THE COMMISSION ON INTERRACIAL COOPERATION, 1919-1944

A CASE STUDY

IN THE HISTORY OF THE INTERRACIAL MOVEMENT

IN THE SOUTH

A thesis submitted to the Graduate School of the University of Wisconsin in partial fulfillmemt of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

by

EDWARD FLUD BURROWS

Date AUGUST 27, 19 54

To Professors: Curti

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This thesis having been approved in respect to form and mechanical execution is referred to you for judgment upon its substantial merit.

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The Commission on Interracial Cooperation, 1919-1944

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PREFACE

Race relations is a subject of tremendous importance in the mid-twentieth century. Not only is it a most important aspect of the realization of the democratic ideal of the United States; it is world-wide in its import. World War II, the present struggle between East and West, the emergence of colonial peoples into full self-government in India, Indonesia and Africa, are all complicated by the racial factors. Of especial interest, in relation to this widespread concern for race relations, are the changing patterns in the South, for they have implications for the whole United States and, indeed, for the entire world.

At the present moment as a result of the recent Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation in public education in the United States, the question of the integration of Negroes and whites in the South is one of major significance. The definition of the

very term "integration" is, at present, vague for it has only recently become utilized to describe a social process. In this paper it will be used to mean the uniting of Negroes and whites into a whole social group undivided by racial distinctions. Actually, contrary to the general opinion, the joint participation of Negroes and whites in common ventures on a basis of equality is not entirely new even in the South. For many years such activities have been going on. The Commission on Interracial Cooperation which arose immediately following World War I had the joint action of Negroes and whites as one of its major objectives. I hope that this study of that commission and its activities may throw some light on the present problem of integration.

When this study was begun, it was intended to include all the organizations that have encouraged interracial cooperation in the South; but such a comprehensive synthesis will have to wait until similar intensive studies of the numerous phases of the movement are available. The South in this particular instance is limited to that area in which the Commission of Interracial Cooperation worked. This includes the states stretching from Virginia and Kentucky (not including West Virginia) south and westward to Texas. Arkansas and Missouri were occasionally included but not with any degree of permanency.

This study has grown out of a constantly increasing interest. Born and reared in South Carolina, I somehow became stimulated at an early date to a deep concern about race relations. For several years I have found myself unable to reconcile the present racial situation in the South with either democracy or Christianity, two values to which I attach supreme importance. Since my undergraduate days at Washington and Lee University, I have been seeking to make some contribution in this area; and I hope that this study may find its place as a part of that contribution.

Many persons have made this study possible through their assistance and encouragement. I feel especially indebted to Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk University, who enabled me to have a year's study at the Social Science Institute at Fisk (1946-47), and was the first to encourage me to undertake this study; to Dr. Preston Valien of Fisk who helped me first formulate my proposed study and directed me to consider the University of Wisconsin as the place to pursue it; to the Rosenwald Fund, now liquidated, for its generous assistance which made possible a full year of study and research (1947-48); to Dr. George S. Mitchell and several members of the staff of the Southern Regional Council of Atlanta, Georgia, for making available to me the records and files of the

Commission and for sharing their often crowded office space with me on more than one occasion for extended periods; to Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames who opened her personal files to me, gave generously of her time, and stimulated me with her keen personality; to Julia A. Burrows, my mother, and Carol and Len Montie, two real friends, who on different occasions provided a much needed, comfortable, relaxing place where I could put the results of my research into final written form; and above all, to Merle Curti, the truest combination of gentleman and scholar I have ever known, whose patient understanding of human nature and penetrating intellect have been a constant source of strength and inspiration. Countless others, family, friends, librarians, have suffered inconvenience and have helped in many ways to bring this study to a final conclusion. To all, I am genuinely grateful.

August, 1954 Edward F. Burrows

Abbreviations

This study is based largely upon uncatalogued manuscripts. For a description of them, see the bibliography, pp. 395-444. For convenience, reference to an individual document will indicate its approximate location by use of the abbreviations listed below.

Filing divisions of the Materials of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation	Abbreviations used in this study
Historical Records and Reports	C-Hist. Records
Field Work	C-Field Work
State Committees	C-State Com.
Financial Records	C-Fin. Records
Legal Aid	C-Legal Aid
Literature	C-Lit.
Publications	C-Publicas.
Publicity Releases	C-Publ. Releases
Special Studies and Special Projects	C-Spec. Studies
Woman's Work	C-Woman's Work
Miscellaneous	C-Miscel.
The Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching	C-ASWPL
Georgia Committee Records	C-Ga.
Fulton-DeKalb Committee Records	C-FD
The official minutes of annual meetings of the Commission, and meetings of the executive committee and board of directors from 1929-1944	C-Official Min.

In identifying publications of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation and its affiliated organizations,

unless a specific author is given, the abbreviations below are used. Since all publications were issued in Atlanta, only the date of publication will be given when first identified.

The Commission on Interracial Cooperation	Commission
The Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching	ASWPL
The Conference on Education and Race Relations	Conference

CHAPTER I

THE SETTING: FACTORS IN RACE RELATIONS, 1900-1919

The beginning decades of the twentieth century experienced some important changes in American life--a shift from romanticism to realism in the field of literature, from narrow nationalism to participation in world affairs, from a political life characterized by McKinley and Mark Hanna to the progressivism of Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson. In the area of the relations between Negroes and white persons in the South, however, there was little obvious indication of change. The patterns of racial separation that had developed gave little sign of altering toward integration of Negroes and whites along any lines. But a number of factors can be noted that may have presaged developments to occur before the century was to be half completed.

For one thing, during these first two decades, attention upon the sorely perplexing race problem was intensified. Almost everyone seemed to be anxious to record his particular conceptions, if not for the enlightenment of his fellowmen, at least for the benefit of

future historians.[1] Two well known persons among those emphasizing racial conditions were Andrew Carnegie and Ray Stannard Baker. In 1907 Carnegie addressed the Philosophical Institute of Edinburgh on the Negro in America.[2] Baker published his observations on the same subject gained on an extended trip through the South, first in the Atlantic Monthly and then in a book.[3]

In July, 1911, a Universal Races Congress was held in London attended by scholars of many nations including the United States. Although the conference was concerned with the whole picture of race relations throughout the world, a paper by W.E.B. DuBois, a Negro who had gained attention as a scholar and sociologist on the faculty of Atlanta University, reviewed the social and economic position of the Negro in the United States;[4] and Edwin D. Mead of Boston advocated the formation of an international

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[1] A glance at Bibliography of the Negro in Africa and America, compiled by Monroe N. Work, (New York, 1928), 403-404, 553-556 and 593-598 will give an idea of the large number of books, pamphlets and magazine articles that were being written. Algernon Brashear Jackson, The Man Next Door (Philadelphia, 1919), 7, recognized this when he expressed doubt as to whether he should apologize for "adding to the already groaning library shelves another book upon the race problem."

[2] Andrew Carnegie, The Negro in America (Inverness, Scotland, 1907).

[3] Ray Stannard Baker, Following the Color Line (New York, 1908).

[4] G. Spiller, ed., Papers on Inter-racial Problems (Boston, 1911), 348-364.

organization to meet annually to promote interracial goodwill.[5] Less than a year later, the First International Congress on the Negro was held at Tuskegee, Alabama, and was attended by representatives from England, Asia, Africa, South America and several islands of the West Indies.[6] 1913 was the semi-centennial of emancipation and brought forth many a review of the intervening years including an entire issue of the Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science.[7]

In some ways the first two decades of the century witnessed several events that publicized the continuing plight of the Negro. Several of the Southern states which had not already done so inserted various "grandfather" clauses and literacy tests into their suffrage qualifications, thereby virtually annulling the fifteenth amendment. Numerous cities in the early teens began to extend residential segregation until the Supreme Court finally declared it to be unconstitutional. A veritable furor was aroused because President Theodore Roosevelt invited a

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[5] Ibid., 443.

[6] A. W. Baker, "First International Congress on the Negro," in the Missionary Review of the World, 25(1912): 440-442.

[7] The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 49(September, 1913).

distinguished educator who happened to be a Negro to an informal luncheon at the White House.[8] The recorded number of lynchings of Negroes which had risen to unprecedented heights in the nineties continued to shock the rest of the nation.[9]

Much of the attention that was being focused on race relations during this period was certainly not designed to encourage interracial cooperation. Thomas Dixon implicitly in his novels, The Clansman and The Leopard's Spots (which furnished the basis for the popular movie, The Birth of a Nation), and explicitly in magazine articles was portraying the Negro as a

> ... creature, with a racial record of four thousand years of incapacity, half-child, half-animal, the sport of impulse, whim and conceit, pleased with a rattle, tickled with a straw, a being who, left to his will, roams at night and sleeps in the day, whose native tongue has framed no work of love, whose passions once aroused are as the tiger's....[10]

In the realm of politics, "Pitchfork" Ben Tillman, the Senator from South Carolina, was using the halls of

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[8] Harold Underwood Faulkner, The Quest for Social Justice, 1898-1914 (New York, 1931), 10-11.

[9] Monroe N. Work, comp., Negro Year Book, 1937-1938 (Tuskegee, Alabama, 1937), 156. In 1900 there were 106 Negroes lynched, in 1901, 105, in 1905, 57, and in 1910, 67.

[10] Thomas Dixon, Jr., "Booker T. Washington and the Negro," in The Saturday Evening Post, August 19, 1905, 1-2.

Congress and the platforms of Chatauqua tents as the sounding board for extremist views.[11] James K. Vardaman was successfully exploiting the "white supremacy" issue in Mississippi to win first the governor's chair (1904-1907) and later the position of United States Senator (1913-1918).[12] And Tom Watson, the famed Populist leader of Georgia who in 1892-1893 as a Congressman had spoken out for cooperation, tolerance, justice, and political rights for the Negro as an integral part of Southern society, in 1906 declared civilization owed the Negro nothing.[13] Within the next ten years, his attacks upon the Negroes became so much more vituperative that by 1917 he was openly advocating the flogging and lynching of them.[14]

Not all of the attention that was focused on race relations during the early 1900's can be considered desirable from the standpoint of improving race relations. But the increasing scientific interest in the subject at that time can be considered so. This is a second

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[11] Francis Butler Simpkins, "Benjamin Tillman," in the Dictionary of American Biography, (New York, 1931), XVIII, 547-549; Congressional Record, 57 Congress, II Session (1903), 2511-2515, 2557-2566.

[12] Charles S. Sydner, "James K. Vardaman," in the Dictionary of American Biography, XIX, 221-222.

[13] Comer Vann Woodward, Tom Watson: Agrarian Rebel (New York, 1938), 220-221

[14] Ibid., 380, citing Tom Watson's Magazine, 1(1905):298; Watson's Jeffersonian Magazine, 1(1907): 1032-1040; and Jeffersonian, May 15, 1913; February 12, 1914, and January 4, 1917.

factor that needs to be noted.

By 1900 sociology had become established as a definite field of study and several American sociologists had emerged as reputable scholars. Quite a few journals and publications had begun to appear to report on the new special studies of specific social problems. Sociology courses and departments had been introduced into colleges and universities throughout the country.[15] By 1914 Oswald Garrison Villard was able to write:

> ... we have a growingly serious effort by white and colored writers alike to deal in a scientific spirit with what is the least solved and least understood of our social problems; to apply to it the laboratory method so warmly urged as the necessary resolvent in all matters sociological.[16]

The earlier sociologists did not say much that bore directly on the race problem and at least some of what they did say cannot be considered scientific by present standards. But they did not ignore the question completely. For the most part their theories were dependent upon those of European scholars. As these theories were related to the concrete problem of race relations in the United States, they tended to become rationalizations

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15 Howard Becker and Harry Elmer Barnes, Social Thought From Lore to Science (2nd ed., 2 vols., Washington, 1952), II, 963-994; Luther Lee Bernard and Jessie Bernard, Origins of American Sociology (New York, 1943), 611-669; Arthur J. Todd, "The Teaching of Sociology to Undergraduates," in the American Sociological Society Publications, 13(1919):129-142.

16 Oswald Garrison Villard, "The Race Problem," in the Nation, 99(1914):738.

of American public opinion.[17] During this period, however, independent sociological theory on race also began to emerge, W. I. Thomas and Robert Park being among the first to make a real contribution.[18]

During the first two decades of the twentieth century, the sociological journals contained a number of articles directly related to the race problem. In July, 1901, the Annals contained a series of articles on "America's Race Problems" including one by E. A. Ross, then at the University of Nebraska, entitled "The Causes of Race Superiority."[19] In 1913 an entire issue of the Annals was devoted to "The Negro's Progress in Fifty Years." This included statistical studies, surveys of business activities, labor conditions, educational progress and problems among Negroes.[20] A few years later the American Journal of Sociology contained a noteworthy

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17 E. Franklin Frazier, "Sociological Theory and Race Relations," in the American Sociological Review 12(1947):265-271. Frazier points out that the first sociological treatises published in the United States concerned with race relations, Henry Hughes, Treatise on Sociology, Theoretical and Practical, and George Fitzhugh, Sociology for the South: or the Failure of Free Society, both defended slavery.

18 Ibid., 268-269. Howard Odum was beginning his studies of the Negro during this period but as a student of Giddings at Columbia, he accepted the conventional theories, and it was not until later that he reversed his position and became one of the Southern authorities on the Negro.

19 The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 18(July, 1901).

20 Ibid., 49(September, 1913).

article by Professor George Howard of the University of Nebraska. This insisted that racial inferiority was already rejected by most authorities and that social assimilation, not segregation, was the solution to the race problem in America.[21] From time to time the American Sociological Society Publications also contained studies directly related to the race problem.[22]

The Journal of Race Development naturally devoted more frequent attention to the race problem than the others. Although sometimes not as objectively scientific as the articles in other publications, at least six articles on some phase of the race problem appeared in this journal between 1911 and 1916. One article by an assistant professor of Anthropology of Clark University, Massachusetts, stated plainly: "Mankind is one; there is but one human race."[23] Another by a former secretary of the United States legation in Liberia elaborated the

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21 George Eliot Howard, "The Social Cost of Southern Race Prejudice," in American Journal of Sociology, 20 (1917):577-593.

22 For example see Alfred Holt Stome, "Is Race Friction Between Blacks and Whites in the United States Growing and Inevitable," in American Sociological Society Publications, 2(1908): 69-110; and Robert E. Park, "Racial Assimilation in Secondary Groups with Particular Reference to the Negro," in Ibid., 8(1914):66-83.

23 Alexander Francis Chamberlain, "The Contribution of the Negro to Human Civilization," in Journal of Race Development, 1(1911):500.

point more fully:

> In the meantime, ethnologists like Boaz and Chamberlain of the United States and Peschel of Germany are making a new ethnology, in which the truth is being told concerning the Negro as well as the whites. We know that in nature there is only one race--the human race; that physical features, the cephalic angle, the texture of the hair, the shape of the head, the color of the skin, the size and shape, or the size and weight of the brain, have little or nothing to do with the capacity of the mind or the moral quality of the soul; that like other race varieties, the Negro is a product of the complex and subtle forces of his milieu, whether in this country or elsewhere, acting upon him for centuries past; that there is no naturally superior and inferior race, and that no race has a monopoly on either beauty, intellect or culture.[24]

In addition to the articles appearing in the various journals, numerous academic and sociological studies on aspects of the race problem were being made during these first two decades of the twentieth century.[25] In 1913 the Phelps-Stokes Fund established fellowships at the universities of Georgia and Virginia for graduate studies on Negro life and problems.[26] And in 1918 Reuter published his study of The Mulatto in the United

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[24] George W. Ellis, "The Psychology of American Race Prejudice," in ibid., 5(1915):312.

[25] Work, Bibliography of the Negro in Africa and America, 612-629, lists several M.A. and Ph.D. theses as well as other special studies done under the sponsorship of such foundations as the Slater Fund during this period.

[26] Thomas Jesse Jones, Educational Adaptations, Report of Ten Years' Work of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, 1910-1920 (New York, 1920), 70-74.

States. Finally, in a number of Southern colleges and universities, specific courses either on race problems or Negro life and problems were actually being offered by 1918.[27]

Long before the new sociology could have produced much effect upon race relations in the South, however, there was some organized attention to the race problem. This attention was expressed in the form of action taken by already existing groups, and more especially, by the creation of special organizations. This is, then, a third factor present in the overall racial picture in the South prior to 1919.

Although most of the major churches in the South did carry on mission work among Negroes and aided in the formation of segregated denominational churches, for the most part the churches played little overt part in attempting to find a solution to the race problem or even

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[27] Luther L. Bernard, "The Teaching of Sociology in Southern Colleges and Universities," in the American Journal of Sociology, 23(January, 1918):491-515. Although this material is admittedly incomplete due to the fact that it was based on inadequate returns to a questionnaire sent to the various schools and on the notoriously misleading information available in college catalogues, it is at least indicative of the increasing attention by Southern institutions to sociology as a field of study for college students. Willis Duke Weatherford insists that the first race relations courses were introduced into Southern colleges in 1909. See W. D. Weatherford to Robert B. Eleazer, April 3, 1942, C-Spec. Studies.

in promoting better relations between Negroes and whites.[28] The Presbyterians held an annual conference for colored women; and some Methodists evinced an interest in the problem by starting their Bethlehem Centers in 1910 and by passing a resolution against lynching in 1913.[29]

Somewhat more active than the churches, the YMCA and YWCA organized colored branches in their organizations[30] and held at least one conference of Negro youth in the South which was attended by many white leaders.[31] Thanks mainly to the stimulation of Willis D. Weatherford, one of the "Y" executives in the South, numerous study courses among "Y" members, especially in college groups, were

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[28] William B. Hesseltine in his The South in American History (New York, 1943), 624, says of this period: "Southern churches steadfastly resisted the 'social gospel' which was gaining ground in the North. They ignored the social problems of the Negro, the sharecropper, and the mill worker."

[29] "Southern Methodist Women and Interracial Cooperation," C-Woman's Work; "Background," C-Woman's Work, 4-5. Both of these documents were among the records of the Commission. The latter is a well documented history of the early years of the Woman's section of the Commission. From some of the footnotes, it seems to have been written in 1931 by Abigail Curlee, a member of the Commission staff at that time. Only a portion of it was located.

[30] Paul E. Baker, Negro-White Adjustments (New York, 1934), 27-32.

[31] Will W. Alexander, "Black and White in Conference," in The North American Student, 3(October, 1914): 35-36.

started as a part of the new social emphasis of the early 'teens. The courses, however, were not deemed sufficiently important to warrant separate mention in the annual report.[32] During the war, the War Work Councils of the YM and YW were active among both Negroes and whites and although no specifically interracial activities were carried on, this work was to play an important part in actually initiating the interracial movement in the South.[33]

The labor unions, like the churches, seemed to steer clear of any organized attempt to improve race relations. Some separate local unions were organized among Negroes, especially by the I.W.W., and some very nice sounding resolutions were passed at annual conventions by the A. F.L. but, for the most part, there was general apathy if not opposition toward Negroes among organized laborers.[34]

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[32] Robert R. Moten in Finding a Way Out (New York, 1921), 276, and William H. Morgan in Student Religion During Fifty Years (New York, 1935), 89, mention these courses; and Weatherford, himself, claimed that the second year such courses were offered nearly 6,000 men enrolled for them. "Race Relationships in the South," in The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 49(1913), 170. The annual reports do indicate that numbers of students and other Y members were participating in social study classes.

[33] See below, Chapter II, p. 46.

[34] See Charles Harris Wesley, Negro Labor in the United States, 1850-1925 (New York, 1927), 264-275.

More persistent if not more effective than the churches, the labor unions or the "Y" were certain foundations and funds which were active during the early 1900's. The Peabody Education Fund, The Southern Education Board, the General Education Board and the Carnegie Fund were all interested in promoting the education of Negroes as well as whites in the South.[35] The Slater Fund, Jeanes Fund, Rosenwald Fund and Phelps-Stokes Fund were more specifically devoted to improving educational opportunities and conditions among Negroes.[36] The last named was particularly active in encouraging research as indicated by the fellowships established at the universities of Georgia and Virginia, mentioned earlier, and in financing the organization of the University Commission on Southern Race Questions, the Southern Publicity Committee and the War Work Council of the YMCA and YWCA.

The first organization to be set up by Southerners to deal specifically with the race problem was the Southern Society for the Promotion of the Study of Race Conditions and Problems in the South. This held its

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35 The General Education Board An Account of its Activities, 1902-1914 (New York, 1915), 9-11, 190-209; Work, Negro Year Book, 1931-32, 219.

36 B.C. Caldwell, "The Work of the Jeanes and Slater Funds," in The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 49(September, 1913), 173-176; Arthur D. Wright, The Negro Rural School Fund, Inc. (Anna T. Jeanes Foundation), 1907-1933 (Washington, 1933); James Hardy Dillard and others, Twenty Year Report of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, 1911-1931 (New York, 1932); Edwin R. Embree, The Julius Rosenwald Fund, A Review to June 30, 1928 (Chicago, 1928).

first annual meeting at Montgomery, Alabama, May 8 to 10, 1900. The organization, which was limited to white membership, set forth an ambitious program in its first report. Among the speakers at the first meeting were educators, ministers and politicians, including the mayor of Wilmington, North Carolina and an ex-governor of West Virginia.[37] But apparently neither was any permanent organization attained nor were any further conferences held by this group.

Twelve years after this first abortive attempt, the first Southern Sociological Congress was held at Nashville, Tennessee, upon the call of the governor of that state. Some seven hundred representatives from twenty-eight states attended to study the "social, civic and economic conditions of the South." Included within the social program they adopted was a resolution to seek "the adoption of appropriate preventative measures ... for the solving of the race question in a spirit of helpfulness to the negro [sic] and of equal justice to both races."[38] Among those present at this conference were governors, college presidents and professors, doctors, judges, ministers and

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[37] Southern Society for the Promotion of the Study of Race Conditions and Problems in the South, Race Problems in the South (Richmond, Virginia, 1900).

[38] The Southern Sociological Congress [1st] The Call of the New South (Nashville, 1912), 7, 9.

social workers. The first meeting included a section devoted to the Negro problem at which some eleven addresses related to the problem were given. Five of them were by Negroes. The committees created included one on Negro Problems.[39]

The attendance at the first Congress was limited to whites except for the Negroes who gave addresses on the Negro Problem, but the second Congress which met in Atlanta in 1913 had over one hundred Negroes among its more than six hundred regular members. The addresses of the sectional meetings devoted to the Negro at this Congress were considered so outstanding and attracted so much attention that they were published in a separate volume, The Human Way, as well as in the annual report.[40] Subsequent Congresses continued to attract many leading educators and public men of the South, and each Congress included a section devoted to Negro problems as a phase of the general topic of discussion.[41] As far as is known,

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39 Ibid., 203 ff, 347-350.

40 Willis D. Weatherford, who was among the speakers and on the committee concerned with the race problem, maintained that at least four hundred of the six hundred members present at the Congress were in regular attendance at the Race Problem section, "Race Relationships in the South," 169.

41 See Southern Sociological Congress [3rd], Battling for Social Betterment (Nashville, 1914), 109-198; --- [4th], The New Chivalry (Nashville, 1915), 375-446; --- Combined report, [5th, 6th and 7th] Democracy in Earnest (Nashville, 1918), 179-206, 234-243, 317-374; --- [8th], "Distinguished Service" Citizenship (Washington, 1919), 105-136.

however, no local groups were formed to implement the suggestions or imitate the actions made at the annual Congresses.

Within a few days of the first meeting of the Southern Sociological Congress in Nashville, however, the organizational meeting of a second and smaller group was held at the same place. This resulted in the formation of the University Commission on the Southern Race Questions composed of representatives from the state universities of eleven Southern states.[42]

> ... with the idea that such Commission should consult with leading men in both races, should endeavor to keep informed in regard to the relations existing between the races, and should aim especially to influence Southern college men to approach the subject with intelligent information and with sympathetic interest.[43]

Regular meetings of this commission were held, usually annually, at various places throughout the South. Committees were set up to investigate specific aspects of the race problem such as educational and hygienic questions, and reports from these committees were heard. Outside persons were invited in to speak; and some sessions were held at Negro educational institutions

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[42] This group was organized mainly as a result of the activities of Dr. James H. Dillard, director of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, and supported by financial grants from that fund; Jones, Educational Adaptations, 77-79.

[43] University Commission on Southern Race Questions, Minutes (Lexington, Virginia, 1917), 5.

such as Hampton, Tuskegee and Fisk, where Negroes were invited to participate in the discussions. The sixth meeting of this Commission (January, 1916) held in Durham, North Carolina, included one session which met in the board rooms of the North Carolina Mutual and Provident Association, a Negro insurance company, at which many leading Negroes and white men were present. A few months later at the seventh meeting in Blue Ridge and Asheville, North Carolina, a session held in the city hall was attended by several Negroes, including two doctors, a minister, principals of the Negro schools and successful businessmen, as well as a number of white citizens, among them being several city officials.[44]

This commission did not content itself merely with annual meetings. It officially encouraged the adoption of courses on race in the colleges, and several of its members personally stimulated field investigations in Negro life and problems by their own students. Beginning in January, 1916, it composed and issued a series of open letters to students in Southern universities and colleges, dealing with such subjects as lynching, migration and education.[45] These letters as well as other

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[44] Ibid., 6, 12, 18, 24, 32-34, 38, 40-43.

[45] Ibid., 9-12, 21-22, 31-32, 40-41, 48.

reports and statements issued from time to time were widely circulated by the press, especially in the South, and became the subject of "much favorable and laudatory editorial comment on the part of leading white and colored newspapers and magazines."[46]

Although this Commission was not interracial, it seemed to come closer and closer to the realization that the greatest need in seeking a solution to the race problem was for facts on a local level, and that the best means of obtaining these facts was through direct cooperation between the leaders of both races.[47] At times, it actually achieved a form of interracial integration without formally designating it as such. It realized, moreover, the importance of the dissemination of accurate information concerning race relations.

This latter purpose was the main objective of the Southern Publicity Committee which was set up in 1917. It attempted to gather and give publicity to efforts to

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[46] Josiah Morse, "The University Commission on Southern Race Questions," in the South Atlantic Quarterly, 19(1920):307. See also Moton, Finding a Way Out, 276; and Jones, Educational Adaptations, 77-79.

[47] University Commission on Southern Race Questions, Minutes, 19, 38; Morse, "University Commission on Southern Race Questions," 310; James Hardy Dillard, "Co-operating with Differences," in the Southern Workman, 46(1917):684.

build up better understanding between the races. Beginning on a small scale by sending out regular press sheets to newspapers and magazines of the secular and religious press, it increased its activities rather rapidly thanks to the cordial attitude of the majority of newspapers and periodicals in the South. Financed by the Phelp-Stokes Fund, and directed by Mrs. John D. Hammond, a native of Georgia, this committee included among its members many well known persons from the various Southern states such as Bishop Theodore Bratton of Mississippi and Dr. Dillard of Virginia.[48]

In addition to these formally organized moves to improve or at least to understand race relations in the South, there were occasional small, widely scattered groups which were at least partially organized, usually as the result of some local disaster, to deal with the race problem. One such group was formed in Atlanta following the Atlanta riot of 1906, and exercised a beneficial if somewhat belated influence.[49] Another such group developed in Nashville, Tennessee, as the result of cooperative efforts by representatives of

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[48] Jones, Educational Adaptations, 80-86; see also Moten, Finding a Way Out, 278. Both Dillard and Bratton were later active in the Interracial Commission.

[49] Baker, Following the Color Line, 20; and John E. White in Lectures and Addresses on the Negro in the South (Phelps-Stokes Fellowship Papers, No. 1, Charlottesville, Virginia, 1915), 85.

both Negro and white organizations to care for the victims, mainly Negro, of a large fire.[50] A few years later, in 1919, the Commercial Club of this same city, having decided to attempt to improve the relationship between the two races in Nashville, appointed a committee of sixteen representative citizens which conferred with leading Negroes from time to time.[51] There may have been others.[52] Some of these groups operated with separate committees of whites and Negroes who met together occasionally; others seem to have been more truly interracial. If so, the latter were, in reality, the beginnings of the interracial movement in the South. But there is no way to prove any direct connection between those that are known and the Commission on Interracial Cooperation except through some persons who were connected with both.

In any case, the relatively slight interest in the Southern race problems of the churches, the YM and YWCA and the labor unions, was augmented by that of other organizations during the early years of the twentieth century. Although most of these organizations were primarily concerned with promoting Negro education, at least

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50 James R. Anderson, "Co-operation for Community Betterment," in the Southern Workman, 46(1917):79-80.

51 [Edwin Mims] The Nashville Plan of Inter-Racial Work (Atlanta, n.d.), 1-7.

52 See University Commission on Southern Race Questions, Minutes, 26; Willis Duke Weatherford, ed., Lawlessness or Civilization, Which? (Nashville, 1917), 97; and Emmet J. Scott, Negro Migration During the War (Preliminary Economic Studies of the War, No. 16, New York, 1920), 83.

three, the Southern Sociological Congress, the Southern Publicity Committee and the University Commission on Southern Race Questions, devoted considerable attention to the improvement of race relations; and the last undoubtedly played a significant role in preparing the way for fuller interracial cooperation.

At the same time that the above developments were taking place, there was developing among the Negroes throughout the country a definite sense of racial self-consciousness. This, too, is a factor deserving attention in any consideration of the racial situation in the South in the early twentieth century.

One symptom of the emergence of the Negro racial self-consciousness was the appearance on the scene of certain individuals identified with the Negro, widely known among Negroes and whites, and serving as a focal point for the expression of Negro attitudes and aspirations or what was supposed to pass as such. While Frederick Douglass was active during the Reconstruction era and later decades of the nineteenth century and was often close to official circles, it is extremely doubtful that he filled the requirements of classification as an outstanding Negro leader.

Booker T. Washington, on the other hand, seems to

fully satisfy the bill. From 1893 to his death in 1915 he was a living symbol of the Negro race to the vast majority of Negroes and to a large minority if not a majority of whites. His speech at the Cotton States Exposition in Atlanta on September 18, 1893, in which he used his now famous analogy of the hand and the fingers to distinguish between mutual cooperation along economic lines yet separation along social lines, became accepted by others as his life motif. Through Tuskegee Institute, which was so largely the creation of his efforts, through his numerous books and even more numerous tours and speeches throughout the country and especially throughout the South, through his recognition at home and abroad by official circles, Booker T. Washington became more widely known and beloved, if not worshipped, among his fellow Negroes in the United States than any other Negro had been previously.[53]

Somewhat in contrast to Washington with his doctrine of patience and goodwill, was W.E.B. DuBois who

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53 Booker T. Washington, Up From Slavery, An Autobiography (New York, 1901); ---, Working With the Hands ((New York, 1904); Benjamin Franklin Riley, The Life and Times of Booker T. Washington (Chicago, n.d. [about 1906]) Emmet J. Scott and Lyman Beecher Stowe, Booker T. Washington, Builder of Civilization (Garden City, N.Y., 1906); Anson Phelps-Stokes, A Brief Biography of Booker Washington (Hampton, 1936); Kelly Miller, Race Adjustment: Essays on the Negro in America (New York and Washington, 1908), 17-27; Guy B. Johnson, "Negro Racial Movements and Leadership in the United States," in the American Journal of Sociology, 43(1937):57-71

challenged that method of attaining a desirable adjustment of race relations. Holding a Ph.D. from Harvard, he furnished the leadership for that small but intellectually articulate group which demanded full legal rights and believed that the best way to attain them was by resort to organized efforts and legal procedures. DuBois, a member of the faculty of Atlanta University, received recognition for his research studies. He was also identified with the somewhat abortive Niagara Movement of 1905 and after 1910 with the more successful National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.[54]

A third Negro who attempted to furnish leadership was William Monroe Trotter, another Harvard graduate and also a member of Phi Beta Kappa. His outspoken views as editor of the Boston Guardian seemed dangerously belligerent compared with those of Booker T. Washington.[55] Still another Negro who attained prominence during the early ~~nineteenth~~ twentieth century was Marcus Garvey. He founded the Universal Negro Improvement Association in 1916 and

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[54] William Edward Burghardt DuBois, A Half Century of Freedom (New York, n.d. 1913); ---, Darkwater (New York, 1920); Johnson, "Negro Racial Movements and Leadership in the United States," 57-71. DuBois was also editor of the Atlanta University Publications for several years, and of the Crisis from 1910-1934.

[55] Miller, Race Adjustment, 12-16; Trotter especially attracted attention during the last years of World War I and the Peace Conference when he became more militant in his demands. See Congressional Record, 66 Congress, I Session (1919), 4302-4304; and Edwin Franklin Frazier, "New Currents of Thought Among the Colored People of America," manuscript dissertation in the library of Clark University (1920), 55, 66-71.

by 1919 claimed to have more than two million members in it. The Garvey movement was undoubtedly an important factor in the crystalization of Negro self-consciousness in the United States.[56]

In addition to the contribution made to Negro racial identification by outstanding Negroes, the work of numerous organizations also aided in its development. Perhaps most important among the organizations were the educational institutions for Negroes, notably the colleges and universities that had been started shortly after the Civil War. By 1900 Hampton, Fisk, Tuskegee, Atlanta and Howard as well as many others less well known, were serving as unifying points to an increasingly large number of alumni. In addition to the Negroes they actually served as students, these institutions also touched the lives of many others through several annual conferences for farmers, businessmen, students, and women.[57]

Other organizations contributed in like manner to

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56 Marcus Garvey, "The Negro's Greatest Enemy," in Current History, 18(1923):951-957; and Robert H. Brisbane, Jr., "Some New Light on the Garvey Movement," in the Journal of Negro History, 36(1951):53-62.

57 Southern Workman, 32(1903):357-359; William A. Aery, "The Hampton Negro Conference of 1910," in Southern Workman, 39(1910):447-456; J. E. Davis, "Tuskegee Institute and its Conferences," in Southern Workman, 43(1914):157-167; Hampton Negro Conference Annual Report, II-XVI (1898-1912); Atlanta University Publications, 1-20 (1896-1916).

the realization of oneness among Negroes. The National Business League was started in 1900 by Booker T. Washington. By 1913 it included among its affiliates eleven state leagues, two hundred twenty-one local leagues and four large national bodies; the National Negro Bankers Association (1906), the National Association of Funeral Directors (1907), the National Press Association (1909) and the Negro Bar Association (1909).[58]

In 1905 an attempt was made to organize the more liberal element among Negroes at a conference at Niagara Falls. The resulting Niagara Movement struggled along for a few years but was not too successful.[59] In 1910 the majority of its members were absorbed into the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. This organization immediately began to pursue the objectives which Oswald Garrison Villard, owner and editor of the New York Evening Post and one of the movement's active backers from the first, attributed to it:

> This society exists in order to combat the spirit of persecution and prejudice which confronts the colored people of this land, and to

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58 National Negro Business League Proceedings (Boston, 1901), introduction; B. L. Lee, Jr., "Negro Organizations," in The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 49(September, 1913): 129-137.

59 Mary White Ovington, "The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People," in the Journal of Negro History, 9(1924):108.

> assure to them every right, privilege and opportunity to which every citizen of the United States is entitled.[60]

It soon began to play an important part in Negro life. This resulted from its publication, The Crisis, of which W. E. B. DuBois became editor, and the fairly numerous leaflets issued from time to time; from its participation in legal cases involving segregation and other violations of the law including a case before the Supreme Court, and from its local chapters which by 1917 had reached a total of ninety-six.[61]

In 1911 the National Urban League, a similar organization, was formed by the fusion of three independent groups working to improve social conditions among Negroes in Northern cities. This group was interested primarily in social service to the urban Negroes. Although it probably did not expand very rapidly in the South, George E. Haynes, one of its mainsprings in its early stages, was also the head of the Social Science Department of Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee; and he built up in that department a special interest in the training of Negro social workers.[62]

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60 Oswald Garrison Villard, The Objects of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (New York, n.d. [1912]), 1.

61 The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, A Short History of the N.A.A.C.P. (New York, 1918), 1-4.

62 L. Hollingsworth Wood, "The Urban League Movement," in the Journal of Negro History, 9(1924):117-126; Baker, Negro-White Adjustment, 21-23.

The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History came into existence in 1915. With its collection and publication of documents and studies concerned with the history of individual Negroes, it filled a real need in supplying the picture of a past for a people who for so long had been considered without one.[63]

No doubt there were other organizations, large and small, which likewise served to bring Negroes into close fellowship with each other. When the Cotton States Exposition was held in Atlanta in 1893, Negroes were invited to and did have a separate building to exhibit specific achievements. In many states Negroes were holding separate state and county fairs.[64] Although no single one of the organizations managed to reach even a majority of the Negroes in the South, probably few Negroes even in the South were not brought into contact with at least one such unifying force.

A third element of no less importance than the rise

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[63] Carter G. Woodson, Ten Years of Collecting and Publishing the Records of the Negro (Washington, 1925), 1-2. Woodson, the director of the Association since its beginning, is another Ph.D. from Harvard.

[64] Hubert H. Harrison, When Africa Awakes (New York, 1920), 12-13; Alice M. Bacon, The Negro and the Atlanta Exposition (John F. Slater Fund, Occasional Papers, No. 7, Baltimore, 1896); Work, Negro Year Book, 1912, 17; Baker, Following the Color Line, 92.

of Negro organizations was the increase of publications by and for Negroes. In addition to the books already mentioned by Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. DuBois,[65] the writings of other Negroes were receiving attention. These included Archibald Grimke,[66] Kelly Miller,[67] Benjamin Brawley,[68] Paul Laurence Dunbar,[69] and James Weldon Johnson.[70] Monroe Work published his first edition of the Negro Year Book and Annual Encyclopedia of the Negro in 1912.

Nor did these exhaust the list. The Atlanta University Publications, which began to appear in 1896 and continued for some years, were devoted to such subjects as Social and Physical Conditions of Negroes in Cities,

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65 Another book by DuBois, The Negro (New York, 1915), identifies the American Negroes with the culture of Africa and reviews some of the achievements attained in the United States since emancipation.

66 Edward M. Hinton, "Archibald Grimke," in Dictionary of American Biography, VI, 632-633.

67 Kelly Miller, Race Adjustments; ---, Out of the House of Bondage (New York, 1914); ---, The Disgrace of Democracy: Open Letter to President Wilson (Washington, 1917).

68 Benjamin Griffith Brawley, Your Negro Neighbor (New York, 1918).

69 Paul Laurence Dunbar, Lyrics of a Lowly Life (New York, 1896); ---, Poems of Cabin and Field (New York, 1899); ---, Lyrics of the Hearthside (New York, 1899); ---, Joggin' Erlong (New York, 1906).

70 James Weldon Johnson, The Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man, (Albabook edition, New York, 1937 [1st edition, 1912]).

Some Efforts of American Negroes for Their Own Social Betterment, The Negro in Business, The Health and Physique of the Negro American, Economic Cooperation Among Negro Americans, The Negro Americans, The Negro American Family, The Negro American Artisan, Morals and Manners Among Negro Americans and similar studies.[71] The Crisis, the official organ of the NAACP, claimed to have gained a paid circulation of 56,000 within the first eight years of its existence.[72] The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History began publishing the Journal of Negro History in 1916.[73] Other magazines and periodicals were also appearing and disappearing sporadically.[74]

The number of newspapers published by and for Negroes was also increasing. Several which were to become outstanding appeared on the scene: the Afro-American (1892), Boston Guardian (1901), Norfolk Journal and Guide (1901), Chicago Defender (1905), Pittsburgh Courier (1907), Chicago Bee (1909), and the Amsterdam

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[71] Atlanta University Publications, Nos. 1-20.

[72] The NAACP, A Short History of the NAACP.

[73] Journal of Negro History, 1(1916). Both Edward Channing and Frederick J. Turner commented favorably upon the first issue of this quarterly; see 1:225-231.

[74] Frazier, "New Currents of Thought Among the Colored People of America," 25-37, 45-52.

News (1909).[75]

This increase in the publication of books, magazines and newspapers by, for, and about Negroes came just as the increased attention to the education of Negroes was slowly reducing their illiteracy. The two were no doubt interrelated. Coupled with the increasing literacy, the various publications must have played a very important part in informing individual Negroes of what was happening to other individual Negroes, and must thereby have strengthened their racial identification across the distance of both geography and class.

The effect of the growing self-consciousness of the Negroes was of a dual nature. Not only did it strengthen the hands of the individual Negro and enable him to express his desires and demands more effectively to the extent that he shared it; it also brought to the white man a realization of the extensive gravity of the Negro problem. Thus it helped accentuate the need for a positive solution to the race relations in the South.

Actually, There were many proposals advanced during

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[75] Warren Brown, Check List of Negro Newspapers in the United States (1827-1946) (Lincoln University Journalism Series, No. 2, Jefferson City, Missouri, 1946); Work, Negro Year Book, 1912, 181; Lee, "Negro Organizations," in The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 49:134. The last reference stated that at that date, 1913, some 249 Negro newspapers were being published in the United States.

the first twenty years after 1900 for the solution of the race problem in the South. Some of them ranged all the way from a return to slavery or complete separation of the two races by the colonization of the Negroes in Africa, the Philippines or, at least, in a separate Negro state,[76] to a strict segregation along any line that might possibly be considered social.[77] Yet there were actually a few proposals that pointed in the direction of the integration of the races at least in part. These proposals, too, are a factor in the overall picture of race relations in the South before 1919.

One encouraging proposal from the standpoint of racial integration was to educate the Negro so that he might more fully participate in the life of the South. For instance, Edgar Gardner Murphy, an Episcopal rector

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[76] See for example William Patrick Calhoun, The Caucasian and the Negro (Columbia, South Carolina, 1902); Edward Eggleston, The Ultimate Solution of the American Negro Problem (Boston, 1913); William Passmore Pickett, The Negro Problem: Abraham Lincoln's Solution (New York, 1909), 306-330; Robert Wilson Shufeldt, The Negro: A Menace to American Civilization (Boston, 1907); ---, America's Greatest Problem: The Negro (Philadelphia, 1915); or Enoch Spencer Simmons, A Solution of the Race Problem in the South (Raleigh, North Carolina, 1908).

[77] See for example Paul B. Barringer, The American Negro, His Past and Future, (3rd ed., Raleigh, North Carolina, 1900); John Moffatt Mecklin, Democracy and Race Friction (New York, 1914); Raymond Albert Patterson, The Negro and His Needs (New York, 1911); Dunbar Rowland, A Mississippi View of Race Relations in the South (Jackson, Mississippi, 1903); Alexander Harvey Shannon, Racial Integrity and Other Features of the Negro Problem (Nashville, Tennessee, 1907).

from Alabama who devoted many years to the social problems of the South and wrote a number of books on the South, specifically pointed out the dangers of increasing segregation during this period, and urged the white South both to educate the Negro and to try really to know him.[78]

Another well known Southerner, Samuel C. Mitchell, a history professor at Richmond College in Richmond, Virginia (later, president of the University of South Carolina), likewise strongly advocated the education of the Negro. He further argued that the Negro must be granted the right of moral, intellectual and economic well-being[79] which indicated the recognition of a basis for fuller integration of the two races. Other Southerners, outstanding among them being Dr. James H. Dillard,[80]

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[78] Edgar Gardner Murphy, Problems of the Present South (New York, 1904), 53-88, 166.

[79] Samuel Chiles Mitchell, "Proposed Solution of the Negro Problem," in Southern Workman 32(1903):545-550; ---, "Five Factors in Negro Problems, in Hartford Seminary Record, 15(1905):35-46; ---, "My Neighbor the Negro," in Southern Workman, 40(1911):134-142; ---, "The Challenge of the South for a Better Nation," in Southern Workman, 42(1913):447-450.

[80] James H. Dillard, "Considerations on Race Adjustments in the South," in Lectures and Addresses on the Negro in the South, 19-28; Benjamin Brawley, Doctor Dillard of the Jeanes' Fund (New York, 1930), 45, 48, 50-51, 52-53, 73, 118. A measure of the recognition accorded Dr. Dillard is the fact that he was elected to the Board of Trustees of Tulane and awarded a degree of Doctor of Civil Laws by the University of the South (Sewanee) in 1910. Others were active on the various boards and foundations mentioned above, p. 13.

gave much time and attention to the education of the Negro as a positive approach to the race problem in the South.

A few persons went further and actually suggested either directly or by implication the need for Negroes and whites to work together in solving some aspects of the race problem. Mrs. Lily H. Hammond of Augusta, Georgia, active in the work of the Southern Methodist Church, in 1914 spoke out concerning the Negro: "We have but given where he and we need that we should share."[81] In 1917 she called for new thoughts for the new times indicating the common ground of health and sound home life that necessitated the cooperation of both races to insure the security of either.[82]

In 1910 Willis Duke Weatherford, a graduate of Vanderbilt University, a YMCA worker, and for a time, secretary of the Student Department of the International Committee of the YMCA, recognized the need for cooperative study of the problem and with two other white men and four Negroes of Atlanta, Georgia, proceeded to discuss the issue. In terms of the prevailing climate of opinion, this was indeed a step forward. As a result, he published a book which, largely through his efforts,

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[81] Mrs. Lily H. Hammond, In Black and White (New York, 1914), 201-202.

[82] Mrs. Lily H. Hammond, Southern Women and Racial Adjustment (John J. Slater Fund, Occasional Papers, No. 19, Lynchburg, Virginia, 1917), 5, 6-16, 1925.

became widely used in YMCA college groups and conferences as a basis for study on the Negro and race relations. He also became active in promoting various conferences and meetings to deal with specific aspects of the race problem, such as the Law and Order Conference which met at Blue Ridge, North Carolina, in 1917.[83]

Neither of these persons actually suggested the need for an interracial committee, but others did. William J. Northen, inspired by the Atlanta riot of 1906 and by an editorial that appeared shortly thereafter in the Atlanta Constitution, actually succeeded in getting some of the leading white men of Atlanta to meet with some of the leading Negroes there. Basing his appeals on the duty of a Christian, this former governor of Georgia stressed the necessity of whites taking the initiative in seeking out the best Negroes and attempting to "reach the most equitable and just adjustment possible for the best interests of the two."[84] Nor did he confine his efforts to Atlanta alone; he spent much of his time traveling up and down the state making

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83 Willis Duke Weatherford, Negro Life in the South, Present Conditions and Needs (New York, 1910), 149-176; ---, The Negro From Africa to America (New York, 1924), 448-449; ---, "First Steps in Solving the Race Problem," in Southern Workman, 39(1910):589-592; ---, "Race Relationships in the South," 164-172; ---, "Suggestions for the Conservation of the Conference," in New Voice in Race Adjustments, edited by A. M. Trawick (New York, n.d. 1914), 16-18; ---, editor, Lawlessness or Civilization, Which? (Nashville, 1917).

