, 112 E. 19 Street, NYC.

ATTENTION ALL HIGH SCHOOL AND COLLEGE STUDENTS!!

An educational contest in the high schools and colleges of New York is being held under the auspices of the New York Educator's Committee for National Sharecroppers Week. Two contests are open to all high school boys and girls in New York City and vicinity. There are two cash prizes for each contest; first prize \$15; second prize \$10.00. One set of prizes will be offered to the high school student writing the best Letter ~~writing~~ describing the condition of the sharecroppers; the second set of prizes will be offered for the best book ~~report~~ review of a selected list of books on the same subject. Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt has consented to personally confer these prizes upon the winning students at the Annual Dinner for Sharecroppers during the week of March 4th. Write the Educator's Committee for National Sharecroppers Week, 112 East 19 Street, New York City, for a copy of the rules of the contest.

FOR COLLEGE STUDENTS -- the college student writing the best 2,000 word essay, giving a practical solution to the sharecropper problem; NATION magazine will publish this article in a forthcoming issue.

For complete information on this educational contest, write the Educator's Committee for NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS WEEK, 112 E. 19 Street, New York City. Don't forget the address -- if you have a pencil handy, put it down -- EDUCATOR'S COMMITTEE FOR NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS WEEK, 112 East 19th Street, New York City

February 5, 1940

My dear Miss Murray:

I am enclosing Mrs. Roosevelt's
check for \$50 for the cash prize for the
High School Contest.

Very sincerely yours,

mds

Secretary to
Mrs. Roosevelt

Miss Pauli Murray
National Sharecroppers Week
112 East 19th Street
New York, N. Y.



National Sharecroppers Week

MARCH 4th to 10th, 1940

Auspices: Southern Tenant Farmers' Union

Rockwell Kent

National Sharecroppers Week
Headquarters
Organizing Committee

Room 302
112 EAST 19th STREET
New York City
ALgonquin 4-4954-5

•
Treasurer
HOWARD KESTER

•
Secretary
PAULI MURRAY

FEB - 3 1940

February 2, 1940

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

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

In reply to your note of January 30th, the Educational Committee of National Sharecroppers Week has asked us to say that inasmuch as the prize money is to be conferred by you personally at the Sharecropper dinner on March 5th that it will not be necessary for you to send us a check. As you know, there are to be two first prizes of \$15 each and two second prizes of \$10 each. If it is more convenient for you to do so, you could simply put these amounts in separate envelopes labelled first and second prize for best Letter to the Editor and for best Book Review.

But on the other hand, if you prefer, you can send your check to me and I will get it cashed and see that the four envelopes with the winners' names on them are handed to you at the dinner in time to confer the awards. So please do whatever is most satisfactory to you as it makes no difference to the Committee.

Plans for the high school contest seem to be running smoothly and we are making the essay contest among college students nation-wide. But I fear the private schools' exhibit has fallen through. However, private secondary schools are being asked to participate in the regular high school contest which will take in most of them. I assume Miss Murray has sent you material about the contest. We are having a stunning poster made of the woman at the plow in *You Have Seen Their Faces* to send to all the schools and colleges.

With warm appreciation of your interest,

Sincerely yours,

Candace Stone

Candace Stone
330 West 76 St.
New York City.



Rockwell Kent

National Sharecroppers Week

MARCH 4th to 10th, 1940

Benefit of: Southern Tenant Farmers' Union

EDUCATORS COMMITTEE

DR. MARY E. WOOLEY
DR. ABRAM L. HARRIS
Co-chairmen

DR. WILLIAM R. AMBERSON
DR. EDMUND DeS. BRUNNER
DR. PAUL F. BRISSENDEN
MRS. EUNICE FULLER BARNARD
LEWIS COREY
DR. GEORGE S. COUNTS
DR. JOHN DEWEY
DR. W. E. B. DuBOIS
DR. A. FICHANDLER
DR. CHARLES W. GILKEY
DR. FRANK P. GRAHAM
DR. LOUIS M. HACKER
DR. SIDNEY HOOK
DR. CHARLES S. JOHNSON
DR. CLINTON W. KEYES
DR. HARRY W. LAIDLER
DR. ALAIN LOCKE
DR. ROBERT S. LYND
DR. J. M. McDANIEL
CAREY McWILLIAMS
SPENCER MILLER, Jr.
DR. BROADUS MITCHELL
DR. MORRIS R. MITCHELL
DR. WILLIAM ALLEN NEILSON
DR. H. CLARENCE NIXON
DR. HORTENSE POWDERMAKER
DR. JOEL SEIDMAN
DR. JAMES T. SHOTWELL
MARK STARR
DR. HORACE TAYLOR
DR. DOXIE A. WILKERSON
ROY WILKINS
DR. WILLIAM WITHERS

JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
Co-chairmen,
Labor Committee

MARGARET MARSHALL
JOHN CHAMBERLAIN
Co-chairmen,
Writers Committee

PAUL MUNI
Chairman,
Theatre Committee

F. H. LaGUARDIA
MRS. RAYMOND V. INGERSOLL
Co-chairmen,
New York City Committee

January 31, 1940

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

My dear Miss Thompson:

When we talked with Mrs. Roosevelt, we suggested \$50.00 as the cash prizes for the two types of contests offered to high school students. Later, in committee, we felt that if we broke up the prizes into first prize and second prize, more students would have an opportunity to win, and more interest would be stimulated.

The enclosed circular will show how the prizes are to be awarded. These will be sent to all school principals, librarians, high school departments of social studies, YWCA secretaries and church youth groups.

Will you tell Mrs. Roosevelt that our radio program announcing the contest on Friday night, January 26th, has brought a gratifying response from students.

Yours very sincerely,

Pauli Murray
Pauli Murray

PL:WJ

112 EAST 19th STREET
New York City
ALgonquin 4-2089

PAULI MURRAY
Secretary

HOWARD KESTER
Treasurer

Murray

*sub
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National Sharecroppers Week

MARCH 4th to 10th, 1940

CONTEST FOR COLLEGE STUDENTS

"A Proposed Solution to the Sharecropper Problem"

•
A W A R D : .

Publication of the winning essay in THE NATION

•

R U L E S :

1. Write an essay of approximately 2,000 words describing the conditions of the sharecroppers in America and offering a solution to the Problem.
2. Mail on or before March 31, 1940 to College Contest - National Sharecroppers Week, 112 E. 19th St.
3. Write or type on 8x11 paper; use only one side of the paper.
4. Write name, college, home address on the upper right hand corner of each page.
5. List bibliography used in preparation of the essay.

Auspices:

EDUCATORS COMMITTEE NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS WEEK
112 East 19th Street, New York City

DR. MARY E. WOOLLEY - CO-CHAIRMEN - DR. ABRAM HARRIS

•

National Sharecroppers Week

CONTEST FOR HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS

Prizes: **\$50.00**

TO BE AWARDED BY MRS. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT
on March 5, 1940

CONTEST I

\$15 - 1st Prize \$10 - 2nd Prize

•

- 1—Write a composition of 300-500 words, in the form of a letter to the editor of a newspaper, describing the conditions of sharecroppers in America.
 - 2—Write or type on one side of paper only. Use 8 x 11 paper.

Write name, school, home address in upper left hand corner of each page.
 - 3—You may enter only one of these contests.
-

To be mailed on or before February 26, 1940
to High School Contest, National Sharecroppers
Week, 112 East 19th Street, New York City.

CONTEST II

\$15 - 1st Prize \$10 - 2nd Prize

•

- 1—Write a review, 300-500 words in length, of one of the following books. In your review, indicate what the book reveals as to the conditions of sharecroppers in America.

You Have Seen Their Faces

by Erskine Caldwell and Margaret
Bourke-White 1937.

A Southerner Discovers The South

by Jonathan Daniels 1938.

Revolt Among The Sharecroppers

by Howard Kester 1936.

The Sharecropper

by Charlie May Simon 1937.

Cabin In The Cotton

by H. H. Kroll 1931.

- 2—For rules, see items 2 and 3, under Contest I.

Auspices: EDUCATORS COMMITTEE NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS WEEK
112 East 19th Street, New York City

DR. MARY E. WOOLLEY

DR. ABRAM L. HARRIS



Rockwell Kent

National Sharecroppers Week

MARCH 4th to 10th, 1940

Benefit of: Southern Tenant Farmers' Union

February 29, 1940

112 EAST 19th STREET
New York City
ALgonquin 4-2089

PAULI MURRAY
Secretary

HOWARD KESTER
Treasurer

EDUCATORS COMMITTEE

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DR. ABRAM L. HARRIS
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LEWIS COREY
DR. GEORGE S. COUNTS
DR. JOHN DEWEY
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DR. CHARLES W. GILKEY
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Chairman,
Theatre Committee

F. H. LoGUARDIA
MRS. RAYMOND V. INGERSOLL
Co-chairmen,
New York City Committee

Eleanor Roosevelt
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20540

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

The New York City Educators Committee for National Sharecroppers Week has, as you know, been sponsoring two contests simultaneously in the colleges and high schools of Greater New York and vicinity. We are now ready to report.

The college contest for the best essay of 2000 words offering a solution of the sharecropping problem is still under way. Twelve colleges in this area and several in other states were invited to participate. The papers must be in by March 31st and the prize winning essay is to be published in the Nation.

The high school contest, in which you have played such an important role, closed February 26th. Our committee has been working steadily ever since reading the papers. Those considered best have been submitted to Eleanor Sickles, Julius Hochman and Countee Cullen, who have kindly consented to be the judges of this contest. As soon as they have selected the first and second prizewinning Letters To The Editor and the first and second prizewinning book review we shall send you the names of the winners.

The results have far exceeded our anticipations for which we have you and the New York City Board of Education to thank. The fact that you consented to contribute the prize money for this contest and to confer the prizes personally at the Sharecroppers annual dinner scheduled for March 5th, at once aroused the interest of the high school students and greatly enhanced the value of the prizes in their estimation. While the splendid cooperation of the high school principals and teachers made it possible to carry the contest through to a successful conclusion.

It is the first contest dealing with a major social problem ever to be conducted in the high schools of Greater New York and the results are not only a compliment to the young people and their teachers but a revelation of America's future citizens. In preparing the enclosed data on the contest for which you asked we could not resist including a few of the more colorful and amusing quotations from some of the papers.

May we again thank you for your interest and cooperation,

Sincerely yours,
Lucy Lane
Candace Stone
Alternating Chairmen
NY City Educators Committee

*Printed material on Sharecroppers
is being mailed to you under
separate cover.
Candace Stone*

Data on High School Contest submitted March 1st, 1940 to Mrs. Roosevelt by the NYC Educators Committee for National Sharecroppers Week

A. Extent of participation.

Well over 1000 students participated representing 36 high schools.

452 individual entries were submitted by the teachers to our committee. Those teachers with whom we were able to check reported in general that they selected from 1 to 3 papers out of every 30 or so turned in by their students.

The age range was 13 to 18.

Three times as many boys competed as girls.

B. The types of papers: ranged

In content, from presentation of the personal plight of the degraded poor to a full consideration of the cotton farming problem. Although no solution was asked for in this contest, nearly every contestant seemed eager to tell what he thought should be done. The two remedies most frequently proposed were government aid and drastic action of some kind on the part of people in behalf of the sharecroppers. A few grasped the idea that they were attempting to help themselves through the Southern Tenant Farmers Union.

In style, from simple factual exposition to imaginative and dramatic exposition.

In length, most papers kept within the 500 word limit, but many excellent entries were rejected with regrets because they were far too long. We are hoping that some of these can be published in the school or neighborhood papers.

C. Sources of information.

You Have Seen Their Faces, by Erskine Caldwell and Margaret Bourke-White
Grapes of Wrath, by John Steinbeck
The Sharecropper, by Charlie May Simon
Revolt Among the Sharecroppers, by Howard Kester
Saturday Evening Post
Scholastic Magazine
The Nations Business
The American Mercury, March, 1938

And, of course, their English, History and Social Science teachers.

D. General concepts revealed in the manuscripts.

Tendency to personalize the causes by seeing the landowner as the devil and blood-sucker.

Strong and frequent statement of the obligations of a democracy to solve such problems. Critical of conditions but highly patriotic - "Under our stars and stripes...." "The land of the free," "Great Uncle Sam cannot allow such conditions" etc.

Frequent reference to Abe Lincoln, The Great Emancipator, whose work is still unfinished. "Were the slaves really freed?" etc.

widespread amazement and horror at the physical hardships and hopeless future for sharecropper children.

Urban slum students are appalled at the rural slums of the south. (Teachers have reported this to us, many participating students coming themselves from our worst city slums.) Frequent repetition of the dietary conditions, the make shift dwellings, the prevalent diseases.

A tendency to think of the South as a vast, unknown region, far removed from New York City

Frequent repetition, a propos of money for Finland, of "Let's care for our own first."

Many references to billions spent for armaments and defence while the sharecropper has nothing to defend.

E. Colorful and amusing phrases.

"Cotton raising is his specialty; it is his life and it is his death."

"Why are Americans being degenerated in this way to the lowest form of human beings? By what right can men plunder and destroy others?"

"The South has been shoved around like a Park Avenue boy at a reform school."

"This is the once beautiful South whose beauty has "Gone With the Wind."

"I would be extremely happy and proud if any of the facts I have stated would be the means by which you open the eyes of at least some of your readers."

"Their position, so geographically out of the way no one knows of their plight. If it existed here in New York or one of our northern states it could be easily seen and remedied but in the vast South it can be easily hidden or disguised."

"The antidote for this problem is not charity but mass action on the part of each individual."

"When eating time comes around they eat food that some people would think ten times about before trying."

F. Quotations

"The desperate plight of the rural portion of the South is not merely a local but a national problem. It cannot be solved under the old theory of states' rights and obligations, nor merely by regional planning in the few cotton states, just as the problem of urban slums cannot be solved by the poor tenement dwellers themselves." - Nancy Vittas

"Another Abraham Lincoln is necessary to accomplish the liberation of a people in a land where 'all men are created equal.' He cannot arrive too soon. It is highly possible that he is at the present moment occupying the Presidential Mansion in Washington, D.C." - Thelma Hirsch

MRS. RAYMOND V. INGERSOLL

SUITE 302

112 EAST 19th STREET

NEW YORK CITY

MRS. RAYMOND V. INGERSOLL, *Chairman*
NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS WEEK DINNER - FORUM
112 East 19th Street, New York City

Enclosed is my check for \$_____ for _____ covers
for the National Sharecroppers Week Dinner Forum, Tuesday, March fifth at seven
o'clock, at the Hotel Commodore.

Name _____
(Please Print)

Street Address _____

Please make checks payable to
MRS. RAYMOND V. INGERSOLL

RESERVATIONS AT
\$2.50
A COVER

(Please list guests on reverse side of card)



Rockwell Kent

National Sharecroppers Week

MARCH 4th to 10th, 1940

Benefit of: Southern Tenant Farmers' Union

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STEPHEN S. WISE
WALTER WHITE
WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE
MARY E. WOOLEY

February 16, 1940.

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

Dear Miss Thompson:

We are so encouraged by the splendid response to our invitations to the dinner on March 5th for National Sharecroppers Week, that we feel Mrs. Roosevelt will be equally pleased to hear of this.

Sincerely yours,

Pauli Murray
Pauli Murray,
Secretary

encl.

112 EAST 19th STREET
New York City
ALgonquin 4-2089

PAULI MURRAY
Secretary

•
HOWARD KESTER
Treasurer

•
F. H. LaGUARDIA
MRS. RAYMOND V. INGERSOLL
Co-chairmen,
New York City Committee

FIRST LADY TO GIVE PRIZES

Will Award Them to Students
for Sharecropper Studies

N. Y. Times

2/4/40

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt will award \$15 prizes to the winners and \$10 prizes to the runners-up in two competitions for New York City high school students, under the sponsorship of the Educators Committee for National Sharecroppers Week, it was announced yesterday by Dr. Mary E. Woolley, co-chairman of the committee.

The competitions are for the best composition in the form of a letter to the editor of a newspaper "describing the conditions of the sharecroppers" and for the best review of the books in a selected bibliography on the sharecropper problem.

Entries must be submitted by Feb. 26 to the National Sharecroppers Week, 112 East Nineteenth Street. Prizes will be awarded at a dinner of the New York committee on Tuesday night, March 5, at the Hotel Commodore. The week is observed annually from March 4 to 10 to bring the sharecroppers' plight to public attention. A contest for college students on the best solution of the sharecropper problem will also be held.

No 10

February 9, 1940

19

RECEIVED OF Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt

Fifty and ~~no~~ ⁰⁰

¹⁰⁰ DOLLARS

Contribution for prizes in NSN high school
contest.

\$50 ⁰⁰

Pauli Murray, Sec'y
National Sharecroppers' Week
112 E. 14 St. N.Y.C.



Rockwell Kent

National Sharecroppers Week

MARCH 4th to 10th, 1940

Benefit of: Southern Tenant Farmers' Union

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February 9, 1940

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

Dear Miss Thompson:

We acknowledge with our thanks Mrs. Roosevelt's check for \$50.00 which will be used as the prize money for the awards in the High School Contest sponsored by our Educators Committee.

We will hold the check without cashing it until just before March 5th.

