

Document 126
Papers as President: Official File

Memorandum to the Honorable Franklin D. Roosevelt, President of the United States,

From: Walter White, Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Herewith is a statement of the issues which are of great concern to American Negroes and concerning which they are most anxious.

In order that this memorandum may not be too lengthy, little more is done than to list the specific situations. Perhaps too much is sacrificed for brevity, but an amplification of any point mentioned can be supplied if desired.

LYNCHING

There is very deep resentment against the filibuster which sidetracked the Costigan-Wagner Anti-Lynching Bill in the last session of Congress, particularly in view of the fact that of the nineteen lynchings this year fourteen have occurred since the filibuster* These have occurred in the states which, it will be noted, are represented in the Senate by senators who led in the filibuster, these senators declaring that federal action is unnecessary as the states can and will prevent lynchings and punish lynchers. These states are: Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, North Carolina, Tennessee and Texas.

Intense bitterness has been created by the statement of County Attorney O. P. Moore of Columbus County, Texas, who upon the execution of two Negro boys, fifteen and sixteen years of age respectively, declared the lynchings to be an expression of the "will of the people"; and by the statement of Sheriff

*Tuskegee Institute reports 20 lynchings in 1935. In addition to the 19 the N.A.A.C.P. has reported, there are seven other cases being investigated now which appear to be lynchings.

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Frank Hegemeyer to the effect that he would take no action. It will be remembered that Senator Connally of Texas was one of the chief filibusterers.

The same feeling was aroused by the lynching of Govan Ward, known to be insane, at Louisburg, North Carolina, on July 30. When Governor J. C. B. Ehringhaus and Solicitor General W. Y. Bickett of North Carolina stated in the public press that they had been unable to get evidence against the lynchers, the N.A.A.C.P. dispatched a professor in a white North Carolina college to the scene and he without difficulty secured the names of nine of the ringleaders of the mob, with evidence against them. This was placed in the hands of Governor Ehringhaus and Solicitor Bickett on August 28. After the elapse of nearly five months, no single arrest even has been made, despite pressure by some of the leading North Carolina newspapers, including the Greensboro Daily News.

Senator Frederick Van Nuys of Indiana, who was Chairman when the sub-committee of the Senate Judiciary Committee was conducting hearings on the Costigan-Wagner Bill, will introduce early in the second session of the 74th Congress a resolution to authorize a Senate investigation of the lynchings which have occurred since the filibuster to determine what action, if any, was taken by the state authorities against the lynchers. Copy of the first draft of this resolution is attached hereto. (Exhibit A) May I earnestly solicit your vigorous support of this resolution? It will be noted that a date is specified for the submission of this report to the Senate by the Judiciary Committee. This is done, we understand, to give time for passage of the Costigan-Wagner Bill at this session of the Congress on the basis of the report, showing, if it need be shown, that in certain states a condition has been reached where neither lynchings can be prevented nor lynchers punished.

In view of the recent lynching of a white labor organizer in Tampa, Florida, and in view of certain tendencies to be noted in various parts of the country, it seems even more true that we are likely to face in America an increase in lynchings and mob violence, not only against Negroes but against whites, this being a part of the general lawlessness which has recently caused Colonel Lindbergh to flee with his family for safety to another country.

The Lindbergh Kidnapping Law: Attached hereto is a draft of an amendment to the Lindbergh Kidnapping Law (Exhibit B) which would give authority to the Department of Justice to act when persons are taken across state lines for the purpose of injuring or killing them as in the notorious Claude Neal lynching of October, 1934, at Marianna, Florida, told of in the attached leaflet (Exhibit C).

We earnestly ask your support of this amendment and

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also that you ask the Attorney General of the United States to give it his vigorous support.

In connection with the subject of lynching we ask you to study the faces of the white children in the attached leaflet (Exhibit D) which seem to us to show more vividly than any number of words how terrible is the effect of lynchings upon lynchers and their children as well as the public at large.

DISCRIMINATIONS IN RELIEF AND PUBLIC WORKS

This discrimination continues almost unabated, chiefly through the discriminatory practices of local administrators, particularly in southern states where eight million, or two-thirds, of the Negro population of the United States reside. Despite the efforts of the Secretary of the Interior and others and the continued campaign of exposure, Negro workers are still barred from employment on such projects as Boulder Dam. Attached hereto is copy of a report on a recent investigation made for the N.A.A.C.P. of the treatment accorded to Negroes in the TVA (Exhibit E).

Great hope was created among Negro Americans when it was reported that James Weldon Johnson, Professor of Creative Literature at Fisk University, Visiting Professor of Creative Literature at New York University, former Secretary of the N.A.A.C.P., and distinguished author, was to be appointed to an administrative post with the Works Progress Administration.

When that appointment, after being offered and accepted, was rescinded, and when Mr. Harry L. Hopkins even refused to answer letters of inquiry regarding this, there was editorial comment, sharply critical of the administration, in the Negro press and very widespread resentment.

A similar situation was created when it was rumored that a qualified Negro American would be appointed as successor to E. Webber Wilson as Federal Judge in the Virgin Islands. It is reported that the excuse for the appointment of a white man was offered that they could not decide on a Negro lawyer satisfactory to all Negroes. If this be true, it is manifestly absurd in that no single appointment is satisfactory to all white people, or all Catholics, or all members of any racial, religious or other group. It is widely reported that the failure to appoint a Negro as Judge was due to the refusal of the Department of Justice to certify a Negro for the post.

Attached hereto is a draft of a resolution to be introduced in the second session of the 74th Congress asking an investigation

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of the economic status of the Negro worker (Exhibit F). This will afford an opportunity to bring out the nature and extent of discrimination despite the efforts of yourself and a few of the higher officials of the government to prevent such discrimination.

(This is expressly to be distinguished from the Negro Commission as proposed by Congressman Arthur W. Mitchell which we objected to because it reduced Negroes to the status of wards of the nation and gives the several departments of the federal government and of the states opportunity to evade responsibility by shifting the burden of caring for Negro problems to this special bureau.)

It is hoped to bring out by means of this investigation, among other things, how government checks made out to Negro farmers, sharecroppers and tenant farmers under the Bankhead cotton acreage reduction act have been taken and cashed by others than those to whom they were made out.

It is hoped that not only the discrimination by officials, labor unions and the like may be shown but also the steps which have been taken, either successfully or unsuccessfully, to prevent these injustices.

The suppression of the report of Mrs. Mary Conner Myers in which she declared that the plight of sharecroppers in Eastern Arkansas is worse than that of the people in war torn Belgium has aroused a great deal of comment on the part of Negro Americans.

THE POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE

A distressing growth of discrimination is being noted in the postal service in many cities, in the employment of temporary workers under the recent waiver of civil service rules.

For example: In Birmingham, Alabama, 26 whites have been appointed since January 1, and no Negroes; in Montgomery, 10 whites, no Negroes; in Mobile, 9 whites, no Negroes; in Monroe, Louisiana, 10 whites, no Negroes; in St. Paul, Minnesota, 50 whites, no Negroes; in Chicago, Illinois, 665 whites, 35 Negroes; in Dallas, Texas, 53 whites, 7 Negroes.