84 William J. Northen, "The Negro Situation - One Way Out," in World Today, 13(1907):893-896. This group was one of the small ones mentioned above, p. 19.

speeches expressing his views.[85]

In like vein two of the speakers at the Second Southern Sociological Congress held in Atlanta in 1913 called for the creation of local interracial committees:

> Above all, there is needed in each community a permenent Race Adjustment Committee composed of members of both races whose business it shall be to strive to bring about that condition so strikingly and aptly described by Booker T. Washington in his famous Atlanta Exposition address ... [86]

> Let us encourage interracial cooperation on matters appertaining to the common good. May not the intelligent and conservative members of both races form a kind of clearing house for the debits and credits of racial contact?...[87]

The next year Negro and white YM and YW secretaries, social workers, clerics, editors and teachers attending a Negro Christian Student Conference in Atlanta heard one of the speakers, J. E. McCulloch, the general secretary of the Southern Sociological Congress, call for greater cooperation between Negro and white ministers through exchange of pulpits and a regular exchange of delegates at their separate ministerial meetings.[88]

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85 H.H. Proctor, "A Southerner of the New School: William J. Northen," in Southern Workman, 42(1913):403-406; Baker, Following the Color Line, 24.

86 Southern Sociological Cpngress [2nd], The South Mobilizing for Social Service (Nashville, 1913), 405.

87 Ibid., 450.

88 J.E. McCulloch, "Cooperation of White and Negro Ministers for Social Service," in New Voice in Racial Adjustment, 188-194.

In 1916 a group of Atlanta ministers concerned about church cooperation seemed to have acted upon this suggestion and began to meet monthly with some of the Negro ministers.[89]

Thus, by the second decade of the twentieth century the proposals and actual experiments that presaged the integration of Negroes and whites into committees concerned about race relations seemed to be gaining ground. The ground gained within a few years is suggested by the reaction to a proposal for cooperation in 1910 and by the evidences of such cooperation in 1916. When Albert Bushnell Hart, the historian, attempted an objective study from the impartial heights of New England in 1910, he found strong opposition at that time to any form of joint discussion between representatives of the two races.[90] But the annual meeting of the Atlanta Conference for the Study of Negro Life in 1916 took "... courage in the evidence of an awakening public conscience in this matter, and the tendency toward interracial

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[89] James Morton, The Atlanta Plan of Inter-Racial Co-operation (Atlanta, n.d.); Willis Duke Weatherford, comp., Interracial Cooperation: A Study of the Various Agencies Working in the Field of Social Welfare (Atlanta, n.d.), 63-64, shows that John J. Eagan was quite active in this group. He was later to be one of the initiators of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation.

[90] Albert Bushnell Hart, The Southern South (New York, 1910), 391.

cooperation for human betterment."[91]

The various factors which had been operating in the field of race relations in the South right after the turn of the century were all more or less affected by the outbreak of World War I in 1914. Ways of living and concepts of thought were subjected to changes. The movement of thousands of Negroes northward, the joint participation of Negroes and whites in war activities, the expression of democratic ideals and the problems of post-war adjustments seriously complicated the relations between Negroes and whites throughout the country and especially in the South.

Even prior to the actual entry of the United States into the war, the cessation of immigration provided an opportunity for thousands of Negroes to secure employment in expanding Northern industries and domestic services. For various reasons, including economic distress due to floods, the encroachments of the boll weevil and dissatisfaction with living conditions, an estimated 200,000 Negroes left the Southern states between May, 1916, and September, 1917.[92]

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91 Selected Discussions of the Race Problem (Atlanta University Publications, no. 20), 8.

92 U.S. Department of Labor, Division of Negro Economics, Negro Migration in 1916-1917 (Special Bulletin 1919, Washington, 1919), 9-11.

This migration of Negroes which in some localities approached the size of a mass movement immediately attracted the attention of white employers and newspapers.[93] Some cities and towns attempted to repress emigration by various ordinances such as the levying of excessive license fees upon labor agents for out-of-state businesses.[94] At least one county in Mississippi organized a Community Congress made up of twenty-five leading white planters and businessmen and five leading Negroes to attempt to deal with the problem;[95] and a Conference on Negro Migration meeting in New York in January, 1917, under the sponsorship of the Urban League urged that similar organizations be formed throughout the South.[96]

Finally in May, 1918, a division of Negro Economics was created in the Department of Labor; and one of the first activities of its first director, Dr. George E. Haynes, who had been chairman of the Social Science Department of Fisk University and an active official in the Urban League, was to organize state conferences of

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93 Scott, Negro Migration During the War, 152-174.

94 Ibid., 72; see also Lee Alilunas, "Statutory Means of Impeding Emigration of the Negro," in Journal of Negro History, 22(1937):148-162.

95 U.S. Department of Labor, Negro Migration in 1916-1917, 46.

96 "Negro Migration Conference," in Southern Workman, 46(1917):72-73, 133-135.

leading white and Negro citizens in several Southern states to deal with the labor problems of those states. As a result of this, Negro Workers Advisory Committees were set up in seven Southern states by October, 1918; and local county and city committees had been organized in some states. The committees apparently were composed entirely of Negroes but included leading white men as "cooperative members."[97] Encouraged by the results obtained by these state and local conferences and committees, the Secretary of Labor called an informal conference of some forty-five welfare boards and agencies dealing with Negroes which met in Washington on February 18-19, 1919.[98]

The actual entry of the United States into World War I not only further complicated the labor situation, it also initiated other changes. Negroes were drafted into the army and eventually sent abroad to fight "to save the world for democracy." Negro officers were trained and placed in charge of Negro units. Negroes contributed to the War Bond drives and various other activities on the home front.[99] Apparently in many

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[97] U.S. Department of Labor, Division of Negro Economics, The Negro at Work During the War and During Reconstruction (Washington, 1921), 13-14.

[98] Ibid., 16-17. This meeting was one of several which undoubtedly played a part in the final formation of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation in early 1919, but its exact role is not clear. See below, Chapter II, pp. 47-48.

[99] John Hope Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom (New York, 1947), 447-468.

localities the local Councils of Defense, Liberty Loan Committees and Red Cross chapters organized colored auxiliaries.[100] Thus Negroes were brought more fully into participation in local and national affairs, and an increase of interracial contacts among local leaders of both Negroes and whites resulted.

At the same time that Negroes were achieving a more complete integration into community life due to war demands, a greater stress was being placed upon the ideals of democracy throughout the country. This was reflected when newspapers all over the South recognized the contributions of Negroes to the war effort; and similarly, when a widespread protest was voiced against lynching.[101] The first open letter of the University Commission on Southern Race Questions issued in January, 1916 called the college men of the South "to eliminate this great evil, by speaking out boldly when speech is needed and letting your influence be felt against it in decided,

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100 Dillard, Twenty Year Report of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, 58; George E. Haynes, "Way to Racial Peace," in World Outlook, 5(October, 1919):3.

101 For examples see "South Calling Negroes Back," in Literary Digest, 54(January 23, 1917):1914, which cites several Southern papers; also "The White South's Protest Against Lynching: A Press Symposium," in Southern Workman, 48(1919):350-361; and Charles M. Meldon, "The Reaction of the War Upon the Negro," in Methodist Review, 107(1924):880-888.

unmistakable measure and manner."[102] W. D. Weatherford, the YMCA leader, addressing a Law and Order Conference held at Blue Ridge, North Carolina, in August, 1917, urged:

> At this time of a world war for freedom and democracy surely we can not afford to have a hardened caste system here in the South. ...we must never forget that separate race life does not mean banging the doors of justice, opportunity and freedom in the face of anyone, white or black.[103]

In July, 1918, President Wilson made a strong appeal against lynching which received very favorable comment.[104] And when a call for a National Conference on Lynching was issued in 1919, the names of many outstanding Southerners--politicians, clergymen, lawyers and businessmen--were listed among the sponsors.[105]

Simultaneously with the increase of liberalism and of the desire for greater if not complete justice for Negroes in the South during the war, there developed a diametrically opposite reaction which increased as the end of the war approached. The Ku Klux Klan was reorganized in 1915, and although its activities were rather uneventful prior to 1920, it was increasing in

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102 University Commission on Southern Race Questions, Minutes, 45-46.

103 Weatherford, Lawlessness or Civilization, Which? 10.

104 "Lynch Law as Treason," in Literary Digest, 58(August 10, 1918):13.

105 National Conference on Lynching, Signers of the Call for the National Conference on Lynching.... (New York, 1919).

strength throughout the South and furnished a constant spectre in the background.[106] Negroes feared an attempt would be made to deprive them of all gains made during the war. Some whites feared that Negroes, especially the returning soldiers, would demand their "rights" including that most elusive right of all, social equality; other whites feared what might happen as a result of the reactionary elements at work. Fear generated fear, and tension mounted wherever Negroes and whites were in contact in large numbers.[107] The number of lynchings of Negroes which had dropped to thirty-six in 1917, rose to sixty in 1918 and seventy-six in 1919.[108] Nor was this tension to abate until race riots in Washington, D.C.; Chicago, Illinois; Knoxville, Tennessee; Omaha, Nebraska, and Elaine, Arkansas[109] had aroused the entire country to the gravity of the

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106 John Moffatt Macklin, The Ku Klux Klan: A Study of the American Mind (Boston, 1922), 4, 122.

107 Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom, 471-478. "After the War - A Symposium," in Southern Workman, 48(1919):134-140, composed of short articles by leading white and Negro men and women of the South evidences the prevalent anxiety and attempts to allay the existing fears and encourage "understanding."

108 Work, Negro Year Book, 1931-32, 292-299.

109 Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom, 412-476.

situation and the desperate necessity of finding some solution to the immediate problem of race relations in local communities.

Thus, World War I played an important part in changing the relations between the races in the South. Through its effect directly and indirectly upon the economy and labor situation in the South, the ideas and ideals of at least some individuals, and the nature of contacts between the races, it accelerated the interaction of those factors which were slowly preparing the way for the beginning of the interracial movement.

The patterns of race relations in the South, it is true, gave little promise between 1900 and 1919 of the integration of Negroes and whites into a unified community life. But there were a number of factors operative at that time, as has been indicated above, which cannot be ignored in assessing the entire situation. The race problem was an object of much attention, scientific and otherwise. Organizations which gave specific study to the problem were formed. Proposals were advanced suggesting that some form of integration of Negroes and whites, rather than increased segregation, was to be desired. At the same time, the increased racial identification of Negroes accentuated the problem. All these factors were more or less brought into

clearer focus by World War I and its impact on the life of the United States. Thus, it is not too surprising that almost immediately following the close of the war, the initial steps were made that were to lead to the formation of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, an organization which was to exist in the South for twenty-five years holding as one of its major principles the mutual cooperation of Negroes and whites in seeking solutions to the race problem.

CHAPTER II

THE CREATION OF THE COMMISSION ON INTERRACIAL COOPERATION

The condition of race relations in the United States in the closing months of 1918 demanded immediate action. The evidence of racial discord was steadily mounting heralded by talk of rebellion and race war. From their experiences, a few responsible men were convinced that only by prompt cooperation of Negro and white leaders on a local scale could any reduction of friction be attained. No alternative was feasible. The interracial movement was initiated.

The idea of bringing together leaders especially concerned about the racial situation throughout the country apparently occurred to a number of persons in the weeks immediately following the armistice in 1918.[1] Possibly the initial discussions and arrangements were actually made before the end of that year.[2]

The first actual conference or, more properly,

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[1] Y.M.C.A. Yearbook 1920 (New York, 1920), 39; "Minutes Inter-Racial Commission," July 21, 1922, C-Hist. Records; "The Development of the Interracial Commission," C-Hist. Records, 1. For a discussion of the persons who actually initiated the first meetings, see below, Chapter IV, pp. 110-122.

[2] Y.M.C.A. Yearbook 1920, 39.

committee meeting of which there is any definite record took place in January, 1919, at the Georgian Terrace Hotel in Atlanta.[3] There a group of six or seven men, all white, came together. This group included John J. Eagan, an Atlanta industrialist; James H. Dillard, director of the Jeanes Foundation; R. H. King, an executive secretary of the YMCA for the South; and Will W. Alexander, a Methodist minister at the time working with the War Work Council of the YMCA. Possibly among them were also M. Ashby Jones, a Baptist minister of Atlanta, T. J. Jones, director of the Phelps-Stokes Fund; Willis Duke Weatherford, International Student Secretary of the YMCA; and Wallace Buttrick, President of the General Education Board. They spent at least two days, possibly four, in discussion and made decisions that were to prove of great importance for the interracial movement. Perhaps the most important of these decisions was that to meet again; but of only slightly less significance was the attempt to find others to join them. This found expression in two forms: one, the setting

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[3] "Minutes," January 6, 1920 in "Report and Exhibits Southern Inter-Racial Commission November 29, 1920," C-Hist. Records.(This is a collection of materials of the early years of the Commission bound together, and will be hereafter cited as "Report and Exhibits."); "Proceedings," November 17, 1920, C-Hist. Records; "The Development of the Interracial Commission," 1. Who called this meeting is not known. Almost all of the persons involved were connected with the War Work Council of the YMCA so it should probably be given the credit.

up of a card index of white Southerners "known to be sympathetic and intelligent regarding the race situation;"[4] the other, the holding of a series of training schools for Negro and white leaders.[5]

The training schools, which lasted somewhere between five and ten days, were held at Blue Ridge, North Carolina, for whites, and at Gammon Theological Seminary, Atlanta, for Negroes. A total of 824 white men and 509 Negroes were reached by this means in groups of approximately a hundred each. These conferences seemed to serve the dual purpose of both securing fuller information concerning the racial conditions throughout the South, and of considering the problem of the proper care for the returning soldiers, especially the Negro soldier.[6] Whether these meetings can be considered as the next step in the rise of the interracial movement is debatable but they are at least a part of the picture.

In February two other meetings, the role of which in the beginning of the interracial movement is hard to evaluate, also took place. The educational director of the Phelps-Stokes Foundation arranged for a conference of the representatives of all war-working

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4 "Review of Ten Years Work," C-Hist. Records.

5 "The Development of the Interracial Commission," 1.

6 Weatherford, Interracial Cooperation, 82. The exact date of these schools is not known but later references indicate they were held early in 1919. See "Minutes of Inter-Racial Conference," July 17, 1919, C-Hist. Records.

organizations to consider cooperative measures to deal with the interracial situation. This took place in the Russell Sage Building in New York City and included both whites and Negroes from the North and the South. At this meeting further conferences were planned, one for Negroes at Tuskegee, Alabama, and one for whites in Atlanta.[7]

At the call of the Secretary of Labor, a similar conference was held in Washington, D.C., on February 17-18, 1919. This conference was attended by women as well as men of both races representing social service agencies including the YM and YWCA, the NAACP, the National Urban League, and Phelps-Stokes Fund and other church and philanthropic organizations.[8] The primary concern of this group was the economic aspect of the racial situation, as might have been expected. But the final resolution, after citing the need for the improvement of the conditions of Negro and white wage earners, recommended that the Secretary of Labor use his "good offices" in preparing a "plan of cooperative organization."[9]

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[7] Jones, Educational Adaptations, 90.

[8] Department of Labor, The Negro at Work During the World War and During Reconstruction, 15-17; see above, p. 39.

[9] Ibid., 16. The Secretary of Labor gave his approval to this resolution.

The extent to which either of these February meetings may be considered a step in the development of the interracial movement may be questioned. But some of the same individuals were present at all of the conferences,[10] and at least to that extent there was continuity.

In any case, in March, 1919, a second meeting took place in Atlanta. At this meeting all of the participants of the initial January meeting were present as well as one or two new persons not among the original group.[11] According to one participant at this meeting, an elaborate plan of organization was drawn up but little is actually known of what took place.[12]

The next meeting known to have been held took place at Blue Ridge, North Carolina, on July 17, 1919. This is the first meeting of which minutes actually exist. It is probable that further meetings occurred between March and July. Although this meeting was primarily a meeting of YMCA officials, it was called

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10 See below, pp.110-111. Thomas Jesse Jones, Educational Adaptations, 90, insists that the later meetings grew directly out of the one that he had called and were financed by John J. Eagan who was very active in the early years until his death.

11 Dillard, Twenty Year Report of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, 16. Plato Durham, a theological professor at Emory University, was one new person in the group at this meeting.

12 Jones, Educational Adaptations, 91.

an Inter-racial Conference.[13]

At this meeting a number of very specific things were accomplished. It was reported that conferences had been held in a total of 452 counties. They had been called by special representatives and staff members of the YMCA, and were primarily attempts to sound out opinions on the local level. Of these conferences, a hundred and six had included both white and colored persons, 242 were for white only, and a hundred and four were for colored only. A discussion ensued concering the permanency of the relationships thus established, and although to this point there had not been much effort to set up permenent committees, it was unanimously agreed that it would be desirable to have a joint committee of Negroes and whites in each community. At the same time, the participants felt that it was inadvisable as yet to hold a state-wide meeting. Finally an enumeration was made of a number of topics that should be considered by the local committees. These included justice before the law, adequate educational facilities, sanitary housing and living conditions, recreational facilities, economic justice, equality of traveling facilities, the welcoming

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13 "Minutes of Inter-Racial Conference," July 17, 1919, C-Hist. Records.

and the employment of returning colored soldiers.[14]

Immediately following this, on July 24th, another meeting was held in Atlanta. By this time the original group had grown to sixteen and during the session had decided to invite four more men to join them. The group still did not have a specific name for themselves and continued to designate their activity as "After the War Program."

At the meeting of July 24, the discussion ranged over a number of problems: finances, publicity, and the Washington Riot and the restlessness of the Negroes in the District of Columbia. Reports were heard from the various individuals present of conditions in several of the Southern states which ranged from "not so disturbing" in Georgia to "quite disturbing" in Mississippi and South Carolina. The group appointed a committee of four to consult with Dr. R. R. Moton, Negro, President of Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, "as regards our program and the general situation;" and went on record as "emphatically" favoring the establishment of permanent white and colored committees in each county where the

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[14] Ibid., See also C. Chilton Pearson, "Race Relations in North Carolina," in South Atlantic Quarterly, 23(1924):1-9, for an interesting account by one of the first "organizers."

race problem existed.[15]

On September 17, 1919, the group again convened in Atlanta, this time joined by the state representatives of the YMCA. By this time, progress toward the establishment of permanent local committees was expected and emphasized. It was reported that six men had worked six weeks in Georgia organizing committees in a number of counties, some joint committees but most of them meeting separately with the intention of cooperating in their activities and meeting together when necessary. Other states also reported a beginning being made with anywhere from three to twenty-seven counties organized.[16]

Again at this meeting the discussion ranged widely. A committee was appointed to investigate the feasibility of publishing a book or pamphlet or both to be used by the local committees. Another committee was set up to keep the Southern Sociological Congress informed of the work of the group and to take steps to prevent duplication of efforts. In connection with this action, it was decided that the group in session should have a special relationship

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15 "Minutes of Inter-Racial Committee," July 24, 1919, C-Hist. Records.

16 "Minutes, Inter-Racial Conference Committee On After War Program and Representatives of State YMCA Committee," September 17, 1919, C-Hist. Records; see also "Report and Exhibits," Exhibit H-1; and [Jessie Daniel Ames], "Report of the Texas Interracial Commission, October, 1924 - October, 1929," (Mimeo.), C-Hist. Record, 4.

with the Southern Sociological Congress. But they also made it clear that they intended to be a separate, "permanent committee, cooperating with all other agencies working at race relations."[17] Thus the framework of permanency began to settle about this organization which still remained indefinitely named.

The last meeting of this group in 1919 took place in Atlanta on November 6. It was similar to the two meetings that preceded it but made no major changes.[18]

Two months later, on January 6, 1920, the Inter-Racial Committee as it called itself at that time, met again. A year had passed since the first meeting, a fact which was noted by one of those present at that first meeting.[19] The committee had grown from the original six or seven men, most of whom lived in Atlanta, to include at least twenty, probably more, men from all over the South. Further, by this time state committees had been set up on a similar basis in several of the Southern states;[20] and presumably the organization of local

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17 "Minutes, Inter-Racial Conference Committee on After War Program and Representatives of State YMCA Committee," September 17, 1919, C-Hist. Records.

18 "Minutes, Inter-Racial Committee," November 6, 1919, C-Hist. Records.

19 "Minutes, Inter-Racial Committee," January 6, 1920, in "Report and Exhibits."

20 Ibid.; and L. R. Raynolds, "Historical Sketch, Interracial Commission's Work, North Carolina - Virginia," December, 1937, C-State Com., 1.

committees in communities throughout the South had continued.

The year ahead was to prove no less eventful. During 1920 the Committee met at least five times.[21] By the end of the year it had become more or less permanently known as the Interracial Commission; and its membership had been altered twice to include both Negroes and women.

At the meeting of July 24, 1919, the first step toward the actual inclusion of Negroes on the main Committee was made in the appointment of a committee of four to consult with the president of Tuskegee.[22] This established a contact between the white Committee and at least one Negro who was recognized as holding a position of leadership.

The next step toward the inclusion of Negroes took place at the meeting of February 17, 1920, when it was unanimously moved to invite representative Negroes to become members of the Inter-Racial Committee. The importance of this step is indicated in the creation of a special committee to determine the number to be

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21 "Minutes, Inter-Racial Committee," January 6, February 17, March 23, June 25, 1920, all in "Report and Exhibits;" "Proceedings," Interracial Commission, November 17, 1920, C-Hist. Records.

22 See above, p. 51.

invited and to suggest who they should be.[23] At the next meeting, on March 23, the names of two Negroes, R. R. Moton, President of Tuskegee Institute, and R. E. Jones, a Methodist minister and editor of the Southwestern Christian Advocate, were submitted and accepted; and it was decided to add others with the advice of the first two.[24]

The process of bringing Negroes to the Committee, however, was not as easy as it may seem. When Major Moton and Dr. Jones were first approached, they were afraid to accept, "so tense was the feeling among Negroes." Apparently several weeks elapsed before they were finally convinced of the wisdom of becoming members of the Committee.[25] By June, however, the situation had changed and at the meeting of the 24th and 25th of that month at least twenty-one Negroes were present although not all of them were considered as members of the Committee.[26] From then on, Negroes were

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[23] "Minutes, Inter-Racial Committee," February 17, 1920 in "Report and Exhibits."

[24] "Minutes, Inter-Racial Committee," March 23, 1920, in "Report and Exhibits."

[25] "Review of Ten Years Work."

[26] "Minutes, Inter-Racial Committee," June 25, 1920, in "Report and Exhibits."

a part of the movement although not always included in all of its subsidiary activities.

The bringing of women into the interracial movement was much more complex and fraught with more drama than that of including Negroes. At the very same meeting when the first Negroes were voted into the Committee, the question of working with women and making them a part of the enterprise also was discussed. Dr. Josiah Morse, a professor at the University of South Carolina argued for it: "We have been acting as if the population consisted only of males. I agree with Dr. Durham that a very important part of the population is the female; far more difficult and very essential work can be done among white women and colored women. I want to suggest that we become more democratic and add women, and if possible to talk more widely to the women. We need to concentrate part of our energies upon them."[27] But no definite action was taken except to refer the question to a special committee.

In the meantime events had been taking place outside the Committee meetings which indicated that the women were not waiting for the men to make room for them in their council. Although no interracial committee had

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27 "Minutes, Inter-Racial Committee," March 23, 1920, C-Hist. Records.

been set up as such, a number of moves had been made to bring white and Negro women into contact with each other.[28] In Mississippi, for instance, the president of the Federated Club Women had become interested in organizing the Negro women into civic clubs.[29] Similarly, the YWCA, the Baptist Church and the Episcopal Church provided some contact between Negro and white women through their missionary organizations.[30]

The Presbyterian Church, also, had furnished a background for cooperation between Negro and white women through its auxiliaries. At least once a year a lesson was devoted to the Negro. After 1915 an Annual Conference for Colored Women was held at Tuscaloosa, Alabama, under the leadership of Mrs. W. C. Winsborough, the secretary of the Womans' Home Mission Board of the Presbyterian Church, U.S. By 1920 this work was being expanded--three such conferences were held that year.[31]

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28 "Background," C-Woman's Work, 1. See above, p. 11, footnote 29.

29 "Minutes of Interracial Commission, June 25, 1920," 15, as cited in "Background," 2.

30 "Background," 4-5.

31 "Background," 5. George Madden Martin, Race Cooperation, 11 (reprint from an article in McClure's Magazine, 54(October, 1922):9-20), credits Mrs. Winsbury, obviously Mrs. Winsborough, with actually starting the woman's section of the Commission but the weight of evidence is against her.

It was the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, however, that was to provide the initial leadership for actually creating an interracial committee among women. From the beginning of the century, largly under the leadership of Miss Belle H. Bennett, Methodist women had manifested an interest in Negro women. In 1910 the decision of a Southern white women to present herself for work among Negroes in the South lead to the establishment of the first Bethlehem House.[32] Finally, at the Annual Meeting of the Womans' Missionary Council, April, 1920, in Kansas City, Miss Bennett, then their president, renewed her challenge to the Methodist women. A Reverend Will W. Alexander, a Methodist preacher who was also one of the original and most active members of the Inter-Racial Committee, was present and, in speaking to the point Miss Bennett had raised, urged that the women appoint a standing committee to study the "New Negro."[33]

As a result of this, the following resolutions

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[32] Mrs. Luke Johnson, address: "The Business of Peace;" and Mrs. J. W. Perry and Miss Estelle Haskin, "Report of Commission of Race Relations," (n.d.; about 1926), both cited in "Background," 7.

[33] "Background," 7-8.

were adopted:

> In accordance with the recommendation of the President regarding the tense situation that has developed between the races, and in view of the vast stretches of need, superstition and ignorance in our country, the Woman's Missionary Council, in session April 14-21, 1920, adopted the following: RESOLVED -
>
> 1. That as Christians and workers in God's Kingdom, we accept His Challenge to show forth His power to settle racial differences, thereby setting forth before the whole world an example of the power of Christianity to meet interracial crises everywhere.
>
> 2. That we set ourselves definitely to the task by the creation of a Commission on Racial Relationships. It shall be the duty of this Commission to study the whole question of race relationships, the needs of the Negro women and children, and methods of cooperation by which better conditions may be brought about. The Commission shall strive to bring our women to a better understanding of the task before them. It shall cooperate with the Interchurch World Movement, the Southern Publicity Bureau, and similar agencies dealing with the race problem.
>
> 3. This Commission shall consist of five women nominated by the President and approved by the Woman's Council. [34]

This Commission on Racial Relationship's immediately began to function and turned to Will Alexander for advice. It is easily understandable, then, that at least one member of the Methodist women's Commission was one of three women present at the meeting of the

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[34] Mrs. J. W. Perry and Miss Estelle Haskin, "Report of Commission on Race Relations,"[about 1926], as cited in "Background," 9. Five other sources for the resolutions are also listed and a lengthy explanation given of the slight variations in the various versions found.

Inter-Racial Committee on June 25, 1920, and expressed her appreciation at being there.[35]

At the suggestion of Will Alexander, two members of the Methodist Women's Commission went as representatives of that Commission to the Biennial Session of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs.[36] There they sat for two or three days following the proceedings and became deeply moved. One of them reported of the experience later:

> I have had a new world opened to me, a world I had never conceived before, a world of which I had never dreamed.[37]

> I saw these colored women, graduates of great institutions of learning. I saw lawyers, doctors, poets, scultors and painters. I saw women of education, culture and refinement. I had lived in the South all my life, but I didn't know such as these lived in the land.[38]

By previous arrangement, on the day following the regular sessions of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, the two white women met with ten selected Negro women to discuss the problem of their Commission. The meeting took place in the upstairs study of Booker

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35 "Minutes, Inter-Racial Committee," June 25, 1920, cited in "Report and Exhibits." The women listed as present were Mrs. Luke Johnson, Mrs. J. D. Hammond and Mrs. Edwin McGehee. Only Mrs. Johnson is known to have been a member of the women's Commission.

36 "Background," 11; and also "Proceedings," Interracial Commission, November 17, 1920, C-Hist. Records.

37 Mrs. Luke Johnson, "Minutes of Interracial Commission," November 17, 1920, 29-30, as cited in "Background," 14.

38 Mrs. Luke Johnson, address: "The Business of Peace," as cited in "Background," 11a.

T. Washington as they were meeting in the home of his widow, and the occasion produced a most profound effect upon both the whites and the Negroes present. One white woman later described her feelings:

> I wanted to speak to them but didn't know how. I wanted to invite their frankness and their confidence but didn't know how. Only after an hour spent in the reading of God's word and in prayer, face to face on the platform of Christ Jesus did these white women and black women come to a liberty and frankness that made possible a discussion of those things which make for Christian relations.
>
> The day wore on--that prophetic day spent around the beautiful teak-wood table in Booker Washington's library. Those upon whom the responsibility rested felt the keenest pain as the Negro women made known the lack of protection for their daughters, their children and their homes, and the handicaps resting upon their lives and the lives of their little ones. When they told of the aching hearts and unspeakable fear for their young when they pillowed their heads for sleep, my heart broke and I have been trying to pass the story on to the women of my race.[39]

One of the Negro women present was similarly moved:

> I want you to know that the Negro women had great suspicion, when we were called to that conference that you could not get Negro servants, and that you were calling us together so that you could get help. They said, "We are not going one step." That is the feeling they had. "I am glad you have not any Negro servants, and I am not going to help you get any." With that in our minds, when we got in there, and looked into the faces of these women, illuminated by the spirit of Christ, we began to look around and to say to ourselves, "What has God wrought?

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[39] Ibid., 13.

> Where are we?" After talking and standing there in that room, and asking God Almighty to turn our hearts to His spirit, to fill us with His love for one another, to give us understanding and patience, we saw the shadows were lifted, the clouds dispelled, and we stood as Christian women to discuss face to face the hard problems, that were eating at our hearts. We were surprized to find the same things, that interested us, the things we so desired, so much wanted, were the things the white women desired and wanted today.[40]

Thus the day produced a lasting effect.

Upon the return of the two white women to Atlanta, it was decided to extend the area of their responsibility to include all the churchwomen in the South.[41] At their meeting in June, the Inter-Racial Committee had proposed among their planned conferences one for Women's Denominational Board leaders to be held in the Fall.[42] The two ideas coincided very nicely, and the job of arranging the conference was turned over to the Methodist Woman's Commission, largely to Mrs. Luke Johnson, its chairman; while the financing of it was undertaken by the Inter-Racial Committee.[43]

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[40] Mrs. Charlotte Hawkins Brown, address: "Negro Women and Race Relations," in "Report of Proceedings of Meeting of Commission on Interracial Cooperation," 66, as cited in "Background," 14.

[41] "Background," 20.

[42] "Minutes, Inter-Racial Committee," June 25, 1920, in "Report and Exhibits."

[43] "Background," 21.

This conference took place on October 6-7, 1920, at Memphis, Tennessee with ninety-one white women listed as present and also a few men who were connected with the Inter-Racial Committee. A major part of the program of this conference consisted in addresses by four Negro women, Mrs. Booker Washington, Mrs. George E. Haynes, Mrs. R. R. Moton and Mrs. Charlotte Hawkins Brown, especially invited to be present.[44] When the Negro women entered the room where the white women were already assembled, the effect was electric. One white woman rose and was immediately followed by all the others. Someone began to sing, among the songs sung being "Bless Be the Tie that Binds," and tears flowed freely.[45] The Negro women spoke of their homes, their aspirations and their problems. Mrs. Brown very movingly recounted an experience she had had on her way to the conference when a group of white men had threatened her just before her train reached Birmingham, Alabama, and ordered her to leave her seat in the Pullman car and move to the Negro coach.[46]

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44 "List of women present at Womans Interracial Conference held at Memphis, Tennessee, October 6-7, 1920," C-Hist. Records.

45 Will W. Alexander in personal interview with the writer, May 16, 1950.

46 "Women's Interracial Conference, Memphis, Tennessee, Morning Session, October 8 [sic] , 1920, A Address by Charlotte Hawkins Brown," C-Hist. Records, 2. Several copies of the addresses of the Negro women were found among the manuscripts, some seemingly complete, others in condensed form.

As might have been expected, the total effect was to stimulate the white women to action. The Findings Committee of the conference issued a strong report that sounded somewhat paternalistic in wording but closely followed the statement that had been prepared for them by the Negro women.[47] The report called for improvement of the conditions of domestic service, the establishment of day nurseries and kindergartens for Negro children, a survey of housing and sanitary conditions, work in the field of education, better traveling accomodations, a crusade against lynching, "justice in the courts" and a more correct treatment of the Negro by the press.[48] Further, the white women determined to set up permanent machinery to continue their work and to include representatives of each woman's organization represented at the Memphis meeting. A "Continuation Committee" of seven women was named, therefore, to serve until official representatives could be chosen by the various organizations.[49]

On November 16, 1920, this Continuation Committee

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47 Mrs. Luke G. Johnson's story of the Memphis Conference, in "Minutes of Interracial Commission," November 17, 1920, 30, as cited in "Background," 17.

48 "Findings Committee, Woman's Interracial Conference, Memphis, Tennessee, October 6-7, 1920," in "Report and Exhibits," Exhibit K-2.

49 "Women and Their Organizations," [the report of Mrs. Luke Johnson to the Commission on Interracial Cooperation], October 7, 1921, C-Hist. Records, 2.

met in Atlanta and created a temporary organization with Mrs. Luke Johnson as their chairman. They decided to cooperate with the Inter-Racial Committee, to function more or less as an auxiliary concentrating on the work with women and children; but the ideal was held up before them of a "separate and larger movement of the women" when the capital and personnel should become available.[50] This meeting of the women was obviously planned to coincide with that of the men; and on November 17, 1920, the women officially became a part of the Inter-Racial Committee and joined the men for at least some of their sessions.[51]

The Continuation Committee continued to have its own existence, however, and met again on March 28, 1921, just prior to a meeting of the Inter-Racial Committee which by this time was being designated as the Inter-Racial Commission. At this meeting, the women were still unwilling or unable to set up a permanent organization but they did decide that colored women should be added to their committee. In a special session called on the following day, the women voted to call to the attention of the executive committee of the Commission their request

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50 "Minutes of Continuation Committee of Woman's Inter-Racial Conference," November 16, 1920, C-Hist. Records.

51 "Proceedings," Interracial Commission, November 17, 1920, C-Hist. Records

that women be added to state committees and that the women of the state committees "effect an organization, each in their own state, for the purpose of suggesting plans and policies for women's activities with the Inter-Racial Commission."[52]

In the meantime, the Negro women who had been present at the special meeting at Tuskegee had also made some moves toward the organization of a similar committee.[53] Little is known of their meetings and activities, but it was this group which prepared the statement presented to the Memphis meeting. This statement had been originally drawn up at Tuskegee by the ten Negro women there but was subjected to several revisions before it was finally acceptable to the Negro women preparing it.[54] The statement as finally worked out began with a preamble which expressed the desire to state the position of the authors "on some matters relating to the welfare of colored people and to enlist the sympathy and co-operation of Southern white women in the interest

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52 "Minutes, Continuation Committee," March 28, 1921, C-Hist. Records.

53 "Minutes, Joint Meeting, Woman's General Committee," October 20-21, 1922, C-Hist. Records.

54 "Background," 15-16. The drafting of the statement went through five editions since much of it had to be done by mail. The main controversy centered around the inclusion of a section on lynching, but careful attention was given to the wording of every part. Copies of all the drafts, many with penciled notations, are among the manuscripts of the Commission.

of better understanding and better conditions, as these affect the relations between white and colored people."[55] A section of the statement was devoted to each of seven topics: 1. Conditions in Domestic Service; 2. Child Welfare; 3. Conditions of Travel; 4. Education; 5. Lynching; 6. the Public Press; and 7. Suffrage. At the meeting of the Southeastern Federation of Colored Women's Clubs in Atlanta, June 28-30, the statement was adopted by that organization, and shortly thereafter it was published under its sponsorship.[56]

Despite the continued activity of both the Negro and white women, the integration of the two groups was a very slow process. At a separate meeting of the white women's committee in attendance at the conference of the Inter-Racial Commission on October 6-8, 1921, the only Negro woman present was on the program.[57] At this meeting, however, the white women changed the name of their committee from that of Continuation Committee to The Woman's Committee of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, and suggested that this be shortened to Woman's General Committee in general use, for brevity.

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55 Southeastern Federation of Negro Women's Clubs, Southern Negro Women and Race Cooperation (Atlanta, n.d.),1.

56 Ibid.

57 [Mrs. Luke Johnson], "Women and Their Organizations," C-Hist. Records, 11.

They also elected for the first time a chairman and a secretary, such positions previously having been only temporary, and adopted a number of "suggestions whereby the women members of the State Committees may function."[58] Finally, they requested that the Commission appropriate sufficient money to permit the holding of a joint session of the white and Negro women's committees.[59]

During the months following this, nevertheless, the white women still worked alone. Groups of white women met in almost every Southern state, apparently called together by Mrs. Luke Johnson, who by this time was a member of the staff of the Commission, and issued statements on the racial situation. The statements all sounded strikingly alike, sometimes being almost identical in sections. They called attention to the problems that existed in the field of race relations, especially that of lynching, and almost invariably recommended a study of the Negro Home, the Negro School, and the Negro Church. In several cases they proposed the setting up of machinery to put into effect their "findings." In at least some states, they considered themselves as women members of the State Committee on Race

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58 Ibid., 3.

59 Ibid., 19.

Relations.[60]

Finally, a year after the request had been made, a joint meeting of the Negro and white women's committees was held on October 20-21, 1922.[61] Not until the annual meeting of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation in July of 1923, however, were the Negro women actually brought into full participation.[62] Thus, only after three years, did women, Negro and white, become a part of the interracial movement that found expression in the Commission.

While the role of the women in the movement had been slowly evolving, the movement itself continued to assume a more and more definite form. At the meeting of June 25-26, 1920, the first one at which Negro men were present and the one at which the representatives of the Methodist Women's Committee had first made their appearance, considerable attention was paid to organizational methods. By this time Interracial Secretaries

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60 See [Mrs. Maud Henderson, ed.], Southern White Women on Lynching and Mob Violence (Atlanta, n.d.). Mimeographed copies of the statements drawn up by the various women's groups were found in the manuscripts for Arkansas, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia. As an example of them, see Appendix A, pp. 366-368.

61 "Minutes, Joint Meeting, Woman's General Committee," October 20-21, 1922, C-Woman's Work.

62 "Minutes, Annual Conference, Commission on Interracial Cooperation," July 31 - August 2, 1923, C-Hist. Records.

were actually at work in several states and a special session was devoted to their activities and problems. Publicity, again, was discussed and a report was made that several articles on the work they were doing had already appeared. Finally, a number of conferences were planned: for whites, a Business Men's Conference, July 6-10; Editors of Denominational Papers, August 18-22; Denominational Board Secretaries, August 25-29; Women's Denominational Board Leaders, Fall; and for Negroes, one for College and University Leaders; Editors of Negro Secular Papers; Editors of Negro Denominational Papers; and Denominational Leaders--all scheduled indefinitely for the Fall.[63]

Whether all these conferences came off as planned is not known, but from August 18 through the 21st, 1920, at Blue Ridge, a conference of church leaders was held on call of three prominent churchmen who were members of the Inter-Racial Commission. This conference formulated a statement on race relations which began:

> We, a group of white Christian men and women of the South, absolutely loyal to the best traditions and convictions of the South, and especially to the principle of racial integrity, voluntarily assembled upon the invitation of the Commission on Inter-racial Cooperation, and after prayerful and careful

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63 "Minutes, Inter-Racial Committee," June 25, 1920, in "Report and Exhibits."

> consideration of prevailing inter-racial relations and conditions, do deliberately declare it to be our profound conviction that the real responsibility for the solution of inter-racial problems in the South rests directly upon the hearts and consciences of the Christian forces of our land.[64]

Continuing with an endorsement of the interracial committee method, the statement listed in some detail several areas of special need: lynching, the courts, transportation, sanitation and housing, and education; and urged the churches to support the work to remedy those needs. When this was published shortly thereafter in pamphlet form, in addition to a listing of the personnel of the conference, a list of the "Inter-Racial Commission by States" was included, possibly the first published list of the membership of the central organization.[65]

The next official meeting of the group now known as the Inter-Racial Commission took place on November 17, 1920. This was the first meeting at which women were actually included as members. At this meeting the members of the University Commission on Southern Race Questions were present by invitation and expressed the

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[64] Church Leaders Conference, An Appeal to the Christian People of the South (Atlanta, n.d.), 6.

[65] Ibid., 1-3.

desire to cooperate. In other respects, it was not an unusual meeting. Reports of activities in various states were heard, publicity was considered and the Ku Klux Klan was discussed. Apparently by this time it was assumed that the organization was to continue its existence for some attention was devoted to the necessity of securing financial support for the future.[66]

Within two weeks after this November meeting, the Inter-Racial Commission undertook its first major financial drive. This was aimed mainly at some of the large foundations in and around New York, and to influence them, a voluminous compilation of materials was prepared. It included notes of early meetings, copies of reports from various states and localities, and numerous letters of endorsement from individuals, some obviously written upon request. All were bound together into one volume entitled "Report and Exhibits, Southern Inter-Racial Commission, November 29, 1920."

Thus, as the year 1920 ended, the initial stages of the rise of the interracial movement seemed to be drawing to a close. During the year, the once nebulous group had become identified by a name, had grown tremendously,

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66 "Proceedings," Interracial Commission, November 17, 1920, C-Hist. Records. Up to this time, the work had been financed primarily by the War Work Council of the YMCA. See below, Chapter V, pp.146-147.

had issued publications,[67] and finally, had appealed for a continuing means of support. Their meetings had become more or less routinized, and after one more year when two meetings were held, were to settle down to one annually.[68]

Within these first two years of development, the purpose had been to prevent, if possible, further violence between the races during the months immediately following the end of World War I.[69] By the end of 1920, the proposed program used as the basis of the financial appeal was evidently designed to be educational and remedial. Conferences with special groups to discuss better race relations and work with the press were proposed. Attention was called to the necessary steps for improving the conditions within which the

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67 Edwin Mims, Law and Order in Tennessee: A Story of Inter-Racial Peace (Atlanta, n.d.); ---, A Handbook for Inter-Racial Committees (Atlanta, 1920); [---], The Nashville Plan of Inter-Racial Work; Morton, The Atlanta Plan of Inter-Racial Cooperation. These four pamphlets were published under the imprint of the Inter-Racial Committee. A fifth, An Appeal to the Christian People of the South is obviously published by the same committee but bears only the name of Church Leaders Conference.

68 "Minutes, Commission on Inter-Racial Co-operation," March 29, 1921, C-Hist. Records; "Report of Proceedings of Commission on Interracial Cooperation," October 7, 1921, C-Hist. Records; "Minutes, Inter-Racial Commission," July 21, 1922, C-Hist. Records.

69 Robert B. Eleazer in personal interview with the writer, July 23, 1947; Robert L. Duffus, "Counter-Mining the Ku Klux Klan," in World's Work, 46(1923):278; Weatherford, Interracial Cooperation, 82.

Negro lived.[70] The preventive designs had begun to grow into a program of education and correction, purposes which were to persist throughout the existence of the movement.

During its first two years of existence, the interracial movement also received encouragement and endorsement from others. From the very beginning, the YMCA had lent a helping hand, as Dr. Alexander later attested:

> "... Almost as important as the money which came to us from these Y.M.C.A. sources were the guidance, inspiration, and help which we received from Dr. Mott and his associates in the secretaryship and from certain laymen who were serving on the International Committee--such men as William Sloane, Cleveland Dodge, and others."[71]

At the meeting on July 24, 1919, one of the members reported on his recent trip to Washington and an interview with Secretary of War Baker. He quoted the Secretary as saying that they "were doing about the most constructive piece of work that affects the nation,"[72] and related that he found great encouragement in the reception he had had.

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[70] "Report and Exhibits," Exhibit D.

[71] Will W. Alexander to George Arthur, February 20, 1934, correspondence, C-Miscel. See also Weatherford, Interracial Cooperation, 75-81.

[72] "Minutes of Inter-Racial Committee," July 24, 1919, C-Hist. Records, statement by Dr. Plato Durham.

Similarly, the Law and Order League which had been rather extensively organized in Tennessee in 1918 and had been joined in September of 1919 by a parallel organization among Negroes, the Peoples Co-operative League of Tennessee, in an effort to promote "better understanding and relations between the races,"[73] pledged their cooperation with the new interracial committee movement. In 1920 the secretary of the Law and Order League became the secretary of the Tennessee State Committee and the editor of the first publications put out by the Inter-Racial Committee.[74]

Even more important, undoubtedly, were the public endorsements of a number of church bodies. The action of the Woman's Missionary Council of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in April, 1920, has already been noted. Following closely upon this, the Council of the Episcopal Church of South Carolina approved the "principle of inter-racial committees" in a set of resolutions adopted May 11, 1920. A few days later, on May 15, the Southern Baptist Convention assembled in Washington adopted a report which "pledged to the Negro race the helping hand of a brother..." and concluded:

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[73] Mims, Law and Order in Tennessee, 16.

[74] Ibid., 22.

> There are many ways in which we can do this. The governors of Illinois and Arkansas, and possibly of other states, have appointed Inter-Racial Commissions, composed of leaders of both races, to study conditions, to cultivate a better understanding between the races and to aid in preventing, as far as possible, mob violence and other outbreaks of racial prejudice. Similar committees have been constituted in many counties, and already many wholesome results have been accomplished. With all such movements wisely planned and conducted we hope our people will cooperate without question.[75]

The General Assembly of the Southern Presbyterian Church meeting in Charlotte, North Carolina, ten days later heartily commended the work of the Inter-Racial Committee and called upon "all pastors and people to support the work of local committees."[76] Later that summer, when the leaders of several of the churches were in conference at Blue Ridge, they specifically commended the Atlanta Committee:

> We are also persuaded that the best method by which to approach the consideration and solution of such problems interracial is through local organizations, composed of the recognized Christian leaders of both races, organizations similar to the Christian Council formed and functioning so effectively under the inter-racial Christian leadership of Atlanta, Georgia.[77]

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[75] "Action of the Southern Baptist Convention in Washington, May 15th, 1920" appended to "Minutes, Inter-Racial Committee," June 25, 1920, in "Report and Exhibits."

[76] "Action of the Southern Presbyterian General Assembly, Charlotte, North Carolina, May 25, 1920" appended to "Minutes, Inter-Racial Committee," June 25, 1920, in "Report and Exhibits." Mimeographed copies of a number of other such endorsements were also found but most were dated 1921 and 1922.

[77] An Appeal to the Christian People of the South, 6-7.

Of no less significance, the governors of several Southern states indicated their approval of the movement either directly or indirectly. Governor Brough of Arkansas and Governor Morrison of North Carolina appointed official commissions in their states.[78] The governors of Oklahoma and Georgia called conferences during 1920 to discuss race relations in their respective states, the one in Oklahoma actually being interracial.[79] Thus, the voice of the state was added to that of the church and individuals in support of the movement that had become the Commission on Interracial Cooperation.

Such were the initial steps of the movement. Starting thus, it was to remain in existence for almost exactly twenty-five years. From a small unofficial collection of individuals, it was to grow into a rambling, far flung, loosely connected organization which affected the lives of thousands. It was to become a chartered corporation in 1929, and finally to become absorbed into

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78 Editorial, Atlanta Constitution, February 26, 1920, 27, as copied in "Report and Exhibits;" "Prospectus Submitted to the Charter Committee of the North Carolina Commission on Interracial Cooperation," C-State Com.