You might tell Mrs. Roosevelt for us that the Board of Education in New York has approved our project and is notifying the principals of all of the high schools in this city. This means we will have participation from the seventy-five public high schools and from a number of the private schools. Volunteer committees from the various schools will select the best five papers and send those on to our Committee to be turned over to the judges.

As soon as the papers have come in, we will select from them a list of questions for Mrs. Roosevelt's use in outlining the points she wishes to stress in her address.

Yours very sincerely,

Pauli Murray
 Pauli Murray
 Secretary

P.S. We are enclosing a receipt for the check which Mrs. Roosevelt sent us.

112 EAST 19th STREET
 New York City
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PAULI MURRAY
 Secretary

HOWARD KESTER
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F. H. LaGUARDIA
 MRS. RAYMOND V. INGERSOLL
 Co-chairmen
 New York City Committee

Muri
felt
misheard

The Sponsoring Committee
requests the pleasure of your company

at a

DINNER-FORUM

on

"THE SHARECROPPER PROBLEM"

Guest Speakers

MRS. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

SENATOR JOSH LEE
of Oklahoma

at the

HOTEL COMMODORE

Forty-second Street and Lexington Avenue

at seven o'clock

Tuesday, March the Fifth

Nineteen Hundred and Forty

Auspices:

New York Committee for National Sharecroppers Week

RSVP

Informal

... Program ...

Chairman

THE HON. NEWBOLD MORRIS

Speakers

J. R. BUTLER

President Southern Tenant Farmers Union

SENATOR JOSH LEE
of Oklahoma

MRS. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

Mrs. Roosevelt will present Awards to the winners of the High School Essay Contest on "The Share-cropper Problem."

NORMAN THOMAS

ROY WILKINS

of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

Following the addresses a discussion will be held on the subject of the evening in which the audience is invited to participate by submitting questions to the speakers. Questions may be mailed to the Committee in advance. Please designate the speaker to whom your question is addressed.

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Ex 127

Memo given Reeves to send flowers.

March 9, 1940

100

My dear Miss Murray:

I am sorry you are ill and hope you will soon be out and well again.

"My Days" were edited and published last year but I do not think they were as popular as the publisher had hoped!

I will be glad to see you here or in New York later. I am going to be away a good deal of the time in March and early April.

I thought the dinner was excellent and will send Mrs. Ingersoll \$100 next month.

Very sincerely yours,

fc

- Sent - 3/19/40

Miss Pauli Murray
55 Mt. Morris Park, West
NYC

DD



Rockwell Kent

National Sharecroppers Week

MARCH 4th to 10th, 1940

Benefit of: Southern Tenant Farmers' Union

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PERSONAL

March 7th, 1940

*Circle 46
3-9*

112 EAST 19th STREET
New York City
ALgonquin 4-2089

PAULI MURRAY
Secretary

HOWARD KESTER
Treasurer

F. H. LaGUARDIA
MRS. RAYMOND V. INGERSOLL
Co-chairmen,
New York City Committee

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

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

When people overwork themselves, even for the best of causes, they must pay for it. And so I was in the Hospital on the night of the Annual Dinner-Forum for National Sharecroppers Week, and my punishment was that I was unable to hear you speak, or to participate in the activities of our campaign, even by listening over the radio. I am still in the Hospital, but hope to be out by the first of next week.

The New York Times carried a report of the Dinner Forum, and I feel a quiet joy that our cooperative efforts, involving so many fine, earnest people, were successful despite opposition, confusion and attack from other organizations.

This letter is to again express my personal gratitude for your kindness, your understanding and your interest in the work. I believe that the greatest of the gains from National Sharecroppers Week will be: the objective lesson gained from inter-racial participation in a national problem - involving groups of all kinds - religious, racial, labor and political. It is this democratic theme which runs through our work that makes me gratified. Again my thanks to you and to the President.

It may interest you to know that your column of late has reflected a fineness of philosophy which has helped people along in their personal problems. The one of which I am particularly aware is the item of Golden Beach, Fla. in which you discussed City of Bells and the necessity for a continuing theme of the Christmas Spirit throughout the year.

Finally, I must apologize for a criticism I made of your article in which you discussed the picketing of the Kieth Theatre in Washington. Unfortunately, the World-Telegram version of your column omitted the most important paragraph - the last one. Here you developed your attitude on the basic rights of minority groups, but it was only after I had written you a critical comment that I discovered this paragraph in one of the Negro news weeklies. Since my comment was only a personal one to you, my apology is also personal.

I am very anxious to know your own reaction to our educational campaign for National Sharecroppers Week. Please feel free to write

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt

about it if you have the time.

I do trust that our Educator's Committee has given you the evaluation of the contest as you requested. If you have not received it I will be glad to have it forwarded to you when I return to the office.

Finally, I do hope I have earned the opportunity to have tea with you on some day in the future. The pressure of the job and necessity to present you with a committee made it impossible when you were kind enough to give me an appointment on January 15th. Perhaps, some day you will again give me a moment or two, when I do not have to ask you for a favor.

Sincerely yours,

Pauli Murray
Secretary

Home Address: 35 Mt. Morris Park, West
New York, N. Y.

P.S. This may not be a new suggestion, Mrs. Roosevelt; but have you ever thought of having bound copies made of some of the better nuggets of MY DAY. People who are interested in your work and your opinions are often unable to get hold of your column from day to day and are therefore handicapped. Perhaps you will consider this at your leisure.

*Sorry she was ill -
I'll be there when Pat
Carrigan has to be
in the house in 2. 8. - perhaps during
the suggestion 100 - treatment.*

*Said to me
Gloria
Also saw I did say
Large even with card*

Bx. 1567

35 Mt. Morris Park West
New York, N. Y.

March 15, 1940

100

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt-

Your lovely letter and flowers brought happiness to many people - patients, doctors, nurses, neighbors and friends. They lived in almost as many homes as there ^{were} flowers for more than a week. My greatest joy was in sharing them and in the realization that those who received them felt as happy and honored as I.

And so a great personality touches the lives and hearts of many people unknowingly.

Thank you for your tentative invitation. It will give me an incentive to complete some creative writing during the next two months. I will write you again in May.

My wish for a renewed joy in the approaching Easter season for you and all the members of your family. Surely this Easter will mean more to many people than ever before.

Sincerely,

Pauli Murray

Some say he never lived,
Was but a dream than men
Dragged forth from terrored brains
To slay the sickening doom of thought.

Some say he was a beggared poet,
That even the stones sang
Where his naked feet had touched,

And so with equal praise and curse
The centuries have weighed him.

I care not if he lived,
Or uttered any word,
Or healed a single wound.

I only know his name reveals
That gift of pain
Which only love can bear
And having borne, still cry
"Forgive!"

Pauli Murray
Palm Sunday, 1938

file
100
August 3, 1942Pauli
Dear Miss Murray:

I am giving your letter to the President, but on my own want to answer some of the things which you say and which you imply.

How many of our colored people in the South would like to be evacuated and treated as though they were not as rightfully here as any other people? I am deeply concerned that we have had to do that to the Japanese who are American citizens, but we are at war with Japan and they have only been citizens for a very short time. We would feel a resentment if we had to do this for citizens who have been here as long as most of the white people have.

And now, as to what you say about the President's not having been forthright and the interest with which you are watching Mr. Willkie:

I wonder if it ever occurred to you that Mr. Willkie has no responsibility whatsoever. He can say whatever he likes and do whatever he likes, and nothing very serious will happen. If he were to be elected President, on that day he would have to begin not to just plan a program to meet the conditions in the country which he would like to see changed, but he would have to take into consideration the people who are heads of important committees in Congress, none of whom he has chosen but with whom he must work, and who are the people on whom he must depend to pass vital legislation for the nation as a whole. People elect the members of Congress, and they are there and have equal power.

The only thing he could do would be to initiate legislation and of course they could refuse to pass it.

For one who must really have a knowledge of the workings of our kind of government, your letter seems to me one of the most thoughtless I have ever read. Of course I can say just how I feel, but I cannot say it with much sense of security unless the President were willing for me to do so. I have no responsibility; I am not elected and not running for office; I am responsible only to myself for what I do; I do not owe the same responsibility to the people as a whole. It is very easy for us as individuals to think of what we would do if we were in office, but we forget that with the election to the office of President go at the same time infinite restrictions and the kind of responsibility which is never ours as private citizens.

The appointment of the Fair Practices Committee in itself indicates where the President stands. That group may not achieve everything we would like to have them achieve, but that only means that we have to face realities and that we cannot move faster than the people wish to move.

Very sincerely yours,

0

Miss Pauli Murray
35 Mt. Morris Park West
NYC

2-3-42
7/25/42

35 Mt. Morris Park, West
New York, N. Y.
July 23, 1942

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Will you read this letter and pass it on to
the President? I only made one copy and did not
want this one to get lost in a maize of secretariats.
If there ever were a Woman's Revolution, I'm afraid
you'd have to run for President.

Yours very truly,

Pauli Murray
Pauli Murray

P.S. If some of our statements are bitter these days,
you must remember that truth is our only sword.

Miss. Thompson --

This is one of those letters which
can wait until Mrs. Roosevelt has a free
moment. There's no hurry.

Pauli

I WILL _____ I WILL NOT _____ be
able to attend the meeting on the
7th of February, 1940.

NAME _____

We are Americans, and as Americans we would speak to America.—FREDERICK DOUGLASS.

OPINION

PAGE 4

THE AFRO-AMERICAN

JULY 25, 1942

Pressure Can Produce a New Emancipation

A. Philip Randolph Is Nearest Approach to a Leader for the Common People; Pegler Joins the Ranks of "All Are Americans."

Westbrook Pegler last week joined the ranks of "All Are Americans."

That list is headed by the First Lady, Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt. Equally distinguished individuals and organizations include: Pearl Buck, Wendell Willkie, Vice-President Henry Wallace, Dr. E. Stanley Jones and a score of newspapers and magazines headed by PM and The Nation.

"If I were colored," says Pegler, "I would live in constant fury and probably would batter myself to death against the bars enclosing my condition."

"I would not be a sub-American or a sub-human being, and, in docile patience, forever yield my rightful aspiration to be a man, to work, to progress, and to move out of the slums; yield even to strangers who come from other countries, including even strangers who had fought against me in the wars."

Millions of colored Americans do live in constant fury. The papers report only a fraction of instances in which they batter themselves against the bars of segregation. Other millions hate and wait for the day when they will go all out for their own liberation.

Opposition Organized in South

Opposition to full citizenship of colored people centers in the South. It is organized in government and is powerful. Behind it is 300 years of customs and traditions. It has yielded ungraciously step by step.

First it had to give up its right to hold slaves, to keep them out of the army, away from the ballot box, out of the jury box, out of public conveyances and public buildings. Its last stronghold is segregation, and it has announced through its stooges its willingness to grant everything but that.

So segregation is the issue in this war, just as slavery was the issue in 1862, and the first crack at slavery was Lincoln's proclamation.

President Roosevelt faces the same situation that plagued Lincoln. It is not at present so acute, but it will be.

The Lineup

On one side is the liberal North and West, which know we need all our forces to win this war. They have seen Filipinos, Chinese, and Russians fight to death for liberty, and they have also found in Java, Burma and India no allied aid because there was no freedom for which to fight.

On the other side are the forces of bigotry, intolerance and race hate that learn nothing from history and science and Christianity except that which will help preserve the status quo.

We are in the midst of an undeclared war of colossal proportions. No wonder there is no great hatred of Japan and Germany in the South. Its bile and venom are constantly used upon the home front that none is to be seen as an enemy.

President Roosevelt early in this war faced with a colored citizen on Washington, issued Executive Order 9801 for full and equitable treatment for all workers in war industries and to prevent discrimination because of race.

freedom for which to fight. On the other side are the forces of bigotry, intolerance and race hate that learn nothing from history and science and Christianity except that which will help preserve the status quo.

We are in the midst of an undeclared war of colossal proportions. No wonder there is no great hatred of Japan and Germany in the South. Its bile and venom are so constantly used upon the home front that none is left for foreign enemies.

Mr. Roosevelt early in this war, faced with a march of colored citizens on Washington, issued Executive Order 8802. It provides for full and equitable participation of all workers in defense industries and in government without discrimination because of race or creed or national origin.

But the order was so hastily drawn and poorly worded that the members of the President's own commission are not in agreement with what it means.

New Executive Order Needed

A new executive order is a necessity, and we set down here what it should say:

1. That there should be no segregation or discrimination of any kind against any citizen of the United States on account of race, creed, color or national origin.

(a) In any department, bureau, office or unit of the Federal Government, or

(b) In any public or private institution, corporation, plant, industry, bureau, which holds a Federal contract, operates under Federal license or in any way utilizes Federal funds or aid.

In support of such an order the President can say that it is designed to uphold and clarify the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution which provides that no citizens shall have special privileges and immunities.

When F. D. R. Will Act

President Roosevelt will issue such an order when he is convinced that it is necessary to save the nation. We think that the time is now, and that the nation is losing the war because it overrates its racial superiority and underrates the power and capacity of our enemies.

We are finding that we can't buy our way to victory any more than we could spend our way to prosperity. Japanese and Germans are not overawed by the color of Americans, their wealth nor their reputation. The initiative in this war is with the enemy. We have been able to do little except defend and retreat.

Randolph Fitted to Lead

How can we get all this over to the nation and to the President? Manifestly we must have organization and leadership. In times like these we must agree upon one leader and we must give him our complete confidence and support.

The man today who most nearly reaches to the status of leader is A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, director of the March on Washington Committee, and 1942 Spingarn Medalist.

He is an intelligent and forceful labor leader, an organizer who creates confidence and optimism with the spoken or written word. Raised in the hard-boiled school of socialism and labor unions, he knows that public opinion yields only to pressure, that heads of government constantly balance pressure, and that the strongest side wins.

Mr. Randolph's ability to get the government to issue Presidential Order 8802 recommends him to us as the man to lead the masses toward the new freedom.

Randolph Tells F.D. He Let Us Down

Silence Said to Indicate South Is Stronger Than U.S. Government

(Continued from Page 1)

known tenor, Roland Hayes, by Georgia cops.

"Certainly you must know," the President was told, "that colored people are reaching such a point of desperation that they are beginning to express a willingness and determination to die right here in America to attain a democracy which they have never had."

Want Full Rights Now
"If the colored man is not given his full rights now, then the battle for democracy is lost," the letter added.

The complete text of the letter, released by the March-on-Washington Movement, which is directed by Mr. Randolph, follows:

Dear Mr. President:
As representatives of national organizations, speaking for millions of Americans, particularly colored people, we who tried without success to see you on July 1 feel that in refusing to intervene in the case of Odell Waller, the government of the United States has failed us.

Called "Stab in the Back"
The Waller case became a symbol of the typical sort of injustice accorded colored people in America. Waller's execution is "stab in the back" to a group of people who are asked to defend their country, but whom their government apparently does not intend to defend.

By the government's failure to go on record publicly in this case, it has let the colored people down. In failing us, the cause of Hitlerism at home has been aided.

Everyone with any understanding of this case has condemned the government's failure to act more technically. It is unthinkable in a government of the people, by the people, and for the people, that a man must die because of an error of his trial counsel.

Supreme Court Failed
The U.S. Supreme Court, by its refusal to grant an argument on the admittedly important constitutional question of poll tax jurists involved in Waller's case, did not fulfill its larger function of interpreting the laws in the interest of human liberty.

This is the Supreme Court which you picked, Mr. President, a court which you strove to appoint for the very reason that in the early days of your administration you swore against those restrictions and technicalities of the Supreme Court which thwarted the efforts of the New Deal.

Waller Was Doomed
The government knows as well as we do that Waller was doomed from the beginning. It knows that he was the victim of a vicious economic and political system perpetuated by the poll tax and racial oppression, a system in the making of which Waller had no part but whose crushing burden was piled upon him. And it knows that an improvement and underprivileged colored man, the Southern courts would not have been able to

tence, to life imprisonment where there is doubt as to a man's degree of guilt is so small a thing—yet the Governor hardened his conscience against the appeals of thousands of public-spirited citizens who were interested in this case.

Final Appeals Made
Colored people in this country, having exhausted all other known channels of appeal, petitioned the President of the United States as a last resort.

They asked you to appeal publicly to Governor Darden to grant a stay of execution, during which time a non-partisan Commission of Inquiry could investigate the circumstances surrounding the conviction of Waller by a poll tax jury.

They further pointed out that a stay of execution would permit Waller his final chance on a writ of certiorari before the full U.S. Supreme Court in the fall term.

Race Embittered
You must be aware, Mr. President, of the complete disillusionment and embitterment of the colored masses in this country, a discontent which is taking organized form. You must be aware that colored morale is admittedly a national problem in view of the war effort.

You must realize that in this case every known instrument of the democratic process was utilized, only to end in total failure.

Certainly you must know that colored people are reaching such a point of desperation that they are beginning to express a willingness and determination to die right here in America to attain a democracy which they never had.

Hemmed in on all sides by the poll tax and jim crow restrictions in the South, robbed of economic and social opportunities throughout the entire country despite your Executive Order No. 8802 establishing the Fair Employment Practices Committee, they have always turned to the Federal government as the one agency which enforced the Constitution and from which they could expect the rights and common decency to which every citizen is entitled.

Interview Denied
Impelled by the force of a spontaneous outcry throughout the nation upon Governor Darden's refusal to commute Waller's sentence, we came to Washington to seek an interview with you, Mr. President. And what was the response?