In the cases of the Negroes appointed, most of them have been assigned to work as laborers or in custodial service. A marked decline is being noted in the number of Negroes in the carrier and clerk classes and in the number of railway mail clerks.

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WHITE PRIMARIES

We do not ask action by yourself, of course, but I would like to bring directly to your attention the attitude of the Democratic Party in certain southern states.

United States Supreme Court decisions have declared unconstitutional efforts to bar qualified Negro voters from participating in Democratic primaries in southern states. In the decision in Grovey vs. Townsend, U. S. Supreme Court, April, 1935, the Supreme Court ruled, however, that when the party convention voted to exclude Negroes it would not violate the federal constitution by so voting. Recently we learned that certain members of the Democratic Party in Texas have written to members of the state legislatures in other southern states urging that they take advantage of this Supreme Court ruling and exclude Negroes. Apparently they are not aware of the potential influence of the Negro vote in states like Indiana, Missouri, Ohio, Illinois, Delaware and other border and northern states.

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In this connection I have prepared for your perusal two tables which are attached hereto (Exhibits G and H). The first of these, you will note, shows the respective party majorities in the last three presidential elections, the potential Negro vote, and the Literary Digest poll of December 28 on the policies of your administration. These seventeen states had a total electoral vote in 1932 of 281.

The second table shows the states in which Negroes are most discriminated against, which, interestingly enough, are the ones which are most heavily in favor of the administration's policy. The electoral vote in these eleven states is 124.

In the matter of polls, the January issue of Fortune reports, interestingly enough, that 75.2 per cent of Negroes polled favor your administration.

ARMY AND NAVY

Negroes cannot enlist in the Navy except as mess attendants and in the commissary department.

In the Army, the 9th and 10th Cavalry have been broken up and are assigned to service as labor detachments, grooming horses. The 10th Cavalry has not been on military manoeuvres in three years. Negroes are barred from enlisting in any of the specialized branches of the service.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Attached is an article, "U. S. Department of (White) Justice", which appeared in the October, 1935, issue of The Crisis (Exhibit I).

Since this article was published, and largely because of publicity and constant pressure, the United States Attorney for the Middle District of North Carolina has caused John Cashion the Registrar, to be indicted for refusing to register Negroes for the Congressional election in 1934. The case will be called for the May term, 1936.

Finally, you will perhaps be interested in the reaction of the Negro press as seen in the attached editorials (Exhibit J) on Senator Borah's outspoken statement that he would veto any anti-lynching bill were he elected President.

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RESOLUTION

EXHIBIT A

Whereas, during the debate on the motion to consider the Costigan-Wagner bill (S. 24, Seventy-Fourth Congress, first session) statements were made to the Senate that federal action against lynching is unnecessary as the several states can and will prevent lynchings and punish lynchers, and

Whereas, said debate terminated in a filibuster which continued from April 26, 1935 to May 1, 1935, without action being taken on the bill; and

Whereas, since May 1, 1935, there have been fourteen lynchings in the United States;

Therefore, be it RESOLVED:

That the Committee on the Judiciary or any subcommittee thereto is authorized to investigate the facts and circumstances surrounding the said fourteen lynchings and the action or actions taken by the responsible public authorities in attempted punishment thereof, and shall report to the Senate at the earliest practical date, not later than March 1, 1936, the results of its investigation.

For the purposes of this resolution, the Committee, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized to hold such hearings, to sit and act at such times and place during the sessions of the Senate in the Seventy-fourth Congress, to employ such clerical and other assistants, to require by subpoena or otherwise the attendance of such witnesses, and the production of such books, papers, and documents, to administer such oaths, to take such testimony, and to make such expenditures as it deems advisable. The cost of stenographic services to report such hearings shall not be in excess of 25 cents per hundred words. The expenses of the committee, which shall not exceed \$ shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman.

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A BILL

To amend the act of June 22, 1932, c. 271, Sec. 1, 47, Stat. 326, as amended May 18, 1934, c. 301, 48 Stat. 781.

Delete the words "or otherwise" in Section 1, and in place thereof substitute the following:

"Or for the infliction upon the kidnaped person of personal injury or death, or for any other reason."

so that the section as amended will read as follows:

"Whoever shall knowingly transport or cause to be transported, or aid or abet in transporting, in interstate or foreign commerce, any person who shall have been unlawfully seized, confined, inveigled, decoyed, kidnaped, abducted, or carried away by any means whatsoever and held for ransom or reward, or for the infliction upon the kidnaped person of personal injury or death, or for any other reason, except, in the case of a minor, by a parent thereof, shall, upon conviction, be punished (1) by death if the verdict of the jury shall so recommend, provided that the sentence of death shall not be imposed by the court if, prior to its imposition, the kidnaped person has been liberated unharmed, or (2) if the death penalty shall not apply nor be imposed the convicted person shall be punished by imprisonment in the penitentiary for such term of years as the court in its discretion shall determine: Provided, That the failure to release such person within seven days after he shall have been unlawfully seized, confined, inveigled, decoyed, kidnaped, abducted, or carried away shall create a presumption that such person has been transported in interstate or foreign commerce, but such presumption shall not be conclusive."

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The Lynching of Claude Neal

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 69 Fifth Avenue, New York City, presents herewith a verbatim copy of the report of the investigation of the lynching at Marianna, Florida, on October 26, 1934 of Claude Neal, charged with rape and murder. The investigator is a southern white university professor whose entire life has been spent in the South and whose family for generations has occupied high rank there. His name is not given because to do so might possibly jeopardize his life and would almost certainly lessen his future usefulness in similar cases. The N.A.A.C.P., however, vouches for his integrity, accuracy, soundness of judgment and experience in ascertaining the truth.

This report is published with the hope that its sheer sadism and abnormal cruelty may stir thoughtful Americans to action. If this report does not do so, we fear that the situation is hopeless. Claude Neal is the 5,068th person lynched in the United States since 1882; the 45th mob victim since President Franklin D. Roosevelt entered the White House. We believe that the circumstances of his lynching demolish finally all contentions that lynching can be ended by any other means than by federal legislation. Those who love America and humanity are urged to insist by telegram or letter to President Roosevelt and to the senators and congressmen from their states that the Costigan-Wagner anti-lynching bill MUST be passed without delay.

WALTER WHITE,
Secretary.

ON October 19, 1934, Claude Neal, 23, of Greenwood, Florida was arrested by Deputy Sheriff J. P. Couliette for the murder of Lola Cannidy, 20, also of Greenwood, Florida. Neal, when arrested, was working on a peanut farm belonging to John Green. He was taken in custody with another man whom investigating officers believed to be involved in the murder to the woods and questioned. It is alleged that a confession was wrung from Neal and that he assumed entire responsibility for the crime. Sheriff W. F. Chambliss, of Jackson county, who was at the Cannidy home at the time of the arrest, was apparently aware of the lynching spirit which was beginning to rise throughout the little farming community, and ordered Neal to be taken to Chipley, Florida, for safe keeping, a distance of about 20 miles. With Neal were arrested his mother, Annie Smith and his aunt, Sallie Smith.