79 "Proceedings," Interracial Commission, November 17, 1920, C-Hist. Records; "Result of Conference of Inter-Racial Meeting Called by Governor J. B. A. Robertson Tuesday, November 23, 1920," C-Hist. Records.

a larger body in 1944. Its personnel, its finances, its activities, its accomplishments, all became a part of its development and deserving of separate treatment. Finally, its place within the history of the South during the quarter century of its existence was to become deserving of attention and consideration.

CHAPTER III

THE EVOLUTION OF THE ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

"...This movement is just like all other movements. It is a movement; it is not an organization."[1] These words, spoken at one of the early meetings of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, characterize very well the nature of that organization. Never, during its twenty-five years of existence, did it become a clearly delineated setup. It is to be doubted whether for any given month or year anyone involved in it at the time, or anyone now, could give a perfectly true picture of the actual organization in its entirety.[2]

By the end of the first two years, the theoretical outlines of the organization of the Commission were apparent but only implicitly so.[3] The core and center

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[1] Dr. Crisler, "Minutes, Commission on Inter-racial Co-operation," March 29, 1921, C-Hist. Records.

[2] T. J. Jones, Educational Adaptations, 91, gives a diagram of a plan of organization drawn up in March, 1919, but no other references to it were found.

[3] This theoretical sketch is made up from the impressions gained from reading the records of the Commission. Numerous of its publications contained very general outlines. For instance, see Robert B. Eleazer, An Adventure in Good Will (n.d. [c. 1924]) one of the earliest, and The Interracial Commission Comes of Age (1940), one of the last.

of the movement was the Commission on Interracial Co-operation itself. This was the self-perpetuating group of persons, after 1923 including men and women, Negro and white, from all over the South, who met in annual sessions, elected officers, heard reports and speeches, and approved general policies. The officers and elected executive committee, in turn, employed a paid staff to carry out the program arrived at. In theory, this staff was employed to carry on the work of specific departments, usually listed as Woman's Work, Education, Research, and Field Work.

Affiliated with this central Commission and yet autonomous[4] were the committees of each of thirteen Southern states, in theory. Each of these committees was to control its own membership, elect its own officers including an executive committee to serve as a policy making body, employ its own staff and eventually, to finance its own program. At least in the beginning, the state committees were expected to send detailed reports to the headquarters of the Commission.[5] Each state committee was to organize itself as it chose,

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[4] Jessie Daniel Ames to Charles B. Holder, October 12, 1937, correspondence, C-Miscel.

[5] "Report and Exhibits," G-1. As will be shown later, the state committees were not a part of the original idea, but came in quite early.

appointing sub-committees for specific purposes; but, in general, the women of the state committee were also to have a separate organization which elected its own officers and initiated its own program. This women's group was expected to create three special committees, one each on the Negro Home, the Negro Church and the Negro School. In later years this aspect of the concept of the state committee was altered and the women were no longer conceived of as a separate section. Otherwise, the theoretical framework remained basically the same.[6]

Essential to the setup of the movement yet very loosely related, were to be the local committees. The original goal was to organize an interracial committee composed of Negroes and whites meeting jointly in each of eight hundred and five counties in the South where the Negroes made up at least ten per cent of the population.[7] Each of these committees, like the state committees, was to be self-governing and related only in

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[6] The references to the nature of the state committee are very numerous. See, for instance, "Minutes, Commission on Inter-racial Co-operation," March 29, 1921, C-Hist. Records; "By-Laws, Committee on Woman's Work, State Committee on Race Relations, 1924" (mimeo.), C-State Com.; "Recommendations, Round Table #2," Work Conference, 1940, C-Field Work; and Jessie Daniel Ames, Democratic Processes at Work in the South: Report of Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc. 1939-1941 (1941), 9.

[7] "Report and Exhibits," F-(c).

spirit to the state committee and Commission itself except in those cases where an individual was a member of the local committee and one or both of the others at the same time. It was expected that these local committees should meet frequently; and in the early days, at least, they, too, were expected to report their program and activities to Commission headquarters.[8] After the first few years of the movement, much less stress was laid upon the local committees but they continued to be regarded as a part of the whole.[9]

Such were the theoretical outlines of the movement. There was no definite official relationship between the local committees, state committees and the Commission itself. Each was self-perpetuating and self-governing. Yet, there seems to have been a definite sense of relationship between the various parts. Stimulation was expected to pass from the central Commission to the state and local committees. Likewise, those committees were expected to assist the Commission in promoting interracial good will.

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[8] "Minutes of Inter-Racial Conference," July 17, 1919, C-Hist. Records; "Report of Proceedings of Commission on Interracial Cooperation," October 7, 1921, 74-75. A four-page report form was included in "Report and Exhibits," G-1, and a simpler form, undated, was also found; but not a single completed report was located.

[9] Commission, How Shall We Organize (1940), 2-3; "Suggestions for Procedure in Setting up interracial Committee in Savannah," undated manuscript, [late 30's], C-Field Work.

As is often the case, the actuality of the organization of the interracial movement was considerably different from the theory. Following the initial stages when the Commission was only a small, self-appointed group, it became an organized body of persons with a headquarters in Atlanta where it maintained a paid staff.[10] The Commission described itself in 1920 as composed of "some forty-five white and Negro leaders from the following Southern States which contain more than eighty (80%) per cent of the Negroes in the United States: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia."[11] From then until February 1944, the Commission remained in existence, varying in numbers and composition from time to time but never breaking the continuity.

On July 1, 1929, the group that called themselves the Commission at that time, totaling ninety-four men and women, Negro and white, secured a charter under the laws of the state of Georgia, and became officially the

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[10] The Commission had five different addresses in Atlanta during its existence: Suite 1610 Candler Building (1919 at least through November, 1920); 417 Palmer Building; 409 Palmer Building (by November, 1922); 703 Standard Building (by November, 1930); and 710 Standard Building (by March, 1936 until February, 1944).

[11] "Report and Exhibits," F.

Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Incorporated. The charter was granted for a period of twenty years with the privilege of renewal. It stated the purposes of the organization:

> The objects and purposes of said corporation are to exist and function as an eleemosynary organization, and more particularly to promote better relations among and the mutual cooperation of the races; to promote good will among and to advance the education and general welfare of the races; to improve interracial attitudes out of which unfavorable conditions arise, and to prevent and remove misunderstandings and injustices; to organize research work and surveys for the study of the questions involved and to effectuate and disseminate the program and ideals of the organization and to foster and carry on such work and activities as may be necessary or proper in the furtherance thereof.[12]

In addition, the charter outlined its nature as a self-perpetuating, self-governing, non-profit corporation with "all other rights, powers, privileges and immunities as are incident to like corporations or permissable under the laws of Georgia."[13]

The incorporation made little change in the actual Commission itself. Its membership continued to vary somewhat; its annual meetings continued to be held. Little difference could be noted. Finally, in February, 1944, after some months of difficult transition, the

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[12] "Charter, Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc.," July 1, 1929, C-Official Min.,

[13] Ibid., 3.

Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc. dissolved itself, passing on all of its property and effects and many of its personnel to the newly chartered Southern Regional Council.[14]

With the inclusion of the women on the Commission, although they became full members of the Commission, they also had a separate section or organization. At the annual meetings they held a few sessions apart, usually on the day preceding the regular meetings, and drew up programs designed particularly for women. This setup may have been due in part to the fact that the women members of the Commission were chosen because of their affiliation with women's organizations, and their special activities were developed to be carried out through the media of the various "affiliated" organizations. This setup persisted until the mid-Thirties when it seems to have been gradually discarded. An attempt was made to revive the "Pre-Conference" meeting of the women in 1937, and an unofficial meeting of the women was held in 1939.[15] Plans were laid for

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14 See below, Chapter VIII, 285.

15 Jessie Daniel Ames to the Women Members of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, September 17, 1937, form letter, C-Woman's Work; "Minutes, Pre-Conference Meeting of the Women, Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc.," May 24, 1939 (mimeo.), C-Woman's Work.

separate sessions for the women in connection with the annual meeting of 1941, but that meeting was cancelled due to the outbreak of war. So there was never any real resumption of the separate women's activities.[16]

In the very beginning, when the Commission consisted of only a few persons and conceived of itself as temporary, it met fairly frequently as we have already seen, and probably formulated its own policies while in session, with the guidance of the paid staff of the War Work Council. By the fall of 1920 it was listing four officers: Chairman, Director, Associate Director and Director of Education;[17] and the next year an executive committee of seventeen members, most of whom resided in Atlanta, was recorded as elected.[18]

The officers remained limited mainly to a Chairman and Chairman of the Executive Committee throughout the twenties and both of these were listed along with the

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16 Jessie Daniel Ames to the Women on the Inter-racial Commission, October 11, 1940, form letter, C-Woman's Work. Records were found to indicate that women's a activities as a separate section continued at least through 1933. For instance see "Minutes, Inter-Racial Commission," July 21, 1922, C-Hist. Records; report of Director of Woman's Work in "Statement and Exhibits, 1922-1923," C-Hist. Records; "Minutes, Annual Meeting, Woman's General Committee," April 21, 1925, C-Woman's Work; "Minutes, Pre-Conference Meeting," April 22-23, 1930, C-Woman's Work; and "Report of Director of Woman's Work, April 18, 1933" (mimeo.), C-Hist. Records.

17 "Report and Exhibits," F-1.

18 "Minutes, Commission on Inter-racial Co-operation," March 29, 1921, C-Hist. Records.

staff and evidently worked very closely with them.[19] Following incorporation, however, the number of elected officials increased. They included then a President, sometimes one or two Honorary Presidents, two or three Vice-Presidents, an Executive Director, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and often one or more Assistant Treasurers. Of these, the Executive Director and Secretary were salaried officials and they, with the President and Treasurer took an active part in running the work of the Commission, although frequently the President was limited in his participation because he was not always a resident of Atlanta.[20]

After 1920 the executive committee did the actual policy-making. It was usually composed of persons living in and around Atlanta, most of whom were closely identified with the Commission from its inception. Apparently it met very regularly during the twenties and actually guided the work of the Commission. The annual meeting in 1928 decided to expand the executive committee "in order that the entire Southern territory might have

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[19] See Commission, Progress in Race Relations: A Survey of the Work of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation for the Year 1926 (1927), 16.

[20] The list of officers for 1934-1935 is typical. See "Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc. 1934-1935" (mimeo.), C-Hist. Records. Of the presidents, only one after 1930 was from Atlanta, and he remained in office only one year. See The Interracial Commission Comes of Age, 3.

representation" but this larger executive committee was to meet only once between annual meetings. A smaller "Business Committee" was to be appointed by the executive committee and it was to meet monthly.[21]

Within a short time, however, under the by-laws adopted following the incorporation of the Commission, the structure was changed again. An elective Board of Directors was created in which were vested the major powers of the corporation such as changes in membership, control over the staff, etc. In the early thirties, this Board met rather regularly and seemed to take their duties seriously; but in the later years, they met much less often and played a less active although still necessary part.[22]

Despite the creation of the Board of Directors in 1930, the executive committee continued to carry a

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[21] "Minutes, Annual Meeting," November 20-22, 1928, C-Hist. Records. Records of fairly frequent meetings of the executive committee during the early twenties were found but they were not sufficiently complete to determine a pattern. For periods, they definitely met monthly. The minutes of the meetings of October 4, 1924 and December 31, 1926, furnish good evidence of the role of that committee.

[22] By-laws, Article 2, in "Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc. First Meeting of the Members of the Corporation," July 2, 1929, C-Official Min. The Board of Directors met at least six times during 1930-1931. The minutes of its meeting of May 22, 1931 are typical of its powers and activities.

portion of the directive responsibilities. To facilitate getting together, at least a majority of its members continued to be residents of Atlanta; and to it were often left the final decisions to be made.[23] As the board assumed a less active role, the executive committee resumed more of its original position as the policy determining body although it, too, met less frequently than in the early years.

Even before the emergence of the executive committee as an important part of the Interracial Commission, a paid staff had been employed and it was really to be the nerve center of the entire organization. Of the officers listed in 1920, two of them were indicated as paid staff members: the Director and the Associate Director.[24] By 1924 the staff had grown considerably. It included a Director of Woman's Work, a Director of Research and Student Work and an Educational Director, in addition to the Director, all of whom were located at headquarters. There were also eight members of the Field Staff, most of whom served as Secretaries in one

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[23] For examples see "Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc. Meeting of the Board of Directors," November 12, 1931, C-Official Min.; and "Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc. Meeting of Executive Committee," November 29, 1932, C-Official Min.

[24] "Report and Exhibits," F-1.

or more of the Southern states.[25] From then on, however, the size of the staff tended to dwindle. Ten years later the number of the central staff remained the same; but the field staff consisted of only one full time and four part-time field men.[26]

In 1932 the director began a series of leaves of absence, either part-time, or whole, which took him out of the central office most of the time until his final resignation and replacement in 1942 during the final days of the Commission.[27] After 1938 the only full time staff were the Director of Field Work, Educational Director, the Secretary of the Commission who managed the central office, and one Field Secretary.[28] Yet it was undoubtedly the staff which did most of the work

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[25] Commission, Progress in Race Relations: A Survey of the Work of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation for the Year 1923-24 (1925), 18.

[26] Commission, The Interracial Front: Annual Report, Commission on Interracial Cooperation (1933), 3.

[27] "Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc., Meeting of the Board of Directors," November 12, 1931, C-Official Min.; "Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc., Meeting of the Executive Committee," May 13, 1935, C-Official Min.; "Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc.," October 22, 1942, C-Official Min., 9-11.

[28] Emily Clay to Gunnar Myrdal, August 27, 1942, correspondence, C-Miscel. The financial reports for the last five years show that the director's salary was refunded at least in part; and that an Associate Director was carried on a part-time basis at least through 1941.

of the Commission,[29] and probably, for the most part, originated the ideas and plans which were formulated into policies by the executive committee, Board of Directors or Commission itself in annual session.

One other part of the central Commission remains to be considered. This was the Administrative Committee on Woman's Activities, which was only a relatively temporary addition. It was created by the newly appointed director of Woman's Work, in 1929, to advise her as to her activities, and it continued to meet at irregular intervals for at least a year. Whether it had any official standing is not known but the four to six women who composed it during its short existence were all women of importance in the Commission.[30] Purely temporary committees were set up from time to time but the organization of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation was limited essentially to those parts which have been described.

As the sketch of the theoretical organization indicated, however, there were also state committees or

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[29] Will W. Alexander to Mrs. John W. Davis, May 17, 1934, correspondence, C-Miscel. "The activities of this office are the activities of the Commission," said Alexander.

[30] Jessie Daniel Ames in personal interview with the writer, August 22, 1949; "Minutes, Administrative Committee on Woman's Work," October 4, 1930, C-Woman's Work; "Minutes, Administrative Committee," June 28, 1930 (mimeo.), C-Woman's Work.

commissions of interracial cooperation. Apparently they were not envisaged at the very beginning, but by the end of the first year, had come into existence.[31] By November of 1920, state committees were listed for twelve Southern states: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.[32] The report for 1923-24 indicated that the committees in Arkansas and Florida were no longer in existence, but that one had been organized in Oklahoma.[33] The following year no report was given of the work in Mississippi or Oklahoma,[34] indicative of lack of an organized committee in either of these states, but the report for 1927 continued to claim eleven state committees in the thirteen Southern states as active.[35] In 1932 committees described as active were Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky, Tennessee, Georgia, Alabama and Texas;[36] But by

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31 "Minutes of Inter-Racial Conference," July 17, 1919, C-Hist. Records; "Minutes of Inter-Racial Committee," January 6, 1920, as given in "Report and Exhibits;" "The Development of the Interracial Commission," 3.

32 "Proceedings," Interracial Commission, November 17, 1920, C-Hist. Records.

33 Progress in Race Relations, 1923-24, 3.

34 Commission, Progress in Race Relations: Survey of Work, Commission on Interracial Co-operation, 1924-25 (1926).

35 Commission, Race Relations in 1927 (n.d.[1928]),3.

36 Commission, Some Recent Trends in Race Relations Together with a Brief Survey of the Work of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation (1932), 13.

1937 only three state committees remained: Texas, Virginia and North Carolina.[37]

This proved to be the low point for the state committees, however, for, in 1938, committees were revived in Georgia, Mississippi and South Carolina.[38] By 1942 the total had been increased to nine: Alabama, Georgia, Kentucky, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.[39]

Even when states were listed as having active state committees, the meaning of "active" was not necessarily invariable. As early as 1922, for instance, Louisiana, then listed as having an active committee, indicated it was very hard to get a state committee functioning.[40] Likewise, Tennessee claimed to have an active committee right on through the Thirties, yet evidence indicated that it was largely a paper organization, certainly after 1934, carried on in name by a former State Secretary.[41]

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37 "The Commission on Interracial Cooperation, 1933-1938," C-Hist. Records.

38 Commission, The Interracial Front: A Brief Report of Recent Activities (1939), 3.

39 "Report of Mrs. Jessie D. Ames, Field Director, To the Board of Director [sic] of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, February 14, 1942," C-Hist. Records.

40 "Minutes, Inter-Racial Commission," July 21, 1922, C-Hist. Records.

41 "The Interracial Outlook in Tennessee," [Report of James D. Burton] February 23, 1937; Jessie Daniel Ames to Dr. S. E. Howie, February 11, 1942, correspondence, C-Field Work; Emily Clay to Howard Odum, April 3, 1942, correspondence, C-Miscel.

Further, the Georgia Committee had to be reactivated four times because of lapses.[42]

On the other hand, sometimes state committees were very active. Records indicate that during the early Twenties, the Georgia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Texas, North Carolina and Virginia committees were very much alive, holding annual meetings, issuing reports and carrying out various programs. Likewise, in the late Thirties and early Forties, most of the state committees listed then seemed to be functioning as such.[43]

In actual setup, the state committees varied considerably and there is no clear pattern as to their structure. In the Twenties, it was generally the practice to have the women on the state committee organized into a separate section, similar to the Commission. At least one state committee had four separate sections according to race and sex. Several of the Woman's Committees further subdivided into three study committees on the Negro Home, the Negro Church and the

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42 [Jessie Daniel Ames] to Dr. R. L. Russell, June 14, 1938, correspondence, C-Ga.

43 Considerable material indicating activity of the early committees is available, e.g. Georgia Committee on Race Relations, Progress in Race Relations in Georgia: Report of the Secretary of the Georgia Committee on Race Relations for 1922 (1922) and also the annual reports of the Commission. For the later years see "Statistics 1939" [taken from state committee reports for 1938], C-Field Work.

Negro School.[44] Each state committee had a chairman. Otherwise little is known of their setup.

The later state committees were somewhat clearer in their structure. All met annually. All had executive committees with power to act for the committee between annual meetings; and they met either at regular intervals or on call. One state committee, the Texas Committee, had, in addition, an advisory committee composed of influential persons, heads of organizations and institutions throughout the state, to give advice and assistance on special occasions.[45]

In the first stages of the organization of state committees, most of the states had state secretaries who were actually employed as field secretaries of the Commission. As the staff of the Commission decreased, the number of state secretaries declined. Throughout the Twenties, Georgia, Tennessee, Texas, Kentucky, North Carolina and Virginia managed to retain their secretaries in some cases by sharing them with other

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[44] "Minutes, Annual Meeting, Woman's General Committee," April 21, 1925, C-Woman's Work; "Staff Meeting at Blue Ridge, August 25th through the 28th, 1929," C-Hist. Records, 6; "Program, Annual Meeting of the Texas Commission on Interracial Cooperation," December 6-7, 1935, C-State Com.

[45] "Analysis of State Set-Ups" (1938), C-Field Work; "Round Table #2" in Summary, Work Conference, 1940, C-Field Work.

states (e.g. Tennessee and Alabama). After 1931 North Carolina and Virginia were the only state committees to have a paid full time secretary and they were able to do so only by pooling their resources and having a joint secretary.[46]

Thus the state committees varied considerably from the ideal of an effective, functioning interracial committee for each state, patterned after the Commission. That there was a definite relationship between the Commission on Interracial Cooperation and the state committees can be seen in the correspondence that went back and forth, and in the other records. It can be seen also in the correlation between the activities of the Commission and the status of the state committees. During the early, active years of the Commission, the state committees were more real and alive than in the later period. As the Commission turned toward emphases other than the field work, the state committees declined. When field work was revived in 1937,[47] the state committees began to become active again. Certainly the

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[46] "Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc., Meeting of Board of Directors," May 22, 1931, C-Official Min.; "Report of Executive Director of Commission to Annual Meeting," April 18, 1933, C-Hist. Records; "A Report of the Activities of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, 1938-1941," C-Hist. Records, 3.

[47] Jessie Daniel Ames in personal interview with the writer, August 22, 1949.

relationship is obvious.

Just as there were actually some state committees, so there were actually some local committees. Here, too, the gap between the real and the ideal was certainly very wide. The original idea had been to have an organized interracial committee in each of eight hundred and five counties throughout the South where Negroes made up at least ten per cent of the population to put into effect on a practical scale the concept of interracial cooperation. By November, 1920, it was reported that committees had been formed in at least six hundred and four such counties.[48] Of these, many probably met only one time, others only a few times and only a few really became functioning committees.[49] In 1922 the director of the Commission described the committees as being of four kinds: those which were formally organized and met regularly, those which acted on specific matters from time to time, those which acted in time of crisis, and those which could hardly be called committees, where individuals cooperated although not in the

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[48] "Report and Exhibits," F-3. It had been hoped to map the locations of the various local committees, but this proved impossible because of the lack of sufficient specific data on them.

[49] Robert B. Eleazer in personal interview with the writer, July 23, 1947.

capacity of formal committees.[50]

That few local committees lasted long is indicated in the report of the Secretary of Georgia for 1925. This lists eleven local committees as active in the state and reported that eight of those had been reorganized during the year.[51] Similarly Texas, which was listed as having 115 local committees already organized in 1920, was reported in 1926 as having only eleven counties in the state where local committees functioned.[52] A survey made of the situation in Georgia in the mid-Twenties was probably indicative of the general situation:

> For a time, meetings were called at intervals more or less regularly, varying in communities, some having had only the called meeting, at which time formal organization was effected, others meeting regularly for a few months or a year, or more, some convening only upon call, and still others--very few in number--continuing until the present to meet with some degree of regularity. In short, as a general proposition formal organizations as such have been failures, not only when considered in the light of the great number

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50 Will W. Alexander to T. J. Jones, April 18, 1922, correspondence, C-Hist. Records.

51 Report of State Secretary to the Annual Meeting of the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation, October 28, 1925, C-Ga., 7.

52 Jessie Daniel Ames, Texas Commission on Interracial Co-operation: Its Purposes and Some Achievements (Georgetown, Texas, 1926), 4.

> which have become apathetic, but even more so when considered in terms of the even greater number which have disintegrated in toto.[53]

In the annual report of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation for 1932, only twenty-three local committees for the entire South were listed: "Richmond, Norfolk, Suffolk, Greensboro, Greenville, Charleston, Jacksonville, Savannah, Augusta, Atlanta, Athens, Chattanooga, Nashville, Louisville, Memphis, Birmingham, Huntsville, Mobile, Shreveport, Houston, Dallas, Fort Worth and Little Rock."[54] But of course others may have been in existence at the time. By 1942, this list had dwindled to fourteen not including those committees known to be active in Virginia and North Carolina, and of the fourteen, only five were from places listed in 1932.[55]

At least five local interracial committees may be singled out for special mention. The committee at Newport News, Virginia, was especially cited in the annual report of 1923-24 as "a model for the whole

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53 "Six Years After" [Report of the Georgia Secretary, 1925], C-Ga.

54 Some Recent Trends in Race Relations (1932), 13.

55 Emily Clay to Gunnar Myrdal, August 24, 1942, correspondence, C-Miscel. Brief mention of a number of these committees are also to be found in the files of the Southern Frontier (e.g. January, 1941).

South, having for several years met monthly and carried on a continuous program of constructive activity.[56] Committees in Houston, Texas, and Greensboro, North Carolina, were both recognized at one time or another for their longevity.[57] The other two, the Atlanta Woman's Committee and the Fulton-Dekalb Committee, have left records of rather intense activity, the former in the early Thirties and the latter in the early Forties. In each of these two cases undoubtedly the proximity to the headquarters of the central Commission had something to do with their strength.[58]

Of the organizational setup of the local committees very little is known except in the case of the two committees last mentioned. In each of these committees, there was a formal organization with elective officers, an executive committee, and frequently, one or more sub-committees. The executive committee of each, and some of the special committees held frequent

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56 Progress in Race Relations, 1923-24, 4.

57 "A Report of the Activities of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, 1938-1941," 5; and Reynolds, "Historical Sketch - Interracial Commission Work - North Carolina and Virginia, December, 1937," C-State Com. The very fact that the Greensboro Committee was mentioned for its long existence seems quite indicative for little other evidence of their activity has been discovered.

58 Fairly numerous records for both of these committees were found in with the Commission records, including minutes and reports of meetings, and some correspondence.

meetings and actually planned and pursued a program of activities.[59] To generalize from this very limited evidence, however, would be most unsound, especially in view of the particular nature of these two committees.

The majority of the committees were probably of a very loosely constructed nature. They arose either in response to a particular need, or because of the stimulation of one or more individuals on the local scene. If they continued to exist for any length of time, they still remained very informal and left few written records.[60] Thus, the local committees, the focal point of the original conception if it was to become a truly great mass movement, never really materialized except in isolated instances.

The theoretical structure of the interracial movement included only various interracial committees, the local and state committees and the Commission, the regional committee; and for the first half of its existence, roughly, this was the basic structure of the

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[59] For a brief insight into the organization of these committees, see "Atlanta Committee on Woman's Interracial Activities, November, 1931" (mimeo.), C-Ga.; and Nat G. Long, Chairman to "Dear Member," February 20, 1942, form letter, C-FD. The extent of their activity can be realized only from checking the records of their constant meetings.

[60] Committees in Dallas, Texas and Ocala, Florida demonstrate this. See Edward D. Davis to Jessie Daniel Ames, July 28, 1941, and A. Maceo Smith to Jessie Daniel Ames, January 31, 1944, both in correspondence, C-Field Work.

movement. In the Thirties, however, five subsidiary organizations were brought into existence by the Commission. Some of them were very limited in membership; two of them were limited to whites only; three of them were of a relatively temporary nature. All of them were designed for very specific purposes. All of them were related to the Commission financially and by personnel; but once actually brought into existence, each was self-governing.

The first such organization to be set up was the Southern Commission on the Study of Lynching. It was organized early in 1930 when it became apparent that mob violence and lynchings were on the increase. It consisted of eleven outstanding Southern men, Negro and white, plus the President and Director of the Commission acting ex officio. The Commission on the Study of Lynching met at least three times when they made decisions on the policies and procedures to be followed in the study. They employed a staff to conduct an intensive research into the lynching problem, and ultimately published the findings in the name of the Commission. This Commission remained in existence at

least through 1933.[61]

The second subsidiary organization, the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, came into being shortly after the creation of the Southern Commission on the Study of Lynching and was probably a reaction to it.[62] The initial meeting was sponsored by the director of Woman's Work and financed by the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, but from then on, the women took matters into their own hands.[63] They set up an amazing organization, limited to Southern white women, which was in reality a shadow, but a very potent shadow.

The organization itself was relatively simple. The officers consisted of a chairman and thirteen vice-chairmen, one for each of the thirteen Southern states included, and a secretary-treasurer. At the top was a

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[61] Southern Commission on the Study of Lynching, Lynchings and What They Mean: General Findings of the Southern Commission on the Study of Lynching (1931), 5-7; and ---, The Plight of Tuscaloosa: A Report of the Southern Commission on the Study of Lynching (1933), 5.

[62] Jessie Daniel Ames in personal interview with the writer, August 22, 1949. No women were included on the Lynching Commission at the advice of Mrs. Ames, as she felt it advisable to set up a separate organization for them rather than to have one woman on the Commission as a token; see Jessie Daniel Ames to Mrs. J. W. Downs, October 14, 1930, correspondence, C-Woman's Work.

[63] "History of the Movement," manuscript, C-ASWPL, apparently written by Mrs. Ames, gives a very accurate picture of the early steps of the A.S.W.P.L. See also, Jessie Daniel Ames to Miss Blanche White, October 22, 1931, correspondence, C-ASWPL.

Central Council composed of the officers plus several members at large, representatives of South-wide and national organizations of women. This Central Council met annually. But the governing body of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching was an executive committee composed of the executive director, the chairman, five vice-chairmen and the secretary-treasurer, which met on call of the chairman or the executive director. The originator and center of the entire setup during the decade of its existence was the executive director, Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, who was also on the staff of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation. Within each of thirteen Southern states there was a state council made up of leaders of women's state organizations and headed by a state chairman but there were no state conventions or local councils. The membership of the A.S.W.P.L., as it was usually known, was composed of all the women who signed its pledge against lynching, and that, in the main, was the extent of their participation as members. They paid no dues and had no direct contact with either the State Council or Central Council.[64]

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[64] A clear picture of the A.S.W.P.L. organization is given in a mimeographed report, "Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching" (1931), Section II, C-ASWPL and is substantiated for the most part by subsequent reports. See for instance, A.S.W.P.L., Southern Women and Lynching (1936).

The activities of the A.S.W.P.L. were largely carried on through its executive director and through the state chairmen although they were assisted by the Central and State Councils at times. Their work was facilitated by the fact that they were leaders in various women's organizations and they carried on their program through these organizations. Thus, from the very first, they began to get other groups of women to endorse their campaign against lynching; and these organizations became known as affiliated organizations. By 1940 some 109 such affiliations had been secured, fourteen from national and regional bodies, and ninety-five from state or state sub-divisions of women's organizations in thirteen Southern states.[65]

The A.S.W.P.L. was initiated at a meeting of twenty-five women in Atlanta in November, 1930 but it did not come into existence until January, 1931. Its last executive committee meeting was held on February 5, 1941, ten years later, at which time its program was reevaluated,[66] But by March, 1942, it was obviously

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[65] A.S.W.P.L., Organizations Committed to a Program of Education to Prevent Lynching (1940). See Appendix B. pp. 369-372.

[66] "Minutes, Anti-Lynching Conference of Southern White Women, November 1, 1930," C-ASWPL; and "Minutes of meeting called to discuss methods of eradicating lynching in the South," November 6, 1930, C-ASWPL. The two meetings, one for the Southeast, the other for the Southwest, set the movement in motion. "Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching," 5; "Minutes, Executive Committee, Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching," February 5, 1941, C-ASWPL.

dying out[67] and a few months later it was reported that "Texas is the only state where much of this program exists."[68] The Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching was never interracial, and was really dedicated to law and order and not race relations per se. Yet it was one of the most prominent parts of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation during the 1930's.

The third subsidiary organization, the Conference on Education and Race Relations, was likewise, non-interracial, and had virtually the same life span as did the A.S.W.P.L. The Conference on Education and Race relations was set up in 1931 to carry on a special program among educators. It consisted of a sponsoring committee of fifteen leading Southern educators who mainly permitted their names to be used as an indication of approval, and an executive committee of eight men. The former remained the same throughout the life of the conference but the latter was changed from time to time. The executive committee determined basic policy but the work was actually carried on and developed by the

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[67] Jessie Daniel Ames to Miss Spahr, March 24, 1942, correspondence, C-ASWPL.

[68] Thelma Stevens to Mrs. W. B. Landrum, July 31, 1942, correspondence, C-ASWPL.

executive secretary of the Conference, Robert B. Eleazer, who was also the educational director of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation.[69] This setup continued its activities until the retirement of Mr. Eleazer at the end of 1942; but the indications are that it was less active during its last few years.[70]

The other two subsidiary organizations were much less separate setups and actually more in the nature of special committees of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation. The first, the Commission on the Study of the Participation of Negroes in Southern Life, was set up in 1933 and was apparently patterned after the Southern Commission on the Study of Lynching, but never received the status of the latter. The Participation Commission consisted of a Commission of thirteen well known Southerners plus the President and Director of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation as ex-officio members. This Commission met only once but its program was carried on by a research staff, apparently only part-time. This staff continued to function at least until 1937. At that time the chairman of the Commission

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[69] [Eleazer], Education and Racial Adjustment: Report of the Second Peabody Conference on Education and Race Relations, July 21-23, 1932 (1932), 3, 63.

[70] Robert B. Eleazer to Members of Executive Committee of the Conference on Education and Race Relations, December 31, 1942, form letter, C-Spec. Studies.

resigned with the announcement that he had done nothing.[71]

The other committee, the Special Committee on Negroes and Economic Reconstruction, was even less of a special organization. It consisted of three members, only one of whom was not a member of the Interracial Commission; and all it did was to administer a special fund granted by the Rockefeller Foundation to further the interests of Negroes in the economic reconstruction of the early New Deal days. This committee was set up in January of 1934 and concluded its activities within the year.[72]

Thus, the organizational structure of the interracial movement was indeed complex and constantly changing. In theory, it was to be like a pyramid with the Commission at the top depending upon the state committees and the local committees to be the bases of its action; in actuality, the local bases never fully developed and the state ones were frequently very weak. In theory, it was interracial; yet, for about one-half

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[71] "Memorandum of a Proposed Study of the Participation of the Negro in the Life of the South" (mimeo.), C-Spec. Studies; "Commission on the Study of Participation of Negroes in Southern Life - Memo - Guy B. Johnson, February 18, 1937;" C-Spec. Studies; W. C. Jackson to Will W. Alexander, March 10, 1937, letter, C-Spec. Studies.

[72] "Report on the Work of the Special Committee on Negroes and Economic Reconstruction, February 1 to November 1, 1934," C-Spec. Studies.

of its existence two of its most active parts were only indirectly so. In theory, it was permeative, to reach down into hundreds of Southern communities through the activities of local committee members; in actuality, it depended heavily upon a professional staff and a central office to keep alive.

Yet its organizational looseness was definitely a part of its plan; and it did persist for a full quarter of a century. It received and expended sums of money, it carried on extensive and varied activities; it considerably affected the lives of many. Perhaps the true appreciation of the strength of the organization of the interracial movement can be obtained only after examining other aspects of its life, especially its personnel.

CHAPTER IV

THE PEOPLE WHO MADE THE IDEA LIVE

Moving in and out through the rambling structure of the interracial movement were people without whom any movement is a misnomer. The initiators, the general membership, the professional staff, they were the ones who transformed the idea of interracial cooperation from a theory into a reality.

The actual originator of the whole idea, if any one person can be so considered, will probably never be known for conflicting accounts already obscure the picture. The small group which nurtured the movement during its early days, however, are fairly identifiable. This group, according to all accounts, included John J. Eagan, James H. Dillard, R. H. King and Will W. Alexander. Others who may also have been at the very first meeting in Atlanta in January, 1919, were M. Ashby Jones,[1] Wallace Buttrick, Willis D. Weatherford and T.

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[1] Duffus, "Counter-Mining the Ku Klux Klan," 278.

Jesse Jones.[2] Of these, at least Eagan, Dillard and T. J. Jones were present at the conference called by the Secretary of Labor in February.[3] How many of them attended the other conference held in New York during the same month is not known; but T. J. Jones called it and was certainly there.[4] In any case, all of these men, with the exception of Weatherford, were present at the March meeting in Atlanta;[5] and by this time, Plato Durham had joined them. At the meeting of July 24, 1919, Eagan, King, Alexander, Dillard, M. Ashby Jones and T. J. Jones were present plus nine others mentioned for the first time;[6] and from then on the group continued to grow.

One of those who was at all of the early meetings described the January, 1919 meeting as "a group without

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[2] "The Development of the Interracial Commission," C-Hist. Records, 1. This document was prepared apparently by M. Ashby Jones, one of the earliest and most active participants in the Commission, sometime during the late Twenties.

[3] Department of Labor, The Negro at Work During the World War and During Reconstruction, 17. Others who were to appear a little later in the movement listed as present were C. H. Tobias, R. R. Moton, R. E. Jones and Miss Estelle Haskin.

[4] Jones, Educational Adaptations, 90.

[5] Dillard, Twenty Year Report of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, 16.

[6] "Minutes of Inter-Racial Committee," July 24, 1919, C-Hist. Records.

constituency, a group without money, and ... a group with nothing save an impelling sense of responsibility and a feeling that something should be done."[7] Actually, this was not precisely the truth if the persons present were looked at on an individual basis.

John J. Eagan was a well known Presbyterian layman and industrialist of Atlanta. Born in Georgia, he had inherited the American Cast Iron Pipe Company, and had become one of the first employers to experiment with an employee profit-sharing system. He was an active churchman, and had been a main participant in the Atlanta Christian Council, one of the earlier steps in the direction of interracial cooperation. An active supporter of the YMCA, he was on both the executive and finance committees of the War Work Council. He also served as an assistant to the Secretary of the Navy during World War I as a special advisor on Training Camp Activities.[8]

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[7] John J. Eagan in "Proceedings," Interracial Commission, November 17, 1920, C-Hist. Records. It might be noted that almost all of these men were connected in one way or another with the War Work Council of the YMCA; and that almost all are known to have been active churchmen. Thus, they had some natural contacts with each other.

[8] Fisk University News, 14(May, 1924), dedicated to John Joseph Eagan; Samuel McCrea Cavert, "A Great Exemplar of the Christian Way of Life," in Christian Observer, April 30, 1924; Will W. Alexander, The New Inter-Race Relations in the South (n.d.[1923]), 4; Who's Who in America, XII(1922-23):992. From all accounts, Eagan was a quiet but very influential man of deep convictions.

James Hardy Dillard, a native of Virginia, was a recognized and respected educator. A graduate of Washington and Lee, he had held teaching positions there and at Tulane, and at the latter institution, had become dean of the academic college (1904-1907). He was a rector of William and Mary, a member of the board of trustees of Tulane, and a member of the General Education Board. Both Tulane and the University of the South awarded him honorary degrees in recognition of his work as an educator. In 1910 he became director of the Jeanes Foundation, and as such, he became most active in promoting education among Negroes. Under his direction, this foundation had done much to stimulate interest in the Negro problem.[9]

Richard Hayne King, a native of South Carolina who married into a Charleston family, was a leading YMCA executive in the South. After graduating with honor from Presbyterian College in South Carolina, he immediately went into YMCA work as an assistant secretary of the "Y" in Charleston. By 1919 he had been principal of the YMCA Summer School at Blue Ridge, North Carolina, for some years and was on the International

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[9] Brawley, Doctor Dillard of the Jeanes Fund; Who's Who in America, XI(1920-21):773. See also above, p. 32.

Committee of the YMCA and the War Work Council.[10]

Will Winton Alexander, only 35 in 1919, was the youngest and perhaps the least known of the early initiators. A native of Missouri and a graduate of Vanderbilt, he had become a licensed minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South; but, after holding two small, discouraging pastorates, he went into YMCA work. In 1917 he had become an associate executive of the Army YMCA, Southeastern Military Department. It was while engaged in this work that he became greatly concerned about the racial problem although the foundations for that concern had been laid furing his college and earlier ministerial days. As a staff member of the War Work Council, he was in a natural position of leadership to do something about the post-war racial situation in the South.[11]

Meredith Ashby Jones, born in Lexington, Virginia in 1868, was the son of a former chaplain to Robert E. Lee. He earned degrees from Washington and Lee, the

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[10] Who's Who in America, XV(1928-29):1213; Southern Frontier, 3(February, 1942):3.

[11] Will W. Alexander in personal interview with the writer, May 16, 1950; Who's Who in America, XI(1920-21): 66. A somewhat small but solid person, Will Alexander was quite aggressive, and was to become the main staff member of the early years of the Commission, so much so that he became quite generally recognized as the leading authority on race relations in the South.

Southern Baptist Theological Seminary and the University of Virginia. A Baptist minister, he had held several pastorates in Kentucky and Virginia before he moved to the First Baptist Church in Augusta, Georgia in 1908. From there he had taken the pulpit of the Ponce de Leon Avenue Baptist Church in Atlanta in 1917 where he had become a recognized and outspoken exponent of applied Christianity. During World War I he served as a special advisor concerning Negro churches in the War Department.[12]

Thomas Jesse Jones, the only true outsider in the group of initiators, was a native of Wales, but he had come to the United States at the age of 11. Another graduate of Washington and Lee, he had also earned degrees from Columbia (A.M. and Ph.D.) and Union Theological Seminary. From 1902 to 1909 he directed the research department of Hampton Institute; from 1912 to 1919 he was a specialist in education with the United States Bureau of Education. In 1913 he also took on the duties of director of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, an organization primarily concerned about Negro education; and in this capacity he called one of the first meetings that set the interracial movement in motion.[13]

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12 Will W. Alexander in personal interview with the writer, May 16, 1950; Who's Who in America XI:1533; Alexander, New Inter-Race Relations in the South, 4.

13 Who's Who in America, XI:1535; see also above, pp. 47-48.

Willis Duke Weatherford was another well known figure in YMCA circles. A native of Texas, he received his B.A., M.A., and Ph.D. from Vanderbilt, and remained in Tennessee to work with the YMCA. From 1901 to 1919 he was an International Student Secretary of the YMCA and in 1919 he became president of the Southern College of the YMCA. He had been one of the first of the "Y" officials to become really interested in the problem of race relations; and it was he who called into consultation the small group of Negro and white men to discuss it in 1910. From that discussion he had published Negro Life in the South, Present Conditions and Needs, which had become widely used among YMCA groups as a study book.[14]

Wallace Buttrick, the only other non-Southerner, was a native of New York and a Baptist minister. As Secretary of the General Education Board from 1902-1917, and President of that Board after 1917, he was undoubtedly quite well known. He was also a member of the Rockefeller Foundation. Therefore he represented financial support if not community identification.[15]

Plato Tracy Durham, born in North Carolina and a graduate of Trinity College (now Duke University), was

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14 Who's Who in America, XI:2994; see also above, p. 33.

15 Who's Who in America, XI:444.

identified as a Methodist educator and theologian. After attending Christ Church College, Oxford, and Union Theological Seminary, he had become professor of Biblical Literature and Church History at Trinity College in 1899. From there he also held several active pastorates, and even became a presiding elder. In 1914 he moved to Atlanta to become dean of the Candler School of Theology at Emory.[16]

These men, then, with the exception of T. J. Jones and Wallace Buttrick, were all native Southerners, and at least some of them were from old, well known families. For the most part, they had been educated in the South in well recognized institutions. With the exception of Dillard and Buttrick, who were both over 60, they were men in their late forties or early fifties, in their most fruitful period of life. Without exception, they all held positions of importance in educational or religious fields. The initiators, then, were certainly men of recognized ability and reputation.

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16 Ibid., 833; also, Will W. Alexander in personal interview with the writer, May 16, 1950. Dr. Alexander also mentioned especially the Reverend C. B. Wilmer, Rector of St. Luke's Episcopal Church in Atlanta as having taken an active interest in social problems for many years. He was possibly one of those in the short-lived committee that was set up in Atlanta in 1906 (see above, p. 19). Dr. Wilmer was not one of the original group but was included at an early date and was quite active until he moved away from Atlanta.

When the first Negroes were added to the Interracial Committee in 1920, the same thing might have been said of them. The first two Negroes to be included were R. R. Moton and R. E. Jones; and they were quickly followed by John Hope, John Gandy and Isaac Fisher.[17]

Robert Russa Moton, a native of Virginia and a graduate of Hampton, had served on the staff of Hampton from 1890 to 1915. Then he succeeded Booker T. Washington as principal of Tuskegee Institute. To many, he also became the successor to Washington as the leader of the conservative Negroes. In 1919 he was made president of the National Negro Business League, an indication of his reputation among Negroes. During the later days of World War I he made a special trip to France to investigate conditions among Negro troops.[18]

Robert Elijah Jones, known as an outstanding Negro Methodist clergyman, was a native of North Carolina. He graduated from Bennett College in Greensboro, North Carolina, and Gammon Theological Seminary in Atlanta; and in 1911 he received an honorary LL.D. from Howard University. He was editor of the Southwestern Christian Advocate after 1904; and attained wide recognition both

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17 "Minutes, Inter-Racial Committee," June 25, 1920, as given in "Report and Exhibits," P.

18 Moton, Finding a Way Out; and Who's Who in America, XI:2050.

among Negroes and Methodists, becoming a trustee of Gammon, New Orleans University and Bennett, chairman of the executive committee of the National Negro Business League, and a member of the Committee on the Organic Union of Methodism.[19]

John Hope, born in Augusta, Georgia, graduated from Brown University in 1894, received an honorary A.M. from Brown in 1907, and was made a member of Phi Beta Kappa there in 1919. In 1906 he became president of Atlanta Baptist College (later Morehouse) which soon won recognition under his leadership. During World War I he served as a special secretary of the YMCA in France, a position which greatly discouraged and depressed him, and made him at the same time very pessimistic about the race problem and anxious to find some genuine solution to it.[20]

John Manuel Gandy, another Negro educator, was born in Mississippi and received his A.B. and A.M. from Fisk University. He had become a professor at Virginia

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[19] Robert E. Jones in personal interview with the writer, November 23, 1949; and Who's Who in America, XI:1534. Both Moton and Jones were at the February conference called by the Secretary of Labor, see above, p. 111.

[20] "Dr. John Hope Lived a Fruitful and Abundant Life," in Atlanta University Bulletin, Series III, No. 15 (July, 1936):3-4; Fred Ridgely Torrence, The Story of John Hope (New York, 1948), especially pp. 227-234; Who's Who in America, XII(1922-23):1563. John Hope was one of the Negroes who met with Weatherford in 1910 (see above, p. 33).

Normal College in 1898 and became president there in 1914. During the war he had been in charge of Camp Community Services for colored soldiers at various Southern army camps; and, therefore, had both experience and contacts with the other YMCA war workers.[21]

Isaac Fisher was probably the least known of the early Negro participants. He was, however, publisher of the Fisk University News, and as such had some reputation.[22]

The first Negroes, then, were also men of ability and reputation. Like the white men, they were all native Southerners and in the prime of life. They held positions that commanded respect; and most of them had rendered special service during World War I that put them into a position of advantage for furnishing leadership to the new interracial committee idea.

Similarly, the women who took an active part in bringing women into the interracial movement were already well known at least among women. The two white women, Mrs. Luke Johnson and Miss Estelle Haskin, who first journeyed to Tuskegee to meet the Negro women leaders had been chosen for that task by the Woman's Missionary

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21 Who's Who in America, XII:1211.

22 Isaac Fisher never made Who's Who. After a few years, he left Fisk and went to Hampton; but after the first few years he took little if any part in the Commission.