Although we tried until nearly midnight to reach you, our delegation was shunted from one department to another. Its efforts were thwarted by one official after another who would not act because he did not feel it was sufficiently important to safeguard the interests of 13,000,000 American citizens.

The question of saving Waller had gone beyond legal grounds and was now a question of national morale at a moment when morale was crucially important.

These officials were unable to see the broad similarities between the Tom Mooney case and Waller's case, although both achieved national importance because of the indignation of an organized group of people. In the Mooney case the protest of organized labor in the Waller case the concern of many liberals and the protests of outraged colored people were finding expression.

Dear Man's Grievance
The indignation was made to feel most poignantly by the lack of sensitivity and intelligence with which high administrative officials approached the colored man's problem. The insulting phrases "Waller was all we can do for you" and "We are not interested in the case"

the mood of a people determined no longer to take a "licking lying down."

Failure to get any public response from you, Mr. President, leads us to ask this question: Is the southern bloc to be permitted to retain the kind of stranglehold in Washington which makes it impossible for you, our President, to maintain the great humanitarian approach for which you have fought so vigorously?

This tragedy of errors comes at a time when the United Nations are desperately trying to hold back the Axis forces and when the eyes of the colored peoples of the globe are fixed upon the pattern of democracy which America sets for colored people.

Your failure to grant a Commission of Inquiry, as was granted in the case of Tom Mooney by President Wilson, will be interpreted as a refusal because Waller was colored.

Waller's execution has intensified a wave of determination for a showdown on the question of total democracy for the colored man which cannot long be held back by leaders who use the bargain and compromise method.

It was the signal for the barbarous forces in this country to renew the unleashing of their venom of hatred upon the colored people.

Brutality Breaks Loose
Within two weeks after Waller's electrocution, the press has reported the lynching of Willie Vinson, 23-year-old colored youth in Texarkana, Tex.; the slaying of Private Jessie Smith, 25-year-old colored soldier by a cop in Elgin, Ark.; and the brutal, beating and slaying of the noted colored

would have electrified the world as a demonstration that American democracy has a single standard of justice, an act which would have found its way into the hearts of the peoples of India, Africa, South America, China, and the Pacific Islands.

More than that, your silence has been viewed by the enemies of democracy at home as an indication that a single region, with its policy of openly flaunting the denial to colored people of the constitutional rights guaranteed to every citizen, is stronger than our national government.

Many Losing Faith

Don't you see, Mr. President, this is not a repetition of anything that has happened before in the history of colored-white relations? With the world in the agony of a war for the survival of sheer human decency, the race issue in America is crucial to the whole struggle. If the colored man is not given his full rights now, then the battle for democracy is lost.

Our concern is that many people, colored and white, are losing faith in the method of democratic mediation as a way to the achievement of freedom. The colored people will yet be listened to in the halls of government in Washington. The time will come when colored lives will not be sacrificed on the altar of reactionary and behind-the-scenes politics.

As all Americans remember Pearl Harbor, colored Americans will remember Odell Waller and the new list of victims added since his execution, and we solemnly pledge that they shall not have died in vain. Furthermore, we call upon

Waller's case, did not turn its larger function of interpreting the law in the interest of human liberty.

This is the Supreme Court which you picked, Mr. President, a court which you strove to appoint for the very reason that in the early days of your administration you smarted against those restrictions and technicalities of the Supreme Court which thwarted the efforts of the New Deal.

Waller Was Doomed

The government knows as well as we do that Waller was doomed from the beginning. It knows that he was the victim of a vicious economic and political system perpetuated by the poll tax and racial oppression, a system in the making of which Waller had no part, but whose crushing burdens rested upon him and others of his economic class.

It knows that an impoverished and underprivileged colored man in Southern courts is handicapped in the matter of obtaining competent counsel who will raise and prove the complex and technical questions in a manner required by our astute Supreme Court.

It knows that well-trained colored lawyers find it almost impossible to practice in these courts because of the venomous assaults made upon their very lives in a number of Southern towns.

It must be aware of the brutal assault made several months ago in Tennessee upon a member of this very delegation who is the acting dean of Howard University Law School and a member of the national legal committee of the NAACP.

It must be aware of recent instances where colored lawyers who have been barred from trying cases before the courts have been stoned out of town. In the face of these intimidations and brutalities, the colored man, unless he has the money to pay stupendous prices for highly competent counsel, has no choice but to secure the services of a charity lawyer who has no real comprehension of difficulties confronting him.

Refused to Face Issue

Members of the U.S. Supreme Court, according to reports, privately conceded the importance of the question as to whether or not a poll tax jury was a jury of Waller's peers when Waller himself was too poor to pay the poll tax; nevertheless they refused to face the issue and permitted Waller's case to be thrown back into Governor Darden's lap.

A man of Governor Darden's political associations, member of the Byrd-Glass machine, the political beneficiary of the poll tax system in Virginia could not be expected to respond to the broader social issues of the Waller case.

Commutation of a death sen-

ests of 13,000,000 American citizens.

The question of saving Waller had gone beyond legal grounds and was now a question of national morale at a moment when morale was crucially important.

These officials were unable to see the broad similarities between the Tom Mooney case and Waller's case, although both achieved national importance because of the indignation of an organized group of people. In the Mooney case the protests of organized labor, in the Waller case the concern of many liberals and the protests of outraged colored people were finding expression.

Our Main Grievance

The delegation was made to feel most poignantly the lack of sensitivity and intelligence with which high administration officials approach the colored man's problems.

The insulting phrase "We try to do all we can for your people" is indicative of the separatism with which public officials are prone to view questions involving the colored man, whose main grievance is precisely the failure on the part of the nation to treat him on a par with any other citizen.

Doubt Wallace's Sincerity

Vice-President Wallace, whom the delegation sought a hearing, attempted to evade the group and made it necessary for Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune to run after him in order to be heard.

His curt response "I can do nothing—it is out of my jurisdiction," raises a doubt as to the sincerity of his recent admirable speeches about the "revolution of the common people."

It is a humiliating fact that no action could be got until it was rumored that the delegation, sickened by this traditional "run around" was planning to throw a picket line around the White House.

Shortly thereafter, Elmer Davis, head of War Information, summoned the group to his office. Without for one moment suspecting Mr. Davis's integrity, it must be said that the purpose of the interview was, among other things, to warn the delegation of the national consequences of a picket line at the White House during this period of the war effort.

The delegation impressed upon Mr. Davis that Presidential intervention in the Waller case would no doubt prevent the necessity for intervention later as an emergency measure, when the pent-up resentment of colored people had reached the boiling point.

Does South Rule Nation?

With all the fervor at its command, this delegation tried to acquaint these officials with

Your failure to grant a Commission of Inquiry, as was granted in the case of Tom Mooney by President Wilson, will be interpreted as a refusal because Waller was colored. Waller's execution has intensified a wave of determination for a showdown on the question of total democracy for the colored man which cannot long be held back by leaders who use the bargain and compromise method.

It was the signal for the barbarous forces in this country to renew the unleashing of their venom of hatred upon the colored people.

Brutality Breaks Loose

Within two weeks after Waller's electrocution, the press has reported the lynching of Willie Vinson, 25-year-old colored youth in Texarkana, Tex.; the slaying of Private Jessie Smith, 25-year-old colored soldier by a cop in Flagstaff, Ariz., and the brutal beating and jailing of the noted colored tenor, Roland Hayes, and his wife in Rome, Ga.

These fascist-like brutalities in America are grist for the propaganda mills of the Axis powers and undoubtedly will be used to destroy the faith of the allied nations in the honesty and integrity of American democracy, and hasten the deterioration of the morale of the enslaved peoples of the world which hangs precariously on this faith.

Colored citizens are demanding to know why Nazisaboteurs on trial are being given every opportunity to defend themselves, while American citizens are being hanged to cotton gins and shot down like dogs.

You have let slip an opportunity to do an act which

white relations? With the world in the agony of a war for the survival of sheer human decency, the race issue in America is crucial to the whole struggle. If the colored man is not given his full rights now, then the battle for democracy is lost.

Our concern is that many people, colored and white, are losing faith in the method of democratic mediation as a way to the achievement of freedom. The colored people will yet be listened to in the halls of government in Washington. The time will come when colored lives will not be sacrificed on the altar of reactionary and behind-the-scene politics.

As all Americans remember Pearl Harbor, colored Americans will remember Odell Waller and the new list of victims added since his execution, and we solemnly pledge that they shall not have died in vain.

Furthermore, we call upon enlightened public opinion in America, before it is too late, to free you, our great President, and to free our country from a poll-tax Southern bloc which decides the fates of American citizens whom it does not represent.

Very truly yours,

A. Philip Randolph, national director of the March on Washington Movement.

Frank R. Crosswain, director, Negro Labor Committee, member N. Y. Housing Authority.

Anna Arnold Hedgeman, Negro Women, Incorporated.

Layle Lane, vice-president, American Federation of Teachers.

Rev. William Lloyd Imes, pastor, St. James Presbyterian Church, New York.

Leon A. Ransom, acting dean, Howard University School of Law.

Pauli Murray, chairman, NAACP Annual Student Conference.

Randolph Tells F. D. He Let Us Down

7-25-42
Anti-American

NEW YORK.—President Roosevelt was scored last week for his silence in the Odell Waller case by a group of organization leaders, headed by A. Philip Randolph, who declared that by failure to go on record publicly in this case, he had "let the colored people down."

"Your silence has been viewed by the enemies of democracy at home as an indication that a single region, with its policy of openly flaunting the denial to colored people of constitutional rights guaranteed to every citizen, is stronger than our national government," the letter stated.

Colored People Desperate

It was pointed out that within two weeks after Waller's execution, the press had reported the lynching of Willie Vinson in Texarkana, Tex., the slaying of Private Jesse Smith by a white cop in Flagstaff, Ariz., and the brutal beating of the internationally

(Continued on page 13, Col. 1)

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October 15, 1942.

Dear Miss Murray:

I am appreciative of your kindness in inviting me to attend the Anti-Poll Tax Dinner but I doubt very much that I can be in New York City on November 20th, because of other engagements.

Very sincerely yours,

Miss Pauli Murray
Box 130
Howard University
Washington, D. C.

VDS



RESIDENCE

Bot 130

ack
10/15/42Howard University
WASHINGTON, D. C.

Oct. 12, 1942

OCT 13 1942

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt -

Would it be possible for you to speak at an Anti-Poll Tax Dinner in New York, Friday, Nov. 20, in honor of Mr. John F. Finerty, attorney who has done so much work on the constitutional aspect of the poll tax problem?

The dinner is the opening of a conference on the poll tax and racial discrimination, Nov. 20-21, at the 5th Ave. Hotel or a similar place. The conference will be sponsored by the Workers Defense League.

Other speakers at the dinner will probably be Alfred Bingham, Mrs. Randolph, Bishop McConnell and Lt. Gov. Charles Paletti.

Since Nov. 20th is my birthday, it would mean much to me if you could find it possible to accept.

Sincerely,

Pauli Murray

PROPOSED PLAN FOR A CAMPUS CAMPAIGN ON "EQUAL RIGHTS BILL FOR THE
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA"

March, 1943

1. That a Campus Committee for Equal Rights in the District of Columbia be set up under the sponsorship of the Howard University N.A.A.C.P. Student Chapter.

- a. This Committee to be composed of representatives of all Campus organizations interested in working on this project, and interested individuals.
- b. That a letter be sent to all Campus organizations, explaining the nature of campaign and urging such organizations to send representatives to a future meeting. That such letter include a plan of action.
- c. That periodic reports of the progress of the campaign be made to membership meetings of the N.A.A.C.P. Student Chapter, and that the Campus Committee work in close cooperation with the N.A.A.C.P. Student Chapter.

2. What the Campaign is expected to accomplish:

- a. A legislative lobbying campaign must be developed. Delegations of students must be organized to visit their Congressmen and Senators, to discuss the Bill (H.R.-1995-S-442) and to secure statements of support.
- b. Students must be gotten to write letters to their Senators and Congressmen for the same purpose.
- c. Senators and Congressmen must be circularized with letters asking for statements on the joint-bills, and such statements should be published in the HILLTOP.
- d. Students must be gotten to write home to influential persons in their home community, urging they write to Congressmen urging support of the bill.
- e. Political state clubs, college clubs, community organizations, labor and liberal local organizations in the Washington Community must be contacted, and urged to write letters to and visit their Congressmen and Senators in the interests of the passage of the bill.
- d. Letters must be written to other Colleges, both Negro and white, urging liberal campus organizations to take action on the bill.
- e. A petition signed by all Howard Students and faculty members should be presented to the House and Senate District Committees where the Bills are now committee, urging them to report the respective bills out favorably.
- f. Pop rallies and mass meetings should be held on Campus with dynamic speakers from the community. One such pop rally might be held during a Freshman assembly. Another might be a mass meeting with the sponsors of the Bill as speakers.
- g. Finances must be developed to defray the cost of postage, paper, etc.
- h. Vigorous demonstrations should be made against discrimination.

3. How the Campaign Should Be Organized:

Every person who joins the Campus Committee on Equal Rights should be given something definite to do. To such end several Working Committees should be set up at the outset. Suggested committees are:

1. Publicity
2. Program and Legislative.
3. Committee on Correspondence
4. Finance
5. Committee on Direct Action

6. Speakers Bureau

Jobs of the Committees:

1. The Publicity Committee should publicize all meetings with posters, placards, notices to Hilltop, notices of committee meetings, forums, or pep rallies. Its job will be to gather interesting factual material and to prepare a statement of facts on the need for the passage of the Bill. It can also prepare a statement of progress for distribution around Campus. Its job will be to make the entire Howard community aware of the Bill, the need for its passage, and of a sense of responsibility to help ensure its passage.

2. Program and Legislative Committee - Its job will be to organize delegations to visit Congressmen and Senators, to work out programs, pep rallies, mass meetings, etc. and to report back progress of delegations and statements of Senators.

It might develop a Tag Day where everybody wears "I am supporting Equal Rights" etc.

3. Committee on Correspondence will organize letter-writing and card-writing campaigns to:

- (a). Congressmen and Senators.
- (b). To persons back home.
- (c). Other colleges.
- (d). State clubs, college clubs and other Washington organizations.

It will be responsible for working out petitions to the District Committees and for getting these petitions circulated. Such petitions can be worked out in cooperation with the Publicity Committee, and can be circulated by all the members of the Campus Committee.

4. Finance Committee - will raise money to defray expenses. Must think of "cute" stunts to raise money, like Civil Rights Cans, etc.

5. Committee on Direct Action - to enroll students who will participate in small, carefully planned demonstrations for equal rights in the District.

- (a). Weekly visits to certain downtown restaurants. Sitting quietly, requesting service.
- (b). Securing tickets to National Theatre and attempting to go.
- (c). Other demonstrations which can be worked out.

H.U. Student Pickets Force Restaurant to Drop Color Bar

Afro-American 4/23/63

Greek Proprietor Finally Admits He's Licked After 4-Day Siege; 2nd Victory Won in Civil Rights Fight

Howard University students, aided by the Washington public in a four-day civil rights drive, won a victory against W. S. Choconas, Greek proprietor of the Little Palace Lunch, former all-white restaurant at Fourteenth and U Streets, Northwest, compelling him to open his doors to everyone.

Although he had not consulted his partner, Choconas told the group after he had been forced to close his doors on Saturday, Sunday and Monday that he would comply. The action followed a town hall meeting held Thursday in Douglass Hall.

Please return

Music, a Weapon for Advancement—Matthews

PITTSBURGH, Pa.—Art in all its forms can be just as effective a weapon in our fight for citizenship as agitation and pressure, Ralph Matthews, managing editor of the Washington AFRO-AMERICAN, told an audience at the Schenley High School here Sunday.

Mr. Matthews, speaking at a mass meeting sponsored by the Pittsburgh Citizens' Committee of the National Opera Association, urged the encouragement of the cultural side of our lives as a means of "closing the gap" between the races. We have made our greatest strides through our music and have gained the goodwill of other races through our contribution to the artistic life of America, he said.

Note - Practically all the students who participated in this campaign are Howard students of the underground schools, of law, medicine, education etc. Many have signed records.

H.U. Student Pickets Force Restaurant to Drop Color Bar

(Continued from Page One)

At this meeting, addressed by Mrs. Thomasina Johnson, legislative representative of the AKA sorority, W. Robert Ming, Jr., attorney and Howard prof. and Albert B. Herman, secretary to Senator Barbour of New Jersey, sponsor of the civil rights bill for the District, plans were laid for the drive.

Strategy Pre-Arranged
Following up the pre-arranged strategy Saturday afternoon, the students entered the Little Palace in small groups, requested service, were promptly refused, took seats at tables and began leisurely reading books. Others followed in regular order until most tables were taken.

While this was going on, Charles Powell stood outside and observed the proceedings in order that he might notify Dr. Leon A. Ransome, founder of the group and Howard law school dean, in case any of the students were arrested.

Later, after the proprietor apparently became irked, piled chairs on the unoccupied tables and a helper began sweeping the floor, reputedly at his orders, picket signs appeared outside in the hands of some of the students.

Carry Piquant Banners
Some of the banners read: "Our boys and bonds and our brothers are fighting for you—why can't we eat here?" "There is no segregation in Washington, D.C. What's your story, Little Palace?" "United we win—black and white working together."