The Mob Chases the Law

From the moment that Neal was arrested a blood-thirsty mob relentlessly pursued him.

The Marianna *Daily Times-Courier* for October 23rd says:

"In a determined effort to locate the three Negroes held for the murder of Lola Cannidy near Greenwood last Thursday, a relentless mob continued to search the jails of West Florida."

An Associated Press dispatch from Chipley, Florida, dated October 21, and appearing in *The Florida Times*, of

Jacksonville, Fla., says:

"Two negro women held in connection with the slaying of Lola Cannidy, 20-year-old Greenwood girl, were removed from County jail today to Fort Barrancas, at Pensacola, after hundreds of men swarmed the streets all night threatening to destroy the jail unless the prisoners were delivered. . . .

"Standing by, ready to protect the negro women with tear gas bombs obtained from a nearby convict camp, Sheriff John Harrell said he remained on duty all night while crowds repeatedly begged him to give up the prisoners, and finally threatened to dynamite the jail if he did not do so.

"About daybreak, the sheriff said, more men came with acetylene torches, saying the negroes were locked in the courthouse vault and they would cut through the metal to get them. Later...they gave up their purpose and left, telling the sheriff they would return and go through the jail and courthouse."

The angry mood of the crowd at Chipley caused the sheriff there to remove Neal to Panama City. From Panama City he was taken by boat to Pensacola. From Pensacola Neal was taken across the Florida line to Brewton, Alabama, —a distance of 61 miles. Brewton is approximately 210 miles from Marianna, county seat of Jackson county, Florida.

I am reliably informed that "a prominent business man of Marianna arranged with friends in Pensacola to notify him the moment that Neal was removed". When word of Neal's removal from Pensacola to Brewton was received several car loads of men set out for Brewton from Marianna. In my opinion, taking Neal from Pensacola to Brewton was equivalent to handing him over to the mob. It would seem that had the officers been really concerned with the safety of their prisoner that they would have either held him in Pensacola or taken him to Mobile or some other large town. Mobile is only eight miles farther away from Pensacola than Brewton.

An armed mob of approximately 100 men stormed the county jail at Brewton, Alabama, on the morning of October 26. Neal was seized after Mike Shanholster, the jailer, unlocked his cell door, and was brought screaming and crying and placed in the front car in front of the county jail. The mob had triumphed.

An Associated Press dispatch from Brewton, Alabama, dated October 26, and published in the Marianna, *Daily Times-Courier* says:

"An armed mob, estimated at 100 men, stormed the Escambia county jail between 2 and 3 o'clock a.m. today and seized Claude Neal, 23-year-old negro who allegedly confessed yesterday to the murder of Miss Lola Cannidy, 23, of Greenwood, Fla., a week ago."

"Sheriff Gus Byrne said the men came to the jail in 30 cars bearing Florida license plates.

"We are going to take him to Marianna and turn him over to the girl's father and let him do what he wants with him," leaders of the mob told Jailer Mike Shanholster

"Jail attaches said the negro was placed in the first of the 30 cars and that the others trailed behind. They said no attempt was made to follow.

"We'll tear your jail up and let all the prisoners out, if you don't turn him over to us."

The Lynching of Claude Neal

According to a member of the mob with whom I talked, Claude Neal was lynched in a lonely spot about four miles from Greenwood, Florida, scene of the recent crime, and not in Alabama as it was first reported. After Neal was taken from the jail at Brewton, Alabama, he was driven approximately 200 miles over highway 231 leading into Marianna and from there to the woods near Greenwood, where he was subjected to the most brutal and savage torture imaginable.

Neal was taken from the Brewton jail between one and two o'clock Friday morning, October 26. He was in the hands of the smaller lynching group composed of approximately 100 men from then until he was left in the road in front of the Cannidy home late that same night. I was told by several people that Neal was tortured for ten or twelve hours. It is almost impossible to believe that a human being could stand such unspeakable torture for such a long period.

Due to the great excitement sweeping the entire northern section of Florida and southeastern Alabama and to the great number of people who wanted to participate in the lynching, the original mob which secured Neal from the jail at Brewton, evidently decided that if all of the niceties of a modern Twentieth Century lynching were to be inflicted upon Neal that it would be unwise for a larger mob to handle the victim. They preferred that his last hours on earth be filled with the greatest possible humiliation and agony. However, the word was passed all over Northeastern Florida and Southeastern Alabama that there was to be a "lynching party to which all white people are invited," near the Cannidy home Friday night. It is also reported that the information was broadcast from the radio station at Dothan, Alabama. I talked to at least three persons who confirmed this statement.

A member of the lynching party with whom I talked described the lynching in all of its ghastliness, down to the minutest detail. After talking with him I went immediately to my room and tried to recall word for word all that he had told me. The story of the actual lynching as related to me and later corroborated by others is as follows:

"After taking the nigger to the woods about four miles from Greenwood, they cut off his penis. He was made to eat it. Then they cut off his testicles and made him eat them and say he liked it." (I gathered that this barbarous act consumed considerable time and that other means of torture were used from time to time on Neal).

"Then they sliced his sides and stomach with knives and every now and then somebody would cut off a finger or toe. Red hot irons were used on the nigger to burn him from top to bottom." From time to time during the torture a rope would be tied around Neal's neck and he was pulled up over a limb and held there until he almost choked to death when he would be let down and the torture begin all over again. After several hours of this unspeakable torture, "they decided just to kill him."

Neal's body was tied to a rope on the rear of an automobile and dragged over the highway to the Cannidy home. Here a mob estimated to number somewhere between 3000 and 7000 people from eleven southern states was excitedly waiting his arrival. When the car which was dragging Neal's body came in front of the Cannidy home, a man who was riding the rear bumper cut the rope.

"A woman came out of the Cannidy house and drove a butcher knife into his heart. Then the crowd came by and some kicked him and some drove their cars over him."

Men, women and children were numbered in the vast throng that came to witness the lynching. It is reported from reliable sources that the little children, some of them mere tots, who lived in the Greenwood neighborhood,

waited with sharpened sticks for the return of Neal's body and that when it rolled in the dust on the road that awful night these little children drove their weapons deep into the flesh of the dead man.

The body, which by this time was horribly mutilated was taken by the mob to Marianna, a distance of ten or eleven miles, where it was hung to a tree on the northeast corner of the courthouse square. Pictures were taken of the mutilated form and hundreds of photographs were sold for fifty cents each. Scores of citizens viewed the body as it hung in the square. The body was perfectly nude until the early morning when someone had the decency to hang a burlap sack over the middle of the body. The body was cut down about eight-thirty Saturday morning, October 27, 1934.

Fingers and toes from Neal's body have been exhibited as souvenirs in Marianna where one man offered to divide the finger which he had with a friend as "a special favor". Another man has one of the fingers preserved in alcohol.

Press Comment

"GIRL SLAYER LYNCHED THIS A.M.

"Nude Body, Terribly Mutilated, Hanging From Tree on Court House Lawn since 3 o'clock This Morning."