Council of the Methodist Church, in itself a mark of recognition. Mrs. Johnson was a very active leader of the Georgia Methodist Woman's Missionary Council, and Miss Haskin was a member of the Methodist Publications Board.[23]

The Negro women who met with them were probably even better known among Negroes. They included Mrs. Janie Porter Barrett, President of the Virginia Federation of Colored Women's Clubs; Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, Principal of Daytona (Florida) Normal and Industrial School for Negro Girls and President of the Southeastern Federation of Colored Women's Clubs; Mrs. Charlotte Hawkins Brown, President of the North Carolina Federation of Colored Women and Principal of Palmer Memorial Institute; Mrs. John Hope, Department of Neighborhood, National Association of Colored Women's Clubs; Miss Lucy Laney, Principal of Haines Institute and President of the Augusta (Georgia) Federation of Colored Women's Clubs; Mrs. Mary J. McCrorey, Chairman of the Management Committee, Charlotte Branch of the Y.W.C.A.; Mrs. R. R. Moton, wife of the Principal of Tuskegee Institute; Mrs. Booker T. Washington, Honorary President of

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[23] "Background," 9-10. Miss Haskins was one of those in attendance at the conference called by the Secretary of Labor in February, 1919. See above, p. 111.

the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs; and Mrs. Marion B. Wilkinson, President of the South Carolina Federation of Colored Women's Clubs.[24]

All the women invited to the Memphis Meeting were carefully chosen to secure "... women influential in themselves and women in strategic positions in church circles and club life ...."[25] The Continuation Committee set up by the Memphis Meeting to continue their work included Mrs. Luke Johnson; Mrs. J. G. Jackson; Mrs. Archibald Davis, President of Atlanta (Georgia) Y.W.C.A.; Mrs. T. W. Bickett, National Board of Y.W.C.A. and wife of the governor of North Carolina; Mrs. J. H. Cranford; Mrs. W. D. Weatherford, Chairman of the Colored Committee, Y.W.C.A.; and Mrs. Z. I. Fitzpatrick.[26] These women became the first actual women members of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation.[27]

Thus, it seems safe to say that the initiators of the movement were persons of reputation with access to

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24 "Background," 11a-12. These same women, with the exception of Mrs. Moton, issued the statement published in 1921, Southern Negro Women and Race Cooperation.

25 "Background," 23. This can be confirmed by noting some of the offices held by the women; see, Commission, Southern Women and Race Cooperation (1921), 11-14.

26 Southern Women and Race Cooperation, 10.

27 Ibid., 2-4.

a large constituency through the various organizations with which they were prominently connected. It was true that they were self-appointed, with the exception, perhaps, of the women; but they all held positions of leadership and most of them were actively related to some form of church work.

Once the Commission on Interracial Cooperation was actually organized, its staff became the most important part of its personnel. It was their job to keep the idea alive and to sell it to others.

In 1919 when the first efforts were being made to get local communities to set up interracial committees, most of the staff members were YMCA workers who either added that to their regular duties, or took it on as a special assignment.[28] In June of 1920 it was reported that sixty-one white and twenty-six Negro interracial secretaries were in the field,[29] but a number of them were admittedly only part-time. It is doubtful whether these were considered as a permanently employed staff for at that time the idea of a permanent organization had not yet completely emerged; but they were paid at

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28 "Minutes, Inter-Racial State Workers," January 6, 1920, as given in "Report and Exhibits."

29 "Minutes, Inter-Racial Committee," June 25, 1920, as given in "Report and Exhibits."

least in part by the Inter-Racial Committee. By the end of 1920, however, the idea of continuing the Commission had taken definite shape, and from that date on there was a paid staff that could be identified with the Commission on Interracial Cooperation.

In general the staff was divided into two categories, not including the clerical help who, as usual, remained the anonymous but essential "hewers of wood and drawers of water." The headquarters staff had offices in Atlanta and worked throughout the South from there. In 1920 this staff consisted of a director, associate director, auditor and secretary.[30] An educational director was also listed but was apparently unsalaried. The next year a director of woman's work was added; and in 1922 a full time educational director, also at times known as the publicity director, and a research director, were included.[31] The basic staff, then, remained the director, educational director, research director, and director of woman's work, throughout the Twenties. To this was added in 1924 a general field secretary,

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30 "Report and Exhibits," F-1. During the Twenties, the secretary was never listed. The auditor was always included but could hardly be considered as a regular staff member.

31 "Report of Proceedings of Commission on Interracial Cooperation," October 7, 1921, C-Hist. Records; Progress in Race Relations, 1923-24, 18.

but he remained on the staff for only two years.[32]

After 1931 the headquarters staff was considerably reduced. During most of the decade the director was away on leave of absence, first to serve as acting-president of Dillard University during 1932 and 1933, and after the Spring of 1935, to work with the United States Government in the Department of Agriculture.[33] Similarly, the research director joined the faculty of Agnes Scott College in 1932 and gave only part-time to the Commission for the next seven years.[34] After that, the position of research director was dropped. In 1937 the position of director of woman's work was discontinued and that of general field secretary was revived, but the change was one of title only.[35]

Actually, there was relatively little change in the

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[32] Progress in Race Relations, 1924-25, 17; and Emily Clay to Gunnar Myrdal, August 24, 1942, correspondence, C-Miscel.

[33] R. H. King to J. E. Manley, November 26, 1935, correspondence, C-Miscel.; "Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc., Meeting of the Executive Committee," November 24, 1933, C-Official Min; "Commission on Interracial Cooperation Inc., Meeting of the Executive Committee," November 30, 1935, C-Official Min; "Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc., Meeting of the Board of Directors," November 28, 1936, C-Official Min.

[34] "Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc., Meeting of the Executive Committee," May 3, 1932, C-Official Min.

[35] Jessie Daniel Ames in personal interview with the writer, August 22, 1949.

staff personnel of the Commission during its existence. the first director was R. H. King, but he was quickly succeeded by his associate, Will W. Alexander, although he remained closely connected to the movement for many years.[36] Alexander retained the directorship from 1921 until late in 1942. His successor, William E. Cole, a professor of sociology at the University of Tennessee, came in purely as a transition head.[37]

There were three directors of woman's work: Mrs. Luke Johnson, 1921-1925; Mrs. Maud Henderson, 1925-1928; and Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, 1929-1937. After 1937 Mrs. Ames became the General Field Director. The educational director remained the same throughout, Robert B. Eleazer; and there were only two research directors, T. J. Woofter, 1922-1926; and Arthur Raper, 1928-1933. The same secretary, Emily Clay, ran the central office from before 1929 until

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36 "Report and Exhibits," F-1. He was for years a vice-president of the Commission and chairman of the executive committee; see Southern Frontier, 3(February, 1942):3.

37 "Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc., Meeting of the Board of Directors," October 22, 1942, C-Official Min.; and William E. Cole, "The Commission on Interracial Cooperation" (1943), C-Hist. Records, 36.

it was closed in 1944.[38]

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[38] See Appendix C, p.373, for a complete list of the known personnel. Of the staff members, the most important were undoubtedly Will Alexander, Robert B. Eleazer and Jessie Daniel Ames. Mrs. Johnson, a deeply religious person, apparently wore herself out after a few years but certainly deserves recognition for her tremendous work among women during those first years. Mrs. Henderson left little impression. Emily Clay ran the office efficiently for several years, and carried much responsibility for decisions, but was little known outside the inner circles of the Commission.

Will Alexander carried the Commission work during its early years and became solidly identified with it. (See above, p. 114)

Robert Burns Eleazer, the educational director of the Commission for twenty years, was a native of Tennessee and a very active Methodist layman. From 1909-1912 he was the office manager of the Layman's Missionary Movement of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. In 1914 he became editor of the Missionary Voice. In addition, he had several years of experience in newspaper work. A rather small, quiet man, he considered himself "an independent in politics, a conservative liberal in economic and social views." (Robert Burns Eleazer in personal interview with the writer, July 23, 1947 and June 17, 1948; Who's Who in America, XI:866.)

Jessie Daniel Ames, a dynamic, aggressive woman, very sensitive on the question of the rights and capacities of women, was the mainstay of the Commission from the mid-Thirties to its dissolution in 1944. Born in Texas of families that had been in America since the 1600's, educated at Southwestern University at Georgetown, Texas, and married to a Texan, she lost her husband, a doctor, as a result of his work with Major Reed on yellow fever in Cuba in 1914. Shortly thereafter, she became an active fighter in various causes: chairman of Williamson County Equal Suffrage Association, organizer of the Texas League of Women Voters and its president for four years; delegate-at-large from Texas to the National Democratic Convention, 1920 and 1924; executive director of the Interracial Commission of Texas, 1924-1929. When she joined the Commission central staff in 1929 she was in her mid-forties, full of energy and aggressiveness despite the burdens of a handicapped daughter to be educated and an invalid mother. A woman of average size and appearance, she still impresses one with her intensity. (Jessie Daniel Ames in personal interviews with the writer, August 22, 1949, and March 26-27, 1950; also Biographical Material"[written by Mrs. Ames for Julia Collier Harris in 1929], C-Hist. Records; and a typed biographical sheet on Jessie Daniel Ames [about 1940], in Personnel File, C-Hist. Records.)

From time to time there were additions to the central staff but they remained only temporarily. In 1923 and again in 1931 and 1932, assistants were appointed to aid the director of woman's work; and in 1926 there was a special student worker. In 1942 two assistants to the director of field work were employed but they were never really in the central office. Of this staff, until 1937, all positions were held by men except those directly related to the work with women, and the position of staff secretary. All the central staff members were white except the first general field secretary, David D. Jones, and one of the assistant field secretaries employed in 1942, C. H. Bynum.[39]

The other part of the staff were known as the field staff and they were scattered throughout the South. In 1920 the goal of one full time interracial secretary of each race in each of thirteen Southern states was established, and possibly obtained for a very short time;[40] but by 1924 only nine such secretaries were listed in

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[39] Emily Clay to Gunnar Myrdal, August 24, 1942, correspondence, C-Miscel. Miss Clay also notes that Channing H. Tobias was listed as associate director from 1937 on, but that he was never located in the Atlanta office, and was really only a part-time employee.

[40] "Report and Exhibits," F-II (b); and "Statement as of October First of the Work for 1922 of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation," C-Hist. Records.

total;[41] and from that time on the number declined. Throughout most of the period after 1931, only one full time field secretary remained.[42]

The first field secretaries, all men, were appraised by an early advocate: "The field secretaries, who are the fighting edge of the organization, are energetic young men, well trained in social work, and capable of winning the support of the best kind of Southern white men."[43] Later some women were included among them.[44] Several of the field secretaries were Negro.[45] As on the headquarters staff, several remained in their position for fairly long periods of time. James Bond was the secretary in Kentucky from 1920 to his death in 1929, and was succeeded by his son; J. D. Burton was in Tennessee from 1922 to 1931; and L. R. Reynolds served in Virginia and North Carolina from 1928 until the end of 1941. Some of them, including both Mrs. Henderson and Mrs. Ames, left the field staff to take positions on the headquarters

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[41] Progress in Race Relations, 1923-24, 18.

[42] Commission, The Interracial Front: Annual Report, Commission on Interracial Cooperation, 1933 (1934), 3; "The Commission on Interracial Cooperation, 1933-1938", C-Hist. Records.

[43] Duffus, "Counter-mining the Ku Klux Klan," 278.

[44] Progress in Race Relations, 1926, 16.

[45] Among the state secretaries known to have been Negroes were R.E. Clay, J.T. Hodges, W.W. Hadnott, H.T.S. Johnson, and James and T. M. Bond.

staff.[46]

In addition to the paid full time personnel, there were often numbers of volunteer workers who assisted the staff in their work. In 1922 some fifty-nine white and colored "volunteer leaders" were listed as active.[47] Much later, in 1940 and 1941, work conferences for volunteer workers from the several states were held with over thirty in attendance in 1940,[48] and more than forty present in 1941.[49] Two smaller conferences were held in 1942, called staff conferences, with about a dozen in attendance at each; but most of these were evidently being paid only their actual expenses incurred in their work for the Commission.[50]

Next to the employed staff, who held a key position, the members of the various interracial committees made up the major portion of the personnel of the interracial movement. Of these, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, the regional committee, was the most stable.

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46 See Appendix, pp. 373-374.

47 "Statement as of October First of the Work for 1922 of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation."

48 "Registration," Work Conference, February 8-9, 1940, C-Field Work.

49 "Registrations, Work Conference," February 6-7, 1941, included in "Program of the Work Conference" (mimeo.), C-Field Work.

50 "Conference of State Workers," June 12, 1942 (mimeo), C-Field Work; "Staff Meeting," October 22, 1942, C-Field Work.

In 1920, the Commission listed as members forty-five persons from thirteen Southern states. By 1924, that number had been increased to eighty-one and it rose only slightly above that during the Twenties. At the time of incorporation, the number stood at ninety-four. Following that, the number of members of the Commission rose to average around 120 throughout the Thirties. After the annual meeting in 1940, the number stood at 140 and remained unchanged.[51]

Of the membership of the Commission, the whites were in the majority throughout, although not overwhelmingly so. Likewise, the men were predominant. In general, the members were scattered all over the South, the thirteen Confederate States and sometimes Oklahoma, and occasionally members-at-large from other states were included; but the heaviest concentration of members usually came from Georgia, North Carolina and Virginia during the Twenties and Thirties. In 1940, however, the twelve Southern States represented then averaged close to ten members each on the Commission with the exception of Georgia which had more than twice that number and

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51 "Report and Exhibits," F; Progress in Race Relations, 1923-24, 18-19; "Membership of the Interracial Commission - June 1929," C-Hist. Records; Some Recent Trends in Race Relations (1932), 21; "Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc., 1935-1936" (mimeo), C-Hist. Records; a list of the membership by states; and "Membership of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc.," 1941 (mimeo), C-Hist. Records.

Arkansas with only two.[52]

The actual personnel of the Commission changed relatively slowly, just as the staff had. During the Twenties, membership was apparently of indefinite duration and members were seldom if ever dropped. At least fifty-nine of the eighty-one members listed in 1923-24 were still listed as members in 1929. After incorporation, the membership was placed on a three-year basis with the group arranged so that approximately one-third of the members were subject to change each year. Actually, this did not mean too great a turnover, for although a few members were dropped every year and some new members were added, a longer list were usually re-elected;[53] and the membership list of 1940-41 revealed that fifty-three of the original charter members, almost sixty per cent, were still members in 1940. When the passage of time is realized and the toll of death taken into consideration, this seems to be a relatively high rate of survival.

The leadership of the Commission illustrated the same or even a greater degree of tenacity. For instance, of the board of directors, only seven members of the

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[52] On the 1940 list, neither Missouri nor Oklahoma appeared.

[53] See for example, "Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc.," April 15-16, 1936, C-Official Min.

1933 board were missing from that of 1942, and of those seven, at least three were deceased.[54] During its twenty-five years, moreover, the Commission had only six presidents or chairmen as they were called at first.[55]

Actually, the participation of the members of the Commission was certainly never one hundred per cent perfect. The number in attendance at the annual meetings always fell considerably short of the total membership. The meetings of November 17, 1920 and March 29, 1921, which may be considered as the first two meetings of the completed Commission, were two of the best attended and they reported forty-nine and sixty-four present, respectively. In 1923 only fifty-five out of a possible eighty-one were present, and in 1927 the number of members present was only forty although the total attendance reached over seventy-five including the staff and visitors. During the early Thirties attendance was sometimes recorded as in the eighties but because of the use of proxies it is impossible to know how many persons were actually present. Later annual meetings indicate that an average of fifty members were usually

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[54] Compare "Commission On Interracial Cooperation, Inc.," April 18-19, 1933, C-Official Min., with The Interracial Commission Comes of Age (1942 ed.), 4.

[55] The Interracial Commission Comes of Age (1942 ed.), 3.

in attendance, far less than one-half.[56] Further, the evidence indicates that a number of persons were regular attenders. Thus, it seems safe to conclude that some, especially in the later years, never attended at all. Although attendance at the annual meetings was not the only sign of an active interest, it was primarily the major activity of the membership and certainly was indicative of the degree of participation.

The membership of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation included a rather broad coverage of professions but the majority of the membership came from the ranks of educators and the clergy. An early account describes the members as "business men, University Presidents, leading members of the Bar, and leaders in the great Denominations as well as certain outstanding men who for years have devoted their lives to Negro work."[57]

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[56] "Proceedings," Interracial Commission, November 17, 1920, C-Hist. Records; "Minutes, Commission on Interracial Co-operation," March 29, 1921, C-Hist. Records; "Minutes, Annual Conference, The Commission on Interracial Cooperation," July 31-August 3, 1923 (mimeo.), C-Hist. Records; "Minutes, Seventh Annual Meeting, Commission on Interracial Cooperation," April 8-10, 1926 (mimeo.), C-Hist. Records; "Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc.," March 18, 1931, C-Official Min.; "Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc.," April 15, 1936, C-Official Min.; "Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc.," May 24-25, 1939, C-Official Min.; "Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc.," October 3-4, 1940, C-Official Min.; A letter from R.H. King to Plato Durham, September 20, 1929, C-Hist. Records, indicates the difficulty of getting persons together at that time.

[57] "Report and Exhibits," A.

Subsequent lists reveal that this description continued generally true throughout the years; but during the transition period, one of the recommendations made was that the membership should be revised to make it more inclusive, and labor, agriculture and the planning agencies were mentioned especially as fields that should be represented.[58]

The women on the Commission were always chosen because of their official connection with some woman's group, in the main, church bodies.[59] Therefore, this tended to put them into a rather special category.

The Negro members, in general, illustrated the same variety of professional fields as the white. There was concern from time to time, however, as to whether they were truly representative or not. In 1931 the Board of Directors appointed a special committee "to give careful thought to the representation of the colored people

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[58] Cole, "The Commission on Interracial Cooperation," 32. An indication of the professional background of the members can be seen in "Statement and Exhibits, Commission on Interracial Cooperation, 1922-23," C-Hist. Records; and "Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc.," 1934-1935, C-Hist. Records.

[59] "Report, Director of Woman's Work," July 12-14, 1924, C-Hist. Records; and "Report, Director of Woman's Work," 1933, C-Hist. Records. Mrs. Ames admitted that some Negro women members were mainly of local importance, Jessie Daniel Ames to Mrs. McGowan, March 2, 1931, correspondence, C-Woman's Work.

on the membership of the Commission."[60] A few years later, the feeling was expressed by some of the officials of the Commission "that Negroes on the Commission represented only one type, namely the reactionary and conservative."[61] Some younger Negroes were added, but the change in membership among the Negroes, so far as it is discernible, was no greater than that among the whites.

The exact religious affiliation of the membership of the Commission was never indicated but apparently the major religious bodies with the exception of the Catholics were pretty well represented on it. The heaviest representation, however, was undoubtedly the Methodist for several of the staff members were Methodists, including all the directors of Woman's Work.[62]

In view of the community of interest of many of the members of the Commission, then, as well as the relatively small number of members and the tendency toward long periods of continued membership, it should

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60 "Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc. Meeting of the Board of Directors," March 19, 1931, C-Official Min.

61 Will W. Alexander to E. McNeill Poteat, September 7, 1933, correspondence, C-Hist. Records, quoting "the feeling of some."

62 Robert B. Eleazer to Anson Phelps Stokes, October 10, 1941, correspondence, C-Miscel; and "Southern Methodist Women and Interracial Cooperation," C-Woman's Work. Eleazer and Alexander were both Methodists.

not be surprising that there seems to have been a genuine sense of warmth and personal relationship among the members and the staff. It was probably limited to a few of the more active members but it was definitely reflected in the correspondence.[63] On the other hand, however, there was evidently considerable friction between certain members of the headquarters staff, and occasionally some friction between the headquarters and field personnel.[64] In view of the extensive role of the staff personnel in the movement, and the almost personal nature of the entire organization, this undoubtedly must have been a handicap.

Of the personnel of the other committees, state and local, much less is known. The state committees varied considerably among themselves and according to the date. In general, the earlier state committees were small, often claiming less than twenty members, while

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[63] See for examples Bishop R. E. Jones to Will W. Alexander, April 29, 1926, correspondence, C-Hist. Records; David D. Jones to Will W. Alexander, May, 1934, correspondence, C-Miscel; Emily Clay to R. P. Neblett, Jr., January 2, 1942, correspondence, C-Field Work, which began "Welcome to our family;" and Jessie Daniel Ames to Dr. F. D. Patterson, December 15, 1942, C-Miscel. These are but a few of the many examples; many purely business letters would include personal notes.

[64] Frequent reference was found to this over a period of several years; see for instance, Jessie Daniel Ames to Mrs. W. A. Newell, November 3, 1931, correspondence, C-Woman's Work; Emily Clay to L. R. Reynolds, February 26, 1941, correspondence, C-State Com.; and W. E. Cole, "Tentative Report to the Board of Directors," October, 1942, C-Hist. Records, 36.

the committees of the late Thirties tried to build up a larger membership sometimes setting a limit of a hundred.[65] North Carolina and Virginia were exceptional in that they set out to secure a very extensive membership, and eventually claimed to reach three thousand in North Carolina and about one-half that in Virginia.[66] Actually these probably included all contributors plus a number of "endorsers" but certainly all could not be considered as active members.[67]

The composition of these committees, where ascertainable, revealed that they were usually about evenly divided as to race and sex.[68] The lists of the early committees boasted a number of distinguished names, including governors, doctors, college presidents and

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65 "Report and Exhibits," F-2; and Ames, "General Field Work, 1940" (mimeo.), C-Field Work.

66 "Annual Meeting, Commission on Interracial Cooperation, April 18-19, 1934, Report of North Carolina and Virginia, L. R. Reynolds, Director" (mimeo.), C-Hist. Records; and Ames, Democratic Processes at Work in the South, 7.

67 Report of L. R. Reynolds, Secretary for Virginia-North Carolina, July, 1936, C-State Com.; and Emily H. Clay to Dr. N. C. Newbold, June 5, 1942, correspondence, C-Miscel.

68 "Report and Exhibits," F-2; "Texas Interracial Commission," undated [late Thirties] C-State Com.; and "Statistics 1939" (taken from state reports), C-Field Work.

professors, judges and lawyers, and ministers.[69] To some extent, the later lists did also, although usually the profession of the members was not indicated; but the proportion of outstanding names seemed to be smaller. North Carolina and Virginia did secure the endorsement of a number of their governors and of Senator Byrd.[70]

Indications are that the state committees, too, were not without their personnel problems. These matters were seldom aired fully in the records but misunderstanding and differences were evident in the correspondence.[71] Further, occasionally individual members of state committees became a problem and question was made as to whether they were an asset or a liability.[72]

As could be expected from what has already been seen of the local interracial committees, very little is

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69 "Report and Exhibits," F-2.

70 Reynolds, "The Work of the Interracial Commission in North Carolina and Virginia," April, 1941, C-State Com.

71 See as examples, James D. Burton to Mrs. Maud P. Henderson, December 16, 1926, correspondence, C-State Com.; Jessie Daniel Ames to Mrs. Newell, January 2, 1935, correspondence, C-Miscel; and letters between Mary E. Frayser and Mrs. George E. Davis, April 27 and 28, 1941, correspondence, C-Miscel.

72 See Charles G. Hamilton to Jessie Daniel Ames, December, 1942, correspondence, C-State Com.; R. L. Hunt to Jessie Daniel Ames, September 26, 1940, correspondence, C-State Com.; and Kate L. Davis to Jessie Daniel Ames, February 18, 1936, correspondence, C-State Com.

known of their personnel. In the beginning they set out to get the "best" people of both races, but almost from the very beginning, they encountered problems. In June, 1920, a discussion centered around whether "interested but powerless men or conservative and strong" should be secured for the local committees; and at least one Negro expressed the opinion that some men, evidently white, had accepted membership on the local committees "for no other purpose except to stop the thing."[73] In some instances, undoubtedly local committees secured well known able persons, community leaders; in others, they did less well. The fact that so few local committees survived is in itself somewhat indicative of the unsatisfactory nature of their personnel.

In the strictest sense, the staff and members of the various interracial committees were the entire personnel of the interracial movement as it has been defined. But in the sense of cooperators, there was a much larger group who should also be considered as part of the development of interracial cooperation. They were the persons who assisted the Commission especially through its subsidiary organizations.

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[73] "Minutes, Inter-Racial Committee," June 25, 1920, as given in "Report and Exhibits."

The first such group, chronologically, were the church leaders who gathered at Blue Ridge, North Carolina, in August, 1920. They were called together by an Episcopal Bishop and the presidents of two denominational colleges, all of whom were members of the then Inter-racial Committee. In attendance were six bishops and two representatives of bishops, nine college presidents or their representatives, and a number of officers of church boards of the major Protestant denominations, totalling seventy persons in all, only twelve of whom were members of the Inter-racial Committee. It was this group which made one of the first public appeals in support of interracial cooperation.[74]

The Southern Commission on the Study of Lynching was a much smaller group, numbering only thirteen, but was more closely identified with the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, actually using the address of the Commission as its own. This group included four college presidents and four editors, one of whom was the editor of the Chattanooga News. Two well known social scientists and an attorney completed the list, not including the ex officio members. In addition, the Lynching Commission

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[74] An Appeal to the Christian People of the South. See list of members of Inter-Racial Commission, pp. 1-3; and list of attendance at the conference, pp. 10-13.

secured the cooperation of the deans of several Southern law schools to act as an advisory committee for its study of the legal problems of lynching.[75]

The Commission on the Study of the Participation of Negroes in Southern Life was a similar setup. Its fifteen members included several outstanding authors and at least one judge, but its assistance to the Commission has been seen as doubtful. Its research staff included three of the best known social scientists in the South.[76]

Two other groups were less closely identified with the interracial movement, yet they carried on a major

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[75] Lynchings and What They Mean, 5-6. This commission was composed of Julian Harris, News Director of the Atlanta Constitution; Dr. John Hope, President of Atlanta University; Dr. Benjamin F. Hubert, President of Georgia State College; Dr. Charles S. Johnson, Department of Social Science, Fisk University; George Fort Milton, President and Editor of the Chattanooga News; Dr. W. P. King, Book Editor of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South; Dr. W. J. McGlothlin, President of Furman University; Dr. R. R. Moton; Dr. Howard W. Odum; Alex W. Spence, lawyer of Dallas, Texas; and Dr. Monroe Work, of the Research Department of Tuskegee Institute. Dr. W. C. Jackson and Will W. Alexander were ex officio members.

[76] "Memorandum of a Proposed Study of the Participation of the Negro in the Life of the South," 1933, C-Spec. Studies. This committee included W. C. Jackson, James Saxon Childers, Virginius Dabney, V. E. Daniel, John Hope, Charles H. Houston, James Weldon Johnson, W. P. King, R. R. Moton, Howard W. Odum, Orville Park, Mrs. Julia Peterkin and P. B. Young. W. W. Alexander and E. McNeill Poteat, Jr. were ex officio members. Guy B. Johnson, Charles S. Johnson and Ira DeA. Reid made up the research staff.

part of its activities during the Thirties. One of these was the Conference on Education and Race Relations. It was sponsored by a committee of seven college presidents, six professors and two superintendents of education. Eight educators served on its executive committee. This organization sponsored a number of conferences which eventually included several hundred Southern educational leaders: college professors, especially those from Teachers Colleges, and members of state, county and city boards of education. Contact was maintained with these persons through fairly frequent mailings of reports and materials so that, in a way, they were among the most closely integrated personnel in the movement.[77]

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[77] Education and Racial Adjustment, (1932), 3, 60-61, 63. The sponsoring committee consisted of Bruce R. Payne, President, George Peabody College, Frank Graham, President, University of North Carolina; Willis A. Sutton, Superintendent, Atlanta Public Schools; R. E. Blackwell, President, Randolf-Macon College for Men; Robert H. Wright, President, Eastern Carolina Teachers' College; H. Y. Benedict, President, University of Texas; James H. Hope, Superintendent of Schools, South Carolina; N. B. Bond, University of Mississippi; H. L. McAlister, President, Arkansas State Teachers' College; Aquila Chamblee, President, Bessie Tift College; Margaret M. Edwards, Alabama State College for Women; S. A. Kruse, S. E. Missouri State Teachers' College; Fred C. Frey, Louisiana State University; J. T. Dorris, Eastern Kentucky State Teachers' College; and Edwin L. Clarke, Rollins College. The original executive committee consisted of W. C. Jackson, Dean of School of Public Administration, University of North Carolina; J. L. Clark, State Teachers ' College, Huntsville, Texas; N. C. Newbold, North Carolina State Supervisor of Negro Schools; and Dennis H. Cooke and J. W. Leavell of Peabody College. To this were later added W. Fred Gunn, West Georgia College; E. J. Trueblood, Limestone College and C. M. Dannelly, Superintendent of City Schools, Montgomery, Alabama. (Conference, Education for Southern Citizenship (1938), 2.)

The other group was the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching. The personnel of that group was somewhat nebulous, perhaps quite fitting in an organization composed only of Southern white ladies, yet some of them were most active as will be seen later. Its chairman throughout its existence was the author, George Madden Martin (Mrs. Attwood Martin), and its central council and state councils were composed of women who held positions of leadership in denominational women's organizations. This organization got over forty-three thousand white Southern women to sign a pledge repudiating lynching as a defense of womanhood, and these signers were considered the members of the organization.[78] To consider them a part of the interracial movement would be to distort fact, but to omit them entirely would be equally unfair.

In addition to these somewhat organized groups, there were other persons who gave assistance to the interracial committees in their work. A number of non-members, for instance, contributed articles to the Commission publication, The Southern Frontier.[79] The

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[78] The first annual meeting of the ASWPL received a four-column spread including a prominent headline and a 4 X 9 picture of the delegates in the Atlanta Constitution, Sunday, November 22, 1931. See also, Ames, Tenth Annual Conference, Planning Committee, Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching (1939); and Ames, A New Public Opinion on Lynching: A Declaration and a Pledge (1940 ed.).

[79] "These writing signed articles or editorials for The Southern Frontier, January-December, 1940" (mimeo), C-Lit.

participants at the conferences in Durham, Atlanta and Richmond in 1942, unwittingly perhaps, certainly affected the transition of the Commission. There were countless others who utilized Commission publications and press releases, or attended its meetings as visitors, and in one way or another contributed to its activities and its continued existence. The personnel of the interracial movement, then, if taken in its most inclusive sense, reached into the thousands. In the narrowest sense, including only those who were actually members of some specific interracial committee and who were really active, it never consisted of more than a few hundred. To many of these, however, membership in it was a most personal and at times intense experience. The movement throughout its twenty-five years included among its numbers some well known and outstanding persons but the extent of their participation remains a question. In any case, there were persons who gave life to the organizational structure of the movement, who translated its ideas into specific activities. As the persons of many other movements in history, most of them remain unknown and unsung.

CHAPTER V

FINANCING THE COMMISSION[1]

Just as essential to the interracial movement as the people who filled its ranks were the dollars which filled its coffers. Between January, 1919, and January, 1944, over two and one-half million dollars were expended by the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, alone, in the furtherance of its ideal of interracial cooperation. In view of the fact that these years cover the worst depression in American history, such a sum represents a considerable amount. The sources from which it was obtained and the uses to which it was put deserve attention.

The early steps of the interracial movement were financed by the War Work Council of the YMCA. During 1919-1920 it gave a total of $455,000 to carry the work completely during those years;[2] and in 1921 it gave $150,000 more which was the bulk of the Commission's income that year. Some part of these sums even remained

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[1] This chapter is based largely on the Auditor's Statements on the finances of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation which were found for every year from 1921 through 1943. Unless otherwise indicated, it is to be assumed that statements made are based on these records. When reference is made to a specific statement, it will be indicated if necessary for clarity.

[2] "Report and Exhibits," E.

to be used in later years.

During the remainder of the 1920's, the Commission received approximately one-half of its income from a few big foundations; but the remainder was made up from the contributions of religious groups, state committees, community chests and individuals, some of whom gave liberally.[3] After incorporation, and the onset of the depression, the major portion of the income came from a few large foundations.[4] When this support terminated in 1938, the effect was immediately felt and indicated by a drop in the amounts received from $116,993.80 in 1938 to $23,434.80 in 1939. Even so, at least one-half of the income during the remaining years of the Commission still came from foundations.[5]

Of the foundations, one of the first to give financial aid was the Phelps-Stokes Fund. It made its first contribution in 1922, and continued to do so with regularity through 1940. The amount it gave was usually

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[3] Esther M. Smith was credited with a thousand dollars and Mrs. Booker Washington with a hundred in 1924; and Mrs. John J. Eagan with five hundred in 1925.

[4] In 1934 a special accounting was made of the receipts from Southern sources, and over $32,000 was reported, but the Spellman appropriation that year was over $33,000.

[5] Emily Clay, the Commission Secretary, wrote Gunnar Myrdal, August 27, 1942: "You are safe, I think, in saying that 85 per cent of our budget is provided by foundations." Apparently she was referring to the last days of the Commission.

$2000 but once it gave $20,000.[6] The interest of this foundation in the interracial movement was probably due to Dr. James H. Dillard and T. J. Jones, both of whom were connected with it and also active in setting up the Commission.

The Laura Spellman Memorial Fund was another of the early supporters of the interracial movement and by far the most generous. From 1924 through 1938 it provided an average of over $30,000 annually for the Commission on Interracial Cooperation. In 1932 it gave over $41,000 and in 1936, a total of $43,733. It would be safe to estimate that it alone provided one-fifth of the total income of the Commission. Further, its appropriations were made in such a way that the exact amount received each year was conditional upon the remainder secured from other sources.[7] Thus, it also served as a stimulant to the raising of other funds.

Another heavy contributor was the Julius Rosenwald Fund. It did not begin its support until 1928 but from then on continued to aid generously, averaging at least

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[6] Harold C. Carson, "Auditor's Statement," February 21, 1933, C-Fin. Records.

[7] The Commission received fifty cents from the Spellman Fund for each dollar received from other sources, with a maximum of $80,000 subject to the 50% contribution. (Harold C. Carson, "Auditor's Statement," February 23, 1932, C-Fin. Records.)

$10,000 a year. Frequently it made additional appropriations to special projects.[8] It was largely the continued support of Rosenwald that enabled the Commission to go on from 1939 to 1944.

The other large foundation that gave support to the Commission was the Carnegie Corporation. It, too, began to give in 1924, and continued to do so for three years. In the early 30's, it made a special grant, eventually totaling $54,000, to facilitate the educational work of the Commission.[9] Occasional contributions may have come from other foundations but, if so, they were either indirect, possibly listed as a special project, or very small. The one major exception to this was the grant of $50,000 made by the Rockefeller Foundation in 1934 for the specific purpose of aiding Negroes during the depression, and administered by a special committee set up by the Commission for that purpose.[10]

Of the religious organizations that contributed to the financing of the interracial movement, the YMCA was

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[8] See for example the auditor's statement for 1934.

[9] Will W. Alexander to Robert M. Lester, September 1, 1933, correspondence, C-Spec. Studies; F. P. Keppel to Will W. Alexander, November 21, 1934, correspondence, Spec. Studies.

[10] "Report on the Work of the Special Committee on Negroes and Economic Reconstruction," February 1 to November 1, 1934," C-Spec. Studies.

the most generous and the most sustained in its support. Its assistance in the first years through the War Work Council has already been noted. After 1921 the International YMCA Board, and later the National and Southern Regional Boards, continued for several years to contribute around $15,000 a year, a good part of it in the form of salaried personnel loaned without charge to the Commission.[11] After 1931 the appropriation of the National YM declined but the YM of the Southern Region continued to give in limited amounts for some years.

Compared with the appropriations of the philanthropic foundations, the support of the remaining religious groups was rather limited. In the early years, however, a number of religious bodies contributed and their aggregate sum was over $15,000 at least once.[12] After 1926 they tended to decline to an average of less than $10,000 annually, and from 1933 on their contributions dwindled away to almost nothing. Of the church bodies which had a share in this, various groups of Methodists did the most: the Methodist Episcopal Church and some

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[11] See for example, Haskins and Sells, "Auditor's Statement," March 3, 1926, C-Fin. Records; and also Will W. Alexander to George Arthur, February 20, 1934, correspondence, C-Miscel.

[12] Haskins and Sells, "Auditor's Statement," March 3, 1926, C-Fin. Records.

of its affiliated organizations, especially the Board of Missions, the Negro Board of Education and the different women's boards; and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, with its similar organizations, especially its several mission boards. Other religious groups that made significant contributions were the American Missionary Association of the Congregational Church, the Board of National Missions of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., and the Council of Women for Home Missions.[13]

Another source of income for the Commission on Interracial Cooperation was the state and local committees, especially during the first decade of its existence. Several of the state committees did quite well considering their setups. Kentucky, for instance, contributed $4,700 throughout the Twenties, evidently to be applied to the salary of its secretary. The Texas,

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[13] In addition to the auditors' statements from 1924 on, see also Progress in Race Relations, 1924-25, 16. Negroes as organized groups gave very little support to the Commission. In 1924 the Negro Board of Missions was credited with appropriating $1,333; and in 1925 two known Negro groups gave about $200 each. No other appropriations of any size can be singled out as coming from Negro groups. Of course Negroes gave both as individuals and as members of various interracial committees, community chests, etc. which made contributions.

Georgia, South Carolina and Louisiana committees at one time or another also made contributions varying from one to six thousand dollars but seldom demonstrated such activity for more than two or three years successively. Other committees, including even one in Missouri, contributed in smaller amounts occasionally.[14] After 1930 the contributions of most of the states declined or stopped completely, except in certain cases where funds were raised in a state for a specific purpose and attributed to the state committee.[15]

The one exception to this was the case of North Carolina and Virginia. Not until 1931 did they begin to contribute to the Commission to any extent, evidently handling their own funds. From 1931 on their contribution increased and by 1938 they were each giving $2,500. Actually, however, this was under a special arrangement with the Commission, and all of this money plus additional from the Commission was returned to those states to finance their joint secretary and his activities.[16]

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[14] See especially the auditors' statements from 1924 through 1930.

[15] See for example Harold C. Carson, "Auditor's Statement," February 13, 1939, C-Fin. Records. Funds raised to help with the Scottsboro Case were handled this way, for instance.

[16] In addition to the statements for the appropriate years, see "Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc., Meeting of Executive Committee," December 31, 1931, C-Official Min.

A few local interracial committees also actually gave financial support to the Commission. The Memphis (Tennessee) Interracial League gave amounts such as $1049 in 1925, $2250 in 1925, $2049 in 1926, $1177 in 1927, $1311 in 1928 and $1372 in 1929. Committees in Savannah[17] and Augusta,[18] Georgia; Houston, Texas; and Chattanooga,[19] Tennessee; and Birmingham,[20] Alabama, gave occasional amounts never exceeding $700 for any one year and seldom approaching that. Others also contributed, but only in such small amounts that they were usually lumped together.

Still another means of financial support for the Commission on Interracial Cooperation was to secure support from the community chest funds beginning to be developed in various Southern cities following World War I. In the Twenties hope was expressed that this would become a major source of funds;[21] and the Commission was actually included in a number of community

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17 Haskins and Sells, "Auditors' Statement," March 3, 1926, C-Fin. Records.

18 Haskins and Sells, "Auditors' Statement," February 28, 1927, C-Fin. Records.

19 Harold C. Carson, "Auditor's Statement," January 14, 1928, C-Fin. Records.

20 Harold C. Carson, "Auditor's Statement," February 24, 1930, C-Fin. Records.

21 Progress in Race Relations, 1926, 8.

chests: Greensboro (North Carolina), Charleston (South Carolina), New Orleans (Louisiana), Houston (Texas), Richmond (Virginia), Atlanta and Savannah (Georgia), Louisville (Kentucky), Memphis (Tennessee) and Norfolk (Virginia). In 1924 and 1925 the total received from community chests aggregated over $4000 each year; but after this, their contributions were not as heavy. The chest funds in Richmond and Atlanta, however, continued to make appropriations into the mid-Thirties.[22]

The remaining income of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation was from the sale of its literature, never sufficient to cover the cost of its publication, and miscellaneous small amounts. The refund on the salary of the director when on loan also was included in its total receipts.[23]

The methods by which the Commission on Interracial Cooperation obtained the various sums that it received are almost self-evident. In the beginning, the money from the War Work Council was obtained through the

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[22] They were both still contributing as late as 1937, Atlanta, $500 and Richmond, $1100. There was some difficulty with the Atlanta chest in 1936 but they agreed to continue rather than stop when the Commission was under fire; see Herman L. Turner to Arthur Raper, April 7, 1936, correspondence, C-Hist. Records; and Arthur Raper to Will W. Alexander, April 22, 1936, correspondence, C-Hist. Records.

[23] See auditor's statements from 1931 on.

persons active in the interracial movement who were also connected with the War Work Council, and it was considered unwise to attempt to secure local support.[24] After the first years, though, constant effort was made to get the support of local communities and organizations.[25] In the early Twenties apparently considerable dependence was placed upon securing appropriations through the personal appeal of individuals in the Commission either to organizations or other individuals.[26] It was during these early years that stress was laid on becoming part of the community chest drives. In later years, occasional collections were actually taken at Commission meetings in an attempt to swell the purse,[27] but only small amounts were secured thus.

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[24] John J. Eagan to Max Farrand, November 29, 1920, correspondence, C-Hist. Records; Will W. Alexander to George Arthur, February 20, 1934, correspondence, C-Miscel.

[25] See for examples "Report of Proceedings of Commission on Interracial Cooperation," October 7, 1921, C-Hist. Records; "Minutes, Seventh Annual Meeting, Commission on Interracial Cooperation," April 8-10, 1926 (mimeo.), C-Hist. Records; and "Staff Meeting at Blue Ridge, August 25th through the 28th, 1929," C-Hist. Records, 7-8.

[26] Dr. Moton and Dr. Alexander were sent to New York in late 1924 to see what they could raise; see "Minutes," Executive Committee, November 14, 1924, C-Hist. Records.

[27] "Minutes, Pre-Conference Meeting," March 17, 1931 (mimeo.), C-Woman's Work, and "Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc.," October 3-4, 1940, C-Official Min.

The support of the major foundations was secured as a result largely of three especially planned financial campaigns. The first, 1920-23, was executed by the leaders of the Commission themselves, resulting in the preparation of two fairly extensive compilations of materials relating to the Commission: "Report and Exhibits Southern Inter-Racial Commission" (1920) and "Statement and Exhibits Commission on Interracial Cooperation 1922-1923." This drive apparently secured the early appropriations of the Phelps-Stokes, Spellman and Carnegie Foundations.

The second financial campaign was more of a high pressure affair, in keeping with the date of its inception, Spring, 1929. The services of the John Price Jones Corporation were retained at considerable cost; the group became incorporated; special campaign literature was prepared;[28] and a goal of one and a quarter million was established as a minimum endowment for the Commission. Unfortunately the depression wrecked the high hopes; and though the drive was continued for

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[28] Stabilization Fund of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, An Announcement by the Commission on Interracial Cooperation Incorporated (New York, 1930) and ---, A Sane Approach to the Race Problem: Justice and Goodwill between the Races Through Conference and Cooperation (New York, 1930).

several years, the goal was never attained.[29] As can be seen from the vantage of history, however, the pledges of the Spellman and Rosenwald Foundations and others obtained during the campaign were to be the major security of the Commission for the remainder of its existence.

The third financial campaign was elaborately planned in the Fall of 1937 and the Spring of 1938. It was timed to fill the gap in income that was anticipated with the ending of the earlier pledges. Again the services of a professional money raiser were sought, and a long list of well known Southerners was drawn up as possible members of a campaign committee. But this campaign never got beyond the initial stages, probably due to the uncertainty that hovered over the Commission by that time.[30]

Including all sources the Commission averaged

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29 "Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc., Meeting of Executive Committee," April 23, 1929, C-Official Min.; Minutes of meeting of the Campaign Committee, May 2, 1929, C-Hist. Records; and "Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc., Meeting of the Board of Directors," November 12, 1931, C-Official Min.

30 R. H. King to Howard Odum, Will W. Alexander and Lyman L. Pierce, April 7, 1938, correspondence, C-Fin. Records; and "Meeting of the Campaign Executive Committee of the National Committee on Southern Regional Development," May 15, 1938, C-Fin. Records. By 1938 the first stages of the transition of the Commission were already underway; see below, pp. 268-270.

approximately $100,000 a year in receipts over its twenty-five year life-span. The first three years, 1919-1921, were its best financially, for during that time it received a total of $605,000 from the War Work Council. From 1922-1928 its annual receipts dropped to average from $75,000 to $90,000 a year, but tended to show a steady increase. From 1929-1938 it received its most stable income, an annual average of $125,000, due to the ten-year appropriations secured in the financial compaign of 1929; but this period was always overshadowed financially by the fact that this guaranteed income would cease after 1938. During its last five years, 1939-1943, the receipts of the Commission averaged close to $20,000 a year, a decided drop, but it actually had more than this to run on due to savings accumulated from the earlier period.

The uses to which the Commission on Interracial Cooperation put the sums thus obtained were relatively limited. Throughout its existence the largest expenditure was in salaries to the employed personnel. During the early years, when the staff was large, this accounted for well over half of the annual disbursements.[31] When to this is added the other expenses

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[31] See the auditor's statements for 1921 through 1924. An interesting note is that according to "Report and Exhibits," there was a decided difference between the salaries paid the Negro and the white personnel.

incidental to maintaining a staff, it is safe to assume that at least fifty per cent of the total amount spent by the Commission on Interracial Cooperation was on maintenance.

The remainder of the expenditures of the Commission were devoted to what might generally be called "cultivation." A considerable sum, usually running into the several thousands, was spent every year on travel. Another sum, in most years quite low, around $5000, occasionally much larger,[32] was devoted to conferences, annual and state, and special. In the Thirties, considerable sums, varying from $5000 to $10,000 annually, began to be designated for research, and lesser sums for legal aid. Two other items consumed the major part of the remainder of the Commission budget. From 1925 through 1931, large sums were devoted to "Special Cultivation-State Committees," sums ranging from $17,739 in 1925 to $51,767.60 in 1929. From 1932 to 1938 a similar sum, usually in the thirty thousands annually, was marked "Special Projects."[33]

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[32] Compare the auditors' statements for the years after 1924, with those for 1921 and 1923.

[33] This was apparently money which was appropriated to the Commission for specially designated purposes, yet was handled in this way in order to collect more on the conditional appropriation of the Spellman Fund. Some of the state funds were included in this arrangement. See for example, "Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc.," March 30, 1932, C-Official Min.; and Harold C. Carson, "Auditor's Statement," March 5, 1935, C-Fin. Records.

All the subsidiary organizations of the Commission were financed through the above appropriations in one way or another. The Lynching and Participation studies were designated as research.[34] The Conference on Education and Race Relations, made possible by a special grant from the Carnegie Corporation,[35] was probably one of the special projects referred to above as well as a part of the educational budget. The Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching was financed as a part of the woman's department.[36] The publications, including the Southern Frontier, were supposedly self-sustaining, although they were subsidized at least to the extent of the personnel needed to prepare them.[37]

The share of the state and local interracial committees in the financial life of the interracial movement is known only in part. Evidently many of the state committees and at least a few of the locals were able to secure sufficient sums to enable them to contribute to the Commission as has been shown. Apparently, during

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34 See the auditor's statements for 1931 through 1934.

35 See above, p. 149.

36 "Minutes," Central Council, A.S.W.P.L., January 12, 1938, C-ASWPL.

37 See for instance, "The Southern Frontier 1940" (mimeo.), C-Lit., 1. $1200 was allotted to start that publication.

the Twenties some of them raised and expended at least some of their own finances.[38]

In the main, however, the state and local committees seem to have depended on the Commission for financial aid rather than vice versa. In the early years a considerable part of the sums appropriated by the Commission for salaried personnel went to maintain members of the field staff working in the various states.[39] Annually sums were designated "Field," and, with the revival of interest in field work in 1937, approximately $10,000 a year went from the Commission to the state committees in one form or another. For instance, some $3,254 was appropriated to the Georgia Committee in 1939 for items varying from the salary of part-time clerical help to $19.20 for telephone expenses.[40] In 1940, the Commission was underwriting the activities of the state

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38 "Minutes," Executive Committee, February 16, 1923, C-Hist. Records; and "Minutes," Executive Committee, February 9, 1925, C-Hist. Records.