After four days of this, police refusing to arrest students or those who were assisting them as long as they were orderly, the Greek proprietor became so confused that he said he did not know what to do.

After he refused service to a colored man, a Chinese and a white man, he received a committee composed of the Rev. Arthur D. Gray, Misses Ruth Powell and Juanita Marlowe, Tuesday and told them he was licked and ready to serve anyone.

The students won their second battle at the Fish and Chips Restaurant, 2440 Georgia Avenue, Northwest, where they forced the management to change a sign from "for white only" to "all races welcome," then to "colored exclusively," finally abolishing it altogether.

Ransome Proud of Victory
"I feel proud of this victory, because I was instrumental in founding this group," Dean Ransome told the AFRO on Tuesday.

... shows that the young people are planning constructive things—they stuck to their guns in one of the worst rains of the year—and they have had the courage to attack a bad situation in their own neighborhood."

Initial campaigners from Howard University on Saturday were:

Pauli Murray, spokesman; Ruth Powell, chairman, direct action committee; Charles Powell, Ruby Jenks, James Wright, chairman, civil rights committee; Blanche Wells, Juanita Morrow; Augusta Bolden, Frank John-



Misses Ruby Jenks and Mary Musgrave picket Little Palace Lunch in Washington for the civil rights committee of the Howard University NAACP Chapter. The proprietor was induced to drop his color bar.

son, Talmadge Sufion, Thomas Wylche, Victory English, spokeswoman; Marijani Musgrave, Ruth St-

mons, Angela Jones, chairman, Howard chapter, NAACP, and Randolph Bailey.

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Handwritten notes in the right margin, including the phrase 'Love what you eat' and other illegible text.

THE FORTY-SIX

To The Howard University National Association Advancement of Colored People

see also p. 2

Why waste your time picketing the "Little Palace Cafeteria", 11th & U. Sts., N.W. when within half block there are 2 nigger restaurants - why try to force yourselves on the "white folks" when you can't gain anything by force. The easiest way is the best, in the long run. Who wants to sit down to a table to eat with a dirty, greasy, stinking nigger; no matter how many times he bathes, he still "stinks" it is peculiar to the colored race - their skin is made that way - why force your associations where they are not wanted. According to the Good Book, the Negro was made black for a purpose, and no matter what he does - he can't change his color by "white-washing" and forcing his way where he is not wanted. Instead of wasting your time by picketing, start at the beginning and educate the Negro - not to steal, lie, rape and assault women - that is where your organization would be doing something worthwhile. And perhaps, he will come to be recognized, when HE KNOWS HIS PLACE. - Just glance at any of the papers for the past few days

The papers are filled with "Ads." for Negro help or places for the Negro to make an honest living - instead of "holding people up" or breaking into stores etc. Why does not the "N.A.A.C.P." get busy and educate the "Down trodden and ignorant" and make the organization worth while, in the right direction, and not waste their time, forcing themselves on people of the opposite race, it was never intended to be thus and will never be. If you read your Bible, you will find the story why and how the black man came about and was meant to be inferior to the white man, and so he will remain to the end of time. If N.A.A.C.P. had any respect for themselves, they would not intrude on the "rights of others" - Just spare a few minutes to read a few of these clippings - just a few of your down trodden friends for you to do Sawritan work in the right direction. How about it?

Yours for fewer criminals.
A. C. Quire, Jr.

THIS IS TO YOU!!

What are you doing about it?

UNIVERSITY ASSEMBLY
MAY 4, 1943
TODAY'S PROGRAM

Opening Selection... "The Negro National Anthem"

History of the N.A.A.C.P.
...Angela Jones, President of Howard Chapter of the N.A.A.C.P.

Special Selection.....Gloria Oden

Kit....."The Race Problem goes to Heaven"
written by Gloria Oden

Speech "Program for Civil Action for Students through a Civil Rights Committee"
.....James T. Wright

TODAY'S PROGRAM MAKERS

James T. Wright was born in Elizabeth, New Jersey, where he attended the public schools there until he came to Howard University. He graduated, Cum Laude here in June 1941 as a Social Science major. During his undergraduate college career, he participated in extra-curricular activities, where he gained a national reputation because of his association with youth groups. Other college activities included: four year varsity debater, editor of the college paper, president of the Historical Society, class president, student tutor, two years chairman of the National Student Advisory Committee, secretary of the Campus Committee for the Anti-Lynching Bill, a Lucy Motes Fellow, and Secretary of the National Council of the Student Christian Association.

At present he is about to complete his second year at the Howard Law School, where he has maintained good scholarship. At the present he is Associate Justice of the Court of Peers, a member of the Executive Committee of the United States Student Assembly and Chairman of the Student Civil Rights Committee here at Howard.

Miss Angela Louise Jones hails from New York. She came to Howard in 1940, majoring in Psychology. Being interested
(CONT. ON PAGE 5, COL 1)

I JUST WANT TO TALK, MISTER
by Pauli Murray

(Dedicated to the brave band of Howard University students who held the picket line at Little Palace Cafeteria and to the little truck, Mr. Guasónias, who promised to try our way.)

Say, mister, please don't cross my picket line,
Don't you see my sign? Don't you see what it says,

It says, "we die together, why can't we eat together?"

Mister, I'm hungry; I only want a cup of coffee;

The man inside says if he sells it to me, he'll lose your trade,

Do you care, mister, if I'm drinking my cup of coffee in my cup, and you're drinking your coffee in your cup?

Tell him you don't mind, mister, we're all brothers, mister--

Oh God, I'm cold. It's sleeting out here,
And it's raining, too; I've got an hour to walk.

Hope I can stick it out.

They think I'm strong

They elected me as a leader,

But I'm cold, Lord, and I'm hungry.

Keep going, kid, there's a race to save.

There's a strike to be won.

You've got to keep walking,

They're depending on you.

Ten paces forward, turn around, ten paces back--

The rain is running down my collar now,
And the wind is cutting through my coat--

Seems like I've been doing this forever,
that I never did anything else in my

life but picket,

So it's only five minutes, there's fifty-five more to go.

I'm shivering now, my teeth are chattering

My head's tight, I can't see anything,

Everything and everybody seems so far away

There's nobody in the world but me--

Keep walking, kid, keep walking.

Don't stop now, kid, don't fall down.

They're depending on you.

The rain is washing my sign away,

The letters are running into each other.

(CONT. ON PAGE 5, COL. 2)

SOMETHING GOOD FROM "PM"

DEAR READER:

The letter below is from PM of April 18, 1943. It is a "Dear Joe" letter, and its author is W.J. O'Brien who has often distinguished himself by a keen sense of fairness to all groups and races--the only true 100% Americanism. By his special permission, we print this letter here.

THE EDITORS

DEAR JOE:

April 18, 1943

Mary has a part-time job now, and there is a tall Negro girl named Anna working for us in the afternoons. She gets Mike up about 3 o'clock and takes him to the park, and at five she puts his supper in front of him and steps quickly back to avoid being eaten along with it, Mike's appetite being better than his table manners. After feeding Janie at 7 o'clock she puts her coat and hat on and stands with her hand on the front doorknob to say goodby to all of us.

Whereupon Mike will stop whatever he is doing and fly toward her, shouting, "Shake hands!" She will laugh and lean down and shake his small, limp mitt. Then he will say, "Give kiss!" and she will laugh again and lean down again, giving him a good rich resounding smack on the side of his comic strip face. Then she will go out the door, leaving Mike saturated with happiness and self-esteem.

Of course this scene is hardly noteworthy. It is played in millions of American homes every night, even in the South, where a child is not considered a racial or unbalanced if in his very early years he feels and reveals a spontaneous love for his Negro nurse or nanny. In fact, some of the proudest old Southern babies are wet-nursed by Negroes to this day.

Did you ever stop to wonder how a Southern father explains to his son that Negroes are inferior? I stopped to wonder about it just last night after Anna went home. I tried to figure out how I--if I were a Southern father--would explain to my son, Mike, at the age of 8 or 10 years that his beloved friend Anna was a member of an inferior race and therefore to be looked down upon.

As I dream it, the interview takes place in a woodshed, in April, thus:

"Michael," I say, "your father wants to have a little talk with you."

Mike's eyes light up because he loves being talked to. He sits on the chopping block beside me, all ears. "Well," I say, "it's about Anna. Naturally we are very fond of Anna, but she is--not like us, you know."

"I know," says Mike. "All human beings are a little different. Each one is an individual and should be treated as such because this a democracy. I learned that in school."

"Well, that's not exactly what I--"

"And I can see how Anna is different from you and Anne."

"Oh, you can? Not tell me--"

"For instance, Anna doesn't lose her temper the way you sometimes do, and she can carry a tune, which Anne can't. And she--"

"Son I'll leave your father out of this, if you please."

"What?"

"Sir, your mother is a white woman and don't you forget it."

Michael frowns blankly and says, "What do you mean, white woman?"

"Why you little--ah--excuse me. It's this way: Your mother's skin is white, whereas Anna's is dark."

"Does that make any difference?"

"DOES IT?"

"Well--does it Papa?"

(CONTINUED ON PAGE 3)

"Well, it means that Anna is an inferior person. A very good, nice person, inferior."

"You mean because her skin is a different color?"

"Yes, Michael."

"But Papa--I thought it was people's characters and souls and brains that made them better or worse than other people. I didn't know skin had anything to do with it. Papa, are you sure?"

"Believe me, son."

* * *

There is a long pause.

"Gee, it just doesn't make sense," says Mike. "Aunt Mabel has a very bad complexion. But she is your sister and I always thought she was O.K."

"The--er--texture of skin doesn't matter, Michael. Only the color."

"Why is that, Papa? Because a person's skin is dark, does that automatically mean he has a bad character and soul and--but it can't be, because I know Anna is a very good person. You said so yourself."

"Try to look at it this way, Michael," I say, after chewing my lip for a while. "You see--we have to get along with each other in this life, don't we?"

"Yes sir!"

"Well, it just makes it easier for the white people and the Negroes to get along if one is superior and one is inferior. See?"

The grooves in Michael's forehead deepen.

"No, I don't see," he says. "It would be easier for me not to have to figure out all this stuff about inferior and superior. I can tell if people are bad--if they sneer, and beat their dogs and shoot each other and stuff like that. That's inferior. But--"

"Let me put it this way, son. How would you like it if I took Anna to the movies tonight? And sat beside her?"

"What's playing?"

"Now what the hell difference--excuse me, son. I asked you a civilized question."

"You asked me how I would like for you to take Anna to the movies and sit beside her, and I said what's playing, because--"

"Listen, you little ninny! If I sat beside a Negro in the movies we would be ostracized by polite society! Nobody would play with you any more."

"Why, Papa?"

"Because that's the way things are. People would say, 'Michael's father is trying to break down the standards in this town. That's what they'd say.'"

"You mean there is a law that says people with dark skins are inferior to--"

"Well, it's practically a law."

"Yes, but it isn't really a law. In fact, the real law, like in the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence--"

* * *

I stand up, breathing hard.

"I do not propose to argue with you, Michael. I'm telling you that white people are superior to Negroes and if you don't understand it that's just your hard luck, but you better do as I say or I'll whale the stuffing out of you. You understand that, don't you?"

Mike is shocked and hurt and his chin quivers.

"Yes, Papa. I understand that."

"All right. I'm sorry I lost my temper for a minute, but--"

"That's all right, Papa. If you say Negroes are inferior I'll try to understand it. I will try. I'm a white boy. I am white, ain't I, Papa? All white?"

"You certainly are, son."

"Yes, and that makes me superior to all the kids and all the grown-ups too that have got dark skin?"

"Yes, sir."

"No matter what bad things I do, I'm superior to them, no matter what good

(CONTINUED ON PAGE 4)

(PROGRAM TAKES, cont. from page 1)

in the progress of the Negro race, she has long been affiliated with progressive organizations which have developed her to numerous conferences, some of which are the National Youth Congress, the first woman's Congress, and the International Students Service Congress.

There have been several unsuccessful attempts here to organize a N.Y.C.P. chapter. Through a persistent drive she energized the nucleus of the organization which has resulted in the development of the organization.

Miss Gloria Odan's home is in Yonkers, New York. She attended school through the seventh grade, then went to New Rochelle, New York. She graduated from high school in 1940 and came to Howard to major in history. She has taken many subjects here that are outside of her field and her requirements, in order that, as Miss Odan says, "I will have a well-rounded education." Her hobbies are writing, singing, and reading. She has written plays, poems and short stories, which have been published in the Hilltop and also the city newspaper. When she was in the sixth grade she edited and published her own magazine which she sold at 25¢ per copy, each week. Another hobby is collecting spoons and making miniature furniture out of them. She belongs to the Howard Singers, the Fellowship council. Her church preference is Methodist.

ESTER PARADE

By Harry Walters

How were you on Easter Sunday?
Verna Smith - Went to see "Casablanca"
Schariah Jennings - Went to Zoological Park, to the Capital, and then took my girl to dinner and to "Life begins" at 8:30.
Lehti Washington - Spent an enjoyable day with Dolmar W. Little
Myrtle Bowman - Walked around Helms Point and was tired Easter Monday.
Lillian Reynolds - Cruised the Potomac in a row-boat.
Analee Daniels - Entertained charming Victor Thompson (bragging)
Charles Stewart - Went home (Youngtown) saw the kids.
Oliver Newton - Did nothing (tohi tohi)
Flens Johnson - Went horseback riding.

(I JUST WANT TO SAY, ESTER, cont from page 1)

Cry, kid, if it helps any, weep your heart out.

It's pouring rain--nobody's looking, no one will know

But don't stop walking--they're depending on you to hold the line.

You can't let 'em down now, you can't.

But the man inside, Lord,

He's only a little man.

He's a Greek.

Hitler took his country,
America's the only place he's got.

But America is the only place I've got, too, Lord.

He's been here twenty-eight years,

He's in restaurant business here in Washington.

Sometimes he's run it for white, sometime for colored,

But never for white and colored,--not in Washington.

I'm colored, Lord.

I went in and asked him for a cup of coffee,

He told me I could take it outside,

I said, "But I eat at tables too, you know."

He said, "If I let you eat, you'll ruin my trade."

He said, "I've been having bad luck, lately, I'm just getting back on my feet. If you come in here you'll put me out of business."

I said, "Wister, we don't want to put you out of business, we just want something to eat."

He said, "I know, but this is Washington, the white people won't eat with you. I feel sorry for you people."

It's funny, Lord, it don't make sense,
He's feeling sorry for my people,
and I'm feeling sorry for his people, yet we can't sit down together.

I said, "Wister, my brother's in Africa. He's fighting for you, Wister. He's fighting to give the Greeks back their country--he's dying for you, Wister. Doesn't that give me a right to eat here?"

He said, "I know it--I've got a son, too, fighting."

I said, "Well, Wister, your son and my
(CONT ON PAGE 6, COL 2)

"ings they do?"
I mop the perspiration off my lip.
"Racially, you--yes, that's right, Michael. It--ch--of course you want to
be as good a white person as you can."
"Is it good to look down on other human beings, Papa?"
"Uh--yes." I feel very tired. "Yes. It's good to do that, Michael."
"You look sort of sick, Papa."
"It's stuffy in here, Son. What say we go outside?"
"All right."
We walk out into the sunlight.
"Papa, there's that old dog lying in the sun. Papa, can I hit the old dog
with a hoe?"
"Hit the--of course not, Michael. What makes you want to hit the dog with
a hoe?"
"I don't know, Papa. I just feel like hitting the dog with a hoe. I
never wanted to hit the dog before but--"
"No. You hit the dog with a hoe and I'll--No, Son. You go in the house.
Maybe Anna can take you down and buy you an ice cream cone or something."
"Anna? Why I wouldn't want to be seen with her, would I, Papa?"
* * *

And so on.

Of course the joker in all this is that a Southern father doesn't have to sit
down with his son on a certain afternoon and force the kid to learn the illogical,
unreasonable, and unChristian, immoral lesson of super-racism.

The false lesson of racism is taught to little Southern boys gradually, in
many ways. The Negro's earnings are kept low, so he can't afford to be as clean
and well-dressed as whites. His diet is not calculated to fill him with energy, so
he seems lazy. He is made to live apart in the towns, to study apart in the schools
to sit apart in the movies and the street cars. And so the white kids' minds
and hearts are twisted slowly--by seeing and feeling and living with the crooked
idea that human beings with dark skins are ipso facto inferior to human beings
with white skins.

In time, all the good white fathers of the South will surely discover this,
as many already have discovered it. And they will be sickened--in the same way that
a race-indoctrination session in the woodshed would sicken them. And they will do
away with Jim Crowism, not because they love the Negro but because they love their
own children and want them to grow up straight.

And as whole generations of white Southern kids grown up straight-thinking
and straight-feeling, the South will begin to thrive. The whole nation will be
lifted. And the Negroes will be free to find their own level, each one individual.
The brilliant ones will take their place beside the brilliant whites, the naturally
dopey ones will take their place beside the naturally dopey whites.

This is what happens in a democracy--and it is happening in the South today.

YOURS AS ALWAYS,

Bill

N.A.A.C.P. By Angela Johnson
After the first of race riots in 1903
in Philadelphia, the N.A.A.C.P. was
founded in Philadelphia in 1909.
It was the first time
the Civil War.