"Claude Neal, Greenwood negro, was lynched last night about 10 o'clock somewhere in the county by a well organized orderly mob which waited patiently for hours to avenge the death of pretty Lola Cannidy, 18-year-old Greenwood girl.

"After slashing and shooting him into mince-meat, the mob took the negro to the home of George Cannidy, father of the slain girl, and dumped the body in the front yard. From there, another mob was organized and it brought him to Marianna at 3 o'clock this morning where it hanged him on a tree on the east side of the court house lawn. His nude body was hanging at that place at an early hour this morning. After stringing him up in the tree, the mob quickly dispersed.

"Neal's body was mutilated. Three fingers of one hand and two on the other had been amputated, besides other mutilations.

"At 1:30 this morning a mob, to be appeased, burned Neal's shack to the ground. It was just across the road from the Cannidy home.

"For hours a well organized mob of about 3,000 people, men, women and children awaited in 'ringside' seats in the field where Neal killed Lola Cannidy to witness the lynching. But it is reported the group which had the negro was fearful that someone would be injured in the melee if they brought him to the waiting crowd, consequently the lynching took place at a point on the Chipola River, as according to a Cannidy kinsman, 'the nigger was too low for anybody to be hurt on his account.'" *Daily Times-Courier*, October 27.

The Marianna Riot of October 27

After Neal's body had been removed from the courthouse square most of the members of the mob dispersed. Although Saturday is a "big day" in Marianna when the rural folk come to town to trade, there were not as many Negroes in the town on the day following the lynching as usual. The entire week had been one of terror and consequently all those who could remained away from the town. The feeling was very tense in Marianna between the Negroes and whites and the Negroes who came in kept pretty much to themselves.

Toward noon a white man struck a Negro who sought to defend himself and in the struggle with the white man, hurled a pop bottle at him. By this time a crowd had gathered and at the sight of a Negro resisting a white man

All of America Knew of Lynching in Advance

RICHMOND, VA. TIMES-DESPATCH

Mob Holds Negro; Invitations Issued For Lynch Party

CAPE GIRARDEAU, MO. MISSOURIAN
NEGRO HELD BY MOB FOR DAY IS THEN LYNCHED
 MIAMI, FLA. HERALD.
MOB PLANS FIERY DEATH FOR KILLER

Jackson County Officers 'Know of No Way' To Prevent It

NATIONAL GUARD MAY BE CALLED

Place of Attack On Girl Is Scheduled Scene of Reprisal

Florida Governor Orders Troops Out If Needed to Prevent Killing of Alleged Slayer of Girl 'All White Folks' Invited to Party

Crowd Throgs Town; Man May Be Shot by Father of Victim at Site of Crime, Report

GREENWOOD, Fla., Oct. 26.—(AP)—Hundreds of persons were pouring into this village tonight to witness the scheduled lynching of a Negro, reported as having been set for early in the night, but officers said they believed they could take care of the situation.

From Arcadia, where he was stopped tonight, Governor Dew stated

PEORIA, ILL. JOURNAL

MOB LYNCHES NEGRO; MAKES IT LIKE PARTY

KANSAS CITY, MO. STAR

MOB WAITS DAY TO KILL
 LAYER OF GIRL IS VICTIM OF PROLONGED LYNCHING.

CINCINNATI, O. ENQUIRER
THOUSANDS

In Crowd Leave

As Committee Insists On Secret Lynching.

Negro Held In Woods, Curious Are Told,

To Avoid Shooting By Excited Spectators.

Will Be Taken To House Of Stain Girl's Family Before Being Burned, Ringleaders Say.

SHREVEPORT, LA. TIMES

NEGRO STILL IN HANDS OF MOB
GROWD AWAITS LYNCHING

TAMPA, FLA. TRIBUNE

LOUISVILLE KY. COURIER JOURNAL

Countryside Invited To Negro's Lynching

Hundreds Pour Into Florida Town to See Killing of Slayer Promised By Mob of 100.

Greenwood, Fla., Oct. 26 (AP)—A mob of 100 were reported to have gathered from an Alabama jail to see the lynching tonight. The mob would be taken to the scene of the crime and would be invited to witness the slaying. A crowd of 100 were reported to have gathered in the vicinity of the mob and officers were ordered on duty to prevent any reprisals.

SAVANNAH, GA. NEWS

HUNDREDS HEADED FOR A LYNCHING

Negro Charged With Slaying Young Farm Woman
 SHERIFF DECLINES AID
 Mob Issue Invitation For All White Folks
 TO ATTEND THE SLAYING

Negro Taken From Alabama Jail By a Florida Mob

GRAND JUNCTION, COLO. SENTINEL

White Folks Invited To A "Hanging Bee"

LITTLE ROCK, ARK. GAZETTE

NEGRO HELD ALL DAY FOR LYNCHING

But Florida Crowd Grows So Large, Captors Delay Killing.

NO OFFICERS ON HAND

Slayer of White Girl Taken From Jail and Invitations to Execution Issued.

Copyright 1934, by the Associated Press. Greenwood, Fla., Oct. 26.—(AP)—A crowd of several thousand persons gathered to see the lynching of Claude

MILWAUKEE, WIS. SENTINEL
Mob Invites 'White Folks' To Lynching

Florida Officers 'Unable to Prevent Burning.'

GREENWOOD, Fla., Oct. 26 (AP)—A crowd of an estimated 100 to 150 persons gathered tonight to witness the lynching of a Negro taken from an Alabama jail by a Florida mob.

BISMARCK, N.D. TRIBUNE

GOOD TIME IS HAD BY ALL AS NEGRO IS PUT TO DEATH

RALEIGH, N.C. NEWS AND OBSERVER

LYNCHING PARTY ATTRACTS CROWD TO FLORIDA TOWN

Governor Authorizes Calling Out National Guard If Necessary

INVITATIONS ISSUED TO ALL WHITE PERSONS
 Sheriff Sweats in Special Orders to Prevent Scheduled Lynching of Negro Charged With Attack on White Girl; Throng Pours Into Village

Greenwood, Fla., Oct. 26.—(AP)—Hundreds of persons were pouring into this village tonight to witness the scheduled lynching of a Negro, reported as having been set for early in the night, but officers said

the crowd flew into a frenzy. The Negro finally tore himself away from the mob and ran across the street and into the courthouse, where he was given protection by a friendly group of white men. The mob clamored for another victim, but they were held at bay by a machine gun. Being unable to secure their intended victim the mob began a systematic attempt to drive all Negroes from the town. I am reliably informed that this mob was led by a young man from Calhoun county, who has money and comes from a *good* family. The mob apparently started from the west side of the Plaza and began driving Negroes from the streets and stores where some were engaged in buying and selling and working for white employers. An observer stated that, "the mob attacked men, women and children and that several blind persons were ruthlessly beaten." Another observer said: "They (the Negroes) came from the town in droves, some driving, some running, some crying, all scared to death."