39 See especially "Auditor's Statement for six Months Ending June 30, 1925," C-Fin. Records; and "Statement and Exhibits, 1922-1923," C-Hist. Records. The Georgia secretary, T. J. Woofter, reported in 1922 that 98% of the money being used by that committee at that time came from out of the state; see "Minutes," Woman's Committee of the Georgia Committee, November 1, 1922, C-Ga., 4.

40 "Monthly Financial Statement," Georgia Committee, September, 1939, C-Ga.

committees to the extent of $3,364 in Georgia, $1,200 in Mississippi, $600 in South Carolina, and $750 in Texas in addition to its arrangement with North Carolina and Virginia.[41] But in January, 1943, virtually all aid from the Commission to the state committees ceased.[42]

The financial arrangements between the state committees and the Commission probably varied from time to time. One system which was used extensively was to set up a revolving fund at the disposal of the state or local committees, and to maintain this fund at an agreed amount on a monthly basis upon receipt of a statement of the expenditures for the month. Thus the state committee had ready access to funds until its allotted amount was used up.[43] A special financial arrangement was set up with the Virginia-North Carolina committees whereby all moneys were sent in from those states to the headquarters office and a monthly check was sent in

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41 [Ames], "General Field Work, 1940" (mimeo.), C-Field Work.

42 "Staff Meeting," October 22, 1942, C-Hist. Records, 13; and Will W. Alexander to Gurney P. Hood, December 8, 1942, correspondence, C-Miscel.

43 "In re Financial Arrangements of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation with the Mississippi Council on Interracial Cooperation," May 9, 1939, C-Fin. Records.

return to their secretary. This enabled the Commission to utilize the sums thus sent in as a basis for additional appropriation from the Spellman grant, and provided a partial subsidy for the Virginia-North Carolina committees. Apparently a similar arrangement was made with other state committees but operated on a less permanent basis.[44]

In addition to securing funds from the Commission, several state committees are known to have attempted other methods of raising money. In the Twenties a variety of methods were pursued. Some committees tried to get their members to raise given amounts through denominational groups.[45] Others tried appeals to individuals or small groups, including community chests.[46] North Carolina and Virginia were especially successful with this approach.[47] The Georgia Committee raised

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[44] "Minutes," Executive Committee, February 7, 1925, C-Hist. Records; and "Commission on Interracial Cpoperation, Inc., Meeting of Executive Committee," December 31, 1931, C-Official Min.

[45] "Minutes, Committee on Women's Work, South Carolina State Committee on Race Relations," November 28, 1924, C-State Com.; "Minutes of Committee on Woman's Work," Kentucky Committee, December 11-12, 1924, cited in "Kentucky," C-State Com.; and "Minutes, Executive Committee, Georgia Woman's Committee on Interracial Cooperation," February 23, 1925, C-Ga.

[46] "Report of Annual Conference, Texas Commission on Interracial Cooperation," November 4, 1927 (mimeo.), C-State Com.

[47] [R. L. Reynolds], "Historical Sketch, North Carolina and Virginia," December, 1937, C-State Com.

over $1000 in 1925 by sponsoring a concert in Atlanta by Roland Hayes.[48]

By and large, however, the most general if not the most remunerative practice of the state committees in obtaining funds was the levying of membership dues. Texas and Kentucky resorted to this at least as early as 1925, and by 1942, six of the state committees, Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina, Texas and Kentucky, were utilizing this means of securing finances. The sums differed from five dollars in Texas to one dollar in South Carolina and Kentucky, but two dollars was the general figure.[49]

The information as to how the sums obtained by the state committees were utilized is most inadequate. In Georgia, in 1941, the major items indicated were $642.60 salary for stenographic help, $600 in stipends for part-time workers in designated areas of the state and $700 for printing and multigraphing. Additional items such as travel, conferences, rent, telephone, telegraph, office supplies, postage and miscellaneous expenses

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48 "Minutes, Meeting of Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation," October 28, 1925 (mimeo.), C-Ga., 3.

49 Emily Clay to Gunnar Myrdal, August 24, 1942, correspondence, C-Miscel.

pushed the total up to $3,156.88.[50] The Mississippi Council for the year March 1, 1941 to February 28, 1942 listed its major expenses as salaries ($260), travel ($78.10), expense of Committee on Training School ($265), office expenses ($128.74) and Commission on Interracial Cooperation ($143).[51] Whether these two can be considered as indicative of general practices in the later period is difficult to ascertain. It would certainly seem unsound to generalize from them concerning the earlier financial practices of the state committees. In general, however, it does seem safe to assume that the major financial burden of the state committees as well as of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation was the expense of maintaining a paid personnel with its concomitant expenses.

As has been indicated, the knowledge of the activities of local interracial committees is virtually nonexistent. The Atlanta Woman's Committee which was active for a few years in the early 30's had a definite financial setup. It managed to raise some money through contributions of its members; but always

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50 "Georgia Committee Budget - 1941 and 1942" (mimeo.), C-Ga.

51 "Treasurer's Report, Mississippi Council on Interracial Cooperation, March 1, 1941 - February 28, 1942" (mimeo.), C-State Com.

depended in large part on financial assistance from the Commission.[52]

Such, in the main, was the picture of the financial side of the interracial movement. Despite the nature of the times and the nature and area of its activities, it never closed a year in the red.[53] Regardless of this fact, however, the problem of finances was a constant one for the Commission and doubtless for all closely involved in keeping the movement alive. It was the subject of frequent discussions in meetings of both the executive committee and the board of directors.[54] It

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[52] "Atlanta Committee on Woman's Interracial Activities Budget, October 1, 1931 - June 30, 1932" (mimeo.), C-Ga.; and "Atlanta Committee on Women's Interracial Activities, Financial Statement, October 28, 1930 - June 30, 1931" (mimeo.), C-Ga.

[53] Emily Clay to John E. Culmer, October 22, 1943, correspondence, C-Miscel. It did frequently spend more in a given year than it actually took in during the same period of time.

[54] See for example "Minutes," Executive Committee, November 14, 1924, C-Hist. Records; March 20, 1925, C-Hist. Records; "Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc., Meeting of Executive Committee," February 5, 1939, C-Official Min.; and "Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc., Meeting of the Board of Directors," May 22, 1931 and April 18, 1934, C-Official Min.

consumed part of the limited time at more than one annual meeting.[55] It affected the program and activities of the Commission and in 1938, actually caused the postponement of the annual meeting.[56] Yet, the movement managed to go on getting and spending for twenty-five years; and during that time, carried on those numerous activities which, at least in the minds of those involved in it, entirely justified its financial existence.

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[55] "Minutes, Inter-Racial Commission," July 21, 1922, C-Hist. Records; "Minutes," Annual Meeting, April 22-24, 1925, C-Hist. Records; and "Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc.," April 18-19, 1934, C-Official Min.

[56] Will W. Alexander to J. H. Dillard, February 7, 1928, correspondence, C-Miscel.; Jessie Daniel Ames to Janie Porter Barrett, February 25, 1933, correspondence, C-Woman's Work; and Emily Clay to Members of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, July 7, 1938 (form letter), C-Hist. Records.

CHAPTER VI

THE COMMISSION AT WORK

The entire justification for the interracial movement lay in the program and activities it engaged in. Notwithstanding the importance to the movement of the organizational structure, personnel and finance, the sum total of those things it did or attempted to do was ultimately its reason for being. Only through the concrete expression in a wide variety of forms of the implications of interracial cooperation could the ideal find meaning and significance for a given time and place in the constant process that is called history.

The Commission on Interracial Cooperation, as the symbolic apex of the interracial movement, stuck to two general objectives as the basis for its program throughout the years. In 1927 when the movement had become definitely established, these found expression thus:

> ... Progress is possible in two ways: first, by the amelioration of present acute situation, and second, by the long range processes of study and education which go to the roots of social maladjustment.[1]

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[1] Race Relations in 1927, 2.

Fourteen years later as the end approached, they were repeated almost identically:

> 1. The amelioration of interracial conditions involving conflict, injustice and neglect.
> 2. Improvement of attitudes out of which such conditions grow.[2]

At various times, however, these objectives were sought through emphasis on different activities.

During the earliest years the general emphasis was upon getting local and state interracial committees set up and activated. Education was advocated but in the general sense of distributing information or arousing interest rather than in the formal definition of work through the schools. A great deal of attention was focused on correcting undesirable situations: securing better schools and living conditions for Negroes; promoting Negro Health Week; improving public facilities, especially those for Negroes; giving Negroes legal aid and seeking for more impartial justice before the law.[3] The question of whether to undertake an active campaign

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[2] [Jessie Daniel Ames], "Organizations Working in the field of Racial Adjustment," September 9, 1941, C-Field Work, 1.

[3] "Minutes, Inter-Racial Committee," February 17, 1920, as given in "Report and Exhibits;" "Report and Exhibits," L (Program 1922 - 1926); "Statement and Exhibits, Commission on Interracial Cooperation, 1922-1923," C-Hist. Records; and Progress in Race Relations, 1923-24.

against the Ku Klux Klan arose and was discussed, but the decision was reached to oppose it by a positive program of activities rather than a negative campaign.[4] The suggestions of some research activity were made but the research that was done was of a limited nature during these years.[5]

After 1924 there was a slight shift in the program of the Commission toward a greater emphasis on publicity, education and research. The earlier remedial policies were continued, with especial attention to the elimination of lynching, and organizational work was not entirely stopped although the field staff did decline in numbers; but in the annual report for 1924-25, research and surveys were listed first among the activities of the Commission. Segregation and the Commission program itself became the subjects of scientific study. At the same time a definite effort to influence public schools and colleges was begun; and the publicity director, who had been added to the staff in 1922, was busy establishing contact and a working relationship

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[4] "Minutes, Special Inter-Racial Committee," January 12, 1921, C-Hist. Records; and Will W. Alexander to Joe L. Clark, April 3, 1922, correspondence, C-Hist. Records.

[5] "A General Survey of the Work of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation for 1922-23," (mimeo.), C-Hist. Records.

with the press.[6]

From 1929 through 1931 the Commission was engaged in its first major financial campaign and its program was given rather intensive study. As a result, partially of the study and partially of the failure of the campaign to achieve its goal, the early Thirties saw a further shift in the program. The field work, while stressed on a volunteer basis, virtually died out; and research and an educational program became the major activities. It was during this period that all of the subsidiary organizations had their inception, and they were all related to either education or research. The women, however, did combine their research with an intensive anti-lynching campaign.[7]

1937 saw the final shift in the program of the

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[6] "Minutes," Executive Committee, October 4, 1924, C-Hist. Records; Progress in Race Relations, 1924-25, 3-12; "Minutes, Annual Meeting," November 20-22, 1928, C-Hist. Records; and "The Development of the Interracial Commission," 3-13. The last source insisted: "...The Commission, however, is determined not to become primarily responsible for research." (p. 13).

[7] "Staff Meeting at Blue Ridge, August 25th through the 28th, 1929," C-Hist. Records; "Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc., Meeting of the Board of Directors," March 17, 1931, C-Official Min.; Some Recent Trends in Race Relations (1932), 15-20; The Interracial Front, 1933, 3-13; and Jessie Daniel Ames, "The Commission on Interracial Cooperation, 1933-1938," C-Hist. Records. In 1935 Mrs. Ames stated that the Commission "except for the women, is devoting most of its energies to research."; Jessie Daniel Ames to Mrs. George E. Davis, May 1, 1935, correspondence, C-Woman's Work.

interracial movement, this time toward a re-emphasis on field and organizational work. The educational work was continued on a less extensive basis, but the research was virtually abandoned, certainly in any organized scientific sense. On the other hand, several state committees were reorganized and stimulated to action. attention was drawn to local needs, especially those of the schools, and campaigns were mapped out to meet them. Fairly numerous local conferences and institutes were held, and for the first time, a regular publication, The Southern Frontier, designed to circulate information and stimulate action, was issued.[8] But by that time the days of the Commission were limited; and in 1944 its program became absorbed as one aspect of that of the newly emerging Southern Regional Council.

These various shifts stemmed out of a combination of financial conditions and general circumstances. During the early period there was no problem of money and the critical stage of race relations demanded immediate action, so organizational and corrective activities were emphasized. By 1924 general social conditions were somewhat improved and the Commission needed to

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[8] "A Report of the Activities of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, 1938-1941;" and The Interracial Commission Comes of Age.

secure financial support, hence the shift to publicity and education. In the early Thirties the limited funds and the heavy dependence on the Foundation grants were responsible for the emphasis on research and work through the schools which was relatively less expensive and had greater appeal for the Foundations. And after 1937 the Commission, prompted by the termination of the assured appropriations and the growing restlessness of Negroes, realized that its only hope of continuing lay in securing wider local organization and support and in reviving some of the remedial programs of the early days.[9]

Throughout the entire existence of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation there were some activities which were always a part of its program regardless of the emphasis of the particular period. One of these

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[9] The correlation between shifts in program and change in financial condition can easily be noted. See above, p. 158. Staff changes undoubtedly had some effect also. During the Twenties Alexander was in complete charge in person, and his own personal interests seem to shift toward long range methods. (He became one of the New Deal agricultural experts in the 1930's.) Due to Alexander's prolonged absences after 1931, Eleazer was the senior staff member, although actually not in complete charge, and his interests were primarily publicity and education. Further, the research could be and was farmed out to a few skilled investigators which eliminated close personal supervision of the director. After 1937 Mrs. Ames was given rather complete charge, and she both enjoyed the field work activities and felt that they were important, especially as World War II approached, with its heightening of racial tensions.

was the correcting of injustices and the altering of situations that interferred with amicable relations between whites and Negroes. This frequently took the forms of actions especially stressed during the early Twenties, but was not limited to a formal program or definitely organized drive. Rather, it included anything that might be termed remedial action.[10]

A second rather constant activity of the Commission was to serve as a source of information especially on the subject of race relations. Throughout the years, it was frequently called on for data or materials.[11] In connection with this, possibly in part in response to it, the Commission built up its own publicity department and prepared a considerable amount of literature for circulation.[12]

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[10] "A General Survey of the Work of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation for 1922-23," C-Hist. Records; Progress in Race Relations, 1926, 9-15; Alexander, "Report of the Director for 1933," C-Hist. Records; and The Interracial Commission Comes of Age (1940).

[11] For instance see "A General Survey of the Work of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation for 1922-23," C-Hist. Records; Alexander, "Report of the Director, 1927-28," C-Hist. Records; Robert B. Eleazer to W. C. Jackson, March 14, 1931, correspondence, C-Lit.; Eleazer, "Murder at the Hands of the Mob," in Presbyterian Survey, (August, 1936):453; and Harvey Brown to Robert B. Eleazer, June 14, 1941, correspondence, C-Lit.

[12] Due to the importance of this aspect of the Commission's work, it will be treated in a separate chapter. See below, pp. 237-265.

Finally, a third permanent policy of the Commission was to try to influence the formation of public opinion. This policy was directed toward a number of different topics across the years, and found expression in a variety of forms. Of course the press releases and publications of the Commission were one of the most obvious means, but in addition there were others.

One of the most prominent was the formulation of resolutions or statements, either at annual meetings or through especially prepared announcements. In 1930, for instance, it was reported:

> "The Commission is definitely on record as being opposed to the further extension of the principle of segregation and to the stiffening of the segregation laws now prevailing. On the other hand, it has not deemed it wise or desirable to seek the abrogation of these laws at present.[13]

At the annual meeting in 1933, the Commission expressed deep interest in the Scottsboro Case and went on record as convinced that "... the cause of justice would be further served if jurors were chosen without discrimination as to race and with sole consideration as to fitness for such service."[14] At the same time, the

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[13] Robert B. Eleazer to Harvey Wickham, April 16, 1930, correspondence, C-Miscel.

[14] "Publicity Release," April 20, 1933 (mimeo.), C-Publ. Releases.

Commission was divided over whether to support a federal anti-lynching law,[15] but two years later it definitely advocated federal legislation in a strong statement.[16]

In 1939 the Commission took a somewhat cautious stand on the rising problem of unequal educational opportunity and supported the move for federal aid to education.[17] At other times it made statements on such important issues as farm tenancy,[18] the race issue in political campaigns,[19] and the general idea of equal opportunity for all.[20] By 1942 one of the staff was able to claim that the Commission had taken "positive and public stands[on]... elimination of the White Primary, abolition of the poll tax as a qualification for voting, Negro policemen, equal pay for equal work,

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15 The Interracial Front, 1933, 13.

16 A publicity release by the press service, April 27, 1935, C-Publ. Releases.

17 "Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc.," May 24-25, 1939, C-Official Min.

18 Will W. Alexander to the Members of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc., August 6, 1935, form letter, C-Hist. Records.

19 "Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc.," April 15-16, 1936, C-Official Min.

20 "Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc.," October 5, 1938, C-Official Min.

including equalization of teachers' salaries, equal training in skilled and semi-skilled work, opening of tax-supported hospitals to Negro doctors and equal provision of recreational centers for Negroes."[21]

Similarly, state committees took stands on subjects varying with the time and the occasion. As early as 1923 the Texas Committee expressed concern regarding the Negro migrations and deplored the conditions which seemed to cause them.[22] A lynching in South Carolina in 1926 brought forth a straightforward condemnation from the South Carolina State Committee at its next annual meeting.[23] In the Thirties state committees were credited with creating public opinion more sympathetic to the inclusion of Negroes in the New Deal benefits.[24] The Virginia interracial committee in 1941 made a five-point appeal for the elimination of inequities such as insufficient employment opportunities and inadequate

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21 [Ames], "Comments on Manuscript relative to Commission on Interracial Cooperation" [1942], C-Hist. Records, 1.

22 "Annual Meeting, Texas Committee on Interracial Cooperation," May 18, 1923, C-State Com., 4.

23 "Minutes of Annual Meeting of the South Carolina Interracial Committee Held in Columbia on November 18, 1926," C-State Com.

24 Ames, "The Commission on Interracial Cooperation, 1933-1938," C-Hist. Records.

hospital space for Negroes;[25] and the board of the Kentucky Interracial Committee came out favoring admission of Negroes to graduate schools in the state.[26] How much attention any of these got is a matter of question but at least they became a matter of public record in most cases through the public press.

Another form of influencing public opinion was to issue statements by persons identified with the interracial movement. For example, during the election campaign of 1928, the educational director took the lead in getting a number of well known Southern men and women to issue a statement against the injection of the race issue into that campaign.[27] Again, in August of 1933 the executive director issued a statement opposing a differential wage for Negroes under the NRA codes, a hot issue at the time.[28] Similarly, in 1935 before the Commission itself had endorsed a federal anti-lynching law, its executive director was quoted as saying in

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[25] Editorial, Richmond Times Dispatch, July 9, 1941.

[26] Jessie Daniel Ames to Tom Wallace (Editor, Louisville[Ky.] Times), October 14, 1941, correspondence, C-Miscel.

[27] Will W. Alexander to J. H. Dillard, October 15, 1928, correspondence, C-Hist. Records.

[28] Statement by Will W. Alexander, Publicity Release, August 28, 1933, C-Publ. Releases.

reaction to a lynching in Louisiana that this "would seem to make imperative that the federal government take positive and vigorous steps to protect the lives of its citizens."[29]

A third and perhaps the most general of the ways the Commission sought to influence public opinion was through the use of the mails. Sometimes letters were sent to the entire membership of the Commission requesting their reaction to certain questions such as federal anti-lynching legislation, or urging them to local action on some issue.[30] Sometimes the letters were addressed only to special groups such as the members of a certain state committee, or the officers of the various state committees.[31] At times they were

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[29] Will W. Alexander quoted in the Atlanta Constitution, January 14, 1935.

[30] For example see Robert B. Eleazer to Members of the Commission, undated form letter; Will W. Alexander to Members of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, October 15, 1930, form letter; Will W. Alexander to Members of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, December 23, 1933, form letter; Jessie Daniel Ames, July 2, 1935, unaddressed form letter; and Emily H. Clay to the Members of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc., November 29, 1940, all in C-Hist. Records.

[31] For example see Jessie Daniel Ames, July 21, 1938, unaddressed form letter, C-Field Work, obviously sent to persons in Georgia; and Jessie Daniel Ames to Members of Executive Committees, State Councils on Interracial Cooperation, July 29, 1942, form letter, C-State Com.

almost personal letters directed to one individual, usually one of prominence.[32] In any case, the intent of all was identical, to influence the action of those addressed; and thus to create a public opinion favorable to good race relations as that was conceived by the Commission staff.

The specific methods by which the Commission and its related counterparts, the state and local interracial committees, undertook to carry out other aspects of their general program of remedial action and education were, likewise, quite varied. Meetings, field work, the development of special projects, work with educational institutions, specific research, and prolonged campaigns, all were used at one time or another.

Of the various means used, meetings or conferences seems to have been the one most consistently resorted to. As might well be expected, the various ad interim governing bodies, the executive committees, boards of directors, administrative committees, etc., met with a fair amount of regularity depending upon the state of affairs ef the particular group it represented at the

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[32] As examples see Jessie Daniel Ames to Edward P. Costigan (United States Senator), February 28, 1934, concerning his anti-lynching bill; and Robert B. Eleazer to Mrs. Fred C. Laurence, May 31, 1939, correspondence, C-Miscel.

time. In these meetings the mechanics of the movement were handled, policies were decided and important matters were usually settled.[33] Closely related to these executive meetings, were those of special sub-committees, usually affiliated with some state or local interracial committee. These meetings discussed particular problems or laid plans for special parts of the program.[34]

Just as important from the standpoint of the direction of the Commission's activities were the occasional staff meetings held, in which most of the personnel participated. One of these was held in January of 1925, and spent much time discussing the nature of state and local committees. Definite suggestions were made

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[33] The records of the Commission, although incomplete up to 1929, indicate that its executive committee met with some degree of regularity throughout its existence. The Board of directors, after its creation in 1929, met at least quarterly for a time, about three years, then less often, more or less on call. The records of the state committees are too incomplete to give any real clue as to the regularity of the meetings of their executive boards, but scattered records are available to indicate that they were active at times. After reorganization in 1937, the executive committee of the Georgia state committee met quarterly through 1943.

[34] Scattered notes were found indicating that a number of special committees were created from time to time. Records of a few of their meetings were also located. For instance Committees on Education, Hospitalization, the budget, strategy, and the training school for delinquent Negro girls, all met sometime during 1939-1942. All of them were sub-committees of the Georgia committee.

for increasing the efficiency of the local committees.[35] In 1929 a similar staff meeting was held at Blue Ridge, North Carolina, and was attended by all the white staff members employed at the time. It considered an extensive agenda of twenty-one items that included questions such as "What is the function of the field secretary?" and "Should the Interracial Commission sponsor publicity?" and topics such as "Segregation," "Possibilities of the use of the radio" and "Legislation." This meeting was in session for at least parts of four days and evidently had a share in determining the future program of the interracial movement.[36]

Of greater prominence if not of as much actual importance as these smaller meetings, perhaps, were the annual meetings of the members of the various interracial committees. As has already been shown, the group which became the Commission on Interracial Cooperation

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35 "Memo The following are some of the matters discussed by the interracial staff in the meeting in Atlanta, January 5-6, 1925," C-Hist. Records; and "Resume of the Discussions in the Staff Meeting of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, held in Atlanta, January 10, 11, and 12, 1925," C-Hist. Records. Whether there were two actual meetings, or a mistake in the dating of one of the manuscripts is not known. They are not identical.

36 "Staff Meeting at Blue Ridge, August 25th through the 28th, 1929," C-Hist. Records, 1 ff.

met a number of times during its first three years.[37] Following 1921 the Commission met once a year for the next twenty-one years, except in 1938 when the regular meeting was postponed for financial reasons;[38] and 1941 when the outbreak of World War II caused it to be cancelled.[39] In the earlier years these meetings lasted for three days, but in later years they generally began one afternoon or evening and adjourned the next day. Likewise, at first they tended to move about, meeting at Tuskegee, Blue Ridge, or Atlanta; but after 1928 they met in Atlanta, usually at Atlanta University.[40]

During the earlier years the members seem to have participated very freely in the annual meeting programs. Reports of what was happening, especially improvements accomplished, were made by numerous members as well as

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[37] See above, Chapter II, 45-54, 69-73.

[38] Emily H. Clay to Members of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc., July 7, 1938, form letter, C-Hist. Records.

[39] Emily H. Clay to Members of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc., December 8, 1941, form letter, C-Hist. Records.

[40] Compare "Minutes, Inter-Racial Commission," July 21, 1922, C-Hist. Records; R. B. Eleazer, "Minutes," Annual Meeting, April 22-24, 1925, C-Hist. Records; "Minutes, Seventh Annual Meeting, Commission on Interracial Cooperation," April 8-10, 1926; with the minutes available of meetings after 1928.

well as by the paid personnel; and frequent discussions took place. Reports were heard from various committees of the conference, especially the ever-present findings committee; resolutions and policy statements were adopted; and new members were elected.[41] Of course addresses were heard and the meetings usually began with prayer or a period of worship. Usually at the annual meetings during these earlier years, the women held at least one session separately at which time they discussed and evolved a program especially for women.[42]

After 1929 and incorporation and the subsequent growth of the membership, the meetings apparently became somewhat more formal. Some discussions continued, but there was actually less time altogether, and more time or at least as much, was devoted to formal speeches.[43]

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[41] Florence Read in personal interview with writer, August 7, 1948. See also especially "Report of Proceedings of Commission on Inter-racial Co-operation," October 7, 1921, C-Hist. Records; and "Minutes, Annual Conference, Commission on Interracial Cooperation," July 31-August 2, 1923 (mimeo.), C-Hist. Records.

[42] Minutes or reports of separate sessions for the women, usually called the Woman's General Committee or the Pre-Conference Meeting, for almost every year from 1921 to 1934, were found among the manuscripts.

[43] For example see the minutes of the annual meetings of 1934, 1935 or 1936. Guy B. Johnson spoke in 1935 on "Some Methods of Reducing Race Prejudice in the South" and listed seventeen points in doing so.

Reports were made by the central staff members, and occasionally by those of the field;[44] and the appropriate resolutions were approved from time to time. Officers were elected and changes in the membership were ratified, as well as changes of general policy, but these matters were actually determined by the board of directors or the executive committee.[45]

Occasionally an annual meeting was different. The one in April of 1933 must have been one of them. Apparently one of the Negroes present, Mrs. Charlotte Hawkins Brown, who had been a long time member of the Commission, expressed herself rather forcefully concerning the hatred Negro women held for white women.[46] At the same meeting, for the first time the Commission had luncheon together as a body in the dining hall at Spellman College in Atlanta.[47] A few years later, the annual meeting was considerably disturbed by the

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[44] After 1931 there was only one secretary in the field but apparently he made a lengthy report in 1934, at least it was printed in the minutes; see L. R. Reynolds, "Annual Meeting, Commission on Interracial Cooperation, April 18-19, 1934, Report of North Carolina and Virginia, (mimeo.), C-Hist. Records.

[45] See especially "Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc.," March 18, 1931, C-Official Min.; or "Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc.," April 15-16, 1936, C-Official Min.

[46] Jessie Daniel Ames to Mrs. R. R. Moton, May 1, 1933, correspondence, C-Woman's Work.

[47] Florence Read in personal interview with writer, August 7, 1948. How the eating was handled earlier when they met at such places as Tuskegee is not known, possibly they ate in the same dining hall at separate tables.

activities of a very vocal Atlantan, a Mrs. Andrews, who was most concerned about the purity of the white race, especially its women, and used one of the Commission meeting sessions as an opportunity to attract attention to her views.[48] No doubt other incidents occurred that never got into any records.

Just as the Commission had its regular annual meetings, so did the state committees when they were functioning. Throughout the quarter century, North Carolina, Virginia and Texas held annual meetings with regularity.[49] During the Twenties, Georgia, South Carolina, Tennessee, Kentucky, Alabama, and Louisiana also held fairly regular annual meetings; and occasionally others did so.[50] After the revival of field work in 1937 and the reorganization of a number of the state committees,

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[48] Account of incident at annual meeting, The Foundation, 28(April, 1938):4. Mrs. Andrews seems to have been quite a character. She was well known around Atlanta, organized a Society for the Preservation of the White Race, even put out flyers at times.

[49] Ames, Democratic Processes at Work In the South, 6. Tennessee and Kentucky claimed to have meetings with regularity but the validity of their claims may be questioned in view of their condition. See above, p. 93.

[50] Minutes or reports or references were found to meetings of each of these state committees throughout most of the Twenties and a few into the Thirties. For instance, minutes were located for Alabama, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Missouri, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee and Texas for the year 1928.

the various committees began to resume annual meetings; and in 1941, Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, and South Carolina, in addition to the old faithfuls, North Carolina, Virginia and Texas, held meetings.[51]

The nature of these state annual meetings seem to have reflected the contemporaneous Commission meetings. In the Twenties the state meetings seem to have been rather informal and lively--full of reports of things being done, discussions and passage of resolutions and pronouncements, and determination of general policy.[52] During these years the women of the state committees tended to have additional separate meetings just as they did at annual sessions of the Commission.[53] In the later period the meetings were more programmed with several speakers and only a short business session.[54]

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51 "Annual Meeting, Georgia Interracial Committee, March 7, 1941," C-Ga.; The Southern Frontier, 2(March, 1941):3; and 2(April, 1941):4; and Program, Twentieth Annual Meeting of the Texas Commission on Interracial Cooperation, December 5-6, 1941, C-State Com.

52 For examples see "Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the South Carolina Interracial Committee, Held in Columbia on November 18, 1926," C-State Com.; and "Minutes, Meeting of the North Carolina Interracial Committee," January 12, 1928, C-State Com.

53 Records of a number of women's meetings are available. See also "North Carolina," "South Carolina," and "Tennessee," compilations of excepts taken from the records of women's meetings of the Twenties, undated, C-Woman's Work.

54 See Appendix D, p. 376 for a copy of a state program. A number of them were strikingly similar.

Of the local meetings, little is known. Just as the local committees varied considerably, so their meetings undoubtedly did. Most local committees met at least quarterly when they were functioning with any degree of formality, and their meetings were probably most informal. No doubt the meetings of the early years were very intense affairs; those of later years were probably less so, especially where a committee continued in existence for any length of time.[55]

After 1937 the tendency to stress meetings and conferences became stronger, possibly due to the difference in personnel. In addition to the revival of the state annual meetings, a policy of holding area conferences or forums was developed. These were designed not only for local members of the state committees, but also to stimulate local interest among others, and guests were welcomed. In 1938 five such conferences were held in Georgia. The next year similar conferences were held in Mississippi and South Carolina, as well as Georgia, totaling six in all; and in 1940 North Carolina joined the others to bring the total for that year to fifteen.[56]

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55 Fulton-DeKalb, of course, was an exception and even held annual meetings similar to the state ones.

56 No actual tabulation of the total number of such conferences held was located; the figures given were arrived at from the records. For examples see "Memo - Macon Conference, November 3, 1938," C-Ga.; "Resume of Registrations at Interracial Conferences in Mississippi in 1939," C-State Com.; "First Regional Interracial Conference," Gainesville, September 1, 1938, C-Ga.; and printed announcement of Six Regional Conferences by the North Carolina Commission,[1940], C-State Com. The South Carolina conferences were not actually held until early in 1941.

These conferences were usually small in size, averaging between twenty and thirty in attendance, although occasionally as many as sixty were reported present. They were generally one session affairs, either an afternoon or evening, and centered their attention on a specific topic such as education or housing. A member of the headquarters staff, most frequently Mrs. Ames, was often one of the speakers; but seldom the only one. Some time was allowed for discussion and the report of the findings committee, but these conferences were not really working interracial committee meetings.[57]

In 1940 still another kind of meeting was devised, a "Work Conference." In a way this was actually a reversion to the original nature of the Commission meeting, for it was a conference held for a limited personnel and devoted mainly to consideration and discussion of the actual organization and work of state and local interracial committees. The first such conference was February 8-9, 1940, in Atlanta with over thirty present from Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina and Texas. The program consisted of four round-tables: "What methods should be pursued by State Interracial Committees in educating the public on policy and program?"

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57 Ibid. For an example of a conference program, see Appendix E, pp. 378-379.

"Should there be a definite organization of State Interracial committees for accomplishing the purposes set out in Round-Table # 1?" "Should the State Interracial Commission attempt to work together on a joint project?" and "Is it desirable that the Working Conference be made a permanent feature of the Field Work of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation?" Several persons participated in each round-table and usually a good discussion followed. Out of these came some very specific proposals and conclusions.[58]

In addition to the round-tables, there were also two addresses. The one on the first evening was by Will W. Alexander on the general topic of conditions in the South and was most pessimistic. It was followed by a discouraging discussion in which the value of the interracial committee method was questioned seriously in view of the dire circumstances that had been pictured.[59]

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[58] Commission, State Interracial Committees How They Work (1940), was in reality a printed report of the 1940 Work Conference. Much fuller notes were also found in manuscript form.

[59] "Discussion following Dr. Alexander's talk, Thursday evening, February 8, 1940," C-Field Work. On page 4, an exchange between Mrs. Ames and Dr. Alexander indicated that they were in tension. The printed report of Dr. Alexander's speech substituted something he had written earlier; see State Interracial Committees, 8.

The next morning an agent of the General Education Board made an address on the need for support for the Negro Divisions in the state Departments of Education in Southern states, and that was much more optimistic and stimulating.

The second Work Conference was held February 6-7, 1941, at Tuskegee with a slightly larger and more representative attendance. This conference was built around the theme, "The Economic Situation of the Southern Negro, its Relation to Southern Progress and National Defense."[60] It devoted less time to state and local committee problems and more to the general problems in the South such as agriculture, education and labor. These subjects were handled by individual speakers rather than forums, but were followed by discussions; and some specific recommendations for local group action were made.[61]

Due to the outbreak of the war in December, 1941, and the curtailed finances of the Commission at that time, no further large work conferences were held, but in 1942 two smaller meetings of a similar nature did

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[60] Jessie Daniel Ames to Thelma Stevens, January 2, 1941, correspondence, C-Field Work.

[61] "Program of the Work Conference of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation," February 6-7, 1941 (three parts: First Session, Second Session, Third Session, mimeo.), C-Field Work.

take place. The first, in June, in addition to the central staff, had only eight persons present, all volunteer or part-time workers with some state committee. They spent their time discussing such things as preparation of literature and aiding the war effort; and out of their discussions resulted the "Clip Sheet" sent out by Mrs. Ames.[62] The second such meeting took place in October and included a representative from each of the state committees in existence at the time. It was very similar to the June meeting; heard some reports of what had been done since June, and discussed problems such as what could be done about the press and its handling of Negro news.[63]

Occasionally other special meetings were sponsored by the Commission. During the first few years, as has been shown, a number of these were proposed and at least a few carried out. In connection with the educational program, a number of others were held during the Thirties, but they will be considered later. Further, from time to time, other groups were called together. For instance, in 1933, a conference of church women, Negro and white,

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62 "Conference of State Workers, Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc., Atlanta, Georgia, June 12, 1942" (mimeo.), C-Field Work; and in more detail, "Staff Meeting, June 12," C-Field Work.

63 "Staff Meeting," October 22, 1942, C-Field Work.

was called at Tuskegee, to try to work out a program of church work that could be used satisfactorily in both Negro and white churches.[64] In 1937 in Nashville, Tennessee, a conference of representatives of departments of religious education of a number of Southern denominations met to consider the "obligation and opportunity of the churches in the field of race relation, with particular reference to the Negro."[65] There may have been others.[66]

Despite the indication of the importance attached to meetings by the members of the interracial movement, that was not their only activity. A second very important aspect of their work was what was generally called "field work." This was the actual work of getting local committees started and maintaining contact with them; and was, after the first few months, for the most part left to the paid personnel of the movement.

For the headquarters staff, especially those

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64 Ames, "1933" report of the activities of the Director of Woman's Work, C-Woman's Work.

65 R. B. Eleazer to the Reverend Gardiner L. Tucker, February 2, 1937, correspondence, C-Spec. Studies.

66 For instance see "Acting Emergency Committee Luncheon Meeting, Rich's Tea Room 12:30 Monday, September 16, 1940," C-FD. This was a local meeting but a number of Commission personnel were involved, and the work of organizing it obviously went through the Commission's office.

specifically related to field work, this meant a great deal of traveling around, meeting with and speaking to various groups, carrying on a constant correspondence with state leaders, and in every way possible keeping the movement alive. In 1940, for instance, Mrs. Ames, then the director of field work, reported among her activities:

1. Continued nurture of Committees in Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina, Texas.
2. Re-organization of the Alabama Committee.
3. Cultivation of Florida, looking toward organization of a State Committee.
4. Work Conference of delegates from state committees in 1941.
5. Production of literature to support the program of interracial committees.
6. Issuing The Southern Frontier monthly.
7. Issuing material for special use by women's organizations.[67]

The activities of local field secretaries were evidently similar. At the staff meetings in both 1925 and 1929, the functions of the local field secretary were discussed and it was obvious that he was supposed to assume the initiative in developing the interracial movement, building up the membership and securing local financial support. At the 1925 session, specific steps were even outlined for action by the field secretary in

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[67] Ames, "General Field Work, 1940" (mimeo.), C-Field Work, 1. A few other records of the field work indicate this was not exceptional; see, for instance, Johnson, "Report of Director of Woman's Work," August, 1923, C-Woman's Work.

case of a lynching.[68]

Scattered reports of individual field secretaries indicate the general nature of their work. For instance, the secretary of Texas reported in 1928:

> ... During 1925, 1926 and 1927 the time of the Director was consumed largely in efforts to organize local committees. The original forty counties were either visited personally or rejuvenated through correspondence. All were found to be dormant except Huntsville.[69]

The Georgia state secretary for the same year was similarly engaged:

> ... My chief activities have been limited to first: Contacts with interracial committees and local communities thruout Georgia; second: General and specific cooperation with agencies and institutions in effecting certain desired ends; third: Specific group contacts by means of addresses, discussion groups, and otherwise; fourth: Individual cases involving both races which seem to warrant expenditure of time and money; fifth: Exhaustive study of some situations in urban and rural communities.[70]

And a few years later, the secretary of the North Carolina

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68 "Memo The following are some of the matters discussed by the interracial staff in the meeting in Atlanta, January 5-6, 1925," C-Hist. Records; and "Staff Meeting at Blue Ridge, August 25th through the 28th, 1929," C-Hist. Records, 2-3.

69 [Jessie Daniel Ames], "Report of the Texas Interracial Commission, October, 1924 - October, 1929" (mimeo.), C-State Com., 4.

70 [Arthur Raper], "General Report of the Secretary of the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation - Presented at the Annual Meeting, Atlanta, Georgia, May 11, 1928," C-Ga., 1.

and Virginia Committees reported a very similar program of field activities.[71]

A most important part of the field work was the furnishing of leadership and stimulation for the special projects carried on by the various committees, both state and local, and sometimes even by the Commission. These projects took numerous forms. One of the perennial favorites was to conduct a survey. In the early years, these were particularly stressed and numerous surveys were reported on the living conditions in Negro communities.[72] But they did not cease with the close of those first years.

For example in 1930, the committee in Clarksdale, Mississippi, made an extensive check of housing and children in that community.[73] About the same time, the

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[71] L. R. Reynolds, "Annual Meeting, Commission on Interracial Cooperation, April 18-19, 1934, Report of North Carolina and Virginia," C-Hist. Records. Several reports from the Georgia secretary were found for the mid-Twenties, a number from Reynolds for Virginia-North Carolina in the early Thirties, and a few others.

[72] See for example, "Report and Exhibits," H-1; Johnson, "Women and Their Organizations," 4; "Report of the Woman's State Committee on Negro Schools, Woman's Section, Georgia Committee on Race Relations," undated, C-Ga.; and Progress in Race Relations, 1924-25, 9-10.

[73] "Resolutions Conference of Committee on Interracial Cooperation, Clarksdale, Mississippi, February 6-7, 1930," C-State Com.

Atlanta Women's Committee with the help of Emory University students and the Atlanta School of Social Work completed an elaborate study of housing conditions in certain areas of Atlanta.[74] In 1937 a special committee appointed by the Texas Committee studied the restroom accommodations for Negroes in the filling stations of a section of Texas.[75] Two years later the Georgia Committee received an extensive report of a lengthy survey of hospital facilities for Negroes and whites in Georgia.[76]

To assist in the numerous surveys, several survey guides were prepared over the years. One obviously used in the earlier years was very comprehensive and requested complete data concerning housing; general condition, location, ownership, occupants, etc.[77] Another, much more general, was designed more as a study guide than a scientific survey; and raised questions concerning the implications of various conditions among Negroes. It did,

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74 "Housing Study," Atlanta Committee on Woman's Interracial Activities, C-Ga.

75 "A Study of Restroom Accommodations for Negroes in Gasoline Filling Stations of East Texas" (1937), C-State Com.

76 "Report of Hospital Survey" attached to "Meeting of the Executive Committee, Georgia Interracial Committee, September 8, 1939," C-Ga.

77 "Woman's State Committee on the Negro Home," a guide for study, undated, C-State Com.

however, provide blanks for the recording of specific data.[78] A third, which seems to have been prepared especially for use by church groups, was popularly referred to as the "Four Phases" study.[79] Two others were evidently prepared during the Forties. One was a questionnaire concerning educational setups, especially the efforts being made to conform to the Gaines decision.[80] The other was a rather extensive outline covering education, public welfare, the courts, economic opportunity and national defense.[81] The extent to which any of these were actually used is not known but it is reasonable to assume that they were utilized by at least a few local or state committees. The preparation of them at least required the time of someone.

A number of the other special projects may have developed out of the surveys. Several states worked hard and long to secure state support for training schools

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78 "Fact Finding Methods" (mimeo.), undated, C-Field Work.

79 "Four Phases of Racial Life in the South," a study sheet, undated, C-Woman's Work.

80 "Questionnaire" [1940], C-Field Work.

81 "Survey Outline for Local Interracial Committees" [1942] (mimeo.), C-Field Work.

for Negro delinquents.[82] In at least two states, Georgia and Mississippi, this project was begun in the early Twenties and was worked at, off and on, for twenty years.[83] In the case of the former state, extensive activity, including skillful political maneuvering, had to be resorted to before the end was finally achieved.

Another fairly popular special project was the promotion of a better educational system for Negroes. In the early years these projects often took the form of working directly to secure a specific school building for Negroes.[84] Later the drives were for equalization of salaries, provision of high schools and transportation, and to secure state support of the state agents for Negro education.[85] At least two local committees

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[82] Progress in Race Relations, 1923-24, 7-8; Progress in Race Relations, 1924-25, 7-8. Also "Minutes, Committee on Woman's Work, South Carolina State Committee on Race Relations," November 28, 1924, C-State Com.; and correspondence of Maud Henderson in 1927 and Elizabeth Head in 1931.

[83] Mrs. Stanley Wilson, "Reformatory for Delinquent Negro Children Established in Mississippi," [1942], C-State Com.; and "Activities of Interracial Commission on Training School for Negro Girls," [1941] Georgia Committee, C-Ga.

[84] Progress in Race Relations, 1923-24, 6-8; Progress in Race Relations, 1924-25, 7-8; and Progress in Race Relations, 1926, 9-11.

[85] Ames, "General Field Work, 1940," C-Field Work; and report of Dr. Ryland, in "Staff Meeting," October 22, 1942, C-Field Work, 15-16.

participated in one or more of the phases of this project.[86]

Two states, Mississippi and Texas, conducted very extensive campaigns in the area of Negro education. Mississippi had a general program advocating:

1. High Schools for Negroes in all eighty-two counties.
2. Redistribution of per capita fund without discrimination.
3. Increased appropriation for Alcorn State College.
4. Establishment of college for training of Negro teachers (accomplished).
5. State support of state agent for Negro education.
6. Publicity on conditions in Negro education.[87]

In addition, it had a special committee which worked closely with a legislative committee to make a study of Negro education in Mississippi.[88]

The Texas educational project was the most extensive of all. At first, in 1935, it began working to secure state aid for graduate study for Negroes outside of the state. By 1941 it was engaged in a definite struggle to secure a $50,000 appropriation from the state legislature for graduate study for Negroes, and to

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86 These were the Fulton-DeKalb Committee in Georgia and the Houston Committee in Texas. See Southern Frontier, 1(January, 1940), and "Outline of Report, Houston Interracial Commission to the State Interracial Committee" [1940], C-State Com.

87 Ames, "General Field Work, 1940," 3.

88 Report of the sub-committee in Negro Education, R. L. Hunt to R. P. Neblett, Jr., October 28, 1940 [Mississippi], C-State Com.

prevent the establishment of a sham graduate study program in the already existing Negro schools to meet the requirements of the Supreme Court rulings. Mrs. Ames, a Texan by birth, spent some weeks in Texas actively assisting in this project.[89]

Investigations of various kinds were another rather constant if less definitely organized project of the interracial committees or at least of their paid personnel. As early as 1921 one of the members made a thorough investigation of the Ku Klux Klan activities in Georgia.[90] Before the end of the decade, a similar enquiry into the "Black Shirts" had been made and the chartering of that group had been successfully stopped as a result.[91] In 1931 when the death of a Negro YWCA worker who was refused treatment by a Georgia hospital after a serious auto accident caused a great deal of publicity, a thorough check of the circumstances was

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89 "Resolution presented Inter-racial Commission at Prairie View, December 6-7, 1935; Unanimously adopted" [Texas], C-State Com.; A. Maceo Smith to Jessie Daniel Ames, September 11, 1939 [Texas], C-State Com.; and "Minutes," the Education Committee of the Texas Interracial Committee, April 26, 1941, C-State Com.

90 Report of Dr. Wilmer, "Minutes Meeting Commission on Inter-racial Co-operation," March 29, 1921, C-Hist. Records.

91 Stabilization Fund of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Depression Intensifies the Race Problem (New York, 1931), 8.

made to determine the facts.[92] Similarly, several other investigations were made of news stories, rumors, reported conditions, etc.[93]

One of the most frequent causes of an investigation was a lynching, a suspicious death, or instances of interracial violence. If possible, when time permitted, steps were taken to stop actions that threatened to lead to a lynching.[94] When it was too late, efforts were made to find out as much as possible about the lynchings and to make the findings available to the authorities. Steps were often taken to secure action or statements on the part of leading local or state officials condemning the action.[95]

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[92] Robert B. Eleazer to Mabel Carney, November 17, 1931, correspondence, C-Miscel. A report of this investigation was also published: Report of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation Regarding the Automobile Accident in Dalton, Georgia, November 6, 1931 (n.d.).

[93] For examples see R. B. Eleazer to W. W. Alexander, September 26, 1933, inter-office correspondence, C-Miscel.; J. R. Steelman to Will W. Alexander, November 1, 1933, correspondence, C-Miscel.; R. B. Eleazer to George E. Haynes, November 10, 1936, correspondence, C-Miscel.; "Concerning the death of Tom Finch," September 12, 1936 (mimeo.), C-Miscel.; and "Report Investigation of Death of Wilpitz, Negro," February 21, 1942 (mimeo.), C-Miscel.