One of the articles written by a
Dr. William W. Chittenden, who later
became New York Administrator, Dr.
Joseph P. Kamp, met in 1909 and there formed
the N.A.A.C.P. Miss Ovin took a
bill, which described the our use of the
formation of such an organization which
stated a desire for all believers in
democracy to join in a national confer-
ence for the discussion of present evils,
voicing of protests, and the removal of
the struggle for civil and political li-
berty. Some of those signing the original
bill were: Jane Addams, Prof. John Dewey,
Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, Wm. Lloyd Garrison,
Abbi Emil Hirsch, Mary E. McDowell, Judge
Wendell Stafford, Mary E. Woolley,--Presi-
dent of St. Roberts, Rev. Francis Grimke.

The work which has been done by this
organization has taken long hours and years
of untiring and ceaseless labor in pursu-
ing their avowed aims:--

Origin of N.A.A.C.P. was in July 1910
for the purpose of obtaining civil rights.
Specifically its aims are, (1) the ending
of lynching (2) the wiping out of peonage
and debt slavery in southern agriculture
life (3) the ending of discriminatory
(4) the abolition of injustices in legal
procedure based on color or race (5)
equitable distribution of funds for edu-
cation (6) abolition of segregation, dis-
crimination, insult and humiliation based
on color or race (7) a facility of oppor-
tunity to work in all fields with pay for
equal work.

Their drive against lynching, for ex-
ample, began through placing full and half-
page advertisements in nine dailies titled
"The Shame of America". This was in sup-
port of the Dyer Anti Lynching Bill which
they are still striving to have passed.
This association is the first to organize
action against lynching and has carried on
this fight for over 15 years.

It has done major jobs for the people
not only through fights against the above
mentioned evils, but through keeping alive and
organizing the colored people of America the

(I JUST WANT TO SAY, MISTER, cont from
page 5, col 2)

brother, they're fighting together out
there--death hasn't got any Jim
Crow line--"

He says, "I know, but the time isn't ripe.
I said, "But mister, don't you under-
stand, my brother is fighting for
your country.

Hitler took your country,
He crushed your people,
And Hitler believes in all this Jim Crow
stuff,--
He swears by it."

He said, "I'm not Greek, now. I'm an
American now--I look out my papers--"

Oh God ! I beat my breast, I beat my breast
Lord ! I yelled it !

"But I am an American, too.
and, mister, if you don't serve us,
we're gonna come in here and sit.
we're gonna sit with our empty trays,
we're gonna sit and stare at you, and
say nothing

We'll be your conscience. Our stark and
hungry eyes will wear you down, mister.
Please try it our way, mister.

He doesn't understand, Lord,
I don't want to run him out of business,
But I can't let the kids down--

He said, "Give me time to think--"

I said, "But mister, we've been thinking for
three hundred years--he've been giv-
ing you three hundred years to think.
Now we're tired of waiting.

But I don't know, Lord.
He's a little man. He's a Greek, He has
no country,

And sometimes I think I don't have a
country, too--

Now Lord, what must I do--
I don't want to run him out of business--
But I can't let the kids down.

I've got thirty minutes to go.
And I'm cold,
I'm hungry,
I'm wet--

Lord, you be the judge--
Tell us both what to do----

Sense of racial vigilance and the conviction
that their future depends upon a re-
alization of what the race is justly en-
titled to and a determination to serve it.

The El Paso, Texas case in which the
N.A.A.C.P. fought for the negro participation
in the white primary was won in 1934.

In 1923 sixty seven men were freed from the clutches of a Southern court after a four year fight by the NAACP, these men, meeting to discuss better cotton prices in Arkansas, were shot at by whites and upon defending themselves were promptly arrested and charged with starting an uprising among the whites.

Innumerable southern Negroes accused of rape have been acquitted through their lawyers. Among them are Turley Wright, (1927), William Harper, Jack Ross, etc. We are all acquainted with the Scottsboro case which the NAACP took up in 1931 and fought through to the end.

Rev. Francis Grigg, in stating his sympathy with the NAACP, included these four reasons "1. because the organization is one which has as its objective, the securing of rights, (2) because he is an American citizen, (3) because he is a Negro American citizen (4) because he believed in God and his moral laws."

Dr. Mordecai Johnson in October 1929 edition of Crisis stated: "The NAACP has mastered the weapon of propaganda and logical approach, along with the report of powerful minds". "It is composed of militant black and white men, including southern sons of abolitionists who have been faced with the unequivocal alternative between truth and lying, between honor and dishonor, between open violence and human justice, and have come forth on the right side.

Only with the cooperation of every man their great organization been able to carry on its many projects. Now with the cooperation of the entire Negro race the accomplishments can multiply as never before. You as a member of the Negro race must come forth to battle on the home front.

Sometimes I wonder--

E. O. Stokes.

Everyone knows this is the beginning of that immortal classic, "Stardust". Also everyone who's in the know, is aware that this was the theme of the snazzy little semi-formal the Truth Tellers put on fish day nite past.

This affair was given on Truth Hall's roof garden and hugs police with thousands of silvery stars wraxling their

dust down on the slowly drifting couples. One "re-deck" put it that certain mood by the blue lighting and such numbers as "his went for my."

The heavy lovelies of Truth Hall tripped gaily down to meet their escorts and guests, one of their dear professors among them, namely Dr. Golligly. About the middle of the evening an interesting little game was played. Each person was given a slip on which was the name of one half of a famous couple. The results, when the other halves were found, were indeed very interesting.

One of the high spots of this little evening was the bar. On entering, one saw a sign pointing to the penthouse and bar respectively. Of course the latter was intriguing to everyone and many tours of inspection were made to said place. Once there, one was confronted with an amusing little setup lighted in our pet color, blue. It was done up with sparkling cocktail glasses and the names of various of those well known brands. "Schenley" will give you an idea of what I mean. However I must inform you that nothing but straight roof punch was served from this "bar."

The dance well lived up to its name, when on the last number, which needless to say was "Stardust" many of the stars fell into the dust.

But for the anti-climax. After a quick metamorphosis from roof garden to bare living room, the undecorating committee, clad in everything from their gowns down to slax and P. J's., spent an enjoyable few hours playing all the numbers on the box and generally knocking themselves out.

Sometimes I wonder why we don't do this more often.

Easter Parade - Con'd. from page 5

Gloria Garrett - didn't do anything unusual. (which could mean a lot of things.)

Henry Orr - went home (York) - stayed sober long enough to look up some old (girl) friends.

Marjorie Jackson - went to the drug store to get some ice-cream.

Esther Stokes - In Baltimore, noting the cats on Pennsylvania Avenue.

Bx 1692

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MRS ELEANOR ROOSEVELT

THE WHITE HOUSE

UNDERSTAND COMPLETION APPOINTMENT SIX-MAN FEPC COMMITTEE
EXPECTED MOMENTARILY. CONVINCED GRAVE ERROR IF WOMAN
MEMBER NOT INCLUDED. WOMAN WOULD BALANCE TENSIONS AND HELP
OVER TACTLESS SITUATIONS. SURE YOU UNDERSTAND. PLEASE DO WHAT
YOU CAN TO HELP ON THIS ISSUE. BELIEVE CAROLINE F WARE FRIEND OF
MISS HILDA SMITH FITS ADMIRABLY BUT PRESENT ISSUE APPOINTMENT
OF WOMAN NOT PARTICULAR PERSONALITY

PAULI MURRAY.

100
May 11, 1943

My dear Miss Murray:

I am sorry I cannot accept your invitation, but I have guests here at the White House that night.

I was glad to hear from you and would like to have you and Pauline Redmond Coggs come in to tea with me sometime soon. Can you get away at five o'clock? The poem is well done.

Very sincerely yours,

Miss Pauli Murray
Residence Box 130
Howard University
Washington, D. C.

MCT:HY

5/4/43

Dear Miss Thompson -

Please forgive this handwritten lengthy letter, but I'm sure Mrs. Roosevelt will be interested when she gets time to read it.

Since the time is short, do you think you could get it through to her rather quickly?

And really, I've been very good.
Haven't imposed a long letter on
her since last summer -

Sincerely & hopefully -

Pauli Murray

P.S. The printed material is for her
lecture. So often she gets complaints
that it might be good if she got some positive

things for a change.



RESIDENCE

Bot 130

MAY 8 1943

Howard University
WASHINGTON, D. C.

May 4, 1943

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt -

line
5-11-43

May sound strange, but I prayed for the President in that coal situation, that he might have strength & vision to do the right thing.

Many good things have happened since I talked to you last August. The balance sheet of race relations is not wholly in the red. Do hope you read an article in the Winter Edition, 1942, of South Today called Alternative Weapons in which I collaborated last summer.

You may have read of the Howard Chapter NAACP, Civil Rights Committee which induced a white proprietor (Greek) to change his policy from "white only" to all races - at the Little Palace Cafeteria at 14 & U. Streets.

After getting a change of policy by sitting inside the restaurant and

picketing outside (not "don't patronize" signs - but signs such as the OWI "United We Win", "We Die Together, Why Can't We Eat Together"? and "There is no segregation law in Washington D.C. - What's your story, Little Palace?") we are now pursuing a policy of reconciliation and cooperation with Mr. Chacoma, the proprietor. He has to date lost $\frac{1}{3}$ of his trade as a result of his change of policy, but $\frac{2}{3}$ of his white trade remains. Off the record we are trying to help him maintain his trade (altho that might not be our business) but his prices are too high for college students, and his food is too distasteful for liberal inter-racial groups who are literally crying for a place to hold luncheon or dinner meetings.

Anyway, you'll be glad to know that your concern over healing the wounds of inter-racial conflict made a profound impression on me when I talked with you in N.Y.C., and that I'm trying to think through means of reconciliation in these cases.

Secondly, you will be pleased to know that we have developed friendly relations with the students of American University over the past year. We invited them to



Howard University
WASHINGTON, D. C.

a chocolate hour discussion on Inter- and Intra-Racial Relationships back in February. The following week the D. U. Student Christian Fellowship invited about 30 of us to their fellowship hour followed by tea. Then on the Wednesday before Easter the Chorus of American U. and Howard U. gave a joint concert ^{of Easter music} down at the Archives. They sang separately in certain numbers, then the D. U. musical director directed the two choirs arranged functionally (negro and white sopranos together, etc) and mixed in two numbers, and this was repeated under the direction of H. U. Dean of Music Lawson. (The Archives management made recordings of the entire concert)

It was wonderful, Mrs. Roosevelt. It was real democracy in action, and the ^{all} students went through with it over the opposition of the Board of Trustees at D. U. and the withdrawal of some choir members.

Forgive me for such a lengthy letter when you're so busy, but out of all this some of us have concluded that in order

to carry forth this media of intelligent ^{creative} agitation for the expansion of minority rights, we must have technical training in leadership. I am convinced that our music, our poetry, our physical attractiveness have not been used sufficiently by groups of us as weapons for advancement. I believe the positive approach of conversion rather than complete bludgeoning (on the student level) may introduce a new era in race relations, even in the South.

To that end we (a student faculty committee here at Howard) are sponsoring a Leadership Training Institute (one-day-affair) at Howard U. to discuss techniques of organization, of securing and using factual information, of working with community organizations, of lobbying, methods of creative publicity, and analysis of various techniques of pressure. As the student faculty committee now conceives it there will be - (if all speakers accept)

May 22, 1943 - Saturday

- 9-10:30 - Keynote Talk - Dr. Mordecai Johnson
- 10:30-11:00 - Registration for Panels
- 11:00-12:30 - Panel on Techniques of Organization
- 12:30-1:30 - Lunch



Howard University
WASHINGTON, D. C.

1:30 - 3:00 - Panel on How to Secure & Use
Information

3:30 - 5:00 - Analysis of Pressure Techniques -
Lobbying, Letter Writing, Picketing etc.

7:00 P.M. - Summation & Dinner Meeting.

It has occurred to me that you would be
an ideal person to speak at our dinner meeting
because of your interest in young people and
leadership training. We're hoping to get such
trained people as Pauline Redmond Caggs,
Anna M. Hedgeman, Miss Lillian Smith of South
Today if she can make the trip, Dr. Caroline
F. Ware, (formerly of Miss Elliott's OPA staff and
now teaching at H.U. and A.U.), Franke Horne
of Housing, Ted Poston of OWI, etc.

We would also like to invite students
from the white colleges here - particularly
A.U., George Washington U. and Catholic U.

I know this is terribly short notice but if you could possibly do it, it would be a real treat for us. If we could succeed in drawing out the poison of racial resentment and hatred from our trained negro youth, I believe that a new era of race relations will have been introduced. This can be done by giving them confidence in their own resources and by constant interracial contact ^{on positive levels.}

Please try to make it, if you can.

I am enclosing a ^{poem} I wrote with other material which ^{may} interest you.

My best greetings to one who symbolizes American motherhood on Mother's Day.

Sincerely,

Pauli Murray

I wish I could have greeted you that night. I was glad to hear. Would you & Pauline Richmond Poyser like to come in to the little me sometime soon? Can you get away at five o'clock. The poem is well done.

Bx 1692

100

June 12, 1943

Dear Miss Murray:

Thank you for your letter. It was very sad to have this accident happen to our grandson and I hope it will not upset him too much. I do not think his having a gun is tied up with the war. He belongs to a family which goes hunting and has been taught to shoot as a sport.

I do not feel quite as you do about war. I shall be happy and deeply relieved when peace comes, but I do feel we can build a better world on the ashes of war if we are intelligent enough and do not allow any people to be so low in morale that they are willing to accept a gangster like Hitler.

I am glad your mother enjoyed your version of your visit and I hope she will soon be feeling better.

Sincerely yours,

0

Miss Pauli Murray
906 Carroll St.
Durham, N.C.



6-12

JUN 10 1943

RESIDENCE Bot 130

Howard University
WASHINGTON, D. C.

906 Carroll St.
Durham, N. C.
June 7, 1943

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt -

I couldn't help seeing the enclosed and knowing how you feel about it. We cannot expect to put guns in the fathers' hands and not have little children follow unconsciously in their footsteps.

I've been retracing childhood footsteps among old neighbors this morning. One Negro mother has four sons in the Army, one of whom is in ~~Negro~~ North Africa now. She said "My oldest son was born in the last war. And they're no more than grew up when this war has taken them." That's the story everywhere - sorrow, despair, praying for peace.

You're a mother - and I know how you feel about these things. I'm almost praying for an internal collapse of the Axis powers, so we can stop all this bloodshed. The civilian casualties - heart failure, nervous

strain, utter weariness and heartaches - women and men - are mounting, we won't be able to escape our guilt in this war, and your compassion tells you that. We cannot build a new world out of bullets and blood. Our faith has taught us every thing to the contrary.

I know the restrictions which encompass you as a public figure - but in your heart I know you are praying for a just peace before it is too late.

Forgive my brutal frankness, but you've always been able to count on my search for truth. Pauline Redmond Coggins feels pretty much the same way, only she tries to accept. I must speak out against war, even to the extent of trying to purge myself of the racial conflicts within.

Sincerely and with sympathy,

Pauli

P.S. My mother enjoyed my version of our visit with you. She isn't well, and I'm glad to be home with her for a while.

I don't feel grateful for it. I shall be glad to be home, on and on deeply behind but I do feel we can build a better world on this

Grandson Of President Fatally Wounds Playmate

Philadelphia, June 6.—(AP)—Ten-year-old William Donner Roosevelt, son of Lieut. Col. Elliott Roosevelt and a grandson of President Roosevelt, accidentally shot and killed an 11-year-old playmate today, Montgomery County Coroner W. J. Rushong said.

Coroner Rushong identified the dead boy as Lewis Hutchinson, 11, of Ardmore. He said the accident occurred at the home of young Roosevelt's mother, Mrs. Elizabeth Donner Winsor, at Edgemont, in suburban Delaware County.

The boys were playing with a .22 calibre rifle, Rushong declared, when the rifle was "accidentally discharged." The bullet passed completely through Lewis' body.

Mrs. Winsor rushed the Hutchinson boy to the Bryn Mawr Hospital where attaches pronounced him dead on arrival.

Bx 1692

100

July 26, 1943.

Dear Miss Murray:

I have your poem dated July
21st.

I am sorry but I understand.

Very sincerely yours,

Miss Pauli Murray
112 East 19th Street
New York, New York.

VDS

You know how I feel about this

MR. ROOSEVELT REGRETS

ark
7/26/43

JUL 22 1943

What'd you get, black boy,
When they knocked you down in the gutter,
And they kicked your teeth out,
And they broke your skull with clubs
And they bashed your stomach in?
What'd you get when the police shot you in the back,
And they chained you to the beds
While they wiped the blood off your union card?
What'd you get when you cried out to the Top Man?
When you called on the man next to God, so you thought,
And you asked him to speak out to save you?
What'd the Top Man say, black boy?

"Mr. Roosevelt regrets....."

Pauli Murray
July 21, 1943

Upon reading FM newspaper's account of Mr. Roosevelt's statement on the recent race clashes: "I share your feeling that the recent outbreaks of violence in widely spread parts of the country endanger our national unity and comfort our enemies. I am sure that every true American regrets this."

December 1, 1945

100

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

I am most grateful to you for your courtesy in forwarding the message addressed to me by the underground organization of Polish women in Poland.