In several instances the mob met resistance on the part of white employers of Negro labor. A Negro porter was serving a white customer in front of his employer's store. Before he knew what was happening the mob was upon him. With a knife he slashed his way through the mob and gained the front door of the store. His employer locked him in a room and kept the mob away with a shot gun. A woman who was caught downtown with her maid almost single-handedly drove the mob away from their intended victim. After emptying the streets, stores, places of business, hotels, etc., of Negroes the mob started into the residential section to drive out the Negro maids. Some women sent their maids home, others hid them in closets. One man whose wife shielded her maid from the mob said, "Saturday was a day of terror and madness, never to be forgotten by anyone."

Lack of Police Protection

During the rioting the city of Marianna was completely without police protection. I was told that members of the mob searched the town for members of the police force and threatened to beat them up if they were found. One observer said, "The United States army couldn't have stopped that crowd Saturday morning." When Mayor Burton realized what was going on and that the city was at the mercy of the mob, he tried to locate the policemen but was unable to do so. He then tried personally to deputize some special officers, but was unable to find anyone to serve. He later sent a friend out to find some men who would serve. This man finally returned and said he could not find anyone who would serve.

National Guards Called

At this juncture the Mayor called Governor Sholtz in Tallahassee. In response to the mayor's request a detachment of National Guards arrived from Apalachicola about 4:30 Saturday afternoon and gradually dispersed the mob. The guards patrolled the streets of the town and particularly the Negro section. The mob retreated before the guards but left the parting warning that they would "be back Saturday to finish up what we started."

On the following Saturday the police force was increased by about twenty men. Several Negroes were attacked early Saturday morning by white men who were arrested and placed in jail. A drizzling rain began about 9 a.m. followed by a downpour about 11 a.m. which probably prevented another "day of terror and madness" in Marianna.

Lola Cannidy

On the afternoon of October 18, 1934, Lola Cannidy, 20, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. George Cannidy, farmers near Greenwood, Florida, disappeared from home. It is alleged that Lola Cannidy told her parents that she was going to "water the pigs" and attend to some other chores about the farm. The family took no particular notice of her absence when she failed to return in the late afternoon. She had been seen by her brother, who was working in a nearby field, talking to someone on the farm. When she failed to return in the evening her parents called her sister in Tallahassee to find out if Lola was there. When they were unable to locate her in Tallahassee and she did not return home, a search was begun for her in the community. Early on the morning of October 19, her body, fully clothed, was discovered by an uncle, John King, a short distance from the Cannidy home, badly mutilated about the head and arms and partially covered with brush-wood and pine logs.

Sheriff W. F. Chambliss of Jackson County was called to the Cannidy home and an investigation was begun immediately. A watch, ring, a piece of clothing and a hammer were among the things discovered near the place where Lola Cannidy came to her death. Among the first homes in the community to be searched was that of Annie Smith, mother of Claude Neal, who lived just across the road from the Cannidy home. The officers investigating the case claim to have found some bloody garments in the home.

Several boys claimed that they saw Claude Neal near the scene of the crime that afternoon and that he had some wounds on his hand which he said that he received while repairing a fence.



This cottage is similar to that occupied by Claude Neal's mother, which was burned to the ground by the mob after the lynching.

Claude Neal Arrested

A search was immediately begun for Claude Neal. He was arrested on the peanut farm belonging to John Green. When Neal was arrested he told officers that another man, Herbert Smith, was associated with him in the crime. Smith was later arrested and he and Neal were taken to the nearby woods and questioned. I am reliably informed that Neal had been in a fight with Herbert Smith on the Saturday previous and that in the fight "Herbert had whipped him." In order to "get even" with Smith, Neal sought to involve him in the case. Smith later related the entire incident to an informant who described Smith as being literally scared to death. Neal finally admitted that Smith had nothing to do with the crime and that he alone was involved. Smith was subsequently released by the officers.

Claude Neal and Lola Cannidy

Claude Neal and Lola Cannidy had always lived in the same neighborhood. Mrs. Smith's home (Neal's mother) was just across the road from the Cannidy home. Neal had played with the Cannidy children and when he was large enough to work, worked on the Cannidy farm. For some months, and possibly for a period of years, Claude Neal and Lola Cannidy had been having intimate relations with each other. The nature of their relationship was common knowledge in the Negro community. Some of his friends advised him of the danger of the relationship and had asked him not to continue it. Miss Cannidy, it seems, desired to break the relationship existing between herself and Neal and the fatal meeting was prearranged for the purpose of arriving at some understanding. At the meeting in the woods Miss Cannidy told Neal that she did not want him to speak to her again and that if he did so she would tell the white men in the community on him. (Should Miss Cannidy have "told on him" it would have meant certain death.) When she told Neal that she wanted to "quit" and further threatened to "tell on him," he "got mad and killed her." Neal later told a friend what had happened. Neal is reported to have told the friend, "When she said she didn't want me to speak to her and then told me that she'd tell the white men on me, I just got mad and killed her."

Was Claude Neal Guilty?

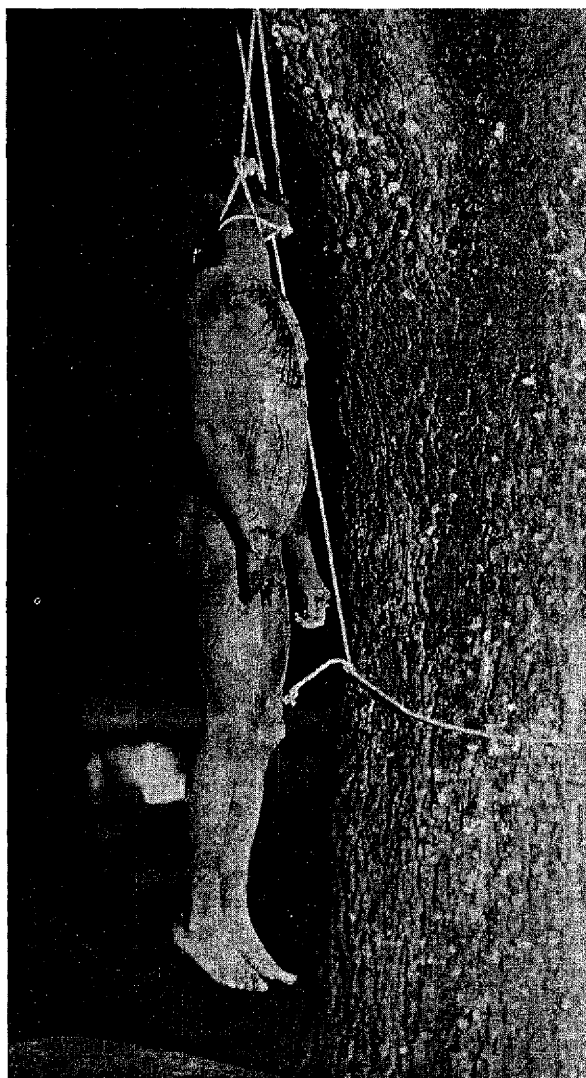
When I first arrived in Marianna I heard that there was serious doubt as to Neal's guilt. The rumor was that a white man had murdered Lola Cannidy, had taken the bloody garments to Neal's home to have them washed and had later laid the murder on Neal. Knowing how often innocent Negroes are framed by guilty white men I gave particular attention to the theory. I was unable to find any substantial support for this theory among the Negroes in the Greenwood community. It is entirely possible that due to the great terror under which Negroes all over this section of Florida are living that they were too frightened to say or do anything which might cause them to become the victims of another mob as had so recently descended upon them. Feeling was running so high during the period of investigation that it was not safe for a citizen to ask too many questions about the lynching. Naturally it was difficult for an outsider to carry out a thorough investigation of every particular. The account of the murder came to me from the most reliable sources including white and Negro informers. I still have some doubts in my mind but I accept the story as told as the most plausible and reliable account which I received.