[94] Will W. Alexander in personal interview with writer, May 16, 1950; and R. B. Eleazer in personal interview with writer, July 23, 1947.

[95] See, for instance, Alexander, The New Inter-Race Relations in the South, 13; and [Ames], "Report of the Texas Interracial Committee, October, 1924 - October, 1929," C-State Com., 12. In 1930 the chairman of the South Carolina committee took a public stand in opposition to the seeming condoning of a lynching by Cole L. Blease during his election campaign. See Mrs. C. P. McGowan to Jessie Daniel Ames, July 18, 1930, correspondence, C-State Com.

A special aspect of the drive against lynching was the effort to get the support of local sheriffs. In 1925 the Commission began to award a medal to the sheriffs revealing "particular bravery or intelligence, or both, in outwitting mobs or defending prisons."[96] This was usually highly publicized; and in 1931, when the presentation of such a medal was made to a woman it became the occasion for a public ceremony replete with speeches that could have successfully competed with campaign oratory.[97] Altogether, a total of fifteen sheriffs, one constable and one jailer from Alabama, Florida, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, Tennessee and Texas, were awarded the medal between 1925 and 1932.[98]

Forms of violence between the races other than lynchings were also the object of investigations and actions by various interracial committees. In the mid-Thirties several members of the headquarters staff devoted considerable time to pushing for Negro police in

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[96] "Throwing the Spotlight of Public Opinion on the Southern Sheriff's Office," 1930, C-Spec. Studies.

[97] "Presentation of Sheriff's Medal to Mrs. J. C. Butler, Huntington, Tennessee, October 27, 1931," C-Spec. Studies, a notebook full of clippings, accounts of speeches and even pictures.

[98] Robert B. Eleazer to Walter White, October 30, 1935, correspondence, C-Spec. Studies. A special form was prepared for nomination of the sheriffs by a member of the local community, and a committee of prominent Southerners actually made the decision.

the larger Southern cities as a deterrent to police brutality against Negroes.[99] Later in the Thirties the Fulton-DeKalb Committee again became aroused concerning reports of police brutality in Atlanta and held a series of special meetings of leading persons of the city in an effort to secure some remedy.[100] Evidently a good bit of time was spent on this for rather detailed reports of several cases of police violence or negligence were prepared for circulation.[101]

A logical result of some of the investigations made was the contributing of legal aid to those in need of it. This sometimes was given in the form of actual money; sometimes in other ways: assisting a Negro to find attorney, helping secure evidence.[102] In such

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99 Robert B. Eleazer to Mary Millis, November 7, 1933, correspondence, C-Miscel.; and Jessie Daniel Ames to Chief of Police, Daytona Beach, Florida, May 16, 1933, correspondence, C-Miscel. Either at this time or later, a ten-page brief favoring Negro police was prepared and mimeographed.

100 "Report of Activities of the Fulton-DeKalb Committee," 1940, C-FD, 1-2. Minutes of some of the actual meetings were also located.

101 Accounts of five different cases in which Atlanta police were accused of violence, negligence and false arrest, all concerning Negroes, mimeographed and stapled together, C-FD.

102 T. J. Woofter, Jr., Progress in Race Relation in Georgia (1922), 4-10; "Work of the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation, January through September, 1926," C-Ga.; and Emily H. Clay to A. W. Roper, September 5, 1939, C-Legal Aid. A considerable amount of material on this phase of the work was found among the manuscripts including detailed reports of a number of cases.

cases, the staff and the finances of the Commission were generally utilized, but an effort was usually made to have the case handled and partially financed through local groups.[103] The famous Scottsboro Case was one in which the Commission extended aid for several years.[104]

Still another form of special project resorted to by the interracial committees was the securing and circulation of information. Some committees organized speakers bureaus, others sent out mimeographed reports; at least a few put on radio programs.[105] The Virginia Committee established a traveling library on race relations which was circulated among the colleges of the state for several years.[106] The Commission sometimes used its mailing lists for circulation of books dealing with race relations, for instance, Edwin Embree's Brown America and James Weldon Johnson's

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103 Will W. Alexander to Albert E. Barnett, August 8, 1933, C-Legal Aid; and "Investigation and Legal Aid," undated, C-Legal Aid.

104 "Commission on Interracial Cooperation and the Scottsboro Case," 1940 , C-Legal Aid. This document is so revealing that it has been included in the appendix; see pp. 380-383.

105 Virginia Commission on Interracial Cooperation, The Interracial Commission at Work (Richmond, 1934); "First Quarterly Bulletin of the Work of the Georgia Local Committees on Interracial Cooperation, November 1, 1925 (mimeo.), C-Ga.; and "Speaker's Bureau" 1940 , C-Ga.

106 L. R. Reynolds, "Annual Meeting, Commission on Interracial Cooperation, April 18-19, 1934, Report of North Carolina and Virginia" (mimeo.), C-Hist. Records.

Negro Americans, What Now?[107]

In addition there were almost countless other special projects devised by one committee or another during the quarter century of the interracial movement to meet particular needs. These included a drive for a Tubercular Sanitarium; the starting of a welfare center for Negroes; ironing out difficulties in transportation, especially in city buses; watching papers for the treatment of Negro news; advocacy of Negro Health Week; support of special legislation related to race relations; organization of Boy Scout troops; and conducting special Bible Schools for Negroes.[108] Most of these projects would fall into the general area of remedial activity.

A fourth major activity of the interracial movement was to work through existing educational institutions to promote better racial understanding. In contrast to the field work and special projects which were stimulated and often formulated by the central staff but usually carried out by others, this phase of the work, while utilizing the services of many others, depended heavily upon the continued activity of the central staff. The job of organizing and carrying

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107 Robert B. Eleazer to the Rosenwald Fund, January 9, 1935, correspondence, C-Lit.

108 The references to special projects are scattered throughout the manuscripts and publications of the Commission. See, for example, Progress in Race Relations, 1923-24; 1924-25; or 1926; The Interracial Front (1939); Ames, Democratic Processes at Work in the South.

through conferences, issuing reports and cultivating and maintaining contacts monopolized most of Mr. Eleazer's time for several years.

The inception of the educational work of the Commission took place almost as soon as the Commission definitely became a permanent organization. The first approach was made through a conference of educational leaders who made definite proposals, including the inclusion of matter on race into the sociology courses of Southern colleges.[109] Two years later two conferences, each a week long, were held for men teaching courses in race relations; and discussions were held concerning the best methods and materials to be used and the extension of the work into other colleges.[110]

At the same time several speakers were sent as guest speakers into a number of white colleges. One of these, Dr. George Washington Carver, was most successful in his approach and was called on to make a repeat tour several years later.[111] As a result of the expanded activity

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109 Proposals made by the Conference of Educational leaders in "Proceedings," Interracial Commission, November 17, 1920, C-Hist. Records.

110 "A General Survey of the Work of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation for 1922-23," C-Hist. Records.

111 "Statement as of October First of the Work for 1922 of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation," C-Hist. Records, 10; "Statement and Exhibits, 1922-23," C-Hist. Records; and "Tentative Schedule for Dr. George Washington Carver in Virginia, April, 1928," C-Spec. Studies.

with the colleges, a member of the Commission staff, T. J. Woofter, Jr. was especially assigned to this work; and one of his first activities was to prepare a textbook, The Basis of Racial Adjustment, for use in race relations courses.[112]

In 1925 efforts were made to broaden the approach to the colleges. One method used was to sponsor awards for the best college papers on the racial situation. The results attained were gratifying and the method was continued with variations for a number of years.[113] This experiment led to preparing material on the Negro and race relations which became an extensive part of the program of the educational department.[114]

Shortly after this aspect of the college work was begun, it was extended to the public schools. Again contests were held, and the response was encouraging. By 1938 the educational director was able to report of this phase of his work:

> ...To date not less than a thousand schools have cooperated in the plan, enlisting many thousands of children in the study of the Negro's history,

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[112] Eleazer, "Educational Program, Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc.," November, 1938, C-Hist. Records, 2; and Progress in Race Relations, 1923-24, 13-14.

[113] Eleazer, "Educational Program, Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc.," 2. Records indicate at least 82 entires from 49 colleges in 1927-28; 67 entries in 1928-29; and 114 entries in 1931-32.

[114] Ibid. For a discussion of some of these materials see below, pp. 252-254.

> achievements, and contributions to American life, and in the practical problems involved in the biracial situation. In many cases the pupils visited the Negro districts of their respective communities, interviewed Negro leaders, and made firsthand observations of Negro schools, business development, housing conditions, etc. The comments of principals and teachers relative to these projects have invariably been favorable, often enthusiastic. Not a single unfavorable reaction has been reported....[115]

The contests were usually designated "Tenth Man" contests, and prizes up to a hundred dollars were sometimes awarded. In later years, the subjects of the contests tended to vary, "Quest for Understanding" becoming another favorite; but the general topic remained the same. In 1935 a contest for success stories of Negroes was sponsored. Another topic used was "Negro Progress Since the Civil War."[116] In one way or another, these contests were continued intermittently until 1941.[117] In some schools they became quite extensive affairs with the entire student body participating in one way or another. Central High School in Chattanooga, Tennessee; Reynolds High in Winston Salem, North Carolina; Kirksville High in Kirksville, Missouri; and the High School

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115 Ibid., 3.

116 Robert B. Eleazer to Thomas J. Edwards, January 9, 1936, correspondence, C-Spec. Studies. Flyers announcing several of the contests were also located among the manuscripts.

117 See auditor's statements for 1936, 1937, 1938, 1941.

of Biloxi, Mississippi, were among those which emphasized the contests, their projects revealing a great deal of effort and information, and receiving awards, sometimes for successive years.[118]

By the late Twenties, the educational work of the Commission was definitely showing results. The number of race relations courses in colleges and schools throughout the South had increased considerably.[119] The number of students utilizing the materials of the Commission already reached into the thousands. Considerable correspondence was being carried on with publishers and authors concerning textbooks in history and civics used in Southern schools.[120]

In 1929 the staff in its conference at Blue Ridge decided that the next step in the educational field should be through Teachers Colleges and county superintendents of education. The Texas secretary, a former professor, was detailed to make an initial effort in

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118 [Eleazer], Education and Racial Adjustment (1932), 27-33; "Report and Exhibit of Race Relations Work in Colleges and Public Schools," 1931-1933, C-Spec. Studies, 11-12. A number of contest entires were found among the manuscripts.

119 Will W. Alexander to F. S. Keppel, March 17, 1930, C-Spec. Studies.

120 Robert B. Eleazer, correspondence during early 1930's.

the Texas colleges.[121] By March 17, 1930, this idea had been formulated into a definite program and grant from the Carnegie Corporation was requested on that date to pursue:

1. The multiplication and improvement of college courses in race relations.
2. The normal correlation of race relations work with college courses in sociology, history, literature, civics, economics, music, and art.
3. Special emphasis on the importance in this program of teachers' colleges and summer schools.
4. Correlated work in the public schools similar to that suggested for the colleges.
5. The collection and preparation of materials suitable for race relations courses and correlated work.
6. A series of conferences of Southern educators to consider these objectives and formulate plans for their promotion.[122]

With the grant thus secured the Conference on Education and Race Relations was created in 1931, and from that date through 1942, it carried on the educational work of the Commission.

One of the main activities of the Conference on Education and Race Relations was to conduct a series of actual conferences for educators. The first, a Conference on Dual Education in the South, was held July 20-24, 1931 at Peabody College in Nashville, Tennessee. It

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121 "Staff Meeting at Blue Ridge August 25th through the 28th, 1929," C-Hist. Records, 5.

122 "Report and Exhibit of Race Relations Work in Colleges and Public Schools," 1931-33, 1.

included some sixty carefully chosen educators, among them a number of college presidents, representing thirty-five colleges in thirteen states and a number of public school administrators. This group heard reports of the race relations work being done in a number of colleges, agreed to make experiments in their own institutions, and urged that the work be continued and further conferences called.[123]

A year later a second conference, again at Peabody, was held with a delegated attendance of forty-five and a number of visitors. The personnel included many of those at the first conference plus a number of others. The morning sessions were devoted to reports on work that had been done, discussions and business details. The afternoons were spent in workshops devoted to the preparation of materials for classroom use and outlines for courses of study. The evening sessions, which were open to the entire student body of the Peabody Summer School, were given over to special lectures by featured speakers, among them Dr. R. R. Moton, President of Tuskegee Institute, and Dr. Willis A. Sutton, Superintendent of Schools of Atlanta (Georgia) and former president of the National

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123 [Eleazer], Education and Racial Adjustment (1932), 3-4.

Education Association.[124]

In the years following, similar conferences were held in the effort to reach farther and farther into the educational institutions. August 3-4, 1933, a special meeting of public school administrators was sponsored at Peabody. Eight state superintendents of education were present and five others were represented by proxies.[125] In 1936 a three-day seminar on education and race relations was held at Mississippi College, Clinton, Mississippi, on the call of the president of that institution and attended by more than sixty educational leaders from all over that state.[126] This was repeated the following year with a registered attendance of more than two hundred.[127] The same year, 1937, another south-

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[124] Ibid., 4.

[125] [Eleazer], "Educational Program, Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc.," 3-4; and "Findings" and Recommendations, Conference on Education and Race Relations, George Peabody College for Teachers, Nashville, Tennessee, August 3-4, 1933," C-Spec. Studies.

[126] "Work of the Conference on Education and Race Relation Under Grant of the Carnegie Corporation to the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, 1935-1936," C-Spec. Studies, 1-2. A conference had been planned for the University of North Carolina in 1935 but had to be cancelled because of a polio epidemic; see ibid., 3.

[127] "Work of the Conference on Education and Race Relations Under Grant of the Carnegie Corporation to the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Supplementary Report, December 1, 1937," C-Spec. Studies, 1.

wide conference was held at Blue Ridge, North Carolina, July 31 to August 7, with fifty delegates and more than twice that number of visitors.[128] Two state conferences were held in 1938, one at State Teachers College, Troy, Alabama and the other at Louisiana State University.[129] In 1939 two conferences were planned, one at Southwestern Louisiana Institute, and the other at South Georgia Teachers College, but the latter was cancelled for lack of interest.[130] In 1941 a conference of education and race relations was sponsored at the State Teachers College of Conway, Arkansas.[131] The final educational conference sponsored by the Commission, a conference on "Education for Southern Citizenship," was held August 25-30 of the same year, at Blue Ridge, North Carolina, for representatives of State Teachers Colleges and Schools of education with over ninety in attendance.[132]

In addition to the special conferences which it sponsored, the Conference on Education and Race Relations

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128 Ibid.

129 Eleazer , "Educational Program, Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc.," 5.

130 See Robert B. Eleazer, correspondence, June and July, 1939, C-Spec. Studies.

131 See Robert B. Eleazer, correspondence, January and February, 1941, C-Spec. Studies.

132 Robert B. Eleazer, form letters, May 1, 1941 and September 12, 1941, and other correspondence, C-Spec. Studies.

also provided some more intensive programs. For two summers, two five-week courses in the area of race and education were offered in collaboration with the summer session of Peabody College for Teachers. Further, by means of fellowships, the Conference assured the attendance in these courses of a number of deans and professors of education and sociology.[133] In 1937 at least ten scholarships were provided for county superintendents of education to take a special course on dual education being offered in the Peabody summer school.[134] Further, assistance was given from time to time in subsidizing courses in race relations in various places, usually in the form of short courses, and the director of the Conference actually taught a course on "Culture in the South" at Peabody at least one summer.[135]

A third phase of the activity of the Conference on Education and Race Relations was the preparation of a number of materials related to race relations in

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133 "Work of the Conference on Education and Race Relations Under Grant of the Carnegie Corporation to the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, 1935-1936," 1.

134 "Work of the Conference on Education and Race Relations Under Grant of the Carnegie Corporation to the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Supplementary Report, December 1, 1937," 2.

135 Helen B. Bourne to Robert B. Eleazer, July 26, 1935, correspondence, C-Spec. Studies; and Ullin W. Leavell to Robert B. Eleazer, March 12, 1942, correspondence, C-Spec. Studies.

education. Under its auspices, Dr. W. C. Jackson of the University of North Carolina prepared an outline of a history course designed to include material on the Negro's participation in American life.[136] The administration of Peabody College worked out and offered for several years a special course on dual education.[137] A survey of public school textbooks was made to determine the information in general use relative to the Negro in America.[138] In 1933 a very complete outline for a textbook survey was prepared by the conference of public school administrators; and subsequent textbook studies were done in Arkansas, Mississippi, Florida and Tennessee.[139] A special list of the twenty-five best books in the field of race relations was prepared by the 1932 Conference.[140]

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136 W. C. Jackson, "History and Racial Adjustment," July 31, 1931, C-Spec. Studies. This was one of the papers delivered at the first conference.

137 Dennis H. Cooke, "Courses in Dual Education in Teacher Training Institutions," 1931, C-Spec. Studies. This was also a paper given at the 1931 conference.

138 "Report and Exhibit of Race Relations Work in Colleges and Public Schools," 1931-1933, 5.

139 "Suggestions for Textbook Study as Recommended by Conference of Public School Administrators, Peabody College, Nashville, Tennessee, August 2-3, 1933," C-Spec. Studies; and[Eleazer], "Work of the Conference on Education and Race Relations, 1935," C-Spec. Studies.

140 [Eleazer], Education and Racial Adjustment (1932), 54.

Another method of approach of the Conference on Education and Race Relations was to publish the materials prepared and reports of the conferences held, and to make them available for general circulation. The first two conferences held were reported in complete form in two issues of Education and Racial Adjustment (1931, 1932), booklets of about seventy pages each. A shorter version of these reports appeared in The Quest for Understanding. The textbook studies were summarized in Schoolbooks and Racial Antagonism. Later publications included Population Problems in the South: A Brief Supplement to the Study of Civics and American Problems (1937); Education for Southern Citizenship: Plans for Study of Region's Special Problems (1938); Understanding Our Neighbors: An Educational Approach to America's Major Race Problem (1940); A Challenge to Southern Schools (1941) and Twelve Million Negro Americans: Their Background, Progress and Present-Day Problems (1941).[141] In addition, numerous articles on education and racial adjustment were prepared and published in educational journals.[142]

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[141] For a complete list of the publications issued by the Conference, see the annotated bibliography, pp. 414-416.

[142] "Report and Exhibit of Race Relations Work in Colleges and Public Schools," 1931-1933, C-Spec. Studies, 16.

The final phase of the work of the Conference of Education and Race Relations, and perhaps the most extensive, was the actual circulation of the materials thus prepared, and the constant stimulation of institutions and individuals on the subject of race relations. Literally thousands of letters were mailed and countless thousands of pieces of literature sent out. The reports of the first two conferences, alone, were sent to over two thousand persons each--college presidents, college professors and state and local superintendents of education.[143] In the summer of 1936 the executive secretary of the Conference, Robert B. Eleazer, stated that he was maintaining contact with two professors in each of four hundred colleges in the South and had received requests for literature from professors in 239 institutions. Further, through the public school administrators, he was reaching over 3500 teachers.[144] A later list indicated that three hundred and fifty colleges were using Commission materials in one form or another through courses in sociology, education, history

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143 [Eleazer], "Report of the Department of Education," 1933, C-Hist. Records.

144 "Work of the Conference on Education and Race Relations Under Grant of the Carnegie Corporation to the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, 1935-1936," 2.

amd literature.[145] In addition, Eleazer was constantly urging school and college administrators to introduce courses in race relations especially in summer sessions.[146] Thus the educational work of the interracial movement continued as a very important part of its activities until its end.

At about the same time that the Commission on Interracial Cooperation began to emphasize its educational work, it also began to turn toward research as another field of activity. As early as 1924 a director of research was listed as a member of the staff, but not until 1925 was any specific research reported. At that time a "careful study of the teaching of social science in Southern institutions" was declared completed; and "a scientific study of segregation in all its forms in some thirty centers of Negro population South, North and East," was reported as underway.[147] Within the next few years, a study was made of social

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145 "Colleges Cooperating with Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc., By use of its Materials" (mimeo.), C-Spec. Studies.

146 [Eleazer], Education and Racial Adjustment (1932), 7; and Robert B. Eleazer, form letter, undated [1942], C-Spec. Studies.

147 Progress in Race Relations, 1924-25, 3.

and economic conditions among Negroes in two typical Georgia counties.[148] But not until the Thirties did the major research activities take place.

In 1930 the Southern Commission on the Study of Lynching was created to supervise a thorough study of that subject. It employed a research staff consisting of Dr. Arthur Raper who was already connected with the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, and Professor Walter Chivers of the Sociology Department of Morehouse College. With some assistance, they made "exhaustive case studies of all the lynchings occurring in the United States in the calendar year 1930" from which a number of publications were made.[149] Further, the Southern Commission on the Study of Lynching sponsored

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148 [Arthur Raper], "Report of Executive Secretary to Annual Meeting of the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation - January 15, 1930" (mimeo.), C-Ga., 1. Some notes of Mrs. Ames express the idea that all the early Georgia secretaries, except Foreman, were working on their Ph.D's and therefore paid little attention to other work. Perhaps that accounts for the early research interest there.

149 Southern Commission on the Study of Lynching, Lynchings and What They Mean (1931), 6. In addition to this booklet, Arthur Raper's The Tragedy of Lynching (Chapel Hill, 1933), and a pamphlet, The Mob Murder of S. S. Mincey (1932), were based on the Commission's findings. A later study became the basis of The Plight of Tuscaloosa (1933).

a study of the legal aspects of lynching which was completed with the cooperation of the University of North Carolina School of Law.[150]

In 1933 the Commission on the Study of the Participation of Negroes in Southern Life was set up with the intention of doing a job similar to that of the Lynching Commission. This Commission was not as active as the first, however, in actually pushing the research; but it did put another research staff to work, Guy B. Johnson, Charles S. Johnson, and Ira DeA. Reid. The work was hampered by a lack of funds and dragged on for a number of years; but it was eventually completed and resulted in the publication of at least two volumes: Sharecroppers All by Raper and Reid, and Mangum's The Legal Status of the Negro.[151]

About the same time that the Participation Commission was created, a special Committee on the Negro and Economic Reconstruction was set up. This made an

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150 Lynchings and What They Mean, 7. Lynching and The Law (Chapel Hill, 1933), by James H. Chadbourn, resulted from this aspect of the study.

151 "Memorandum of a Proposed Study of the Participation of the Negro in the Life of the South" (mimeo.), C-Spec. Studies; Will W. Alexander to W. C. Jackson and others, October 10, 1935, C-Spec. Studies; and Guy B. Johnson, "Commission on the Study of the Participation of Negroes in Southern Life Memo" February 18, 1937, C-Spec. Studies.

especial study of farm tenancy in the South. The findings of the committee were submitted in a comprehensive report and set of recommendations to the U.S. Department of Agriculture;[152] and were also published in part in The Collapse of Cotton Tenancy on which the committee ~~the committee~~ members, Charles S. Johnson, Edwin R. Embree and Will W. Alexander, collaborated. At least partially as a result of this research, the same committee was given a special grant by the Rockefeller Foundation to continue its studies and to give assistance in other ways to the economic advancement of the Negro.[153] This made possible a study of relief, NRA, and the AAA program, as they affected Negroes, and also Negro labor in the iron, steel, meat packing and railroad industries. From this last resulted the book, Black Workers and the New Unions, by Horace R. Cayton and George S. Mitchell.[154]

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152 "A Proposed Program for the Improvement of the Conditions of the Tenant Farmer, Particularly in the Cotton Areas of the South," January, 1934, C-Spec. Studies.

153 Norma S. Thompson, Secretary, Rockefeller Foundation to Will W. Alexander, January 25, 1934, C-Spec. Studies.

154 "Report on the Work of the Special Committee on Negroes and Economic Reconstruction," February 1 to November 1, 1934," C-Spec. Studies.

These proved to be the major research projects of the Commission, although there were others of a less extensive nature. In the early Thirties the director of Woman's Work made a study of domestic service with the idea of seeking to improve conditions and relations in that field.[155] Compilations of various facts were made from time to time which must have entailed some research. For instance, one undated manuscript recorded the "Institutions in the South for Negro Juvenile Delinquents or Which Receive Them," and in 1942 a long list of USO Centers for Negroes was prepared.[156] The same year Mrs. Ames was busy compiling a "brief outline of the salient features of the election laws of South Carolina," one of several such studies she was doing for the Methodist women.[157] A year later, she indicated that some work had been done collecting statistics regarding the use of Negro policemen in Southern cities.[158] So,

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155 Ames, What Price Domestic Service (1931).

156 "Institutions in the South for Negro Juvenile Delinquents, or Which Receive Them," C-Miscel; and "USO Centers for Negroes" [1942] (mimeo.), C-Field Work.

157 Jessie Daniel Ames to R. Beverly Herbert, September 1, 1942, correspondence, C-Field Work. Attached to the letter was a three-page outline of the study being made.

158 Jessie Daniel Ames to A. D. Beittel, June 22, 1943, correspondence, C-Field Work.

in a way, the research of the Commission continued on a minor scale although the major activity in that area declined after 1935.

The meetings, field work, special projects, educational work and research were, in the main, the entirety of the activities of the interracial movement. There was, however, one of its subsidiary organizations whose activities did not fit directly under any of the above headings although they were definitely in line with its two fundamental purposes of remedying conditions and promoting better race relations through education. This organization was the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, and its activity was precisely what the title implied. In this single-minded campaign, it put to use almost every technique that the Commission had developed in carrying out its program and added a few others.

Like the parent organization, the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching began with a meeting of a small number of persons and at first seemed to emphasize the conference technique. Within a little over two years its director was able to report a total of three Southwide conferences of the Central Council as having been held in Atlanta, and forty-

five State Council and group conferences held throughout the thirteen Southern states.[159] But after this the stress on the conferences was lessened. From 1937 on the Central Council met only on a biennial basis.[160] Some conferences of state leaders continued to be held but they were not emphasized.[161]

In place of the conferences, other methods were developed. One was the drawing up and circulation of resolutions. At the very first meeting held in November, 1930, a very straightforward position on lynching was taken by twelve of the twenty-six women present:

> Distressed by the recent upsurge of lynchings, and noting that people still condone such crimes on the ground that they are necessary to the protection of womanhood, we a group of white women representing eight Southern states, desire publicly to repudiate and condemn such defense of lynching and to put ourselves definitely on record as opposed to this crime in every form and under all circumstances.
>
> We are profoundly convinced that lynching is not a defense of womanhood or of anything else, but rather a menace to private and public safety,

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159 ASWPL, Southern Women Look at Lynching (1937), 3; and Ames, "Report of Director of Woman's Work, April 18, 1933," C-Woman's Work, 4.

160 "Biennial Conference - Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching," January 13, 1937, C-ASWPL.

161 See for instance "Report, January 1 - July 1, 1938, Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching," C-ASWPL, 2-3. Actually there was little need for the local councils to meet due to the nature of the organization.

> and a deadly blow at our most sacred institutions. Instead of deterring irresponsible and criminal classes from further crime, as it is argued, lynching tends inevitably to destroy all respect for law and order. It represents the complete breakdown of government and the triumph of anarchy. It brutalizes the community where it occurs, including the women and children who frequently witness its orgies, and particularly the youth who are usually conspicuous participants. In its indiscriminate haste for revenge, the mob sometimes takes lives of innocent persons, and often inflicts death for minor offenses. It brings contempt upon America as the only country where such crimes occur, discredits our civilization, and discounts the Christian religion around the globe.
>
> We would call attention to the fact that lynching is not alone the crime of ignorant and irresponsible mobs, but that every citizen who condones it, even by his silence, must accept a share of its guilt.
>
> We, therefore, call upon all our public officials to use every power at their disposal to protect from mob anarchy the law they are sworn to defend; upon our religious leaders to cry aloud against this crime till it ceases to exist; upon parents and teachers to train up a generation incapable of such relapses into barbarism; and upon all right-thinking men and women to do their utmost in every way for the complete eradication of this crime.[162]

Within a few months groups of women in Georgia, Alabama, Tennessee, Mississippi, South Carolina, North

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162 Statement signed by twelve of the women present at "Anti-Lynching Conference" of Southern white women, November 1, 1930, C-ASWPL. Within a short time a number of other women attached their names to this statement, either at a similar conference held in Shreveport, Louisiana, on November 6, 1930, or by mail.

Carolina, Louisiana, Oklahoma, Arkansas, Texas, Kentucky, Virginia and Florida had adopted resolutions very closely patterned after the original.[163] When the Central Council of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching met in November, 1931, it publicly reaffirmed its stand.[164] From time to time, after that, it restated its resolution with slight variations but always hammering on the central thought that lynching was indefensible.[165]

A third technique, and perhaps its most potent one, was the circulation of a simplified version of the original resolution as a simple pledge to be signed by individual women. Within a year and a half over five thousand women had accepted and signed it.[166] From year

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163 Southern Women Look at Lynching, 7. Copies of the resolutions passed by most of the state groups were also among the manuscripts.

164 The Atlanta (Georgia) Constitution, Sunday, November 22, 1931, gave them a four-column spread topped by a picture.

165 See, for instance, ASWPL, Are the Courts to Blame? (Bulletin No. 3, 1934), 2; "Statement adopted January 10, 1935, by the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching," C-ASWPL; and ASWPL, Feeling is Tense (1937), 2. In 1934 the Council had to resist considerable pressure to support federal anti-lynching legislation; see report of Mrs. Ames to the Biennial Conference, January, 1937, C-ASWPL, 4-5. It never did give its approval to such a measure.

166 "Semi-Annual Report, Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, July 1, 1932 (mimeo.), C-ASWPL. An examination of the names of signers of the writer's own community indicated that the women were community leaders, teachers, churchwomen, at least in that instance.

to year statistics were kept and reported indicating the number of signatures secured by state, county and town, and goals were set up for future years. By 1935 over 23,500 women had signed the pledge[167] and by the time the Association ceased operations, over 43,000 had done so.[168] Furthermore, after the first few years, some men, usually local officials, were asked to sign the pledge and an especial effort was made to secure the signatures of law enforcement officers, particularly sheriffs.[169]

Closely related to the drive for individual committments against lynching was that of securing the endorsement of women's organizations for the anti-lynching campaign. This was done through brief presentations of the idea at regular organizational meetings, usually by an ASWPL member who was also a member of the organization. By 1940 some 109 such endorsements had been secured, fourteen from national and regional bodies, and ninety-five from state or local subdivisions of women's organizations.[170] These endorsements in no way committed the entire membership of the various

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167 ASWPL, "This Business of Lynching" (Bulletin No. 4, 1935), 20.

168 ASWPL, A New Public Opinion on Lynching (1940 ed.).

169 ASWPL, Southern Women Look at Lynching, 9.

170 See Appendix B, pp. 369-372.

groups adopting them but no doubt served as valuable assistance in the educational job of developing a "new public opinion" concerning lynching.

Still another technique used by the A.S.W.P.L., mainly by a few of its leaders, was to actually investigate lynchings personally and to try to stimulate local concern about them. When a lynching had taken place, a signer in the locality was usually requested to find out all about it, and all the local signers were urged to act. Sometimes lynchings were actually prevented by the quick action of the women. At other times a great deal more light was thrown on the actual happenings than otherwise would have been.[171]

Closely tied in with the investigations was the technique of "letter campaigns." Letters were written to sheriffs urging them to protect their prisoners, and commending them when they did so. Letters went to Congressmen and Senators over the signatures of state chairmen. Letters went to governors: Between 1932 and

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[171] "Minutes," Annual Meeting of Central Council, January 13, 1936, C-ASWPL; ASWPL, "With Quietness They Work" Report of the Activities of Southern Women in Education Against Lynching During 1937 (1938), 9-10, 12-13; and Annie Kirk Turner to Mrs. Ames, September 9, 1940, correspondence, C-ASWPL. A number of very interesting reports were among the manuscripts.

1936 the governor of every Southern state committed himself against lynching.[172] Endless letters went out to State council members, leaders of women's organizations, almost anybody, urging them to help stop lynchings. When lynchings occurred, letters went out in droves; when there were no lynchings, letters still went out.[173]

In 1936 the leaders of the A.S.W.P.L. decided that still another method must be devised to step up their campaign; and this time they turned to local educational meetings, usually labelled anti-lynching institutes. That year nine such institutes were held in Florida, Georgia, Mississippi and Texas with a total attendance of 557 persons.[174] In subsequent years at least fourteen

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[172] ASWPL, Southern Women Look at Lynching, 9-10. In 1934, when letters were written to all the candidates for governor in Southern states, considerable joy was expressed over the fact that one South Carolina aspirant who replied evasively, asking if the Boston Tea Party was a mob, was defeated in the first primary. See "Summary of questions and responses from candidates for governor of South Carolina - 1934," C-ASWPL.

[173] See for examples Mrs. W. A. Turner to the Sheriffs of Georgia, January 16, 1932, form letter, correspondence, C-ASWPL; Jessie Daniel Ames to Members of the ASWPL, July 20, 1938, form letter, correspondence, C-ASWPL; and "Report of Executive Director, Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, January - July, 1939" (mimeo.), C-ASWPL.

[174] ASWPL, Southern Women Look at Lynching, 11.

such institutes were held, the majority of them in Mississippi.[175] The institutes were usually one day affairs although they frequently began one afternoon and ended the next morning. Their programs generally consisted of a number of short talks, each in some way related to the anti-lynching campaign.[176]

A final means of combatting lynching used by the women was the power of the press. From the very beginning the director assembled and mimeographed considerable data concerning lynchings and the progress being made against them. In 1932 two four-page leaflets were published, Why We Lynch and A New Public Opinion On Lynching: A Declaration and A Pledge. The first printed report of the organization appeared in February, 1934, a sixteen-page pamphlet, Are the Courts to Blame. From then on, they kept the presses rolling with annual bulletins, leaflets, and flyers. In 1936 a contest was put on to secure a play on the subject of lynching; and the two considered best were published:

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[175] The number of actual institutes held is hard to determine for they planned more than they held. The number given is derived by actual count of programs or direct reference to programs found in the manuscripts.

[176] For an example of a typical program, see Appendix G, pp. 384-385.

Lawd, Does Yo' Undahstand? and Country Sunday. By January, 1938, the director could report that twenty-eight pieces of literature had been written, and over 18,000 pieces of it distributed in the preceding year alone.[177] Before the organization, if it really can be termed so formally, collapsed, at least a dozen additional pieces of literature had been printed and several old ones reprinted.[178]

In 1936 seemingly as one of the numerous letters sent out, the executive director of the A.S.W.P.L. wrote to editors and publishers of newspapers concerning the discrepancy between their editorial policies on lynching and their news stories.[179] Apparently as a result, she was asked to address the Southern Newspaper Publishers Convention in Asheville in May of that year on the same subject; and her address was later given wide

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177 Report of the executive director included in "Minutes of Council on Program," January 12, 1938, C-ASWPL.

178 "Literature, The Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching" [1941] (mimeo.), C-ASWPL. A complete list of the publications can be found in the annotated bibliography, pp. 410 . A study of the literature indicated that a considerable amount of effort must have been put into collecting and verifying the statistics given.

179 Jessie Daniel Ames to editors and publishers of newspapers, March 5, 1936, form letter, correspondence, C-ASWPL.

publicity.[180] Publicity of the organization and its activities was also secured on a national basis through magazine articles.[181] Thus, the dauntless women pursued their objective of stamping out lynching; and at least had the satisfaction of watching the number committed per year drop, whether there was any direct relationship or not.

In addition to all these activities that were carried on as a part of the interracial movement, the personal actions of the staff members closely identified with the movement should also probably be included. They personified the movement to those who knew anything about it, and everything they did in a way was an activity of the movement.

Of course they had a full share in carrying on the various activities outlined above, and in some cases virtually did so single-handedly as Mrs. Ames did in the A.S.W.P.L. and Mr. Eleazer in the Conference on Education and Race Relations. But in addition to

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180 ASWPL, Southern Women Look at Lynching, 12.

181 See, for example, Willie Snow Ethridge, "Southern Women Attack Lynching," in the Nation 131(1930):647; Editorial in Holland's The Magazine of the South, 59 (February, 1940):3; and Lewis T. Nordyke, "Ladies and Lynchings," in Survey Graphic, 28(1939):683-6, also reprinted as "The Ladies and the Lynchers," in Readers' Digest 35(November, 1939):110-113.

these duties, they managed to conduct a number of other activities. They were constantly in demand as speakers on programs of all kinds. For instance, as early as 1920, Dr. Alexander reported he had sent speakers to at least eight major conventions.[182] In 1933 Mrs. Ames reported among her activities during the past year addresses delivered to some eight college audiences and fifteen others, including such diverse groups as The Cause and Cure of War Committee Meeting in Atlanta; the Southern Baptist Convention in Washington, D. C.; the National Federation of Colored Women in Chicago, Illinois; the Consumers League in New York City and the Farmers Conference at Tuskegee Institute.[183] Nor does this appear exceptional.

At least one of these addresses caused quite a stir. In speaking to the International Convention of Religious Education at Birmingham, Alabama, in the Spring of 1926, Dr. Alexander indicated that he could not defend Jim Crow because he thought it worked an injustice. He was misquoted in the local press, and a considerable reaction developed including censorship by a number of

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182 "Proceedings," Interracial Commission, November 17, 1920, C-Hist. Records.

183 Ames, "Report of Activities, 1933," C-Woman's Work. Numerous copies of speeches and reports of speeches made were found among the manuscripts.

fellow Methodist ministers; but eventually it was smoothed over when the paper admitted its error.[184]

Another partly extracurricular activity of the staff was the writing of frequent articles for publication. Admittedly most of them concerned the interracial movement and there was frequent duplication of the material used; but the total number produced over the years was quite large, and the coverage in terms of circulation must have ranged into the millions.[185]

Further, the staff often intervened personally to influence situations. For instance, on one occasion, Mrs. Ames protested vigorously against the segregation policy of the Dodge Hotel in Washington.[186] At another time Mr. Eleazer made a personal effort to counteract the reaction to Spivak's Georgia Nigger which was causing considerable agitation among Negroes and Whites by its characterizations.[187] Again, Dr. Alexander

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184 For a full account of this episode see "Behind Birmingham," an editorial in Christian Century, 43(1926): 672-3. It caused quite a stir in the Commission. See, for instance, the general letter sent out by Will W. Alexander, April 24, 1926, C-Hist. Records.

185 A list of all the known articles written by various staff members is included in the bibliography. See especially Alexander and Eleazer, pp. 426-433.

186 Jessie Daniel Ames to Mrs. Fred Paist, undated letter, correspondence, C-Woman's Work.

187 Robert B. Eleazer to Roger Baldwin, December 8, 1932, correspondence, C-Miscel.

intervened by wire and letter to get Negroes included in the CCC quota in Georgia.[188] So the movement had a share in all these activities through the identification it had with its staff.

Such, then, were the activities that characterized the interracial movement. The degree to which they were carried on varied through the years; and the exact extent to which they included the full personnel of the movement will probably never be known. Nevertheless, for twenty-five years they were continued in one form or another in an effort to bring into realization the dual objectives of the movement.

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[188] Will W. Alexander to George Arthur, May 18, 1933, telegram, C-Miscel.

CHAPTER VII

SPREADING THE IDEA

The many and varied activities of the interracial movement became the cause and source of another phase of its life, its publicity. Nor did it hide its light under a bushel after the first few years. Once it had made the decision to let it be generally known what the movement was all about, it continued until the end of its existence to seek by a variety of means to put that into effect.

In the very beginning of the movement, however, there was a strong feeling that publicity should be avoided, and only slowly did that feeling dissipate. As early as the meeting of July 17, 1919, a concern was expressed over the handling of the racial situation by the press. Some felt that there was a definite menace in the silence of editors and the religious press when so much attention was being devoted to racial affairs, especially violence, in the news columns. It was agreed that certain individuals in each state might be able to contact and secure the support of the influential editors of the state, but it was strongly felt that the

Inter-racial committee was not to be publicized in any way.[1] At the meeting a few days later, the committee set up the machinery to effect this.[2]

Two months later publicity was again the subject of considerable discussion. At that time some felt that there was too much talk going on in some localities, and that that was dangerous; but it was agreed that every local committee should be its own guide in this matter. It was announced that Tennessee was putting on a salaried man who could handle publicity; and a special committee was appointed to investigate the feasibility of putting out a book or pamphlet, or both, on the subject of interracial cooperation.[3]

Still, however, the watchword was caution. At the meeting of February 17, 1920, R. H. King, the director, expressed the feeling of the majority:

> ...We have felt that we could say as little as possible about the Inter-racial work and its program. We think it is proper to have no statement from the Committee and felt it to be a mistake to have publicity as yet. I think it is a fine thing in the local field.[4]

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[1] "Minutes of Inter-Racial Conference," July 17, 1919, C-Hist. Records.

[2] "Minutes of Inter-Racial Committee," July 24, 1919, C-Hist. Records.

[3] "Minutes Inter-Racial Conference Committee on After War Program and Representatives of State YMCA Committees," September 17, 1919, C-Hist. Records.

[4] "Minutes, Inter-Racial Committee," February 17, 1920, in "Report and Exhibits."

a month later several thought that greater publicity would then be desirable, at least among such groups as the University Race Commission, and it was decided to invite that group to the next meeting of the committee. But the director still counseled caution, and the policy of leaving general publicity up to the state and local committees was continued.[5]

In the meantime, however, Dr. Edwin Mims, a professor at Vanderbilt University, the publicity man who had been employed by the Tennessee state committee, had prepared four pamphlets: Law and Order in Tennessee: A Story of Inter-Racial Peace, The Nashville Plan of Inter-Racial Work, The Atlanta Plan of Inter-Racial Co-Operation and A Handbook for Inter-Racial Committees containing Opinions of Representative Southerners and Noteworthy Achievements of States and Communities; and in June he announced that they had been published in quantities of ten thousand copies each, and that the Handbook had already undergone a reprinting of an additional ten thousand copies. All these had been published over the name of the Inter-Racial Committee but actually were all more in the nature of guide books for local action rather than publicity for the Committee.

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[5] "Minutes, Inter-Racial Committee," March 23, 1920, in "Report and Exhibits."

Not a single one of them referred directly to the Inter-Racial Committee or its activities. At the same session Dr. Alexander announced that articles had appeared in three magazines of national circulation: Continent, The Survey, and Outlook. But they, too, were of a general nature.[6] Within a few months, though, a list of the members of the Committee was actually published in An Appeal to the Christian People of the South. The nature of that pamphlet was such that it could hardly be considered very widespread publicity.

By November 17, 1920, the sentiment toward wider publicity for the movement was definitely shaping up. Although Mr. King still favored local publicity, Dr. Mims reported that he had been reading intensely on the situation, had written a few articles that had been very well received, and was convinced that the time had come for some real publicity. The outcome was that the

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6 "Minutes Inter-Racial Committee," June 25, 1920, in "Report and Exhibits." Actually, Dr. Mims' name is on only two of the pamphlets which he reported had been issued: Law and Order in Tennessee and the Handbook. Presumably he also did The Nashville Plan. James A. Morton is credited with The Atlanta Plan. Of the magazine articles mentioned, only one (R. C. Dexter, "Inter-Racial Cooperation," in Survey, 44(1920):411) could be definitely identified. There was, however, an article in Southern Workman in January, 1920 (Henry Hugh Procter, "The Atlanta Plan of Inter-racial Co-operation," ibid., 49:9-12.)

Atlanta members of the Committee were constituted a special committee to deal with both publicity and the Ku Klux Klan.[7]

On January 12, 1921, this special committee met for several hours of very careful discussion. From their deliberations emerged the recommendation to go ahead with wider publicity: special articles in the papers, publicity in national publications, publication of a booklet on interracial work, a conference for leading editors, and the employment of a man to give full time to promote publicity. They also urged that special efforts be made to interest labor leaders, churches, lodges, and farm organizations.[8]

Evidently this policy was put into effect immediately for on March 29th, it was announced that the story of their work had been sent to 125 newspapers and special articles to many journals.[9] And by October even Mr. King was admitting that publicity was needed

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[7] "Proceedings," Interracial Commission, November 17, 1920, C-Hist. Records. At this meeting it was also reported that some materials were being sent to a special mailing list of a few thousand persons.

[8] "Minutes, Special Interracial Committee," January 12, 1921, C-Hist. Records.

[9] "Minutes Meeting Commission on Inter-racial Co-operation," March 29, 1921, C-Hist. Records.

to counteract unfavorable news, to encourage the timid and to strengthen the hold of the movement on others. At this meeting, it was decided to add a publicity man to the staff.[10] Thus, the policy that was to remain a permanent one of the movement became established.

At the first real annual meeting of the Commission on Interracial Commission in July, 1922, a director of publicity made a report of his activities and outlined his purposes:

> ... to interpret, as far as we could, the best there was in the white race in its relation and attitude to the Negro, and to interpret the best there was of the Negro to the white people, and to interpret to both classes what the interracial committee was trying to do.[11]

This, and the way that it was carried out, apparently met with the general approval of the leaders and members of the Commission for from time to time they especially commended the work of the publicity director;[12] and in 1926 he reaffirmed his general policy: "The purpose of

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10 "Report of Proceedings of Commission on Interracial Co-operation," October 7, 1921, C-Hist. Records.

11 "Minutes, Inter-Racial Commission," July 21, 1922, C-Hist. Records.

12 See, for examples, "Minutes," Executive Committee, February 16, 1923, C-Hist. Records; "Report of Findings Committee adopted, Annual Meeting, Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Asheville, N.C., July 31-August 3, 1923" (mimeo.), C-Hist. Records; and Report of Findings Committee in "Minutes, Seventh Annual Meeting, Commission on Interracial Cooperation," April 8-10, 1926 (mimeo.), C-Hist. Records.

this service is not to advertise the Commission, but to interpret Negroes and white people to each other in a more favorable light."[13]

Among the early activities of the publicity director was the holding of conferences for editors of newspapers.[14] Another of his activities was the setting up of an extensive press service that eventually reached thousands of papers. He also wrote articles for a number of magazines, and, finally, he undertook to edit numerous reports and write leaflets and pamphlets for circulation to the public. The Commission's only publicity director, Robert B. Eleazer, proved to be its most permanent full time staff member, remaining on the staff from 1921 through 1942.[15]

The major undertaking of the publicity director during his first years was to secure the cooperation of the press in the job of promoting better race relations as that was conceived by the Commission

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[13] Progress in Race Relations, 1926, 6.

[14] How many of these were held is not known. At least one was reported as very successful. See "A General Survey of Work of Commission on Interracial Cooperation for 1922-23," C-Hist. Records.