I would be very appreciative if you would be so kind as to thank them for their greeting and convey to them my deep admiration for their courage and fortitude during the long years under Nazi oppression.

Please also convey to these brave women my conviction that the day of Poland's liberation is at hand when they may again live in a world at peace and devote their energies to their normal pursuits of life.

Very sincerely yours,

His Excellency
Stanislaw Mikolajczyk
Prime Minister of Poland
London, England . #

HY

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 27, 1943

MEMORANDUM FOR MISS THOMPSON:

I am sending on to you the attached file containing a letter for the signature of Mrs. Roosevelt, drafted by the Department of State. If you will return it to me, we shall be glad to see that the letters are forwarded to the State Department for transmittal.

M. C. L.

Bx. 1735



copy

RESIDENCE Box 130

June 4, 1944

Pauli Murray

Howard University

WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

100

Jan
Jan

Dear President and Mrs. Roosevelt:

May I express my appreciation for your recognition of my graduation from law school. The graduation itself was a moral victory over many family difficulties and complexes.

I want to thank you, personally, Mr. President for what you have taught me unconsciously during my observation of your public career. It is reported that you learned the art of letter-writing during a period of extreme personal difficulty with your health. I've followed that technique, knowing that many people who would shut the door on a brown face might take time to read a letter if my put my heart into it. I also want to reiterate my own high regard, that of my family and friends, for Mrs. Roosevelt's graciousness and generosity, which, combined with your geniality and your mutual imagination, makes you the most popular family in the United States.

May I address myself to the 4th Term issue, giving the opinion of only one citizen? In my own thinking I separate you from the Democratic Party, because I believe you and your family transcend the party. I believe your great success as incumbents of the White House has been because, not a single man guided the country, as in Lincoln's time, but a whole family and its doings has helped to guide the country. Many people who normally would not vote for the Democratic party, have cast their votes for you, Mr. President, because they wanted to keep both you and Mrs. Roosevelt in the White House.

There is something about the Roosevelt family, the most widely discussed, most publicly congenial family, the most nearly American, (the "ham-and-eggs-for-breakfast" family) which has caused the American people to consider you permanent fixtures in the White

House, a kind of "good luck" symbol, so to speak. Your kind consideration of individual requests, your development of wide governmental information services, your experimentations with various kinds of governmental techniques for the solution of massive problems, will be remembered, I hope, long after you leave. Despite political sniping and back-biting, I am reminded of Thomas Jefferson's Presidential speech when he turned the emphasis back to the country's needs and not to the immediate heat of the election campaign. Like the CIO, you have caught the imagination of the American people, and the mere fact it is possible to talk of a 4th Term is sufficient tribute to your all-time popularity.

I believe you both, as leaders of the American people, having been trained in the same denominational faith as I, must be in conflict over the supreme sacrifice of men, materials, and human personality which has been thrown into this war. I believe you both long for peace and good-will as much as I do as a private citizen. I know the personal cost it must take to prosecute a war which is contrary to your faith as a Christian, and I understand the forces which have led you to take the only course you felt you could take.

These seem to be the human factors, or a few of them, in the 4th Term issue. I am concerned and disturbed over the political factors.

As a Socialist, I cannot vote for your party, because I believe in the platform of the Socialist party as announced yesterday, or will be announced today. As a pacifist I cannot condone war, but must seek to find effective alternatives. Hence my pre-occupation with "non-violent" techniques and my utter ignorance of politics.

ed
But I am interest/ in good government and effective government. Because both of you have broken precedent after precedent, it is not so difficult for me to submit two proposals, which I have already submitted to the socialist Party, for your consideration.

(1) There is much in the English system of government which we might adopt. One thing is popular approval of the Administrative arm of government when there is a contest between such arm and the legislative arm. Why could not such governmental technique be adapted to the American form of government. That is, why could not our President, Vice-President and his Cabinet, roughl~~y~~ called the Administration which corresponds to the British Cabinet, let the people resolve a conflict between the Congress and the Administration, by a vote of confidence. Could this be done by legislative act? By Constitutional Amendment? Would it take

Bx 1735

RESIDENCE _____



Howard University

WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

too long? Is it feasible? Would it be an improvement upon the American form of government? That is, where the Administration forces are convinced that electoral reform is a democratic necessity, and the Congress thwarts the Administration on this point, would not resignation of the President and his Cabinet throw the issue immediately to the population, rather than going through the cumbersome procedure of recall of ~~Congressional~~ representatives which has never been used extensively. *stangle*

Would not such procedure cut through the red tape which now hampers the effective connection between the President as unifying force of all the people, and the Congress, composed of many diverse interests and elements?

(2) How could there be provided within the framework of American government (other than by Constitutional amendment), a voice for minority political groups who may have a definite contribution to make toward good government? Is there anything in the Constitution which forbids it? At present state election laws are so rigid, a minor political party has little chance of getting on a nationwide ballot, and even then it only registers a protest vote against the two major parties.

As a citizen, I want my vote to count. In a 4th term election, I would be representative of many hundreds of thousands, who would not want to vote the Democratic ticket, and would therefore leave the battle to be fought between "Tweedledum and Tweedledee." But were there proportional representation in the Federal Congress, the votes of Socialists, independent labor groups, Negroes and other interest groups could be used to good advantage, without endangering the presidential candidate of one's choice. This might be done through using country-wide Congressmen-at-large. Then minority groups with similar programs and common interests could combine their votes on several Congressional candidates instead of wasting them in each state. It would also mean, that as a Socialist, for example, I could split my ticket, voting for the Presidential candidate of my choice, yet voting for a Socialist Congressman. It

would also give critics of the present Administration an opportunity to assume positions of responsibility, and to become exposed to some of the fire of criticism which always is levelled at persons in office. It might even modify such criticism which they now feel must be made of the present Administration, because they then see the inner workings of democracy in action.

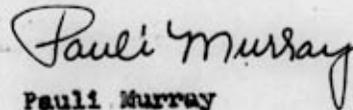
You see, Mr. and Mrs. President, minority groups, whether they be political or racial, are vociferous and perhaps even "bumptious", because they believe their interests or their point of view is not being considered, or that they are frustrated in their attempts to participate in the making of the very policy which affects them. It is not enough to tell them they must work out some of their problems through state election machinery. The Federal government far overshadows the state governments, and in the interests of social progress that is as it should be.

Give them recognition and responsibility and they will bend over backwards trying to prove to you they are "making the grade."

Please sir and ma'am, I'm not trying to revolutionize government overnight, but like a lot of confused liberals and radicals I'm voicing an opinion which might merit discussion in those governmental circles where more information and knowledge is centered than I have at my immediate command.

My best wishes to both of you.

Very sincerely,



Pauli Murray

copy to: Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt.

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

100

June 5, 1944

Dear Miss Murray:

Thank you for letting me see your letter to Mr. Murphy. I am returning it herewith.

I am enclosing a letter of introduction to Miss Rose.

Sincerely yours,

0

Miss Pauli Murray
Box 130 Howard Univ.
Washington

PHONE MICHIGAN 6400

*Redeem money for the King in the
South for the day to come.*

THE ASSOCIATED NEGRO PRESS, INC.

SERVING 78 NEWSPAPERS

South for the day to come

ERNEST E. JOHNSON

WASHINGTON BUREAU

2000 - 11TH STREET, N. W.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt.

Pauli Murray, as I think
I forward this to you will be
pleased that it be returned to
her at Box 130 Howard University
She has a splendid story of 6.

Bx 1735

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 7, 1944

for

MISS THOMPSON:

100

Miss Pauli Murray said that Mrs. Roosevelt had asked her about the New Progressive Democratic Party organized by Negroes in South Carolina.

The Chairman of the Party is John McCrae, editor of THE LIGHTHOUSE AND INFORMER, a Negro newspaper. The address is Columbia, South Carolina.

CAH

STANDARD FORM No. 14A
APPROVED BY THE PRESIDENT
MARCH 10, 1926

TELEGRAM

OFFICIAL BUSINESS—GOVERNMENT RATES

Bx 1735

FROM

The White House
Washington

100

MRS. R:

W.D.L. REQUESTS YOU SPEAK FOR PRESIDENTIAL INTERVENTION
PREVENT RETURNING PEDRO ALBIZU CAIPOS PRESIDENTR PUERTO
RICO NATIONALIST PARTY TO PRISON TOMORROW ATTEMPTING
TO SEE ATTORNEY GENERAL RIDDLE

PAULI MURRAY

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

100

June 8, 1944.

Dear Pauli:

I was much amused by your
letter and enjoyed the details of
what I thought a very simple act on
my part.

My best wishes.

Very sincerely,

Miss Pauli Murray
Residence Box 130
Howard University
Washington (1), D. C.

VDS

atingly critical people you ever saw, and they are quick to accuse one of becoming spoiled by "too much recognition." I felt if you wanted to mention the tea, you would have done so in your column, and that I shouldn't be the one to spill it publicly. (I hope the reporters will act wisely in this.)

Anyway, after the exercises, the flowers were still too large and too beautiful to carry home in the car with the whole family. So I suggested to Mr. Nabrit that they be loaned to the honorary dinner for Mrs. Charlott Hawkins Brown and Philip Murray, and that my sister Mildred would pick them up Saturday on her way home from the hospital. He thought that a good idea.

Bubber, my uncle, who teaches in Baltimore, acted like a young boy for all his sixty years. He grabbed up the identification tag, the Mrs and Mrs. Roosevelt formal "regrets" card and every other piece of identification he could get his hands on and rushed off to Baltimore to show them to Raymond, my brother, who couldn't get off from work in a defense plant to my graduation. (I suspect Bubber intends to show them around to all his fellow teachers. I made him promise he wouldn't take them to Carl Murphy, editor of the Afro, but my family has been so incorrigible about this graduation, I can't control them at all. Poor dears -- they have worked so hard and so long for almost nothing but frustration, a little recognition just addles them (and me) completely.)

I had to leave Campus so suggested to Dean Elliott that she say to the Chairman the flowers had been loaned by a graduate for the dinner without calling names. She forgot, and everybody was so tired, they forgot. So at nearly midnight, Mrs. Day and Miss Williams, in charge of Frazier dormitory, found the flowers on the piano. People had streamed in and out looking at them as if they were a great statesman lying in state. Students of music were so inspired they poured their hearts out on the piano -- and those Howard students can really tear a piano to pieces. I just stood off and grinned

Dear Mrs. Day, who has never been officious in her life, thought the flowers had been sent to Mrs. Charlotte Hawkins Brown, the guest of honor, and that in the confusion somebody had forgotten to present them to her. So she and Miss Williams toiled with them over to President Johnson's house, and rang the bell. Young Timmie came to the door and he was told that the flowers were to be presented to Dr. Brown.

Dr. Brown, at that moment, was throwing her things into a suitcase to catch a late train, and could only wonder WHO ON EARTH had sent her such beautiful flowers, and WHERE ON EARTH was the card? She had only time to pull out a few sprigs and to detail Mrs. Johnson to find out who had sent them to her.

My family didn't discover all this until the next morning when Mīā, my sister; sent an attendant for the

flowers. Mrs. Day was mortified. Mil called me in great distress. Mother fumed and foamed and berated me for being "so generous" that I always made a mess of things. I howled. Not knowing that Dr. Brown had left, the important thing was not to let her know the mistake and be embarrassed. So after many secretive telephone calls all around campus, not daring to call the Johnson's, late in the afternoon I did call to find out whether Dr. Brown had left the basket and perhaps one or two twigs which would placate Mother's "Irish" temper, which we all inherit in great disproportion to the other "bloods" in our veins.

The maid answered, the Johnson's were out. The flowers were there and I hot-footed it back to campus to get them and to give Mrs. Day a stalk of gladioli for her pains.

Yesterday, at Communion service, at the Church of the Atonement (which Mrs. Henderson calls At-One-Ment) part of the flowers graced the altar. Rev. and Mrs. Henderson were out pastor and wife at St. Titus in Durham, after my uncle left for the Washington diocese. They told me you had sent them flowers for Easter. They're a grand pair and it was like home-coming to be there for Communion.

Bonnie Fearing, who has an imagination like mine, said they should be wishing flowers, they should never die, and that anybody who got one should wish -- and his wish would come true -- and that as fast as one died, another flower would come to take its place. Hard put to it to satisfy her eager young mind, I told her they were indeed wishing flowers, that they were meant to make many people happy and that they did, in a very unanticipated fashion. So we made wishes on the flowers.

Those on the altar will be carried to the hospital for the sick.

Toni, the Shetland Sheep, year-old family dictator, had sniffed at the basket and indicated his general approval.

And this completes the report on the White House flowers. Pauline Coggs thought you would be amused, hence my giving the details. We only hope that the amusing "doings of the little people" crossing your desk will help to act as a counter-irritant to 8-page letters from poor housewives who have lost their maids and "can't tell where to find them."

May I express my family's interest and concern over the rumors that Mr. Roosevelt has not been too well, and to say that both of you are remembered in our family prayers.

Sincerely,

Pauline

100

June 18, 1944

Dear Miss Murray:

Thank you for letting me read your poem.
It is a fine poem - not too bitter.

I like to hear from you. Where will you be
this summer?

Sincerely,

Miss Pauli Murray
Box 130
Howard University



1111 2 - 1944
1/2

RESIDENCE BOX 130

Howard University
WASHINGTON, D. C.

from [unclear] [unclear] [unclear]
June 1944 [unclear]

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt -

Thank you for the letter of introduction
to Miss Rose.

The enclosed poem is being
published in the coming issue of South
Today. Do not read it now, but at your
leisure. I do not want to make wounds
deeper, hence when you read it, will you
tell me whether it remains sufficiently
objective not to hurt the white people
of the South. With your comment, I'll be ready to
turn it loose.

I've held it for a year, just to be
sure. Even so I still resist a strong ending.
It is the fragment of a longer poem which
a legal career has interrupted.

Sincerely

P.S. your column on D-Day ^{Pauli} was eloquent. Mother
says I've written you too much lately, and
that I should not bother you so much. I shall
try to let this "close my account" for the summer.

Bx. 1785

188

Hyde Park, New York
June 20, 1944

Dear Pauli:

I am sorry I will not be back in Washington again before you leave, as I expect to be here most of the summer.

I saw Pauline Coggs and hope she will come up here for lunch some day this summer.

I think you are wise to go on working and do let me hear from you from time to time.

Sincerely,

Miss Pauli Murray
Box 130
Howard Univ.

HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON, D. C.

Law
SCHOOL OF ADMINISTRATION
DEPARTMENT OF MANAGEMENT

June 12, 1944

JUN 14 1944

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Your letter on the flowers relieved me. Harry McAlpin was the one reporter who said nothing, asking no questions, but stole the story.

This is just to say your column on D-Day was eloquent. You seemed to reach your full stature as a columnist. The whole series of incidents leading up to D-Day has shaken me to my very roots. I suddenly realized how great the strain must have been upon you and the President, and yet you found time to heed our puny little requests.

The new turn of events has made me restless. Coincidentally with listening to the President's prayer, Agnes Martocci, Ed Welsh and I (three colleagues from old Workers Education days) received the news through Agnes' letter marked "Missing" that Neil Scheinman (Russell), one of our most engaging fellow teachers and comrades, was one of those lost in Italy. He was killed in action on February 19th.

I'm having a difficult time, therefore, not to apply for work in UNRRA for foreign service, and to carry forth my obligation of graduate study. My present plan is to go forward with graduate work, but to include therein such courses and languages as will qualify me for UNRRA next June -- if I can be that patient.

I don't know whether Pan Stone told you, but the thing most on Mrs. Bethune's mind is the development of the National Council House, with guest rooms upstairs, so "we may invite our friends" to stay overnight when they are in town, as she put it. She is concerned over the fact that when people like Miss Lillian Smith, or yourself, or others come to town, there is no place we can invite them. She dreams that the National Council will be that kind of place. I understand what she means and know that you do. It's the human heart longing to break bread with its friends in its own home -- that Southern hospitality which won't be downed.

Pan Stone is very anxious to work with Mrs. Bethune in any capacity in which she can be useful.

I did not thank you for the Tea. You will never know how much it meant to me to have those particular five people together.

I am enclosing some material which I believe will interest you. Harvard has not yet officially turned me down, altho they're trying to decoy me over to Radcliffe and Radcliffe's catalogue says nothing about courses in law.

My sister and I plan to leave for California on June 27th. If you have not left for Hyde Park, I should like to see you for a few minutes before I go.

Sincerely,

Pauli
I have left in a hurry
I saw Pan Stone & Miss
Come up here for lunch this evening
I thought you would enjoy seeing the house

Pan Stone

Bx. 1735

*Harvard appeal returned.

July 3, 1944.

100

Dear Pauli:

Thank you very much for your
letter. I loved your Harvard appeal.

Sincerely,

Miss Pauli Murray
Box 120
Howard University
Washington (1), D. C.

VDS



SCHOOL OF LAW

HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

FOUNDED BY GENERAL G. O. HOWARD

*auth
7/9/44.*

June 24, 1944

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I was very glad to get your letter from Hyde Park. Haven't it before me, but am sending you the latest story on the "Harvard Howl". A number of newspaper fellows are just itching to publish the whole thing -- they have got leakings of President Roosevelt's intercession, but I'm turning the whole files over to Dean Hastie, having learned from the University of North Carolina fight that it is not prudent to carry a fight alone if you can get somebody else to fight it for you.