State of Public Opinion as Revealed in the Local Press

(1) Statement from George Cannidy in *Marianna Daily Times-Courier*.

Headline: YOU CAN'T KNOW HOW IT HURTS UNLESS THIS HAPPENS TO YOU, STATES FATHER OF YOUNG GIRL.

"Lord, but you can't know how it hurts unless you had something like this happen to someone you loved... *The bunch have promised me that they will give me first chance at him when they bring him back and I'm ready.* We'll put those two logs on him and ease him off by degrees. I can't get the picture of Lola out of my mind when we found her. Her throat was bruised and scratched where he had choked her so she couldn't cry out. My son was in the field about a quarter of a mile away when he saw someone talking with her at the pump, but he thought it was just one of the local boys and didn't pay much attention. He was right there in the field when she was being killed. Her head was beat in and she had been choked so hard her eyes were coming out of their sockets, her arms were broken



Note mutilation of Neal's chest and thighs. Note also how fingers have been cut from hands as souvenirs. After this picture was taken toes were cut from the feet as souvenirs. An "enterprising" local photographer made post cards of this picture which were sold in large quantities at fifty cents each.

[5]

and she was all beat up. *When I get my hands on that nigger, there isn't any telling what I'll do.*"

(All italics mine)

(2) Statement from Lola Cannidy's sister in Marianna Daily Times-Courier.

Headline: I WISH EVERY RESIDENT OF JACKSON COUNTY COULD SEE THE BODY OF LOLA, SAYS SISTER OF SLAIN GIRL.

"When I viewed the body of my sister I was horrified. Whoever killed her—*well I don't believe any form of punishment could fit the crime.* I can hardly believe that such a horrible thing could happen to my sister. If I have to be killed I hope it won't be in the manner she met death. I know that there has never been anything in Jackson county that was as brutal. I'd just like to see the man who did this just once. I can't understand what the motive was for this brutal deed. To think that Claude Neal, who has been raised with my sister and me and worked for us all his life, could do such a thing—it is unbelievable. *I only wish that every resident of Jackson county could view the body of my sister. If they could, they wouldn't rest until the murderer was caught and justice meted out.*" Daily Times-Courier, October 20, 1934.

(3) Letter from Negro Citizen of Marianna in Daily Times-Courier.

Headline: COLORED MAN WRITES ANENT RECENT CRIME. MAKES PLEA THAT GOOD COLORED PEOPLE NOT BE BLAMED FOR ACT OF CLAUDE NEAL.

"Marianna, Florida
October 22, 1934

"To the White Citizens of Jackson County:

"Just a few lines to let you all know that we good colored citizens of Jackson County don't feel no sympathy toward the nigger that.....the white lady and killed her. No! we haven't felt that he did right because he should stay in his place, and since he did such as he did, we are not feeling that we have a right to plead to you all for mercy.

"It makes us chagrined and feel that he has ruined the good colored people that try to behave themselves and work for an honest living.

"I feel very bad over it myself to see that we have such a fellow in the Race and I am among the good colored people that feel just like I do toward him. I talked with them, and they can't see how they can have any sympathy for him.

"But I am writing to let you know that we leave it to you all to do what you all see fit to do to him. But still asking you all not to be hard on your good servants that have been honest and faithful for the time that we have been working with you for the other fellow. Because we good colored people want to thank you all for the favors and the chance that you will have given us to let us have schools for our children and teachers to teach them and jobs for us to work and to get bread for them that they can have a chance. Also we thank you all for making it easy.

"Because if it wasn't for the good white citizens, we realize that many of our girls and boys could have been mobbed for nothing they done, but for the brutal act that was done. I also thank the sheriff for working so faithfully to get the right man.

Your faithful servant
John Curry

still pleading for a chance for the better class of colored people and not to punish us for him, because if he do wrong he is wrong, and we have no sympathy for him!"

(4) Letter from Negro Citizens in the Marianna Times-Courier..

Headline: COLORED CITIZENS DISAPPROVE CRIME.

"Marianna, Florida
October 23, 1934

"WHEREAS, it has come to our attention that one of the most brutal crimes is supposed to have been committed by one of our race; and

"WHEREAS, that friendly and mutual relationships that have so long existed among the white and colored citizens of our fair county has been interrupted by such a brutal act; "BE IT RESOLVED, That we, the colored citizens of Jackson county, Florida, do here and now place our stamp of disapproval on such an atrocious act, and assure the family that they have our deepest sympathy and the law our unstinted support in bringing the guilty to speedy justice.

"We do not condone crime in any form. We believe in, teach our race to be law abiding citizens. We trust that the brutal act will not break that friendly and mutual relationship that exists among the white and colored people of this, our good country. We have the utmost confidence in the white citizens of this county, and trust that you have the same in us. We shall ever strive and teach our race never to betray that trust. We pray that the guilty may be apprehended and punished and that the innocent will be protected."

"Your humble citizens
R. W. Whitehurst
E. Harley
M. Robinson
W. R. Robinson
H. H. Fagan
D. P. Preston
M. L. Clay
R. T. Gilmore."

(5) News Item in the Marianna Times-Courier, October 26, by Emmet G. Shepherd. (Associate Editor.)

Headline: KU KLUX MAY RIDE AGAIN.

"Jackson County Citizens May Rally to Fiery Cross to Protect Womanhood."

"Taking a determined stand to protect the honor of womanhood and to champion the oppressed in Jackson county, a group of sober-minded, straight forward men will probably organize a local Ku Klux Klan, it was revealed to the writer the other day by a prominent Marianna citizen.

"*The purpose of the Klan is to take over where the law fails, or where the law has no jurisdiction.* It will defend and protect the constitution and the flag of the United States and make this section safe for 'life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness'."

(6) Editorial in the Jackson County Floridan, October 26, 1934.

"Although many have strongly favored the court of Judge Lynch for the brutal slaying of a Jackson county girl this week, local officers have spared no effort to uphold their oath of office and to protect their prisoner. *In many instances this action has been contrary to the wishes of citizens,* but the consensus of opinion is that one crime in a week is enough."

(7) News Item in Marianna Daily Times-Courier, October 27, 1934.

Headline: MOB NOT TO BE BOTHERED OPINES S. PAUL GREENE.

"S. P. Greene, deputy sheriff of Jackson county, told a Times-Courier reported late yesterday afternoon that, 'in my opinion, *the mob will not be bothered, either before or after the lynching.*'"

Note: On November 1, The Times-Courier of Marianna carried a front page announcement that S. P. Greene would run for sheriff of Jackson county in 1936.