[15] The various aspects of the work of the publicity director will be discussed more in detail below. Actually he produced most of the publications and publicity material of the Commission during the Twenties, but after 1930 Mrs. Ames began to do a considerable amount in that field.

personnel. Within a year after his first report, Mr. Eleazer reported that he had worked up four mailing lists that included all the major daily newspapers in the South, five hundred weeklies, and four hundred magazines and school journals. Further, he indicated that he sent some fifty releases a year aggregating at least 25,000 separate contacts.[16] Two years later he had a regular mailing list of 1100 Southern dailies, the principal white religious publications and all Negro papers, plus occasional releases to hundreds of weeklies, college, labor and agricultural papers. A clipping service indicated that over 550 papers with an aggregate circulation of some 15,000,000 were using the material from time to time.[17]

Somewhat later the publicity director summarized

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16 "Minutes, Annual Conference, Commission on Interracial Cooperation," July 31 - August 3, 1923, C-Hist. Records. In Progress in Race Relations, 1923-24, 15, it was also pointed out: "In addition to our general press service, a great deal of local material has been supplied by field secretaries to the papers of their respective states."

17 Progress in Race Relations, 1924-25, 14-15. A compilation, "Newspapers Using Our Releases," undated, C-Publ. Releases, apparently of about this time, shows that an average of over thirty papers in each of the so-called Confederate states were using the releases. George Madden Martin, "Race Cooperation," in McClure's Magazine, 54(October, 1922):18, lists twelve representative newspapers of the South as cooperating, beginning with the Charlotte Observer and Greensboro News. Clippings of many papers were found among the manuscripts.

his press service thus:

> The effort of this press service is to interpret each race to the other in the most favorable light consistent with the facts, with the purpose of promoting mutual confidence, good will, and cooperative attitudes. This service reached regularly more than 2,000 papers, with a combined circulation exceeding thirty millions. The list includes every daily paper in thirteen Southern states and selected papers in other sections, the weekly papers of several states, every important religious journal in the country, college, educational, agricultural, and women's magazines, all the Negro papers, and occasionally other class publications. Every year hundreds of articles are broadcast through this service and the total annual mailings run to about 50,000.[18]

But this must have been the peak, for, in subsequent years, this aspect of his work declined. He became very busy with the educational aspect of his work, and his mailings were no doubt affected by the financial situation. In 1933 he reported that he was "reaching normally 1000 newspapers and magazines."[19] The number of releases filed after this date indicate, however, that they were being mailed out much less often.[20] In 1942

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[18] Eleazer, "Broadcasting Good Will The Press Service of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation," [1931], C-Hist. Records, 6.

[19] "Report, Educational Department" [1933], C-Hist. Records.

[20] An enumeration of the releases filed during the year 1935 indicated that only sixteen were sent out that year at irregular intervals.

Mr. Eleazer admitted that he had had no clipping service for several years, an indication of limited attention to that phase of his work,[21] and in the same year, the description of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation sent to the Social Work Year Book omitted the phrase "conducts extensive press service."[22]

The press releases, themselves, covered a very wide range but in general fell into three groups: announcements or reports of meetings, statements issued, etc.; special interest stories directed toward a specific locality or a specific group; and general news stories designed to develop among Negroes and whites a greater appreciation of each other such as accounts of heroism, or special achievements, and biographical sketches of outstanding persons such as George Washington Carver. They frequently passed on quotes from the Negro press to white publications,

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[21] Robert B. Eleazer to Walter White, January 14, 1942, correspondence, C-Miscel.

[22] Emily Clay to Margaret B. Hodges, July 15, 1942, correspondence, C-Miscel.

and also editorials from well-known papers.[23]

The director himself described one of his approaches:

> Digging around in the public library, the publicity director discovered that Negro troops had been employed in the Battle of New Orleans. The 8th of January was approaching, the anniversary of that battle, so the story was formulated under the title, "Jackson's Men of Color in the Battle of New Orleans," and sent to the New Orleans Times - Picayune [sic] for publication as an anniversary feature. It was printed under a double-column head. The next day the Picayune carried editorial comment upon it, and on the third day it was picked up by the Louisville Courier-Journal and given a column on the editorial page.[24]

Another approach, for a time at least, was to send out an occasional sheet with a number of very short articles

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[23] A large number of press releases, but obviously not all, were among the manuscripts of the Commission. An idea of the kind of matter treated can be obtained from a listing of the topics involved in 1935: Southern newspaper comment concerning Negro congressman; the address of Dr. Hope to the meeting of the Association of American Colleges, in Atlanta; the sixteenth annual meeting of the Tennessee State Interracial Committee; the interest being shown in the Rosenwald "Business" contest; outstanding speakers at Atlanta University; the economic report on tenant farmers made by Embree, Alexander and Johnson; announcement of Channing Tobias' joining the Commission staff; announcement of the seventeenth annual meeting of the Commission; announcement of the release of Recent Trends in Race Relations; interest in Rosenwald contest; action of Mississippi women urging punishment of lynchers; editorial from the Oklahoma Eagle; hundreds of stories received in the Rosenwald contest; action of Atlanta Methodist Woman's Missionary Society in regard to recent Georgia lynchings; awards made in Rosenwald contest; and more awards made in Rosenwald contest. For examples of press releases, see Appendix H, pp. 386-393.

[24] Eleazer, "Broadcasting Good Will The Press Service of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation," [1931], 7.

suitable for fillers under the caption, Good Will, flanked by two boxes which stated respectively "Dedicated to Understanding and Helpfulness," and "Editors - Please preserve and clip freely."[25] Thus, he attempted to provide material that editors might use in their own way.

The other major activity related to publicity, carried on in part but not entirely by the publicity director, was the publication of specific pieces of literature for general circulation. These materials were of all kinds: special appeals, reports, descriptions of work being done, educational and research publications, and reprints of especially appropriate material issued elsewhere. They took a variety of forms ranging from the one-page flyer to the multi-paged volume. In between, some were small folders; many were long narrow pamphlets; a number were regular sized pamphlets; and a few approached book size with over fifty pages each. Printings of five or ten thousand copies were usually made of each publication, with some exceptions, but many of them were reprinted, some

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25 How long and how often this was issued is not known. Only one copy of it was found among the manuscripts.

a number of times.[26]

The number and kind of the publications tended to vary across the years. During the first half decade (1919-1924), three-by-nine pamphlets were favored, but the next half decade (1925-1929), the number of single-fold leaflets exceeded that of pamphlets. After 1929 the number of publications rose steadily. The total during the first half of the Thirties (1930-1934) was forty-five, more than produced during the entire preceding decade; and over one-half of those were leaflets. From 1935-1940, the number produced rose to fifty with pamphlets again in the lead; but during the Forties (1940-1943), while the total number was raised to sixty, the number of pamphlets declined and the number of leaflets almost doubled what they had been during the preceding period. The number of flyers also increased.

The very first publications of the movement were in the nature of general descriptive material such as The Atlanta Plan of Inter-Racial Cooperation, The Nash-

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[26] The figures for the statements concerning the publications were secured from actual count of the publications. Any unstapled material of more than one page was considered a leaflet; anything of more than fifty pages was classified as a booklet. The publications of state committees were included as publications of the Commission as most of them were at least partially financed by the Commission. Although the Commission actually published no books, it financed the research for several and they, too, have been included. For a complete list of the publications, see the annotated bibliography, pp. 398-423.

ville Plan of Inter-Racial Work and A Handbook for Inter-Racial Committees. After the Commission became established, this type of material tended to become more directly related to its work and such leaflets as "An Adventure in Good Will: The Interracial Commission Its Origin and Work and "The South Turning Corner in Racial Understanding" A Newspaper Man's View of Interracial Cooperation were issued. In the Thirties additional descriptive publications appeared either based on the Commission itself, such as Recent Trends in Race Relations (1934 edition), or on the specialized activities, such as the leaflets: Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching and Education and Race Relations. The later Thirties, with the revival of field work, produced leaflets on state committees such as Going Forward Together Through Conference and Cooperation put out by the North Carolina Committee and Georgia Committee of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation; and the Forties saw more of these, plus a new description of the general Commission in The Interracial Commission Comes of Age.

Immediately following the decision to engage in wider publicity, the publications tended to become special appeals designed to win support for the idea of interracial cooperation. Such pamphlets as The Opinion of Those Who Ought to Know: What Representative Negroes

Say of the Interracial Movement, Southern White Women on Lynching and Mob Violence: Excerpts from Pronouncements of Women's Committees on Race Relations, Justice in Race Relations, Southern Opinion and Race Relations, Our Christian Obligation to the Negro, all appeared during the first decade. In later years, less emphasis was placed on this kind of material although occasional pieces were published. Among these were Southern Leaders Impeach Judge Lynch [early 30's];"Let 'er Burn Down: the Taxpayers will Put 'er Back"- Sermon:"The Cost of the Mob" (1933); Southern Women and Lynching (1935); Brothers in Black: A Sermon preached as Retiring Moderator before the Presbytery in Atlanta (1942) and Needed ... A Southern Charter For Race Relations (1942).

Sharing the emphasis placed on special appeals during the early Twenties, were the published reports of the Commission and some of the state committees. Rather detailed reports of the Commission activities appeared for 1923-24, 1924-25, 1926, and 1927. Similarly, Kentucky, Georgia and Tennessee issued printed reports of their activities for 1922. In later years, the reports tended to become much less detailed, and as a result, much shorter. The first issue of Some Recent Trends in Race Relations in 1932 was a rather general report and

The Interracial Front (1934) was very similar. Southern Women Look at Lynching, a report of the A.S.W.P.L., was somewhat more detailed; and the two issues of Education and Racial Adjustment were full sized booklets of over sixty pages each. A few states issued very brief reports during the Thirties, such as Progress Report - Commission on Interracial Cooperation for Virginia and North Carolina and The Texas Commission on Interracial Cooperation, 1920-1936, but the latter was really more of a general description prepared for the Texas Centennial. The final reports appeared in 1940 and 1941 in State Interracial Committees: How They Work and Democratic Processes At Work in the South: Report of Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc.

In the 1920's, the first educational materials were also issued. These included Georgia's Mob Centers, What the Bible Tells Me About Race Relations, and Negro Progress and Achievement: Random Paragraphs from a Stirring Story of Struggle and Success. America's Tenth Man: A Brief Survey of the Negro's Part in American History, which was to become the most outstanding publication of the Commission going through twenty-three editions and eventually reaching a total of 240,000 copies, was also first issued in 1926. But not until the Thirties was any real emphasis placed on this

aspect of the work.

After 1930, however, the educational materials became by far the majority of the publications issued. The results of the various research studies such as Lynchings and What They Mean; The Plight of Tuscaloosa: A Case Study of Conditions in Tuscaloosa County, Alabama, 1933; Singers in the Dawn: A Brief Anthology of American Negro Poetry, appeared in print. The books which were subsidized although not actually published by the Commission also appeared during this decade: Raper's The Tragedy of Lynching, Chadbourn's Lynching and the Law, Johnson, Embree and Alexander's The Collapse of Cotton Tenancy, Cayton and Mitchell's Black Workers and the New Unions, Mangum's The Legal Status of the Negro, and Raper and Reid's Sharecroppers All. Most of the publications of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching were designed to educate against lynching, such as "This Business of Lynching" and "Lynching is Wholesale Murder."

In the Forties the tempo of issuing educational material was actually stepped up despite the increasing financial difficulties of the Commission, or possibly because of it; but the size tended to shift toward smaller pieces such as cogent flyers and brief expositions on specific topics. Some of these were devoted

to consideration of the role of the Negro in the nation at war. Others discussed such topics as the schools, Supreme Court decisions affecting the South, and "white" primaries.[27] A few of them, for instance Understanding Our Neighbors and The Changing Character of Lynching, were substantial pamphlets that went into more detail.

During the last few years the interracial movement also succeeded in establishing a couple of periodicals. Earlier attempts had been made in this direction but without continued success. The first attempted periodical was a mimeographed bulletin of two or three sheets that was issued four times during 1930-31 by the Department of Woman's Work, but apparently was not continued.[28] It was replaced, however, by the second attempt, High Spots, a four-page, printed bulletin which

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[27] For instance see, The Negro and National Defense: Address by Dr. Robert C. Weaver to the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc., October 4, 1940 (1940); Public School Expenditures Black and White: Comparative Data From Official Reports, 1939-1940 (1941); Recent Supreme Court Decisions Affecting Southern Customs (1941); What Are Real Wages in Domestic Service? (1941); Let's Win the War (1942); and The "White Primary:" An Anachronism in the Year 1942 (1942).

[28] Jessie Daniel Ames to "Dear Friend," May 1, 1931, form letter, correspondence, C-Woman's Work. Actually, only two issues of this bulletin were found among the manuscripts: No. II, December 1, 1930; and No. IV, May 1, 1931.

appeared irregularly in 1932 and 1933. This was also put out by the Department of Woman's Work; and both of them were devoted to reports and short articles about phases of the work of the department.[29]

In 1939, however, Mrs. Ames, who as Director of Woman's Work had made the first two tries, decided to make another attempt with the Southern Frontier. This time she succeeded. In getting it started, she designed the bulletin as an adjunct to the general field work:

> In order to knead the State Interracial Committees closer together and inspire them with greater effort and enthusiasm for carrying on their work in the respective states, and also to furnish suggestions to each state by presenting activities of other states, the plan for issuing a monthly bulletin ... has been approved by the Executive Committee of the Georgia Interracial Committee, subject to the action of other State Committees ....[30]

The state committees were to be responsible for a part of the material for each issue, in turn. It was to be financed by the Commission with an additional subscription fee of twenty-five cents per year.

After it had become established, however, its purpose became somewhat enlarged. It became more of a

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[29] Only two copies of High Spots were actually located. One was dated November, 1932; and the other, marked Vol. III, No. II, was dated April-June, 1933.

[30] "News Bulletin" [1939], C-Lit., is a detailed description of the proposed publication.

bulletin of general information. One of its objectives was to inform whites of the thinking of Negroes by reprinting selections from the Negro press. A second purpose was to circulate the opinions of "influential citizens," Negro and white, on the "inequalities and injustices which determine the lives of Negroes in the South." And, thirdly, it aimed

> ... to print or reprint stories and editorials from local people and Southern white newspapers which will give assurance to its Negro readers that there is in the South a consciousness that all is not well and that the South must do something about it immediately and definitely.[31]

The Southern Frontier was published by the Commission from January, 1940 through January, 1944; and in general, tended to conform pretty closely to the latter description of its purpose.

The second periodical publication issued was the Georgia Observer. It was put out by the Georgia committee although, actually, it was edited in the Commission office; and it, too, began publication in 1940. It was usually a small four-page leaflet; and appeared on a bi-monthly basis. In general, each issue tended to be devoted to one entire subject, a speech that had been made, or an article especially written for the purpose. Several of its numbers were distributed as

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[31] Editorial, The Southern Frontier, 3(June, 1942):2.

Commission leaflets.[32] It continued to be issued through December, 1942.

In 1942 Mrs. Ames began still another periodical although it was technically not a publication. As the result of the Staff Meeting of June 12th and the need evidenced, she began to compile a "Clip Sheet," a mimeographed document, often of several pages, to be sent twice a month to members of state executive committees, the staff and a few others.[33] As it was issued, however, each number tended to be devoted to a specific subject, and the clippings were liberally interspersed with editorial comment. For example, the second issue, "Clip Sheet Number Two," July 29, 1942, was devoted entirely to a full reporting of an incident that happened to Roland Hayes in his native town, Rome, Georgia. Some other representative issues were entitled "The White Primaries Disturb the South" (No. 4, August 31, 1942); "The Negro Press 116 Years Old" (Series II, No. 5, March 15, 1943); "Black Cabinet vs White Advisers"

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[32] See, for example, "What Happened in Georgia," in Georgia Observer, August, 1941, an entire issue devoted to Talmadge and the school situation in Georgia. Examples of issues used for general distribution by the Commission are "The Negro in National Defense" (April, 1941), and "Health Needs of the Negroes in Georgia" September, 1940).

[33] "Staff Meeting," June 12, 1942, C-Field Work, 14-15.

(Series II, No. 10, May 31, 1943); "The Negro and Segregation in the Armed Forces" (Series II, No. 11, June 15, 1943) and "Is Social Equality a Red Herring?" (Series III, No. 8, October 30, 1943). It, like the Southern Frontier, was continued up until the last moment, the last issue being dated February 15, 1944.

The demand for the various publications of the Commission seems to have increased as time passed. In 1932 it was reported that more than fifty thousand copies of the Tenth Man and at least five thousand copies of Quest for Understanding had already been ordered; that ten thousand copies of Lynchings and What They Mean had been distributed; and that another pamphlet had been sent to some three thousand Southern sheriffs alone.[34] A later report indicated that orders from Southern colleges for material of the Commission in the years from 1935-36 through 1941-42 had reached a grand total of 111,314 pieces of literature.[35] In a report made to the Board of Directors in February, 1942, Mrs. Ames reported:

> Approximately 58,380 pieces of literature have been distributed through the office of Field Director. This number does not include the monthly circulation of 2500 of THE SOUTHERN

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[34] Some Recent Trends in Race Relations (1932 ed.), 15-16, 19.

[35] "Orders from Southern Colleges for Material of Commission on Interracial Cooperation (Years 1935-6 thru 1941-2)", C-Lit.

> FRONTIER or the bi-monthly circulation of 2500 GEORGIA OBSERVERS. This amount of literature does not include any orders for less than fifty pieces.[36]

Elsewhere, it was reported that some seventy-nine libraries, public and school, had requested literature during 1942.[37] As late as October 22, 1943, the demand still continued for on that day, the secretary wrote of "recent requests of literature from forty-five states," and added:

> ... Just today we received an order for 500 copies of the new edition of America's Tenth Man (at $4.00 a hundred!) to be sent to Milwaukee for the State Educational Association Meeting. A few weeks ago, an order for 2,000 copies of Songs of the South came from Woman's Press of the Y.W.C.A. in New York.[38]

Naturally, the publication of so many pieces of literature was not without its stresses and strains. Occasionally the members of the staff were critical of each other's publications.[39] At times, outsiders expressed displeasure; but at least an equal number were

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[36] "Literature in 1942" clipped to "Report of Jessie Daniel Ames, Field Director to Board of Directors, February 14, 1942," C-Hist. Records. There is no indication of what time span this included but at least it did not go back beyond 1937 for Mrs. Ames was not Field Director until then.

[37] "Libraries Requesting Literature - 1942 Field Department," C-Lit.

[38] Emily H. Clay to Mrs. W. A. Newell, October 22, 1942, correspondence, C-Miscel.

[39] Will W. Alexander to Jessie Daniel Ames, undated note, C-Woman's Work; and Jessie Daniel Ames to Mrs. J. W. Mills, August 28, 1936, correspondence, C-Woman's Work.

appreciative.[40]

A special committee was set up in 1942 to appraise the publications of the Commission and after lengthy deliberation, it agreed on dropping certain ones, making improvements in others, and establishing a general policy of publication along several lines: issuing all publications by series and number, omitting statistical material from leaflet statements of principle to avoid out-dating, limiting quantities of reprints, etc.[41] Later that year after a very careful appraisal of the Commission and its work, Dr. W. E. Cole of the University of Tennessee, recommended that the Southern Frontier should be continued despite some criticisms that it was too liberal and others that it was too conservative. He further indicated that he did not find the criticism that there was too much repetition in the publications justified, but that the timing and objectives of each publication could be improved.[42] But the

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[40] See for examples, Joseph J. Rhoads to R. B. Eleazer, July 27, 1942, C-Lit.; Kendall Weisiger to Miss Clay, undated memo, C-Lit.; Edward D. Davis to Jessie Daniel Ames, July 28, 1941, C-Lit.; and Virginius Dabney to Jessie Daniel Ames, August 19, 1941, C-Lit.

[41] "Report of Steering Committee," March 20, 1942, C-Hist. Records.

[42] William E. Cole, "Tentative Report to Board of Directors," October 18, 1942, C-Hist. Records, 40-42.

end was too close for any major difference in the publications to be noted.

An entirely separate aspect of the publicity of the interracial movement were the articles that appeared in magazines from time to time throughout its existence. As has already been shown, the first of the long series appeared in 1920; and they continued to appear until almost the end of the Commission. Most of the articles were written by the staff and were published in religious publications. They almost invariably described either the Commission or some special aspect of its work; although some of them were devoted to race relations in a more general way. A few of them were by persons other than the staff. Some of them were members of the Commission, others were not. For instance, in 1922 Dr. R. R. Moton wrote "An Inter-Racial Commission at Work" for Outlook; and George Madden Martin, another member of the Commission and the author of Emmy Lou, did a lengthy article on the Commission, "Race Cooperation," in McClure's Magazine. The next year a non-member, Robert L. Duffus, did another lengthy and illustrated treatment in "Counter-Mining the Ku Klux Klan" in World's Work. Years later, another non-member, Lewis T. Nordyke wrote up the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching in Survey Graphic in an article

entitled "Ladies and Lynching."[43]

The treatment of the interracial movement by the newspaper press is much more difficult to assess. As the reports of the press service indicated, a fairly large number of papers evidently used material sent out by the Commission at least occasionally. A large collection of clippings gives evidence that some of the major newspapers of the South were quite cooperative and reported happenings, such as annual meetings, quite objectively.[44] In the main, however, the movement never became one that attracted too much attention in the newsworthy sense. Many of its activities were carried on unobtrusively, often through the medium of other organizations.

Despite the rise of the radio during the lifetime of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, the publicity of the interracial movement remained almost entirely dependent upon face to face transmission or the printed

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[43] For a listing of the articles on the interracial movement, see below, pp. 426-433.

[44] Quite a number of clippings from scattered newspapers throughout the 20's and early 30's were found among the manuscripts. For some examples of treatment of Commission meetings, see The Atlanta Constitution, November 3, 1922; Louisville (Ky.) Courier Journal, December 8, 1923; and the Birmingham (Ala.) News, January 23, 1924..

word. In 1929, the possibility of using the radio was discussed and it was decided to explore it,[45] but little developed out of it. Only rarely was any use made of the radio by the Commission or its affiliates, although ideas of interracial cooperation in line with the purpose of the Commission were expressed over it more frequently as the years passed.[46]

In the light of the changes and advances in the field of public relations during the quarter century, 1919-1944, when Hitler was making the word "propaganda" a household byword, the Commission's publicity efforts may be considered as inadequate. In the first place, it apparently never gained any real concept of public relations in the total sense that that term realized during the period. Secondly, it demonstrated virtually no change in its publicity approach to meet the changing times. The publicity releases of the mid-Thirties, for instance, sound very similar to those of the early Twenties. The changes in the nature of the materials that did occur

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[45] "Staff Meeting at Blue Ridge, August 25th through the 28th, 1929," C-Hist. Records, 4.

[46] The Interracial Commission At Work, a flyer issued by the Virginia Committee in 1934, did report that that committee was putting on some radio programs. The Commission did print a number of radio addresses, usually as leaflets. See, for instance, Guy B. Johnson, Negro Progress and Handicaps (1941), and Charlotte Hawkins Brown, The Negro and the Social Graces (1940).

were due mainly to the particular emphasis in program of the time, or perhaps in part to personnel shifts.[47]

On the other hand, to be just, the Commission did not seem to be really concerned about selling itself in its publications, except for a few specifically designed pamphlets issued during the financial campaign of 1929.[48] It was much more concerned with providing a general description of itself and the concept of interracial cooperation, and with the circulation of information on the subject of race relations, although sometimes only indirectly so. In view of the climate of opinion in the South, at least during the Twenties, perhaps this was the only course it could have taken. Education was certainly necessary there in the field of race relations before any selling of the idea of support for an interracial commission could become general. In this light, then, the Commission's publicity was both sound and successful. The Tenth Man and the Southern Frontier, alone, filled much needed gaps that existed in the field

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[47] Mrs. Ames was responsible for most of the ASWPL publications which stepped up and altered production during the Thirties, and after 1937 she produced much of the other literature which reflects a decided slant toward usefulness in the field work. She also started and edited all of the periodical publications.

[48] See above, p. 156.

of Southern literature during this period.

In any case, the Interracial Commission sought to spread the ideal for which it stood. In scattered newspapers and magazines, and in its own publications, it left its imprint among the published annals of that quarter century during which it lived. Whether all that was printed by and about it, even taken together, could give a true picture of it is to be doubted; but at least the shadow of the substance was there for all to read who would. Unfortunately all of its efforts did not guarantee its continued existence, at least not in its initial form; and as the years passed the signs of its passing, too, became the clearer.

CHAPTER VIII

TRANSITION INTO A NEW ORDER

Slowly the interracial movement had come into being; just as slowly it came to an end. At the end of World War I the idea of setting up interracial committees had gradually taken form to express the ideal of mutual cooperation between the two races in the South. So, in the midst of World War II, the idea of interracial committees was eventually superseded by the concept of regionalism, the concept that the problems of a region, in this case the South, are closely interrelated and therefore must be considered as a whole and approached accordingly; and the Commission on Interracial Cooperation became a thing of the past.

That this should have taken place is not surprising for throughout the years of the existence of the interracial movement there were objections to use of the racial approach, suggestive of the final passing. As early as 1920 one member proposed that the word "interracial" should be used as seldom as possible.[1] He was

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[1] "Proceedings," Interracial Commission, November 17, 1920, C-Hist. Records.

considering the question of publicity at the time, and was probably motivated by a desire to protect rather than to destroy; but it was just this idea, that the word interracial was a handicap, which eventually combined with other factors to produce the final transition to a regional council concerned with all regional problems.

At the annual meeting in 1940 a speaker formulated it clearly:

> ... We know that when we begin to talk about race relations in the South, and to discuss what is going on actually, we get back to these elementary things: health, work, politics, suffrage, agricultural problems, farm tenancy, etc. We have tried for twenty years to work out some sort of program in the South which would include Negroes, so that they might share in the benefits. Now we come to the point where we find that these are major Southern problems and, if they are to be solved, they must be solved in terms of the total population. It seems to me that what we are trying to do now is to go out and get other people who are not primarily interested in race relations and interest them in our problems because they are their problems also. I should hope that after a few years the Division on Race Relations will just fade out of the picture.[2]

Here the idea is clearly advanced that thinking in terms of race is inadequate in the face of the larger problems which face all peoples--a definite call for a fuller measure of integration. By 1942 there were a number of voices suggesting that the time for a change had come.[3]

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[2] Rufus E. Clement in "Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc.," October 3-4, 1940, C-Official Min.

[3] See Eugene D. Carstater [for the Hampton, Va.], Committee to Miss Emily H. Clay, June 3, 1942, correspondence, C-Miscel.; and William E. Cole, "Tentative Report to the Board of Directors," October 18, 1942, C-Hist. Records, 28.

Undoubtedly there were other such expressions in the years between, which escaped recording.

As early as 1936 the first steps were taken which were eventually to lead to the creation of an alternative for the interracial committee idea. At the annual meeting of the Commission that year considerable concern was expressed over the future of the Commission in view of the approaching financial crisis with the expiration of the appropriations of several of the large foundations at the end of 1938. As a result it was decided that "a special committee be appointed to study the best policy, methods, and program for the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, [and] that Dr. Odum be named chairman of the committee...."[4] Thus the Commission unwittingly sowed the seeds for its own experation.

Out of the committee thus set up emerged the idea of the organization of a Council on Southern Regional Development, undoubtedly pushed by Dr. Odum, which would absorb the interracial movement among its other

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[4] "Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc.," April 15-16, 1936, C-Official Min. By this time Dr. Howard W. Odum had already gained a reputation as one of the leading social scientists of the South and was becoming one of the major advocates of regionalism. He published his tremendous source-book on the South, Southern Regions (Chapel Hill, 1936) that same year; and cooperated with Harry E. Moore to issue American Regionalism (New York, 1938) two years later.

activities.[5] For over a year nothing was heard from the committee but it apparently was undertaking some action by the Fall of 1937, and early in 1938 the results were evident. By that time the machinery had already been set in motion for another major financial campaign. At a meeting of the executive committee of the Commission in February, Dr. Odum proposed:

> That the Commission be enlarged into a south-wide regional body to include, in addition to special focusing on race relations, three other main headings; namely, land tenure and farm relations; economics and labor relations; and public relations and administration.[6]

The committee immediately adopted this idea and decided to include it in the attempt to raise money which was then under consideration.[7]

Within a few weeks elaborate plans were drawn up for the launching of the new idea and the financial campaign to secure funds for it. A National Committee on Southern Regional Development was proposed to consist

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[5] "Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc.," May 24-25, 1939, C-Official Min.

[6] "Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc., Meeting of Executive Committee," February 27, 1938, C-Official Min. Dr. Odum reported at the same time that he had been made chairman of an Interim Committee appointed by the Institute on Regional Development in the Social Sciences which had been held shortly before that; and that his Interim Committee was interested in the proposal he had just made and the reaction of the Commission to it.

[7] Ibid.

of a total of 213 names of Negroes and whites, mostly prominent persons: members of Congress, college presidents, bank presidents, bishops, editors and authors. A smaller group was also proposed to act as a managing board for the new organization, and an even smaller group of less than a dozen was suggested as an executive committee for the new organization. An immediate date was set for a meeting of a campaign committee to get things going.[8]

But time was required to formulate plans and work out details; and, unfortunately in the Summer and Fall of 1938 time was running out for such ventures. A number of other groups primarily concerned about the welfare of the South were forming that year, prominent among them being the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.[9] Further, the pressure of international affairs and the constant threat of war created an

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[8] Richard H. King to Howard W. Odum, Will W. Alexander, Lyman L. Pierce, April 7, 1938, correspondence, C-Fin. Records. This campaign committee met on Sunday, May 15, 1938, laid plans for a financial campaign to secure funds for the newly proposed council to begin January 1, 1939, and suggested names for membership. ("Minutes, Meeting of the Campaign Executive Committee of the National Committee on Southern Regional Development, May 15, 1938," C-Fin. Records.) Apparently this group did not meet again however.

[9] Dr. Odum intimated later that this definitely jeopardized the chances of the Council for Regional Development. See "Address by Dr. Howard W. Odum to the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc. October 3, 1940" (mimeo.), C-Hist. Records, 3. See also below, p. 345.

atmosphere not too congenial to new ideas, especially costly ones.

The campaign director continued to work on the idea of a regional council, however, and eventually produced the outline of a very elaborate brochure designed to sell the idea. It consisted of forty-six pages in manuscript form and gave a very complete outline of the need and purpose of a Council for Southern Regional Development.[10] But it never reached publication.

Still the regional idea did not die. In 1939 it was presented to the annual meeting of the Commission and received unanimous approval.[11] A little later, Dr. Odum, its originator and one of its main advocates, suggested that it might be able to work in with some of the ideas of the Tennessee Valley Authority.[12] And, again at the next annual meeting, in 1940, it was strongly pushed by Dr. Odum in his presidential address:

> ... The problems of race relations no longer are merely specific tasks of race conflict. It seems to me the way to do best what we have been doing is to do it by strengthening

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10 "The Scope of the Council for Southern Regional Development," C-Fin. Records. A pencilled notation indicates this had been corrected and returned to the professional fund raiser, Mr. Pierce, on January 12, 1939. The Auditor's Statement, February 2, 1940, indicates that $367.71 were spent in 1939 in connection with the proposed Council.

11 "Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc.," May 24-25, 1939, C-Official Min.

12 Howard W. Odum to Will W. Alexander, August 14, 1939, correspondence, C-Miscel.

> the whole regional economy and culture and to dedicate this work not only to interracial relations, but to the development of the whole South to the end that all, white and Negroes, may participate in it more abundantly.
>
> ... I think we have got to quit asking our southern folk what we can do with reference to race, labor, etc. But instead I am sure that we have got to assume that these things are essential and natural, and we must incorporate these things in our everyday life.[13]

But still the time was not ripe.

In the meantime, however, the problems of the interracial movement were increasing. The financial support of the Commission had been cut drastically after 1938, and the amount of money available for continuation of the work was less than one-third of what it had been. In accordance with the reduced income, the paid staff members, other than the purely clerical workers, had dwindled to four full time persons even before 1938.[14]

Further, there were personnel problems that complicated matters and reduced the effectiveness of those serving in positions of leadership. There was increasing

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13 "Address by Dr. Howard W. Odum to the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc.," October 3, 1940 (mimeo.) C-Hist. Records, 3-4.

14 These were Mrs. Ames, Field Director; Mr. Eleazer, Educational Director; Miss Clay, Secretary; and Mr. Reynolds, Secretary for Virginia and North Carolina. Dr. Alexander, technically still considered as the director, was actually employed first by the government and then by the Rosenwald Fund. (See Will W. Alexander to Members of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc., June 20, 1940, form letter, C-Hist. Records.)

evidence of friction and lack of understanding and cooperation between staff members.[15] In addition, there were divisions among the membership of the Commission, some feeling that it was becoming too radical, and others that it was anything but radical.[16]

Moreover, there was a growing feeling, whether soundly based or not, that the Commission had lost the confidence of many. It cropped out at the Work Conference in 1940 during the discussion following a speech by Dr. Alexander.[17] It was apparent at other meetings and in the correspondence.[18] It was particularly expressed in regard to Negroes: " ... The bare fact remains that with a large sector of Negroes the Interracial Commission has lost cast somewhat. It has been

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15 See for examples, Jessie Daniel Ames to C. H. Bynum, December 28, 1942, correspondence, C-Field Work; and William E. Cole, "Tentative Report to Board of Directors," October 18, 1942, C-Hist. Records, 31, 36.

16 "Report of Mrs. Jessie D. Ames, Field Director, To the Board of Director of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, February 14, 1942," C-Hist. Records; and Howard W. Odum to Gunnar Myrdal, August 13, 1942, correspondence, C-Miscel.

17 "Discussion following Dr. Alexander's talk, Thursday evening, February 8, 1940," Work Conference, C-Field Work.

18 See "Executive Committee Meeting," Georgia Committee, June 4, 1937, C-Ga.; Emily H. Clay to Howard W. Odum, August 26, 1942 and October 4, 1942, correspondence, C-Miscel.; and Jessie Daniel Ames to P. B. Young, January 4, 1943, letter in personal files of Jessie Daniel Ames.

accused of inertness, etc."[19]

Finally, the entire picture was greatly complicated by the war. It enhanced the difficulty of securing financial support when every penny was being diverted to security measures. It hampered the movement of the personnel about their duties as well as the conduct of such activities as meetings and forums. Yet, at the same time, it multiplied the tensions and areas of possible conflict which were the very reason for the existence of the movement. The Secretary of the Commission expressed its effect upon herself: "It is a rather sickening situation. I often think that life must be much simpler for those who know or care nothing about 'better race relations!'"[20]

The determination not to just let the interracial movement die was strong, however, at least in a few persons, especially Mrs. Ames. At an executive committee meeting of the Georgia Interracial Committee in January, 1942, she expressed herself very forcefully, urging that something be done by those present to save

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19 Gordon B. Hancock to Jessie Daniel Ames, August 11, 1942, letter in personal files of Jessie Daniel Ames.

20 Emily H. Clay to Will W. Alexander, August 26, 1942, correspondence, C-Miscel.

the situation.[21] And something was done.

Whether there was any direct relation to the action of Mrs. Ames, or whether it was the result of separate actions, in February, 1942, the Executive Committee of the Commission authorized a thorough study of the Commission and its work by a competent social scientist. At the same time, it set up a steering committee to consider the whole problem of the publications of the Commission.[22] The latter committee met immediately and formulated a set of policies, as has already been shown, which definitely anticipated the continuation of the Commission.[23]

The other action took somewhat more time to be carried out. Dr. William E. Cole of the Sociology Department of the University of Tennessee was eventually secured to undertake the analysis; and after some months of very detailed study, he made a report of his findings to the Board of Directors. He appraised the accomplishments of the Commission and concluded that they had

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21 "Executive Committee Meeting," Georgia Interracial Committee, January 10, 1942, C-Ga., 6-8. See also, Jessie Daniel Ames to C. H. Bynum, January 5, 1943, correspondence, C-Field Work.

22 Howard W. Odum to Jessie Daniel Ames, February 27, 1942, correspondence, C-Miscel.

23 "Report of Steering Committee," March 20, 1942, C-Hist. Records; see also above, p. 260.

been worthwhile. He thought that the Commission should be continued and suggested a reexploration of "the idea of a council of regional development."[24] And he outlined a number of things which he considered important for the future program of the Commission.[25] Thus, there was basis for hope that at least the movement would not just fade away from lack of interest.

At the same time that these developments were taking place, other developments were occurring that were to affect the Commission's future. World War II, even more than World War I, aggravated the racial situation. The color issue in the conflict itself kept cropping out. The discrepancy between the profession of America's being an "arsenal of democracy" and the discriminations and disabilities many Negroes suffered were too obvious, at least to them. The discrimination against Negroes in the rapidly expanding war industries and in the various branches of the armed services sorely tried them. And they protested. Their press and organizations became quite vocal. Even a march on Washington was proposed and planned. The tension

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[24] Outline of report submitted by Dr. William E. Cole to the Board of Directors, October 15, 1942, C-Hist. Records, 1.

[25] Ibid., 2. Cole, "Tentative Report to the Board of Directors," October 18, 1942, treated all these in much greater detail.

between the races especially in the South became heightened.[26]

Against this background, a series of events took place, events which were not directly related to the Commission, but which shaped up the total situation and helped set the stage for its final acts. These were a series of conferences that took place in Durham, Atlanta, and Richmond during 1942 and 1943. By the time the last one had taken place, the end of the interracial movement, per se, was in sight.

The first of these conferences was that held at Durham, North Carolina, on October 20, 1942. The background of this meeting is still somewhat shrouded in mystery, for it was planned quietly and without publicity. Apparently it came about as a result of a call from Gordon B. Hancock, Dean of Virginia Union University, and a few other prominent Southern Negroes who were concerned about the racial situation in the

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[26] See Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemna (3rd ed., 2 vols., New York, 1944), 2:1011-1115; and Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom, 561-564, 570-580.

South.[27]

Only Southern Negroes were in attendance at the Durham Conference, some fifty-eight in all. Five others

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[27] The role of Mrs. Ames in actually bringing this conference about seems very prominent. As early as March, 1941, she expressed the idea that she thought the Negroes should use the wartime emergency as an opportunity to "wrest everything they can out of our fight to preserve Christian civilization and democracy." (Letter to Mark Ethridge, March 7, 1941, correspondence, C-Lit.) Again, she referred to the need for Southern Negroes to speak for themselves. (Letter to Jonathan Daniels, September 19, 1941, correspondence, C-Lit.) Early in 1942, Mrs. Ames requested Dean Hancock to write an editorial for The Southern Frontier which she edited, and included in her letter the statement: "I feel that the Negroes of the South are fighting a very strong battle to establish their right to speak for Southern Negroes and that we white people have an opportunity to strengthen their hands if we have the courage and vision to see it." (Letter to Gordon B. Hancock, March 12, 1942, in personal files of Jessie Daniel Ames.) The request was granted (see "Needed ... A Southern Charter For Race Relations," in The Southern Frontier, 3(April, 1942); and in thanking Dean Hancock, Mrs. Ames further suggested that Hancock and "two or three other Negro leaders from the deep South" should call a conference of Negro leaders to discuss problems and "come to some general working agreement on what you want white people to do to help." (Letter to Gordon B. Hancock, April 7, 1942, in personal files of Jessie Daniel Ames.) She also made the same suggestion to Carter Wesley, Editor-Publisher of the Houston Informer, Dallas Express and New Orleans Sentinel. (Jessie Daniel Ames to Mrs. Park, April 23, 1947, correspondence, C-Miscel.) Subsequent correspondence shows that she remained in close touch with what was going on although carefully refraining from revealing her participation. Immediately following the Durham conference, Dean Hancock privately acknowledge the debt to her: "You are proving yourself a great benefactor to a great cause and when the history of the New South is written, your name will stand high on the list of the greats of the South and nation." (Gordon B. Hancock to Jessie Daniel Ames, October 24, 1942, letter in personal files of Jessie Daniel Ames.) As far as is known, Mrs. Ames' role has never been publicly revealed.

were represented by letter, and sixteen sent telegrams endorsing the action taken. Among them were college presidents and professors, ministers, bankers, publishers and editors, labor leaders, and persons connected with the National Urban League, the Association Negro Press, The Southern Negro Youth Congress, and the National Medical Association. Of the entire seventy-nine persons involved, at least eighteen were members of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, and one other was at the time a field secretary of the Commission. At least three others there were or had been in one way or another closely related to the Commission. How many were connected with state or local committees is not known.[28]

This conference, after deliberation, appointed a committee of ten to formulate their ideas which were published in December in a statement that became known as the "Durham Statement." The opening paragraphs of this statement presented a challenge. Pointing out the

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[28] Commission, The Durham Statement, The Atlanta Statement, The Richmond Statement (1943), 8-9. The statements concerning the membership on the Commission are based on a comparison of the list of personnel of the conference with the last available list of the Commission members, "Membership of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc.," [1941-42] (mimeo.), C-Hist. Records.

increase of racial tensions, it outlined the feelings of the conferees. It recognized the primacy of the war effort, and the necessity of acknowledging the strength of Southern racial patterns. But it went on to express unequivocal opposition to racial segregation, and the faith that

> ... it is possible to evolve in the South a way of life, consistent with the principles for which we as a Nation are fighting throughout the world, that will free us all, white and Negro alike, from want, and from throttling fears.[29]

The remainder of the statement spelled out the problems in terms of "Political and Civil Rights," "Industry and Labor," "Service Occupations," "Education," "Agriculture," "Military Service" and "Social Welfare and Health."

The next conference that took place was one held in Atlanta, Georgia, April 8, 1943. It was a direct reaction to the Durham Conference and likewise motivated by concern about the war-heightened racial tensions. The Commission had a direct if unacknowledged part in the calling of this conference for the Commission personnel were active in creating sentiment for it. The necessary details preceding it were handled through the Commission office, but the call was sent out in the name

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[29] The Durham Statement, The Atlanta Statement, The Richmond Statement, 3.

of Ralph McGill, Editor of the Atlanta Constitution, and M. Ashby Jones, a prominent Atlanta minister, with the support of eleven other Atlantans.[30]

Some "300 leaders of the Southland," all white, were invited to come to the Atlanta Conference, but only 115 were actually present. All of those present did not assent to the statement prepared, but eventually more than three hundred white Southerners did associate themselves with it. This group was equally as representative as the Negro group at Durham had been. Of the total list of signers of the statement, twenty-three were members of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation and one was the acting director. At least fifteen others were in some way connected with the Commission; but again, the number that were members of state or local committees is not known.[31]

The statement drawn up by the Atlanta Conference and later subscribed to by the others became known as the "Atlanta Statement." It recognized the "Durham

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30 M. Ashby Jones, Ralph McGill and others, form letter, February 18, 1943, C-Hist. Records. M. Ashby Jones was one of the original initiators of the Commission and had been a faithful participant throughout its existence.

31 The Durham Statement, The Atlanta Statement, The Richmond Statement, 2, 11-14. Membership in the Commission was determined as indicated above, p. 279, footnote 28.

Statement," admitted the validity of many of its claims, and suggested that the problems that existed could be solved.[32] To facilitate joint action of Negroes and whites, the conference also authorized a committee to represent the whites to meet with a similar committee of Negroes.[33]

Thus the third conference that took place was the result of joint action of Negroes and whites. The delegated whites and Negroes met on June 16, 1943, at Richmond, Virginia, and issued a third statement, the "Richmond Statement." This statement urged the acceptance of the Durham statement as a basis of operation and concluded with a call for action. This was implemented by instructing a continuing committee to work out a means of joint action of Negroes and whites in solving the problems the various conferences had admitted as existing.[34]

The next step was a meeting of the continuing committee again at Atlanta on August 4, 1943. The co-chairmen of this meeting were Dr. Odum and Dr. Charles

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[32] Ibid., 11.

[33] Ibid., 2; see also Ralph McGill, form letter, May 7, 1943, C-Hist. Records.

[34] The Durham Statement, The Atlanta Statement, The Richmond Statement, 16.

S. Johnson, both for several years closely connected with the Commission on Interracial Cooperation in positions of leadership. The result of this meeting was the decision to set up a Southern Regional Council; and the co-chairmen were instructed to perfect its organization.[35] Thus the converging forces of the regional idea and the expressed need of the hour met and became fused into one in the personnel of this committee.

Meantime, the Commission limped through its last days in uncertainty. Little was actually being done except the publication of the Southern Frontier which continued to appear with regularity. The educational and publicity director, Mr. Eleazer, who had been on the staff since 1922, retired January 1, 1943, not without some misunderstanding. At the same time the long-time director, Dr. Alexander, also resigned although he had not really been on the job full time since 1933.[36] Mrs. Ames, the Field Secretary, was most unsure of what was ahead.[37] Finally, in June, 1943, a new director was

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35 "Southern Regional Council is Organized," in Southern Frontier, 4(August, 1943):1.

36 "Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc. Meeting of the Board of Directors," October 22, 1942, C-Official Min.

37 Jessie Daniel Ames to C. H. Bynum, December 28, 1942, correspondence, C-Field Work.

secured, but by that time the other forces were already in close proximity to each other.

With the president of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation acting as one of the chairmen in setting up the new Southern Regional Council, and with that idea having been given general approval more than once by the Commission, it immediately became apparent that the Commission would be absorbed into the new organization. Gradually all the details were worked out. The new director, Dr. Cole, made suggestions based on his study, among them that the "approach would be less bi- and inter-racial, more normalized."[38] At least one state committee set up an administrative committee to facilitate the transition and to work out a cooperative relationship with the new council.[39] Finally, on January 6, 1944, the Southern Regional Council was incorporated by the state of Georgia. Its declared purpose was "to promote a greater unity in the South in all efforts toward regional and racial development."[40]

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[38] William E. Cole, "Southern Regional Council: Suggestions as to Program," November 23, 1943, C-Hist. Records.

[39] "Report of the Administrative Committee of the Georgia Interracial Committee," November 24, 1943, C-Ga.

[40] "Charter, Southern Regional Council, Incorporated," January 6, 1944, in files of the Southern Regional Council. The charter was granted on petition of Rufus E. Clement, Ralph McGill, Bishop Arthur J. Moore, Dr. Charles S. Johnson and Dr. Howard W. Odum.

On the morning February 16, 1944, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation met in special session in Atlanta. After brief deliberation it adopted a resolution:

> It being made to appear to the meeting that all of the Commission's obligations and liabilities have been fully discharged and further that the Southern Regional Council, having been duly incorporated to carry on the work with ideas and program similar to those of this corporation: Resolved, that the corporation transfer and convey to the Southern Regional Council, Inc., a corporation of Fulton County, Georgia, all of its property of every nature whatsoever and wherever situated, absolutely and in fee simple.[41]

A few questions were asked: would future legacies coming to the Commission benefit the new Southern Regional Council, and would the members of the Commission become a part of the Council; both of which were answered in the affirmative. "There being no further business, the meeting adjourned."[42] Thus the Commission on Interracial Cooperation quietly ended its existence.

The incorporators of the Southern Regional Council had already decided to include among the charter members of that organization "all persons who had participated in one of the preliminary conferences and all members of

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[41] "Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc.," February 16, 1944, C-Official Min.

[42] Ibid. In actuality a few of the state committees continued to exist under the name of interracial committees, but these that remained alive tended to become affiliated with the Southern Regional Council and absorbed into its program.

the Commission on Interracial Cooperation residing in the Council's area."[43] That very afternoon, February 16, 1944, about one hundred of these persons met in Atlanta to perfect the new organization, work out by-laws, elect officers and board members, executive directors and an executive committee.[44] When this meeting opened, the interracial movement as it had been embodied in the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Incorporated, was dead; with its close, the basic idea for which the interracial movement had stood had found a fuller embodiment.