Have been following your column recently - was particularly interested in your comments on Labor Relations and the C. O.'s. You know I'm a C.O., of course. I was just wondering if U.N.N.R.A. couldn't use some of the trained C.O.'s.

Mr. Hugh McBeth, an attorney of Los Angeles, and who recently had some relations with the State Department has indicated a desire to have me come out and do some work in his office. His family and mine were close friends in Baltimore. I do not know him personally very well, or what the newspaper story about him and the State Department was all about. I'd be interested in finding out.

I'm sending you the Harvard letter, not the President this time, since Hyde Park is probably much less hectic than Washington. We all hope for you a thorough rest and much happiness this summer. I can never forget you for contributing so much to my mother's(aunt) life. She will remember this visit to Washington for the rest of her life and I believe it will bring her a new

happiness she has never known. I hope so anyway. Sincerely, *Pauli*

P.S. May I send regards to Miss Thompson. She's such a grand spot.

*I found your Harvard appeal E.P.
(return)*

100

July 23, 1944

Dear Pauli: *Murray*

I was not aware that I ever opposed the scattering of Negro people in different parts of the country. In fact, that is one of the things that I thought I had rather openly advocated, and I particularly think it would be a great thing for the returning soldiers. I hope that a certain amount of land will be allocated to them on a percentage basis in new developments where dams, etc., are to be built.

I am glad you like my book and I hope you are going to get on well in California. Los Angeles is a confusing place at first but I think the people are gay and free. I feel just as you do about the country as a whole. It is a wonderful place when you see it as you did.

All good wishes,

Sincerely,



Book

Howard University
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

RESIDENCE C/o Mrs. Clara Scripps
2131 W. 28 Street
Los Angeles, Cal.

July 14, 1944

JUL 17 1944

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt -

I've just finished "This is My Story"
by you. Funny I had never run across it before.
Understand so much now why I have been
drawn to you. My own mother whose memory
I have idealized through the years (she died when I
was 3) was born one year later than you. And
many of your comments on childhood sorrows &
joys are familiar to me. You've taught me some-
thing as a writer - simplicity and directness. It's
a fine book, Mrs. R., and I wish some of your
critics could or would read it with understanding.

Harvard Corporation met yesterday and
my appeal was reviewed. I do not know yet
what the decision was. They will inform me.
University of California has accepted my application
with enthusiasm and the rumor is going the
rounds that U. of Cal. has been rated "no. 1" over
Harvard. Poor old "mule" Harvard! It must be
a sad life up there!

Mrs. Roosevelt, if you will forgive my
irrepressible enthusiasm, you're one of our most
precious citizens and despite all the criticisms

2.

we level at you - and I blush at that file of
correspondence I've filed at you since 1934 -
you are dear to our hearts. Dad Bilbo ought
to be spanked and put to bed. Once I thought you
were too fragile to be exposed to the unkind publicity,
but after reading your book, I know you're of
the fine-tempered steel that "can take it."

My sister, ^{Mil} Mil, went to work at Los Angeles
General Hospital. She's scared stiff, but it should
be a great inspiration to her. It's like a great
temple on a hill. We drove out from Washington,
D.C. - and my love of my country and its people
took ⁱⁿ new life. We're a great people, Mrs. R. If we
can just straighten ourselves out, we'll really
live up to the faith other nations have placed in
us.

The F.M. story of the Georgia elections was heart
breaking - yet it is a great moral advance over
the riots a year ago.

Mrs. R. - you resisted this idea once, but
won't you reconsider the possibility of helping
Negro families to resettle on vacant western
lands - if they desire. I'm astounded at the courtesy
of our western people in the Rocky Mountain
area. If Negroes could spread out, become homesteaders,
the prejudice of slums and cities would
not be so great. Irrigation has made garden
spots of desert land. We drove literally thousands
of miles without seeing a Negro face.

I'm afraid going back South is not a
good answer. ^{any} Negroes have crowded into Northern

RESIDENCE _____



Howard University

WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

and western urban centers, increasing prejudice and racial tensions. With government help, many of us could resettle into co-operative wheat, stock, grain, sheep, homesteaders in Colorado, Utah, Nevada and other vacant unpopulated places. We have a land-heritage. There's no real need to stay in the South and be treated like pariahs.

Please think it over again - there'd be a need for some plan - many plans - in the post-war era. And Mrs. R., the Negro soldiers are so bitter. And Negroes themselves are bitter. There are too few of us who feel American and too many of us who feel hyphenated. Strange as it may seem there's a parallel need to Americanize Negroes as with foreign-born American citizens.

This trip has added much to my own Americanization, altho it's the fourth time I've crossed the country. It has helped to revolutionize my thinking. I keep thinking of post-war economic adjustments and the need to relieve the cities of slums and industrial unemployed and racial tensions, and when I look at all that waste land which could be made a paradise with rural electrification

and irrigation, I believe we could take a long step toward an economic solution of our problem. There will be resistance to such an idea, but I know many young negroes who would be sold upon it. It would take the courage of pioneers, but it would be a spiritual challenge to wrest the land from desert and draught, instead of Indians. (You can see I've been reading historical markers.)

The Department of Interior could help. This does not preclude the economic &c. reconstruction of the south, but I keep believing a more evenly distributed population would also help us conquer our problem of isolationism. The West is so empty

I know you cannot solve the world's ^{in spots} problems by yourself (altho I sometimes write you as if I expected you to), but you know my little theory about you and wishes.

Denver, Colo. is heart warming. They're doing a splendid job on race relations - I think it compares favorably with Springfield.

I gave the White House basket to Frazier Hall. A letter from Mother said we should keep it all our lives. You see how the little people are? What you thought was a "simple act" was more powerful than an army of liberation. Someday I'll tell you my theory about wearing a rose instead of carrying a gun. It has worked every time for me - even in the White House. Sincerely and very fondly - Pauli

COLORADO
Committee of Racial Equality
CORE

CORE has one purpose: to eliminate racial discrimination.
CORE has one method: inter-racial, non-violent direct action.
CORE asks its members to commit themselves to work as an integrated, disciplined group:

by abiding by all democratic group decisions and accepting CORE discipline for all projects in which the individual participates:

by renouncing overt violence in opposing racial discrimination and using the method of non-violent direct action;

which refuses to cooperate with racial injustice;

which seeks to change existing practices by using such techniques as negotiation, mediation, demonstration, and picketing;

which develops a spirit of understanding rather than antagonism.

CORE members find a unique field of action:

in working against discrimination in public places such as restaurants, theaters, schools, churches, etc.

in attempting to attack the more basic social, economic, and political problems of discrimination as they are manifested in such forms as the restrictive covenant.

CORE relates itself to other organizations and individuals on a basis of friendly cooperation with the possibility of mutual action on particular occasions. CORE welcomes the participation of individual members of other groups in specific projects, providing they accept the group discipline.

COLORADO COMMITTEE OF RACIAL EQUALITY
2602 Welton Street Denver 5, Colorado

Printed by Volunteer Printers

MEMBERSHIP APPLICATION BLANK

Committed to the purpose of eliminating all racial discrimination and committed to the method of inter-racial, non-violent direct action, I wish to become a member of the Committee of Racial Equality. I understand that I will abide by all democratic group decisions and accept CORE discipline in all projects in which I participate.

Enclosed is membership fee of one dollar.

Name
Address

Telephone
Date

Mail to--COMMITTEE of RACIAL EQUALITY
2602 Welton St. Denver 5, Colorado

*This is distributed and being studied
carefully by Negroes, Mexicans & Whites. They
tell me it is quite educational to all.*

Civil Rights Law

From the 1935 Colorado Statutes Annotated

CHAPTER 35

"1. EQUALITY OF PRIVILEGES TO ALL PERSONS.

All persons within the jurisdiction of said state shall be entitled to the full and equal enjoyment of the accommodations, advantages, facilities, and privileges of inns, restaurants, eating houses, barber shops, public conveyances on land or water, theatres, and all other places of public accommodation and amusement, subject only to the conditions and limitations established by law and applicable alike to all citizens:

"2. PENALTY AND CIVIL LIABILITY. Any person who shall violate any of the provisions of the foregoing section by denying to any citizen, except for reasons applicable alike to all citizens of every race and color, and regardless of color or race, the full enjoyment of any of the accommodations, advantages, facilities or privileges in said section enumerated, or by aiding or inciting such denial, shall for every such offense forfeit and pay a sum of not less than fifty (50) dollars nor more than five hundred (500) dollars to the person aggrieved thereby, to be recovered in any court of competent jurisdiction in the county where said offense was committed; and shall also for every such offense be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor; and upon conviction thereof, shall be fined in any sum not less than ten (10) dollars, or more than three hundred (300) dollars, or shall be imprisoned not more than one year, or both; and provided, further, that a judgment in favor of the party aggrieved, or punishment upon an indictment or information shall be a bar to either prosecution, respectively."

Bx 1735

100

August 16, 1944.

Dear Pauli:

I like the idea of the
coin and shall pass it along.

Very sincerely yours,

Miss Pauli Murray
~~at Mrs. Glenn Services~~ 5871 Crocker Street
~~Los Angeles, California~~
Los Angeles, California.

VDS

7/30/44 --

I thought you might like to see this.
I think it's a swell idea for a coin - a
penny or something. Understand you are a
subscriber to the War Worker.

Pauli

P.S. 8/5/44 - Mrs. Roosevelt - Dean Kastic
writes that Harvard Medical School will
open to women in 1945. There's hope for
the lawyers!!

P.S. Mrs. R. I just want to say I deeply regret the "Missouri Compromise of 1944" and the defeat of Mr. Wallace as Vice-Presidential candidate. I think Mr. Roosevelt could have felt reasonably certain of a large Negro vote had Mr. Wallace been running with him. I don't know about Mr. Truman -- and don't think it wise to make any comment until one has had a chance to study his record. But Mr. Wallace represents that tough western idealism which makes me wish the capitol were in Denver instead of in Washington. P.M.

Bx 1735

100

August 18, 1944.

My dear Pauli:

I quite understand your use
of the word evacuation and I agree.

I am glad to know your sister
is going to work at the Veterans Hospital
and delighted to have the news about Harvard.

Best wishes,

Miss Pauli Murray
5871 S. Crocker Street
Los Angeles (3), California.

VDS

8/10/44
August 7, 1944

5871 S. Crocker St.
Los Angeles 3, Cal.

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

On July 23rd, 1942 I wrote a very "blistering" letter to the President suggesting that if Japanese-Americans were evacuated from the West Coast for their own protection, "then certainly you have the power to evacuate Negro citizens from lynching areas in the south."

It was in this connection that you wrote me "We would feel a resentment if we had to do this for citizens who have been here as long as most of the white people have."

My use of the word "evacuation" with reference to brown Americans was unfortunate and your answer I took to mean resistance to the idea of removing Negroes from the South with governmental aid and perhaps supervision. Does that explain the phrase in my last letter?

You will be pleased to know that my sister, Mildred, goes to work this morning at the Veteran's Hospital in West Los Angeles (Bonsall). It is a beautiful place, and I believe she will be the first Negro nurse to work out there. She saw no others during the time of her application. She will learn much and will be able to do her bit for the war wounded, I think. She is also getting an education in interracial contact. It amuses me to hear her tell of her daily experiences. She indicates she thinks "white people" are nice after all, -- some of them.

I'm covering the FEPC hearings against the Los Angeles Railway which has failed up to now to hire Negro workers as conductors and motormen. This for a local newspaper. The picture at Harvard looks far more hopeful. Dean Hastie writes that Harvard will admit women to the Medical School in 1945. If you know of any women's group which would be interested in helping them to make up their minds, I'd appreciate it. Have written Judge Sarah T. Hughes, Chairman of the Committee on the Legal Status of Women, American Association of University Women, Washington, D. C. ~~but haven't heard from her yet. Writes she will put it before her Committee in September.~~

Am very glad to see the government take stern measures against the Philadelphia strikers. The Democratic platform re minorities is so weak, combined with the defeat of Mr. Wallace as Vice-Presidential candidate, that the Negro vote hangs in the balance. This comment comes from an intensive survey of the Negro editorial and column writers in the national Negro press.

I wish there were some way to persuade the Secretaries of War and Navy and the Surgeon Generals, including Mr. MacIntyre (forgive wrong spelling) that the policy of blood segregation in the American Red Cross blood donor project is a stinging insult to Negro citizens and that they are not giving their blood with the enthusiasm the occasion demands. I've written him on the subject, but do not know how he will react.

Enclosed is a little notation which I hope you will give some thought to. It is in line with my previous letter.

With all kindest regards to you and to Miss Thompson, I am

Sincerely,

Pauli
Pauli Murray

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt
Hyde Park
New York

Enclosure 8/10/44

P.S. You would have been very impressed with the FEPC hearings and further performance here. I'm convinced we have chance to demonstrate real three-way gov't - employer - union cooperation to work out this kind of problem out here in L.A. The climate (social and physical) is in our favor. I think Senator Russell ought to be spanked and put to bed.

VM

Aug. 7

Liked your Monday My Day - warm and evokes nostalgia.

Bx. 1735

100

August 30, 1944.

Dear Pauli:

I am enclosing an excerpt from
a letter just received from Miss Flora
Rose. I hope you will see her.

With best wishes, I am

Very sincerely,

Miss Pauli Murray
5871 S. Crocker Street
Los Angeles (3), California.

VDS

PAULI MURRAY
5904 South Crocker Street
LOS ANGELES 3, CALIFORNIA

100
August 25, 1944

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

To balance that silly criticism of you reported in your Tuesday's column, August 22, let me tell you a delightful joke which stems from the Vet's Hospital.

Mildred tells me the boys out that hold you and the President in such high esteem, that it's almost pathetic, so you'll understand the spirit of the joke. I'm sure. She tells me they have to laugh their way along, because she's on the T.B. ward and has many cardiacs also, so there's much death every day.

The boys say "You know, we could get this old war over with any day now, but we're afraid that we might get Eleanor caught in the cross-fire, so we have to take it easy." It's that old American sense of humor that does it, don't you think? Bless them!

Mrs. Roosevelt we saw Wilson last night. We thought of you and the President. We also saw the newsreels of Hawaii. The President looks very tired and it disturbed us very much. Please try to let him know that no matter what the criticisms are, from us as well as from others, he is endeared to the hearts of the American people and that he must guard his strength. I know everybody's told him that, but I cannot tell you how we felt when he saw the weariness on his face.

Please don't worry about that enclosure in my letter of yesterday -- we'll manage. Dozens of people are fighting the same thing here. Housing is almost as difficult for white families as for us, hence the literal rash of restrictive covenant cases.

I was overjoyed to see in the newsreel that something is being done about the idea of expansion in the west through irrigation of the desert lands.

You will be pleased to know that although Harvard has tabled the idea of admitting women to the Law School until its full faculty returns (after the emergency), Acting Dean Morgan writes me the faculty is sharply divided upon the issue -- and that's the most hopeful sign yet.

I like the idea of a year's participation in government by young people. If the American people would only know and feel responsible for their government, it would make your job and that of the President so much easier. Please don't feel obligated to answer. I've pummeled you enough with mail lately. Sincerely,

Pauli

LOS ANGELES

Sentinel

Vol. X Los Angeles, Calif., Thursday, Aug. 24, 1944 THIS PAPER TWO PAGES

Mayor's Secretary Praises Sentinel LARY Program

In connection with its campaign of public education to improve the transportation problem during the transitional period of employment and upgrading of Negro workers by the Los Angeles Railway, the SENTINEL received praise this week from the office of Mayor Fletcher Bowron.

In a letter to the SENTINEL from Edmund W. Cooke, executive assistant to the mayor, Mr. Cooke stated:

"Your editorial in the last issue of the SENTINEL titled, 'Let's Do Our Part,' is the sort of approach which is assisting materially in the peaceful settlement of the problem of the Los Angeles Railway.

"As you no doubt know, the union held a meeting on last Friday at which the executive board took a firm and constructive stand in the face of some opposition from the general membership. Perhaps some recognition of the good position which the executive board has taken would encourage them to increase their efforts.

"It is a real satisfaction to know that we can rely upon your paper to be of assistance in the adjustment of this serious community problem."

Attorney General Biddle Tells Sentinel

U.S. to Crack Down On Southern Election Violations

By PAUL MURRAY
The Department of Justice is now investigating dozens of violations of the right to vote, including the primaries, and intends to prosecute these cases when it has developed sufficient evidence, Attorney General Francis Biddle told the SENTINEL in an exclusive interview today. This statement came in answer to inquiry by the SENTINEL reporter as to what the Department of Justice is doing under the mandate of the recent Smith versus Allright decision which recognized the right of Negro citizens to vote in Democratic primaries in Southern states and the flagrant violations of this right.

Fifty-eight-year-old Mr. Biddle, born in Paris of American parents, and a Harvard University product, has an open friendliness which dispels the traditional awe associated with the Department of Justice. He comes from a long line of lawyers

and law school professors. He stood top-man in his class at Harvard in 1911 which automatically won for him job as law clerk to the late Supreme Court Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes. He has served as chairman of the National Labor Relations Board, chief counsel of the special joint congressional committee to investigate the Tennessee Valley Authority and judge of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals, Third Circuit, before being appointed by President Roosevelt as fifty-eighth Attorney General of the United States.