The Women in the Case

Claude Neal's mother, Annie Smith, and his aunt, Sallie Smith, with whom Neal lived, were arrested as accomplices in the crime with Neal. Mrs. Smith lived on a small farm opposite the Cannidy home and worked for the Cannidys and other white people in the community. The two women apparently had nothing whatsoever to do with the crime but in the mad excitement of the hour became the victims of the mob's desire to wreak its vengeance upon all and sundry who had the slightest connection with Claude Neal. Mrs. Smith and her sister were taken to Chipley and lodged in the jail there. A large mob stormed the jail in search of the women and Neal and threatened to dynamite the jail and to employ acetylene torches to secure the prisoners. It is probable that had the two women accompanied Neal on his fateful ride from Pensacola to Brewton that they too would have suffered the same fate as he did. On Saturday morning shortly after Neal's body had been brought to the Cannidy home, the mob descended upon the Smith home and burned it with several out-buildings to the ground. When last heard of the two women were at Fort Barrancas near Pensacola.

Local History

Jackson county, in which the lynching of Claude Neal and the rioting in Marianna occurred, is one of the four original counties of Florida. It has a population of approximately thirty thousand inhabitants of whom some two-thirds live on farms. Agriculture is the principal industry of the county. Cotton is the chief product, while tobacco, peanuts, lumbering and lime stone products are produced in considerable quantities.

Prior to 1900 the Negro population greatly outnumbered the white but since that time it has steadily declined. It is estimated that between 40% and 45% of the population of Jackson county is at present Negro. Most of the old plantations have either been broken up or have been taken over by syndicates which work them now.

The county has the highest illiteracy rate of any in the state in proportion to the number of schools. There are no public libraries in the county. Negro teachers in the public schools receive from \$25.00 to \$35.00 per month. A recent survey of the county shows that between 75% and 80% of the citizens of Jackson county belong to either the Methodist or Baptist church. Revivals are always eagerly and well attended.

Marianna, the county seat of Jackson county, has a population of about 3,300. The Negro population is between 35% and 40%. The town is on the main highway between Tallahassee and Mobile and is in line for considerable tourist trade.

It is a typical southern town with the general run of stores and a town square, except in Marianna the square is called, "the Plaza." The drug stores carry a large line of cheap detective, "wild west," and mystery magazines. *Time*, *The American Magazine*, *Cosmopolitan*, *Literary Digest*, *Red Book* represent about the best available reading material to be purchased in the town.

Compete for Jobs

Severe competition exists between the Negroes and whites for what few jobs there are in Marianna and the surrounding territory. For some time past there has been a constant agitation going on among the poor and disinherited whites for the jobs of the equally poor and exploited Negroes. Employers who give work to Negroes when white men could do the work are frowned upon. Frequently they are boycotted and threatened. Many occupations which Negroes formerly occupied to the exclusion of whites are

now completely occupied by whites. The Negroes have been gradually forced deeper and deeper into economic misery and insecurity. With them have gone large numbers of the white population and as the present economic crisis deepens the struggle for survival grows in intensity and severity.

Some Wage Scales

Porters who work in drug stores, grocery stores, etc., receive from \$4.00 to \$6.00 per week. \$2.25 per week is considered very good pay for domestic servants. \$2.50 is considered extraordinarily good. Cooks in boarding houses during the tourist season receive around \$3.00 per week. The bell boys in the Chipola Hotel receive \$1.50 per week for twelve hours. Maids in the same hotel receive \$4.00 per week for seven days work. Each maid has the care of an entire floor of nineteen rooms. The white waitresses in the dining room receive \$4.00 per week plus tips. They work from 5:30 A.M. until 9 P.M. with time off between the main meals.

Relief Cut Off

It is claimed that a large number of those who participated in the rioting in Marianna on Saturday, October 27, had been on the county relief rolls for some time. Relief had been cut off about two weeks before the lynching occurred. There has been considerable discontent over the way relief in the county has been handled. An organization known as the Jackson county FERA Purification League headed by W. Pooser led a demonstration through the streets of Marianna on the Saturday preceding the lynching. From what I was able to learn, Pooser's League is a semi-Fascist organization combining some of Huey Long's ideas of "share the wealth" with a deep seated and violent race prejudice. Pooser disclaimed any part in the Marianna riot of the 27th.

Basic Cause of Lynching

While the feeling against Claude Neal was certainly very great because of the crime which he was alleged to have committed, the lynching was to a large extent a surface eruption. Beneath this volcanic eruption lay the pressing problem of jobs and bread and economic security. A very competent observer said to me: "This lynching was a surface eruption. The basic cause of the lynching was economic. Here you put your finger on the sore spot. The lynching had two objects, first, to intimidate and threaten the white employers of Negro labor and secondly to scare and terrorize the Negroes so that they would leave the county and their jobs could be taken over by white men." A white man with whom I talked observed: "There are too many niggers and too many white people looking for the same job." A clerk in a store said, "A nigger hasn't got no right to have a job when there are white men who can do the work and are out of work."

Attitudes Toward the Lynching

It is a well known fact that some of Marianna's "prominent business men and citizens" participated in the mob which lynched Claude Neal. There were some people with whom I talked who were horrified over the lynching and who wanted to raise their voices in protest but felt it to be useless to do so at the time. I felt that on the whole the lynching was accepted by the citizens of Marianna as a righteous act. When buying a magazine in a drug store for which I had no earthly use, I said to the clerk who waited on me, "That was a pretty bad lynching you had here the other night, wasn't it?" He replied, "No! the lynching wasn't bad, it was all right. What happened to business when the mob came in and drove the niggers out of town was the only bad thing about it." There seemed

to be a general acceptance by the people of Judge Lynch. They seemed to believe that lynch law was really the only way they could "keep the nigger in his place." The chain-gang, prison and the electric chair are not enough. To have a Negro suddenly disappear never to return to his people seemed to them to be the best method of "handlin' the niggers."

Conclusions

It is evident from these findings that:

What has been done: (1) The N. A. A. C. P. and other organizations telegraphed Governor Sholtz of Florida, October 26, as soon as the proposed lynching was announced in the early afternoon New York papers. (2) After the lynching, the N. A. A. C. P. asked Attorney-General Homer S. Cummings and President Franklin D. Roosevelt to proceed under the Lindbergh interstate kidnaping law which provides for federal action where victims are transported across state lines and held "for ransom or reward or otherwise". (3) The Attorney-General's office thus far has refused to act stating that the phrase "or otherwise"

- (1) The mob intended to lynch Claude Neal from the beginning,
- (2) That the nature of the press reports confirmed their intention,
- (3) That the statements occurring in the local press incited to lynching,
- (4) That the local officials and the Governor of the state must have been aware of the probability of lynching, and
- (5) That insufficient protection was given to the prisoner

does not apply to the Marianna case, indicating that a federal law specifically against lynching is needed.

What to do: (1) Send a contribution to the N. A. A. C. P. to aid in the fight against lynching and for the enactment of a federal anti-lynching law by the 74th Congress. (2) Write President Roosevelt urging him to insist upon the passage of a federal anti-lynching law and write your Congressmen and Senators asking them to support and vote for such a bill. (3) Get all your friends and organizations with which you are connected to do likewise.

Issued November 30, 1934

THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION for the ADVANCEMENT of COLORED PEOPLE

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69 Fifth Avenue,
New York City.

Here is my contribution of \$.....towards the cost of the campaign to arouse America to wipe out lynching.

(Name)

(Address)

(City and State).....

(Make checks payable to Mary White Ovington, Treasurer)

I attach list of names, with addresses, of friends who also would like to help.



ORIGINAL RETIRED FOR PRESERVATION

Do not look at the Negro.

His earthly problems are ended.

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

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

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

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

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

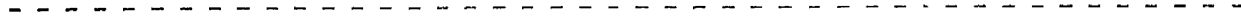
The manacles, too, tell their own story. The Negro was powerless in the hands of the law, but the law was just as powerless to protect him from being lynched. Since 1922 over one-half the lynched victims have been taken from legal custody. Less than one percent of the lynchers have been punished, and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

What, you may ask, can YOU do?

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

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

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



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

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

Name.....

Address.....

City.....

State.....

R E S O L U T I O N

Whereas both official and unofficial surveys have demonstrated that unemployment among Negro workers in industry has reached an unprecedented figure which has placed and is placing great strain on Federal, State, and local relief agencies, has created serious problems of public health from overcrowding, lack of sanitation and undernourishment of workers and their families; and

Whereas there are repeated charges of discrimination against Negro workers on public works projects, and on other projects financed in whole or in part from funds derived from the Treasury of the United States; and

Whereas it is indispensable to the recovery of the nation that the purchasing power of Negro workers be increased, their health safeguarded and morale preserved: Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That a special select committee of _____ Senators (Representatives) to be appointed by the President of the Senate (Speaker of the House) is authorized and directed (1) to collect, collate, coordinate and make available to the Senate (House of Representatives) the results of all surveys and investigations into the status and conditions of Negro workers within the past ten years, made under the auspices of any Federal Department, Administration, Bureau or other agency; (2) to make further and independent investigations concerning the status and conditions of Negro workers in industry; (3) to investigate the employment of Negro workers on public works and other projects financed in whole or in part from funds derived from the public treasury; (4) to investigate the relation and

position of Negro workers to the organized labor movements in this country; and (5) to make a preliminary report of the results of its investigations as soon as practicable, to make further reports from time to time, but at least once during each regular session of the Senate (House of Representatives) until it has completed its investigations, and to submit a final report to the Senate (House of Representatives), together with its recommendations for necessary legislation. The President of the Senate (Speaker of the House of Representatives) shall appoint members to fill any vacancies that may occur in the committee.

For the purpose of this resolution such committee or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof is authorized to hold such hearings, to sit and act at such times and places during the sessions and recesses of the Senate (House of Representatives) in the Seventy-Fourth and succeeding Congresses until the final report is submitted, to employ such counsel, experts, and clerical, stenographic, and other assistants, to require by subpoena or otherwise the attendance of such witnesses, and the production of such books, papers, and documents, to administer such oaths, and to take such testimony and make such expenditures as it deems advisable. The cost of stenographic service to report such hearings shall not be in excess of 25 cents per hundred words. The expenses of such committee which shall not exceed \$25,000, shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate (House of Representatives) upon vouchers approved by the chairman.

Table I

EXHIBIT

LITERARY DIGEST POLL (OF DECEMBER 28, 1935) ON ROOSEVELT'S POLICIES, MAJORITIES BY PARTY IN 1932, 1928 and 1924 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, AND POTENTIAL NEGRO VOTE.

State	Literary Digest Poll on Roosevelt's Policies		Party Majority		Negroes in State 21 Years of Age and Over (1930 Census)
	Yes	No	1924	1932	
Conn.	6,194-28.27%	15,717-71.73%	136,138Rep	44,574Rep	6,788Rep
Del.			18,996Rep	32,217Rep	2,754Rep
Ill.	38,875-34.27%	74,576-65.73%	876,346Rep	455,324Rep	449,548Dem
Ind.	21,005-40.65%	30,668-59.35%	210,797Rep	285,599Rep	184,870Dem
Kans.	16,120-42.74%	21,599-57.26%	251,352Rep	320,669Rep	74,706Dem
Ky.	12,031-59.78%	8,094-40.22%	24,111Rep	176,994Rep	185,858Dem
Md.	6,680-33.85%	13,055-66.15%	14,342Rep	77,853Rep	130,130Dem
Mass.	8,166-20.12%	32,417-79.88%	422,658Rep	17,192Dem	63,189Dem
Mich.	15,069-31.85%	32,236-68.15%	722,393Rep	568,634Rep	131,806Dem
Mo.	25,881-43.29%	33,909-56.71%	75,733Rep	171,518Rep	460,693Dem
N.J.			378,234Rep	309,533Rep	30,946Dem
N.Y.			869,262Rep	103,481Rep	596,996Dem
Ohio	32,219-36.13%	56,954-63.87%	698,242Rep	236,664Dem	74,016Dem
Okla.	10,424-47.89%	11,344-52.11%	29,556Dem	174,872Rep	328,303Dem
Penn.			992,289Rep	987,796Rep	157,592Rep
R.I.	1,517-22.95%	5,093-77.05%	48,680Rep	1,451Dem	31,338Dem
W.Va.	6,209-41.76%	8,659-58.24%	31,403Rep	111,767 Rep	74,393Dem

Table II

LITERARY DIGEST POLL (OF DECEMBER 28, 1935) IN STATES WHERE NEGROES ARE DISFRANCHISED WHOLLY OR IN PART

State	Literary Digest Poll on Roosevelt's Policies		Party Majority			Negroes in State 21 Years of Age and Over (1930 Census)
	Yes	No	1924	1928	1932	
Ala.	6,833-67.13%	3,345-32.87%	67,961Dem	7,072Dem	173,235Dem	479,950
Ark.	4,762-60.58%	3,099-39.42%	44,231Dem	41,445Dem	161,135Dem	257,130
Fla.	5,141-49.35%	5,277-50.65%	31,450Dem	42,404Rep	137,137Dem	251,025
Ca.	10,452-67.20%	5,092-32.80%	92,900Dem	66,104Dem	214,255Dem	528,087
Ia.	3,663-63.05%	2,147-36.95%	68,548Dem	113,495Dem	230,565Dem	415,047
Miss.	4,400-73.07%	1,622-26.93%	91,929Dem	97,386Dem	134,988Dem	509,628
N.Car.	9,550-64.87%	5,172-35.13%	92,517Dem	61,914Rep	289,222Dem	418,975
S.Car.	3,023-70.43%	1,269-29.57%	47,885Dem	59,512Dem	100,369Dem	343,788
Tenn.	12,497-63.48%	7,191-36.52%	27,655Dem	28,045Rep	133,011Dem	271,974
Tex.	23,628-60.48%	15,440-39.52%	354,582Dem	26,004Rep	662,389Dem	469,637
Va.	9,188-52.48%	8,321-47.52%	66,433Dem	24,463Rep	114,342Dem	329,220