When asked by the SENTINEL what he thought about the recent action of the California Bar Association in rejecting the application of Charles Matthews, prominent Negro attorney of Los Angeles, for membership in that organization, Attorney General Biddle replied, "Of course, I don't know anything about the local situation

but certainly in the case of federal law associations there is absolutely no reason why Negro federal attorneys should not be admitted. These organizations are admittedly professional groups and national bar associations as well as well as many local associations are admitting Negroes to membership."

Questioned as to his opinion of the recent effects of women to gain admission to Harvard University School of Law, the attorney general looked surprised. "Why aren't they there?" he asked.

He made no comment, but if smiles mean anything, Mr. Biddle approves of the idea.

The attorney general leaves Los Angeles this week after a series of public meetings and conferences, completing a swing around the west coast to investigate certain railroads which have been guilty of price-fixing and violation of the federal anti-trust laws.

LOS ANGELES Sentinel

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THURSDAY, AUGUST 24, 1944

Drifting Into Trouble

Only the blind can fail to see that the city is headed for trouble unless some immediate steps are taken to solve the ever growing housing shortage that faces Los Angeles Negroes.

Official figures show that as of April 1, more than 55,000 Negroes had migrated here since 1940. That is an increase of approximately one thousand per month and there is every reason to believe that the rate has not decreased. If it has maintained that pace there the increase has reached 60,000 by this time.

A W.P.A. survey made in 1939 showed that overcrowding was already rife in the city at that time and that housing facilities in the so-called Negro districts were inadequate even then.

There has been so little additional private construction for Negroes since 1940 that it may be written off as negligible.

The former Japanese quarter has meanwhile been occupied by Negroes but, overcrowded as that section is, it probably does not accommodate more than three thousand families.

Another two thousand families at the most have found shelter in public housing developments.

Injunctions and threats of injunctions have prevented Negro use and occupancy of homes in other sections, even in districts bordering on the defined Negro communities, with the result that few new areas have been opened.

The net result has been to pile the newcomers up in communities that were overcrowded and inadequate five years ago.

There is a limit somewhere to this doubling up and tripling up process and it is high time that our courts and our public officials realized that fact.

There has been a perfect rash of suits to enforce ancient restriction covenants that have outlived even the fictional value that once attached to them and the courts have been all too eager to stick to the letter of the law, and too timid to give it that broad interpretation that the times demand.

Even as old covenants are being enforced, constant efforts are being made to impress new restrictions barring Negroes from districts toward which they seem to be moving. Such drives are permitted to go unrebuked by public officials who know, or ought to know, how grave the situation is. Especially negligent in this respect are our three or four official, semi-official and private race relations committees. Not a word of protest has been heard from any of them.

Negroes realize very well that the growth of the city has made some housing discomfort inevitable. But they know equally well that they are being made to shoulder more than their share of the burden simply because of their color. They suspect that part of the reticement in dealing with the problem is an outgrowth of an official, but groundless hope that they will become so discouraged at conditions that they will "go back where they came from."

This head-in-the-sand policy is already costing too much in the way of an increasing crime, health, and juvenile delinquency bill. It is going to cost more unless it is reversed.

Give Union An Assist

Statesmanlike is the word to describe the action of union officials who have called meetings to advise Los Angeles Railway corporation employes that the directive of the FEPC must be followed and that Negro workers must be upgraded and permitted to work as platform men.

With goodwill and forbearance on all sides there is every reason to believe that the change can be made without incident; after all, the union has more than two hundred Negro members and testimony at the FEPC hearing is that these men attend union meetings and cooperate with their fellows in all respects.

As the matter stands, both employer and union have given their word

that old color barriers will be dropped and both are apparently sincere in clearing away customs and traditions that have delayed the matter so long.

We do not believe that there will be any resistance on the part of the public to the change; most car riders are too engrossed in the effort to get to their jobs to give more than passing attention to the color of the man who pilots the car or the bus.

Meanwhile we want to repeat our counsel of last week and urge everybody to exert the utmost in self-restraint to iron out any difficulties that may arise in this transition period.

Bx 1735

pl

PAULI MURRAY
5871 South Crocker Street
LOS ANGELES 3, CALIFORNIA

100

August 23, 1944

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

In the same mail that brought your note of August 18th, we found the enclosed in our mailbox. Don't think I provided for this in my "Code". I'm sure you'll agree with me that it might be much simpler for one American just to move on down across the border and become a candidate for Mexican citizenship.

Sincerely,

Pauli

P.S. I wish you could see this "restricted" palace. Why, Mrs. Roosevelt, you wouldn't want to put Fala in here. It looks like a barn, is one block from an industrial neighborhood and less than ^{Six} ~~four~~ blocks from Central Avenue district, the heart of Negro Los Angeles.

(copy)

Los Angeles, California

August 20, 1944

Mrs. Mildred M. Fearing,
Pauli Murray
5871 S. Crocker Street
Los Angeles, California

We the property owners of Crocker Street wish to inform you the flat you now occupy at 5871 S. Crocker Street is restricted to the white or caucasian race only.

We are quite sure you did not know of this restriction or you would not have rented the flat.

We intend to uphold these restrictions, therefore we ask that you vacate the above mentioned flat, at the above address, within 7 days or we will turn the matter over to our attorney for action. Thank you.

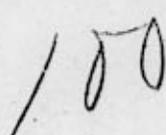
Yours truly,

South Crocker Street Property Owners.

Please note: Unsigned; no address; names obviously taken from our mailbox; and for a little I'd say they took the key from under the mat, came in and typed the letter on my own typewriter.



September 21, 1944.



Dear Pauli:

I was glad to get your letter of September 9th. I think the drawings are charming and I will try to go to see the exhibition ~~by~~ Miss Clayman writes me.

Pauli
You are right we should think about Americans. I think both Miss Rose and I do. It is curious how thoughtlessly we use words.

Good luck at Berkeley. I know you will like Miss Rose. She is one of the most refreshing people I know.

Very sincerely,

Miss Pauli Murray
5871 South Crocker Street
Los Angeles (3), California.

VDS

100
October 3, 1944.

Dear Pauli: Murray ✓

I will give your letter which you sent me to the President. Of course, I do not know what his decision will be as to the appointment.

I will be glad when election is over and I can assure you that though I do think it would be better for the country if the President was to continue in office for the next few years, I shall be equally happy if he is out because as far as my personal feelings go, I would like nothing better than to be free to do as I choose during the next few years.

Social equality to me does not mean at all what it seems to mean to certain people. I do not think you can legislate about the people with whom you have friendly relations and those people are your social equals. I think it is all important that every citizen in the United States have equal opportunity and that is why I have emphasized the four basic things we should fight for.

A number of people have been asking me to make a statement on segregation. I do not want to do it until we have achieved the four basic citizenship rights because I do not think it wise to add any antagonism that we do not have to have. Besides, I think if I made such a statement not it would be felt I was doing it purely for political reasons and I am much more interested in having good race relations than I am in the political situation.

In addition to this, I think that there will be a time which will come very soon after the war comes to an end, for those of us who really care that this question should be settled without bloodshed, will have to stand up and be counted and that will be the time when to make such a statement would have some effect and some meaning.

I believe, of course, that all public places should be open to all citizens of the United States, based entirely on behavior and ability to pay as individuals. I do not think this has anything to do with social equality which is concerned with one's personal relationships. I might be quite willing to sit next to someone in a street car or a bus whom I would not want in my own house but that person would have just as much right in the street car as I had and we should be judged entirely on our behavior. But any statements such as I am making in this letter will be much more effective when no campaign is going on and should only be made after we get our four basic rights accepted, unless the situation becomes such that in order to help people to be patient we have to give them the feeling that there are people with them who will help them, which may save us from bloodshed.

This letter is confidential and not for publication and that is said because of the way in which people have been publishing all I have written lately.

Very sincerely,

Miss Paili Murray
5871 South Crocker Street
Los Angeles (3), California.

VIS

Social Equality Needs Definition, Writer

The minority press is devoting a good deal of space to a recent statement by Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, "I have never advocated social equality."

Elsewhere in her statement, Mrs. Roosevelt indicated that she meant the selection and association of friends.

Unfortunately, her enemies and ours do not mean that. The term "social equality" is an unfortunate one and should be banned from our language. The Negro is not interested in who selects him as a friend or invites him to a private home or develops an intimate relationship with him. Nobody wants legislation to regulate such personal and individual matters.

"Equal accommodation in all public facilities without discrimination or exclusion; the right to buy a home and live it where one

pleases without restrictive barriers; the right to join professional associations of one's choice; the right to associate with friends of one's own choosing whatever be their color or creed or origin without the stupid inconveniences of custom; the right to go anywhere one has the money to go and any other citizen goes, so long as one maintains a decorum of dignity—these are no more demands of "social equality" than rubbing elbows with a fellow citizen on a postoffice line is "social equality." They are legal equalities and must be made so by the courts.

If Mrs. Roosevelt means by "social equality" the narrower term emphasized above, then she is right. If she means by "social equality" what I have called "legal equalities" then she hasn't gone far enough. But I don't think she does. P. M.

PAULI MURRAY
5871 South Crocker Street
LOS ANGELES 3, CALIFORNIA

acti
10/3/44

September 20, 1944

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

The enclosed letter is one I am most anxious for the President to receive and read. I'm sending the original to him, but would feel safer if I knew you had a copy. As much as I'd hate to see Howard Law School lose Professor Ransom, if the President actually appointed him as a judge, it would do my heart good and the hearts of many others to see him gain recognition after all these years of labor and love for the men and women who have come in contact with him.

I know the letter is long and the President is busy, but my admiration for Professor Ransom cannot be confined to a formal note.

I'll be very glad when elections are over so people will stop calling people names and the Republicans will stop making capital of your statement "I have never advocated social equality." Here's my two cents on that.

Very sincerely,

Pauli
Pauli Murray

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt
Hyde Park, New York

100

November 4, 1944

Dear Pauli:

I read ^{H.} Mrs. Seixas' letter with extreme interest and I am passing it on because it is such a fine one.

I can see how, in following the letter of the law, these men were considered guilty. I have every sympathy with them and wish the verdict could have been different.

Sincerely,

0

Miss Pauli Murray
International House
Berkeley, Calif.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 4, 1944

Memorandum for the President:

Please read because I
do think something might be done to
make it a little bit easier.

E.R.

Paula Murray

4 Mrs H. L. L. L.

Bx 1735

10-23
100
International House
Berkeley 4, California
October 27, 1944

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Thank you so much for your letter of October 3rd. Unfortunately the victims of segregation must pay double for a policy not of their own doing. I had hoped to tell you of my enthusiasm for International House and the idea behind it, but had the painful experience of covering the closing session of the court-martial proceedings involving the 50 Negro seamen charged with "mutiny" for refusing to load ammunition on August 9th and 11th. The whole thing has left me very disturbed.

Since then I've had an opportunity to talk with several young sailors stationed in this area, and familiar with the conditions among Negro Navy personnel in the 12th Naval District. I find that they are quite wrought up over this conviction, and my impression is that the policy of discrimination and Jim Crow which the Navy has pursued is directly responsible for this incident.

You will be interested in the enclosed letter from the mother of a young soldier overseas, who attended throughout the trial. Mrs. Seixas is a fine woman and was literally heartbroken over the verdict, after she had listened to the evidence.

All in all this matter has delayed my getting in touch with Miss Rose, but I will at the earliest opportunity.

P.S. Mrs. Seixas is chairman
of Publicity for the Berkeley Inter-
Racial Committee here.

Sincerely,
Pauli

copy

Berkeley, California.
October 26, 1944

The Honorable James E. Forrestal,

Secretary of the Navy,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:

As an interested observer at the trial of the 50 Negro Seaman accused of mutiny on Yerba Buena Island, I find myself bewildered and saddened by the verdict, GUILTY. After listening to the testimony of the 33 day trial which I attended daily, behind the sometimes halting explanations of the accused, the coarse language attributed to some of the untutored, and finally the denunciation of the Prosecution for the depravity of the men in expressing their fear of ammunition; I see not only 50 frustrated men and boys asking for a chance to do more than one dangerous assignment for their country; but all of the Negro people asking to do their part not only as burden bearers, but to share in all the work of the armed forces commensurate with their individual skills and training.

This poor abortive attempt of the 50 Seamen to bring this about was untimely in that it occurred during war, we well know the seriousness of such a situation, but leniency is due the accused in the minds of all who can bring any degree of understanding to the mental attitudes brought about through proximity to the terrible disaster of July 17th at Port Chicago and finally to a feeling of being discriminated against in assignment of duties.

May I say lastly as a Negro woman, the courtesy shown me during my attendance at the trial by Navy Personnel was distinctly gratifying. Those officers and enlisted men whom I contacted were extremely kind not only to myself but showed great fairness and consideration to the accused in their conduct of the trial. I believe this spirit of understanding is essential to good feeling between the races of the United States. Through such demonstrations we were evident on Yerba Buena, future handling of Negro persons in the Navy may eliminate such unfortunate cases as this Mutiny trial.

Yours truly,

Edna Seixas
1801 Ashby Ave.
Berkeley Cal

(Mrs. H. Seixas)

Bx 1762

100

March 23, 1945.

Dear Pauli:

I read your article, "An
American Credo", which was published
in "Common Ground" and I liked it very
much.

Sincerely,

Miss Pauli Murray
International House
Berkeley, California.

VDS

Bx. 1762

April 3, 1945

100



My dear Pauli:

I was glad to get your letter and I am sorry that, much as I would enjoy visiting International House, I am afraid it is not going to be possible.

I will be in San Francisco for just one day and I know from past experience that when I am with the President it is too difficult to make separate engagements.

Sincerely yours,

0

Miss Pauli Murray
International House
Berkeley 4, Calif.



UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

International House
Berkeley 4, Calif.
March 30, 1945

Handwritten notes:
I'd - don't know much
along with
Dear Mrs. Roosevelt

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

That great spirit of yours always brings encouragement in the face of mankind's woes and weaknesses. It was not so much that you liked "American Credo" - altho I'm thrilled that you did -- it was that you took the time to tell me so.

You may credit the President partly for it. After reading his acceptance speech upon renomination last July, I felt challenged to do a footnote -- "American Credo" was it.

Mrs. Roosevelt, the news reports that you will come to the San Francisco Conference. We here at International House want you to visit with us for a little while. Is there any way possible you could fit us into your schedule? You'll like Berkeley International House of wartime dimensions. For the first time, perhaps, the international spirit is working beautifully in unbelievably crowded quarters. I think it might be a refreshing contrast to the diplomatic scene for you to see us living together as brothers and sisters in the midst of this international conflict.

There are some 20 to 30 nationalities represented here, including all of our American minorities. Every student who has gone through this experience has said that International House has meant as much if not more to him or her than the degree he came to obtain. Our discussion groups and Sunday suppers have faced frankly internal problems of our country and many of the international problems of the world, and the miracle is that our areas of agreement are far wider than those of disagreement. (I might add that many of us feel very discouraged about the Dumbarton Oaks proposals as they now stand, and hope that some modification of the Security Council's procedure may come out of the San Francisco Conference.)

Specifically, we are doing two things which might interest you. We are devoting our whole month of April activities to the theme of the San Francisco Conference - its Background and Significance. All language tables - French, Spanish, Chinese, etc., our Discussion Group, and our Sunday Suppers are bringing speakers on various aspects of the Conference. A number of House members, including myself, are taking a seminar with Dr. Hans Kelsen on the Dumbarton Oaks proposals as compared to the Covenant of the League of Nations.

We feel that since so many of our members are refugees from Austria, Germany, Luxemburg, Holland, etc., and others are gifted students from Latin-American countries, China, Hawaii, Iceland, and so on -- that we represent that group of young adults who will in part have responsibility for bringing about friendly relations among all countries. We know friendship and peace can exist among individuals from different countries, and we know we have more in common than we differ -- but the real crux is how to make our personal experience that of nations. It is in this spirit that we get speakers who attended the Mexico City Conference, analysts on Breton Woods and so on.

The second thing is something dear to your heart, I think. International House -- and specifically House #3, my residence -- has brought together young women of five of our American minorities -- Jew, Negro, Spanish Speaking, Chinese, and Hesel. Each of these young women has had significant experience in minority status, and each is a charming individual in her own right. They have formed a panel, born after numerous bull-sessions and heart-to-heart talks, which they call the International House Panel. The theme of their panel is "Breaking Down Barriers", and it places emphasis upon what members of minority groups can do to break down racial and religious barriers. The panel in operation has been a thrilling experience -- because of the variety of personality and the educational value of seeing these five young women working together in mutual friendliness. We have spoken before one or two groups -- and are getting invitations from numerous others. The responses have been quite exciting, and we have grown tremendously while doing it. We hope, as a by-product of the panel discussion, to show Americans what rich human resources America can develop through her varied peoples, if she will give them an opportunity to make a contribution as an American.

I do hope these two little incidents will make you decide you can be with us for some time during your visit to San Francisco. You will get an official invitation from the house, but I just wanted to put in my bid now.

It has been grand, being released from the "racial struggle" temporarily so one could turn one's attention to international affairs. But from recent winds blowing throughout our East and South I am very much encouraged.

Very sincerely,

Pauli Murray

P.S. My kindest regards to Miss Thomson.