Thus, "the old order changeth, giving place to the new." Perhaps it was fitting that as the interracial movement had begun in one World War, so it terminated in another. The idea of interracial committees had approached the concept of integration of Negroes and whites in the South; the Southern Regional Council advanced the idea of fuller integration of all Southerners regardless of race in solving their mutual regional problems. But in the new Southern Regional Council much of the program, many

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[43] Guy B. Johnson, Southern Offensive (reprinted from Common Ground (Summer, 1944), Atlanta, 1944), 3.

[44] Ibid.

of the personnel, and most of the problems of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation found a place. These were to continue, too, as a part of the story of the development of that organization;[45] but that remains for another to tell. However, the interracial movement had existed for twenty-five years. Surely the question must be raised, just what had it accomplished in that quarter of a century?

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[45] Southern Regional Council, Inc., Southern Regional Council: Report of the Executive Directors, 1944 (Atlanta, 1944), 1.

CHAPTER IX

THE MAJOR ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE COMMISSION

Late in the summer of 1941 a tired and disillusioned young man dropped into a chair across from our work table. He was spending his summer doing research for one of the larger Foundations. Only a matter of several weeks remained before he would return to work in the graduate school of an eastern university. Whether he was tired because he was disillusioned, or disillusioned because he was tired, was an unsettled question when he took his departure.

His purpose in making the call he stated with astonishing brevity - "Just what has the Interracial Commission done?" He did not add in words, "to justify its existence," but his tone clearly implied this.

This young man's call is not an exceptional experience. Individuals from foreign lands as well as from those sections of the United States above the Mason-Dixon line appear with sufficient frequency to accustom us to both the question and the attitude. It is obvious that they come with the expectation of receiving a guidebook of the South, similar to those assembled by the WPA writer's project, showing where the Commission has erected buildings, established institutions, bought and equipped playgrounds and community centers - all with the legend over the entrance "Erected by the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc., 19__," or "Given by the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc., to _____." Sometimes our visitors stay long enough to grasp the philosophy, policy, and procedure of the Commission; at other times, they make it painfully clear that a program of education of the mind and emotions of a people is too vague and too slow to commend itself to them.

The latter attitude is not a strange one,

> for members of state interracial committees frequently plan programs of work which fall under the classification of interracial social case work. Fortunately they meet quickly and disconcertingly with the opposition of a mass public opinion that paralyzes progress in this direction and not infrequently paralyzes all progress in any direction.
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> Mass public opinion is the condition which interracial groups study, analyze, and work to educate. Emotional attitudes of individuals in the mass determine the conditions which a community approves or tolerates. The direction in which a community travels is determined by the direction in which its leaders of public opinion travel. These leaders are the state and local interracial committees....
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> Attitudes which are a combination of emotional experience and intellectual justification must be approached by the same combination. The tired young man could not grasp this fact. He could not see that when the average Southerner, white or Negro, understands the causes of his attitudes on race and the effects of these on himself, the community, state, and Nation he usually wants to do something to change the effects. What is done is only vicariously chargeable to interracial councils.[1]

Thus Mrs. Ames summed up the difficulty of assessing the accomplishments of the interracial movement. So much of what it did that was concrete was done through other media or as a community project that it certainly could not claim the sole credit. Even more difficult, most of its activities ultimately aimed at ideas and attitudes, and the task of weighing the actual accomplishment in that intangible area is beyond the scope of

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[1] Ames, Democratic Processes at Work in the South, 5-7.

this work. There are, however, a number of things which should be considered in seeking an answer to the question raised by the young man of whom Mrs. Ames spoke.

In the first years of the movement, particularly, there was an emphasis on securing specific improvements in community life, especially as it affected Negroes. One of the very first of these to receive attention, in fact the one that had much to do with bringing the movement into being, was the averting of interracial friction. The early records were rather full of instances. Hillsboro County, Florida, reported that their committee remedied the situation where a "shyster salesman" was exploiting racial jealousies.[2] In DeSoto County, Florida, the committee centered attention on "eradication of venereal diseases and stopping sale of patent medicines."[3] Illicit liquor, the "most prolific cause of trouble to both races" in Evans County, Georgia, was "rooted up."[4] From Hattiesburg, Mississippi, the committee was reported as "doing splendid work. 500 I.W.W. cards were signed by Negroes in Forest County prior to organization of Joint Committee and since it has been at work

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2 "Report and Exhibits," H-1.

3 Ibid.

4 Ibid.

only a few remain members."[5] A dispute between a wealthy Negro and an ex-mayor of Union Springs, Alabama, was settled by the committee of that town.[6] Such were but a few of the credits claimed in the initial years.

Even in later years some instances of such accomplishments were reported. The secretary for Oklahoma reported in 1922 the settling of a dispute between white and Negro "bus men" over the transporting of passengers.[7] From the Alabama secretary in the same year came a report of the handling of a fight between colored and white boys, which threatened to become serious.[8] Another secretary recorded as "a most important piece of Inter-Racial work," the finding of a solution to the social mingling of white and Negro youth at a county fair, which threatened to cause the setting up of entirely separate fairs.[9] In 1925, a report came from the Savannah committee:

> ... Numerous small grievances have been straightened out for men, women and children through the

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[5] Ibid.

[6] Ibid.

[7] E. M. Castleberry to Will W. Alexander, "May Report," [1922], C-Hist. Records.

[8] H. L. Anderton to Will W. Alexander, report, May 29, 1922, C-Hist. Records.

[9] H. T. S. Johnson to Will W. Alexander, June 1, 1922, correspondence, C-Hist. Records.

> efforts of your Committee, and a negro [sic] matron has been secured for the woman's department at the jail -- a most important appointment.[10]

Even as late as 1942 it was reported that difficulties over a Service Club for Negroes and whites had been adjusted in Kentucky;[11] and, in Greenwood, South Carolina, committee members had been able to stop agitators who were stirring up trouble in the mill village.[12]

Particularly important among the early reports of work done by committees were the accounts of interracial violence averted. In a number of instances lynchings were reported prevented. "The county leaders in Jacksonville, Florida, when a white man was murdered by two negro [sic] hack drivers, were able to prevent a lynching."[13] In another instance a lynching was prevented when the state secretary got a local Negro committee to censure the murder, the cause of the tension, and offer support to the local sheriff.[14] Other reports were of

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10 "(For Dr. Alexander) submitted by Ella B. Lawton, October 16, 1925," a report of the Savannah committee activities, C-Hist. Records.

11 "Staff Meeting," October 22, 1942, C-Hist. Records, 7.

12 Ibid., 2.

13 "Report and Exhibits," H-1.

14 James Bend to Will W. Alexander, January 26, 1924, correspondence, C-Hist. Records.

a similar nature.[15]

Even more numerous were the accounts of "race riots" prevented. The Kentucky secretary reported a situation at Corbin. A colored man there had been falsely accused of cutting a white man. A mob rounded up all Negroes, "put [them] on an L. and N. train and sent [them] out of town." But the committee intervened, secured indictment and conviction of some of the mob leaders, and encouraged the return of the Negroes.[16] In Columbia, South Carolina, whites and Negroes acted together to stop a race riot "supposed to come off at 6 P.M. one Saturday afternoon last fall."[17] From St. Clair County, Alabama, came the report following an attack of a white man on a Negro: "The Negro members of our committee held their people in check while the white members saw that justice was done."[18] Quincy, Florida, claimed "A race riot was averted when a Negro killed the sheriff."[19] Similar

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15 Other examples were reported in "Report and Exhibits," H-1; and Clark Foreman, "Report of Georgia Secretary" [1926], C-Ga. Almost all the reports of the A.S.W.P.L. gave extensive statistics on prevented lynchings. See for example, ASWPL, "Death By Parties Unknown" (1936), 19-23.

16 "Report and Exhibits," H-1.

17 Ibid.

18 Ibid.

19 Ibid.

reports came from Perry County, DeSoto County and Dade County, Florida; McDuffy and Ware Counties, Georgia; Tallapoosa County and Montgomery, Alabama; Anderson County, South Carolina;[20] and Brokine County, Mississippi.[21]

In a number of cases legal aid was actually given. For instance, one report stated:

> ... Among the latter may be mentioned the Williams 'murder farm' case, which the State Committee helped to prosecute and in which convictions were secured; the case of Tom Parks, whose farm was saved from fraudulent foreclosure; the release of a Negro boy who was held in service without pay and brutally treated; the case of Asbury McClusky, now pending, in which a mob attacked McClusky's home, wounded him, and tried to drive him from the county. The State Committee has identified members of this mob and filed a fifty thousand dollar damage suit against them.[22]

Somewhat later it was claimed that "... investigation and legal aid are not only among the most important, but also among the most effective and fruitful of the Commission's many lines of effort."[23] The financial records

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20 "Report and Exhibits," H-1.

21 "Minutes, Inter-Racial Committee," November 6, 1919, C-Hist. Records.

22 "Statement as of October First of the Work for 1922 of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation," C-Hist. Records. See also, "Report and Exhibits," H-1, an account of several cases aided in Charleston, South Carolina.

23 "Investigation and Legal Aid," C-Legal Aid, 10.

indicate that reasonably small sums continued to be spent thus throughout the years.[24]

Another specific improvement often reported in the beginning was the improvement of public school facilities for Negroes. One Georgia county claimed that it "had given to those colored people the best negro [sic] high school in the State of Georgia, which was a brick building at a cost of $25,000."[25] The Putnam County, Florida, committee "secured an additional appropriation of $8,000 to improve the Palatka Negro School."[26] From Pike County, Alabama, was heard: "as immediate result of the work of Joint Committee new school building for Negroes has been assured;" and from Houston County, Alabama, "committee in this county has secured commodious school building for the Negro."[27] A report from North Carolina indicated that Reidsville had built a $60,000 Negro school, and Shelby and Fayetteville had

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[24] Almost all of the financial statements show sums varying between $1000 and $2000 spent on legal aid, especially those of the Thirties. See for instance, Harold C. Carson, "Auditor's Statement," February 21, 1933, C-Fin. Records; or Harold C. Carson, "Auditor's Statement," March 5, 1936, C-Fin. Records.

[25] "Report and Exhibits," H-1.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Ibid.

made improvements in theirs.[28] DeKalb County, Alabama, organized a Negro School Improvement Association;[29] Gadsden County, Florida, centered on longer terms for its forty-five Negro schools;[30] Atlanta, Georgia, voted a large bond issue with thirty per cent promised to the Negro schools.[31]

Later years also produced some reports of this kind. The secretary for Kentucky reported in 1922 three specific accomplishments: the state normal school was to be raised to the rank of a standardized college; the appointment of a colored man as Supervisor of Negro high schools of the state had been secured; and ten summer schools for Negro teachers had been guaranteed.[32] In 1923-24, five new school buildings were reported erected in Memphis at a total cost of $350,000; at Aiken, South Carolina, members of the interracial committee "led a bond issue campaign for $25,000 for a Negro school;"

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[28] "Report and Exhibits," H-1.

[29] Ibid.

[30] Ibid.

[31] Ibid. Robert B. Eleazer also mentioned this in a personal interview with the writer, July 23, 1947.

[32] James Bond to Will W. Alexander, May 26, 1922, correspondence, C-Hist. Records.

Anniston, Alabama, indicated the addition of "new $20,000 industrial high and a $30,000 grammar school."[33] The next year, reports included "new four-teacher school secured in Savannah at a cost of $18,000;" "Secured pledge from Board of Trustees of University of Louisville [Kentucky] to establish a colored department for higher education at an initial cost of $200,000;" "Tennessee - State Committee and Secretary, Mr. J. D. Burton, active in getting legislative appropriation of $100,000 for State A. and I. College;" "Eight acres of ground purchased and expensive high school erected in Houston [Texas]."[34] Similarly in 1926, reports indicated varied accomplishments.[35]

Physical improvement of the living conditions of Negroes was also reported as an accomplishment of the local committees during the early years. In 1920 Pensacola, Florida, reported progress being made in "housing, sanitation and recreation" for Negroes.[36] Subsequent years brought an increase of reports of this kind. For instance, in 1926 the report contained a

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33 Progress in Race Relations, 1923-24, 7-8.

34 Progress in Race Relations, 1924-25, 7-8.

35 Progress in Race Relations, 1926, 9-11.

36 "Report and Exhibits," H-1.

number of references: "Alabama - Local committee at Selma reports 'steady improvement as to drainage and hospital; complete change of policy in housing; much better houses being built." "Sanitary and health conditions improved at Mobile." "Virginia - Members of Richmond interracial committee meeting with zoning committee of city council in effort to improve housing conditions." "Georgia - Extensive sewer lines, serving large part of colored area, laid through efforts of Augusta committee, which not only convinced city authorities of the need, but made arrangements with the banks by which city council was enabled to finance the improvement." "Florida - Funds raised by Orlando committee for relief of storm sufferers; street improvements secured in colored section." "Tennessee - Memphis sewer system extended and efforts under way for improved housing." "Texas - Dallas committee continually at work on extension of grading and paving of streets in colored section. Extensive improvements in colored area of Houston in the way of paving, sewers, water, and gas."[37] The years immediately preceding were hardly less full of indications of paving and lighting of streets,

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[37] Progress in Race Relations, 1926, 11-13.

provision of sewerage and water mains. etc.[38]

Closely allied with the improvement of living conditions for Negroes, was the provision of better recreational facilities for them. Early reports also indicated accomplishments in this area. The report for 1923-24 mentioned a number of them:

> Local committees have led or assisted in securing a swimming pool for colored children in New Orleans; commodious playground and community house, two additional school playgrounds, and sixty additional street lights in Mobile; three playgrounds, with colored supervisors, white help for athletic fund for colored boys, and conferences in the interest of better motion picture films between white and colored women in Chattanooga; street improvements and better sanitation in a number of Alabama towns; tuberculosis camp, playground and athletic field in Charleston; extension of water system, Franklin, Tenn.; improvement in health, housing, sanitation and court conditions, Morristown, Tenn.; better library facilities in a number of places; share in the use of white Y.M.C.A. playgrounds tendered by white boys to colored boys of Lynchburg; welfare of colored boys made part of Atlanta Rotary Club objective, and interracial representative called in by the club to help formulate program.[39]

Likewise, similar mention could be found in the reports for 1924-25, and 1926.[40] Much later, in 1939, a local

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[38] See Progress in Race Relations, 1923-24, 9-11; and Progress in Race Relations, 1924-25, 8-10.

[39] Progress in Race Relations, 1923-24, 11-12.

[40] See Progress in Race Relations, 1924-25, 9-10; and Progress in Race Relations, 1926, 12-13.

committee in Macon, Georgia, claimed credit for launching a community center for Negroes in that community.[41]

Occasionally other improvements were claimed. One of these, in 1923-24, was in the area of public transportation:

> ... Investigations of the conditions of travel have been made in many states and the facts brought to the attention of railroad officials and public service commission. As a result, abuses have been corrected and travel conditions improved in Virginia, North Carolina, Alabama, Louisiana, Texas, and other states. Improvements in railroad facilities and more courteous treatment of colored people are reported from several Alabama towns.[42]

Again, in 1924-25, for instance, it was reported: "Obstetrical hospital and clinic with colored health officer secured through efforts of interracial committee in Norfolk [Virginia]," and "Selma [Alabama] Committee active in employment of colored farm and home demonstration agents and in financing a county program of agricultural progress."[43] Other references were made to improvements of the economic opportunity for Negroes.[44]

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[41] Report made at annual meeting of Georgia committee, March 7, 1941, C-Ga.

[42] Progress in Race Relations, 1923-24, 11.

[43] Progress in Race Relations, 1924-25, 9.

[44] See Progress in Race Relations, 1923-24, 12-13; and Progress in Race Relations, 1926, 13.

Thus, some actual specific improvements in the living conditions of Negroes in specific areas could be claimed by the interracial movement as among its accomplishments. As can be readily seen, most of these accomplishments were attained during the early years of the movement, and undoubtedly reflect the emphasis and activities of those years. More difficult to assess, perhaps, are the accomplishments in the field of education which was the major emphasis of the middle years.

As has already been indicated, the Commission eventually, during its twenty-five years of activity, got at least a thousand educators, some of them certainly very important leaders, to attend one or more of its conferences on the subject of education and race relations.[45] In addition, it at one time or another focused the attention of a number of churchmen, business men, and editors directly on race relations.[46] Some of its personnel did so less directly on numerous occasions through speeches.

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[45] See above, pp. 211-215.

[46] See above, pp. 70, 192-193, 243; and also Jessie Daniel Ames, Condensed Report of Conditions in Texas Affected by the Texas Committee on Interracial Cooperation from November 1925 - February 1928 (Georgetown, Texas, 1928), 4.

Secondly, it certainly stimulated an interest in the Negro and race relations in some public schools and colleges. A number of schools participated in the various contests sponsored; for instance, a report for 1932-33 indicated that 1,484 papers were submitted from fifty-two different schools in thirteen Southern states that year.[47] And some of the reports show that the participation in the contests was quite widespread.[48] Further, apparently as a result of its activities among public school administrators, a number of states began to include reference to courses or units of study on race relations in their published bulletins, among them Mississippi, Georgia, Louisiana, Florida, Tennessee, and Virginia.[49] In addition, the Commission claimed that the number of college courses in race relations in Southern institutions was increased as a result of its activities, from thirty-nine in 1931 to sixty-three in 1937; and the number of colleges doing something in the field of race

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[47] "Papers submitted in 1932-33 'Tenth Man' Contest," C-Spec. Studies.

[48] "Reports of 'Tenth Man' Projects" (mimeo.), C-Spec. Studies, a detailed report of the projects of the high schools of Biloxi, Mississippi, and Kirksville, Missouri, and of Reynolds High School of Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

[49] Conference, Education for Southern Citizenship: Plans for Study of Region's Special Problems (1939), 4-5, gives well documented references.

relations from 106 to 266 during the same time span.[50] Some institutions indicated a direct relationship between what was being done and the Commission program.[51]

A third accomplishment in the educational field that the Commission could justly claim, is that it "contributed to research on race problems in the South and to the creation of more comprehensive literature on the subject."[52] Among the published products of its research, which have already been indicated, were such well known volumes as Arthur Raper's The Tragedy of Lynching, Raper and Reid's Sharecroppers All, Johnson, Embree and Alexander's The Collapse of Cotton Tenancy and Cayton and Mitchell's Black Workers and the New Unions. Hardly of lesser importance were some of the smaller works such as America's Tenth Man, Lynchings and What They Mean, and The Changing Character of

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50 "Work of Conference on Education and Race Relations Under Grant of the Carnegie Corporation to the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Supplementary Report, December 1, 1937," C-Spec. Studies, 2. Two years later it was reported that the number of institutions offering race relations courses had risen to seventy-four. See Conference, College Courses in Race Relations (1939), 3.

51 See for examples, Education and Racial Adjustment (1932), 9-12, 15-26. Also "Carry-Over from Summer Courses In Education and Race Relations, Peabody College, 1935-1936. - As reported May, 1937, by Some of Those Awarded Fellowships," C-Spec. Studies.

52 "Commission on Interracial Cooperation," 1943, C-Hist. Records, 6.

Lynching.

Closely related to this accumulation of information was the circulation of it. As has already been shown, materials of the Commission were sent in quantities to schools, libraries and individuals; and the demand for these materials came from very widely scattered points, including foreign states.[53]

Finally, the actual extent to which the public press gave its cooperation to the interracial movement may be considered as an accomplishment for that movement. The fact that a number of papers used its clippings, that some Southern editors and publishers were stimulated to consider the difference between their news stories and their editorial treatment of lynchings was certainly an achievement. And at least some newspapers were forced to face the issue of capitalizing the word Negro.[54]

Thus, in the field of education, the interracial movement must at least be credited with stimulating action if not with direct accomplishment. That it, alone, was responsible for all the educational gains in

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[53] See above, pp. 258-259; also Southern Frontier, 4(September, 1943):3.

[54] See above, pp. 232-233, 243-247; and also Emily H. Clay to Elinor Johnson, April 3, 1942, correspondence, C-Miscel.

the area of race relations could hardly be asserted; that it deserves credit for some of them, could certainly not be denied. More difficult, still, is the assessment of its part in the change of attitudes concerning the Negro and race relations in the South that took place during its twenty-five years of activity.

One piece of evidence that was fairly frequently produced to indicate the success of the interracial movement in the area of attitudes was the securing of the passage of a special state law. An early instance of this was recorded from Taylor County, Florida, where the committee obtained a special bill from the state legislature, which authorized the county commission "to appropriate county funds to pay" a county health officer to serve both races.[55] Somewhat later, a summary of Commission activities claimed that special laws to control mob violence had been secured in South Carolina, Virginia, Tennessee, and Kentucky; and bills to create needed institutions for Negroes had been passed in Tennessee, Texas, South Carolina, North Carolina and Georgia. Further, "a number of discriminatory and burdensome measures were successfully opposed."[56] In 1930, the

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55 "Report and Exhibits," H-1.

56 "Review of Ten Years," 1929, C-Hist. Records.

secretary for Virginia indicated that the Virginia committee had played a very active part in defeating a "Barber Bill" which would have prevented Negro barbers from taking white customers.[57] The Louisville [Kentucky] Courier-Journal reported in 1938:

> The last hanging in Kentucky occurred last week. Due in large measure to the tireless work of the Kentucky Branch of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, this cruel and out-moded form of capital punishment has been abolished in the state.[58]

And in the Forties several state committees felt they deserved partial credit for creating support for legislative acts appropriating funds for the higher education of Negroes.[59]

A second argument produced as proof of a changing attitude influenced by the Commission on Interracial Cooperation and its affiliates was the participation of more Negroes in various aspects of community life. One phase of this was the practice of encouraging Negro

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[57] L. R. Raynolds to Will W. Alexander, February 11, 1930, C-State Com.; also reported by Virginius Dabney in "Negro Barbers in the South," The Nation, 131(July, 1930):64-65.

[58] Editorial, Lousiville [Kentucky] Courier-Journal, June 6, 1938.

[59] Ames, Democratic Processes at Work in the South, 7-8. It must not be forgotten, however, that a number of Supreme Court decisions had already been handed down on the subject.

speakers before white audiences.[60] Another aspect of it was the inclusion of Negroes in such events as state and county fairs,[61] and in public welfare programs.[62] Still another was indicated in 1941:

> The Commission on Interracial Cooperation during the past eight years has directed its educational activities toward the integration of the Southern Negro into the programs of Federal agencies created to wipe out economic depression and to guarantee a minimum standard of living for all and protection against want in old age.[63]

A third intangible piece of evidence indicative of a change in attitudes in the South that may have been due to the interracial movement was the decline in the number of lynchings that occurred. For instance, it was pointed out that in the years just before the rise of the Commission, 1915-1921, the lynchings in the United States averaged sixty-one per year, but that from 1922-

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60 See for examples, "Minutes, Inter-Racial Commission," July 21, 1922, C-Hist. Records; and "Report of Interracial Commission for Kentucky, 1927-1928," C-State Com.

61 See for example "Report, Chairman, Texas Committee on the Negro Home," 1924, C-State Com.

62 "Interracial Progress for 1928," C-Hist. Records, 2 stated, for instance: "There is a marked change in the attitude of people concerning Negro welfare work during the past ten years. Occasionally a colored leader is invited to address a white meeting and in the whole field of public welfare there are encouraging indications of disappearing prejudice and indifference."

63 Ames, Democratic Processes at Work in the South, 3.

1927, the average was only twenty-two.[64] A comparison of the lynching statistics by decades shows that the averages of the number of lynchings decreased decidedly in the Twenties and Thirties; and from 1936-1940 the lynchings never exceeded ten in any one year and averaged only six per year for that half decade.[65] The lynching study of the Commission and the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching were both products of the first half of that decade.[66]

Finally, most intangible of all was the direct claim of a "changed attitude" on the part of specific individuals. The early reports made frequent reference to "improved understanding" between the races.[67] In 1923 at a meeting of the women of the Georgia Committee, several women spoke of the effect the investigations they

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[64] "Ten Years Review." Actually a check of the lynching figures as given by Tuskegee (cited in Lynchings and What They Mean, 73) show that the latter average was more nearly twenty-six.

[65] Using the figures given in Lynchings and What They Mean, 73, and The Changing Character of Lynching, 33, the averages by decades were as follows: 1891-1900, 165.5; 1901-1910, 88.5; 1911-1920, 60.6; 1921-1930, 27.5; and 1931-1940, 11.4.

[66] So were the agitations for Federal anti-lynching laws, especially advocated by the NAACP, and also the numerous New Deal measures that affected conditions in the South.

[67] Numbers of these can be found in "Report and Exhibits," H-1.

had done had had upon them.[68] The annual report for 1924-25 gave a remarkable account of influence exerted in Richmond, Virginia. That city entertained the National Convention of Colored Elks with a maximum of courtesy and a minimum of friction. Even the segregation restrictions in the street cars were temporarily suspended.[69]

In 1926 a report indicated that "a number of students have become interested in race through the annual contest conducted by the Commission on Interracial Cooperation."[70] Another report for the same year was more dramatic. At a student forum in 1925 one of the leaders from Georgia Tech announced that he did not believe in higher education for Negroes. Some of the Negro students took issue, and the former student was asked to prepare a paper to defend his position at the next meeting. When called on at the next meeting for his paper, he replied, "that when he began studying the question he found he had no ground to stand upon and had completely reversed his views on the subject."[71]

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68 "Minutes, Woman's State Committee of the Georgia Committee," July 10, 1923, C-Ga.

69 Progress in Race Relations, 1924-25, 6.

70 J. W. Bergthold, "Student Interracial Work in the Southern Region (in the ten states east of the Mississippi)", 1926 (mimeo.), C-Hist. Records, 4.

71 Robert B. Eleazer to Willis King, August 6, 1926, correspondence, C-Hist. Records.

Throughout the years, other such instances were reported. In 1927, from Selma, Alabama, came one of them. Eighteen months previously when an interracial meeting of women was planned, the door of the parish house where they were to meet had been locked against them and the women were told that "the two races of women could never come together in Selma. ...But miracles will never cease! We came together this evening in a perfectly splendid meeting."[72] In 1936 one of the leaders of the A.S.W.P.L. wrote that she felt the general attitude of the ladies before whom anti-lynching programs were presented was more favorable than it had been at first.[73] Occasionally students especially indicated how courses on race relations that they had taken had affected their attitudes.[74]

The degree to which any changes in attitudes of individuals or groups in the South, on the subject of race relations, had taken place during the lifetime of the interracial movement would be most difficult to determine.

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[72] Maud Henderson, "Report of Situation in Selma, Ala. - October 15, 1927," C-Woman's Work.

[73] Mrs. L. W. Alford to Jessie Daniel Ames, April 17, 1936, correspondence, C-ASWPL.

[74] See for examples Robert B. Eleazer to Doxey A. Wilkerson, May 29, 1940, correspondence, C-Miscel.; and David M. Braswell to Robert B. Eleazer, October 27, 1941, correspondence, C-Miscel. The writer himself was possibly influenced for he distinctly recalls using Commission materials during his college years.

Even if it were not, to prove that such changes as had occurred were the result of the activities of the interracial movement would be virtually impossible. It cannot be denied, however, that the Commission on Interracial Cooperation was interested in effecting the changes indicated above, and therefore, should certainly be considered among the factors which possibly brought them about. To do so is in no way to deny that other factors were undoubtedly operative in the same field.

Thus, Mrs. Ames might have replied to the young man who enquired "Just what had the Interracial Commission done?" that the Commission had done a great deal. It could list some very specific achievements among its laurels. It could show the record of numerous efforts along educational lines. Most important of all, it could assert recognition of the importance of "the minds of men," and at least scattered evidence of successful attainment in that area. Finally, she might have reviewed for him some of the evaluations made of the Commission and its work from time to time.

CHAPTER X

CONTEMPORARY EVALUATIONS OF THE COMMISSION

Through the years a number of people expressed opinions concerning the interracial movement. Some were closely associated with the movement; others were less so. A few were professional social scientists who looked at it with a critical eye. As might be expected, most of those who said something worth recording were appreciative of the Commission. But at least a few pointed out its shortcomings. In any case, these evaluations help complete the picture of the interracial committee movement by providing the opinion of it held by its contemporaries.

The Commission on Interracial Cooperation found favor in the sight of many. Quite a number of those who commended it did so obviously upon request and their letters or words of praise were used in the various financial campaigns. They tended to speak in rather general terms but in some cases indicated a personal knowledge of the Commission and its work.[1] Leading

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[1] For examples, see "Report and Exhibits," J; and "Statement and Exhibits, Commission on Interracial Cooperation, 1922-23," C-Hist. Records. There were also a number of such letters written in 1925 and 1929-30 among the manuscripts.

clergymen, editors of well known newspapers, businessmen, governors--even a former president, Taft--were numbered among the endorsers.[2] Negroes of prominence were also among them.[3]

Typical of these expressions of confidence in the Commission are the words of Douglas S. Freeman, Virginia author and editor of the Richmond News-Leader, written in 1925:

> I think the influence of the committee is perceptible in every southern community where it is at work. No force in southern life today has more of promise and few in so brief a time have so substantial a record of achievement. The work in Richmond seems to me to have been particularly well managed.[4]

Such evaluations are indicative of the general respectability attained by the movement. Otherwise they are of limited value.

Favorable comments also came from other sources, however, and these are more revealing because of their spontaneity. They often expressed a favorable reaction to some particular meeting or activity of the Commission

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[2] "Report and Exhibits," J. Many of the letters were from "average citizens" apparently.

[3] "Report and Exhibits," I.

[4] Douglas S. Freeman to M. Ashby Jones, October 30, 1925, correspondence, C-Hist. Records.

such as the Conference on Education and Race Relations or the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching.[5] Not infrequently they commended the work of Mr. Eleazer,[6] Mrs. Ames,[7] or especially of Will Alexander.[8] For instance, an editorial in the Atlanta Journal commended Alexander's appointment to head the Resettlement Administration:

> ... As director of the Commission on Inter-Racial Co-operation he earned the thinking public's confidence in a pioneer cause which under a less judicious leadership might have failed and certainly could not have accomplished so much for the general good.[9]

Some of the persons who expressed themselves thus

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[5] A number of such letters were included in "Report and Exhibit of Race Relations Work in Colleges and Public Schools under Grant of the Carnegie Corporation, 1931-1933," C-Spec. Studies. See also, P. B. Young to Jessie Daniel Ames, February 16, 1935, correspondence, C-ASWPL.

[6] For examples, see Mrs. Marshall J. Ellis to Jessie Daniel Ames, November 12, 1937, correspondence, C-Ga.; and Gordon B. Hancock to Robert B. Eleazer, October 27, 1941, correspondence, C-Miscel.

[7] For examples, see editorial in Nashville Globe and Independent, November 18, 1938; and Bishop W. A. Fountain, Sr. to Jessie Daniel Ames, August 25, 1941, correspondence, C-Miscel.

[8] For examples, see editorial in Crisis 32(August, 1926):165; and Albert E. Barnett to Walter White, January 27, 1934, correspondence, C-Miscel.

[9] Editorial in Atlanta Journal, November 21, 1936.

were personally involved in the movement: Howard Odum, the North Carolina sociologist and president of the Commission for several years;[10] Arthur Raper, sociology professor and the Commission's director of research in the early Thirties;[11] John Hope, president of Morehouse College;[12] and others.[13] Some were apparently outsiders: a Kentucky editor, a professor of sociology from the University of Cincinnati, a Texas State Supervisor of Education.[14] In some instances they used the daily press or the pages of a periodical in which to express their favorable impressions of the Commission.[15] The

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[10] Howard W. Odum to Forester Washington, April 21, 1936, correspondence, C-Miscel.

[11] Arthur Raper to Will W. Alexander, October 7, 1940, correspondence, C-Miscel.

[12] John Hope to Robert B. Eleazer, March 4, 1930, correspondence, C-Miscel.

[13] Letters were also found from such faithful members as Mary McLeod Bethune, R. E. Jones, R. R. Moton, R. H. King and Mrs. W. A. Newell. Mr. Eleazer and Mrs. Ames also left definite records of their faith in the movement. See their correspondence with Gunnar Myrdal, 1941-42, correspondence, C-Miscel.

[14] Mark Ethridge to Will W. Alexander, October 8, 1940; Earle Eubank to Dr. Alexander, June 15, 1927; and D. B. Tayler to R. B. Eleazer, June 5, 1939, all in correspondence, C-Miscel.

[15] Quite a number of favorable clippings from newspapers were found among the manuscripts. Most of them were dated in the early Twenties. Several of the magazine articles have already been mentioned (see above, p. 261). For an especially favorable one see Carroll Binder, "The South Begins to Turn the Corner of Racial Understanding," in Christian Century, 42(1925):611, 618.

editors of the Columbia [S.C.] State,[16] the Mobile Register,[17] the Birmingham News,[18] the Christian Century[19] and the Crisis[20] were among this number at one time or another. For example, in 1923 the Louisville Courier-Journal called the Commission "an organization, composed of both races, that is doing in Kentucky as elsewhere good work in promoting just and happy relationships between whites and blacks."[21]

The expressions of approval varied. Many persons felt that the Commission contributed much to improve the living conditions of Negroes.[22] Others felt that it was a real step forward and furnished sound, constructive leadership in a difficult area.[23] Its contribution to

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16 Editorial in Columbia [S.C.] State, April 30, 1924.

17 Editorial in Mobile Register, January 15, 1925.

18 Editorial in Birmingham News, June 8, 1926.

19 Editorial in Christian Century, 41(February, 1924).

20 Editorial in Crisis, 10(1930):245.

21 Editorial in Louisville Courier-Journal, December 10, 1923.

22 Torrence, The Story of John Hope, 230-231; James B. Cripper, letter to the editor, in Christian Advocate, December 14, 1922.

23 Duffus, "Counter-Mining the Ku Klux Klan," 284; Charlotte Hawkins Brown to Jessie Daniel Ames, January 6, 1930, correspondence, C-Woman's Work; P. B. Young, quoted in Norfolk Journal and Guide, August 31, 1935; Willis J. King to Jessie Daniel Ames, March 4, 1939, correspondence, C-Miscel.

education,[24] its special meetings and institutes,[25] its stimulation of other groups to action,[26] its legal aid,[27] its inclusive representation of the South[28] were especially singled out for commendation. Most of these points were summed up by Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, the president of Bethune-Cookman College who so often acted as unofficial advisor on Negro affairs at the White House during the New Deal:

> No agency has contributed more to the establishment and maintenance of tolerable relations between the black and white races in the South than has the Interracial Commission. Its policy and methods are simple and sound. It proceeds on the theory that the basis of nearly all racial hatred and animosity is lack of mutual understanding among the peoples of the earth. It therefore makes it possible for the

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[24] Benjamin F. Hubert to Dr. R. B. Eleazer, July 11, 1929, correspondence, C-Miscel.; Guy B. Johnson, "Some Methods of Reducing Race Prejudice in the South," in Southern Workman, 64(1935):276 (This article was originally given as an address at the annual meeting of the Commission in 1935); "Comments on Commission's Classroom Materials," excerpts from letters [about 1935], C-Spec. Studies.

[25] E. Horace Fitchell to Mrs. George E. Davis, correspondence, C-State Com.; "Comments on Peabody Conference," excerpts from letters, 1932, C-Spec. Studies.

[26] Mrs. W. A. Newell to Jessie Daniel Ames, November 30, 1930, correspondence, C-Woman's Work; "State [sic] from Mrs. Una Roberts of the Southern Baptist Church," [about 1930], C-Woman's Work.

[27] W. A. Sutherland to L. W. Branch, Esq., November 7, 1934, correspondence, C-Legal Aid.

[28] Clark Foreman expressed this opinion at the annual meeting in 1932, "Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc.," March 30-31, 1932, C-Official Min.

> choicest minds and spirits of the two races of the South to meet around a common council table, and through contact and free interchange of opinion to arrive at a clearer understanding of the hopes, ideals and standards of each other. A decrease in lynchings, an improvement in educational facilities, a sympathetic study of the Negro in colleges and universities, and the appearance of influential Negro leaders before selected audiences of white people, to discuss the race question from the Negro's angle, are some of the unusual and salutary concrete results of the activities of the Interracial Commission.[29]

Thus the Commission found favor among some of those who knew it at first hand. Undoubtedly some peoples' opinions changed as the years passed. But the expressions of approval are spread out sufficiently to prove that there were always some who approved.

These various evaluations of the Interracial Commission indicate that it must have been generally respected. Otherwise, public figures would have hesitated to associate their names with it. Among a thoughtful minority of persons of responsibility in the South, it was known and recognized as a good thing, making a constructive contribution in the field of race relations. To at least a few persons it was a genuine

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[29] The Interracial Front (1939 ed.), 2.

source of hope and inspiration.[30]

The unfavorable criticisms of the Commission tended to be more specific. They fell into three main divisions: dissatisfaction with the program and activities, disapproval of the leadership and criticism of its limited representation.

Some who criticized the Commission thought it was entirely too radical. They opposed its anti-lynching campaign.[31] (One woman even started the Women's National Association for the Preservation of the White Race to counteract the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching.[32]) They felt that it was

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[30] Charlotte Hawkins Brown, R. E. Jones and John Hope more than once indicated a deep feeling concerning the Commission. Mr. Eleazer pointed this out in a personal interview with the writer, July 23, 1947. See also John Hope to Will W. Alexander, November 6, 1930, correspondence, C-Miscel; and "Report of Proceedings of Commission on Inter-racial Co-operation," October 7, 1921, C-Hist. Records.

[31] For examples, see Helen M. Skell to Mrs. Greer, September 6, 1933, correspondence, C-ASWPL; and letter from the Jackson Daily News, October 18, 1937, correspondence, C-Publ. Releases. Some of the letters came in on distinctive letterheads such as "Equal Rights for Whites Movement."

[32] Mrs. J. E. Andrews wrote numerous letters and sent other literature to the Commission in the early Thirties. See Mrs. J. E. Andrews to R. B. Eleazer, December 14, 1934. See also Jessie Daniel Ames to Mrs. Burns, January 22, 1937, correspondence, C-Miscel; and above, p. 186.

too greatly involved in politics.[33] They considered its educational materials either false or ill-timed.[34] Or they feared that the Commission was ultimately out to break down segregation.[35] Many of these persons were crack-pots. Some were political leaders, Eugene Talmadge for example, who used the race issue as a campaign feature. At least a few were intelligent conservatives who honestly feared the consequences of change.[36]

Others who criticized the Commission took the opposite position. They thought it was entirely too cautious. A few even went so far as to intimate that it was deliberately designed to mislead Negroes and keep them in a subordinate position in the South.[37] Most of

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[33] For example, see Mrs. Murray Hubbard to Mrs. M. E. Tilly, August 4, 1937, correspondence, C-Ga.

[34] A very interesting example is a letter from B. F. Avery to R. B. Eleazer, January 29, 1932, C-Lit. It is written on the pages of a ledger, the kind often used by farmers to keep accounts in, and is quite illiterate yet non-vindictive. It closed very politely.

[35] For examples see Forney Johnston to Rev. William H. Marmion, November 19, 1942 [Alabama], correspondence, C-State Com.; and Marion M. Jackson to Will W. Alexander, June, 1926, correspondence, C-Hist. Records. Jackson was an associate of Mr. Eagan and was on the executive committee for some time during the early Twenties. He resigned and withdrew from the Commission in 1926 because of his fears.

[36] Marion M. Jackson, referred to in footnote 35, would certainly fall in the latter category.

[37] Cyril Briggs, column in Pittsburgh Courier, December 14, 1929.

these critics, however, deplored the failure of the Commission to face the "basic issues," to take definite and advanced stands on controversial issues such as segregation.[38] Some felt that it was just too timid in carrying out the program it adopted, too afraid of attracting attention.[39] Most of these critics were Negroes, but not all. A few were extremists such as Cyril Briggs, a columnist of the Pittsburgh Courier. Others were respected Negro leaders, among them being W. E. B. DuBois.

Still others were critical of the program from a more technical standpoint. They pointed out that the meetings, especially in the early years, were insufficiently programmed, and did not accomplish much.[40] They felt that the activities that were suggested and planned were not concrete enough.[41] And they deplored the inadequate follow-up on activities, especially the

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38 W. E. B. DuBois, "Inter-Racial Comity," in Crisis, 22(1921):6-7; Eric D. Walrond," Interracial Cooperation in the South," in International Interpreter, March 29, 1924, 1652-1654; Charles H. Houston to Will W. Alexander, September 4, 1933, correspondence, C-Miscel.; Jesse O. Thomas to R. L. Russell, February 28, 1939, correspondence, C-Ga.

39 R. L. Russell to Mrs. M. E. Tilly, a note [1942], C-Ga.

40 "Minutes, Inter-Racial Commission," July 21, 1922, C-Hist. Records.

41 For example, see Will W. Alexander to James D. Burton, January 27, 1930, [Tennessee], correspondence, C-State Com.

organization and activation of local committees.[42] Such criticisms as these often came from staff members or persons in position of leadership in the movement, and reflect considered judgments.

The second main group of unfavorable expressions evinced disapproval of the leadership of the Commission. Individual staff members were criticized from time to time as "unfortunate" or "too radical."[43] These usually were the result of either direct personality clashes, or the reaction to an immediate situation such as a particular speech by the staff member singled out for criticism. Some state secretaries were declared ineffective or difficult to work with.[44] Occasionally persons objected to the lack of Negroes on the central staff.[45]

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[42] See minutes of executive committee meeting, Georgia Committee, October 8, 1937, C-Ga.; "Notes made at Annual Meeting, Fulton-DeKalb, October 20, 1942," C-FD; Edward A. McDowell, Jr. to Jessie Daniel Ames, September 12, 1943 [Kentucky], correspondence, C-State Com.

[43] Julia A. Reynolds to Mrs. George E. Davis, January 19, 1941, [South Carolina], C-State Com.; "Such Leadership Unfortunate," in Southern Methodist, March 5, 1930; editorial in East Tennessee News, April 15, 1943.

[44] For examples, see James H. Pless to Will W. Alexander, October 20, 1938, correspondence, C-Miscel.; and Elizabeth Brock to Jessie Daniel Ames, September 18, 1941 [Texas], correspondence, C-State Com.

[45] See "Minutes, Administrative Committee, October 12, 1932," C-Woman's Work; and Robert Durr to Mr. [William H.] Marmion, September 9, 1942 Alabama , correspondence, C-State Com.

The third group of critics objected to the limited membership of the movement. Some felt that Negroes were inadequately represented.[46] Others felt that the membership was composed too exclusively of "preachers and professors" thereby missing the support and participation of businessmen, farmers and laborers.[47] Several agreed that the membership, especially on the local level, was often "dead wood," satisfied with past accomplishments and incapable of initiating further progress.[48] In the main, these criticisms came either from persons such as DuBois or from the leadership of the movement itself.

Such criticisms as these cannot be ignored. Obviously some came from extremists on both sides. This gives a pretty clear indication that the Commission held a "middle-of-the-road" position. Other criticisms are from staff members, or from thoughtful, informed persons who should have known what they were talking about. They

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46 W. E. B. DuBois to Robert B. Eleazer, March 12, 1926, correspondence, C-Miscel.

47 Minutes of meeting of Mr. Lowry Anderson, Mrs. Tilly and Mrs. Ames, December 16, 1941, C-Ga.; Will W. Alexander to Ralph McGill, April 13, 1943, letter in personal files of Jessie Daniel Ames.

48 See "Staff Meeting at Blue Ridge, August 25th through the 28th, 1929," C-Hist. Records; Jessie Daniel Ames to Mrs. Hanna, March 24, 1937, [Texas], correspondence, C-State Com.; "Report of Study Committee of the Virginia Commission on Interracial Cooperation" [n.d.], C-State Com.

indicate that the movement had its limitations. Operating within the South during the period between 1919-1944, it could hardly have escaped some of these, such as its caution. No organization escapes the limitation of personnel; the Commission was at least average in that respect.

In the early Forties, just before the Commission became absorbed into the Southern Regional Council, two social scientists appraised it and recorded their opinions. These, too, deserve consideration.

The first was Gunnar Myrdal, the Swedish economist who was making an exhaustive study of the Negro in American life for the Rockefeller Foundation. In his American Dilemma he gave a brief description of the Commission as one of the "Improvement and Protest Organizations" affecting Negro interests.[49] And he concluded: "The Commission is a useful agency."[50]

In appraising the Commission, he pointed out that it was "the organization of Southern liberalism in its activity on the Negro issue."[51] He insisted it had "rendered interracial work socially respectable in the conservative South."[52] And he listed some of its

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49 Myrdal, An American Dilemma 2:842-850.

50 Ibid., 848.

51 Ibid., 844.

52 Ibid., 847.

accomplishments:

> The Commission has a large share in the achievement of the dramatic decrease in lynching, and generally, in the greater enforcement of law in the South during the last two decades. The Commission was able largely to nullify the influence of the fascistic Black Shirt movement that grew up during the 1930's to eliminate Negroes from all jobs while there was any unemployment of whites. Few other organizations could have made the effective appeal to Southern whites which the situation called for. The Commission's surveys - for instance, of the tenancy problem - have been of great importance in the national discussion and for national policy. The work of the Farm Security Administration, which for a long period was headed by W. W. Alexander, the Director of the Commission, is much in line with the efforts of the Commission and has set in effect many plans propagated and partly prepared by the Commission. The Commission has had its important part in the development of a friendlier attitude toward the Negro on the part of the white press in the South. The local interracial Committees have gotten much for the Negroes.[53]

On the other hand, he also pointed out that the Commission was subject to criticism. Young Negroes especially condemned it for its "naive assumptions," "defeatist attitude," and "use of 'influence' rather than 'pressure.'"[54] He felt that these criticisms were too strong, and defended the tactics of the Commission. But he admitted the Commission's weakness in its limited appeal to the "masses," and its failure to secure

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53 Myrdal, An American Dilemma 2:846-847.

54 Ibid., 848.

financial support in the South.[55] Along this line he concluded:

> ... While liberalism generally has been on the advance, the interracial movement seems to have been losing out during the 'thirties. The Commission has not fulfilled the promises it once gave. The South has been changing and there have been many new possibilities which the movement has not utilized. When the writer traveled in the South in 1938-1939 and observed the great needs and weak efforts, he felt strongly that there was room for more courage and vision in the work of the Commission. The respectability the Commission has built up for interracial work in the South is a form of capital, but as such it is of no use at all if it is not invested, and even risked, in new ventures. What is called for is, indeed, something of the spirit of the young W. W. Alexander when he first led the movement and before he was drawn into other important activities - that spirit, expanded and adjusted to the new situation.[56]

The other appraisal was done by Dr. William E. Cole of the Sociology department of the University of Tennessee. It was requested by the Board of Directors and was much more comprehensive than Myrdal's. Dr. Cole studied the Commission records and setup, and consulted some three hundred individuals whom he felt should be in a position to know the Commission. He then submitted a detailed report of his findings and summarized them in a shorter outline. In the latter he listed to the credit of the Commission:

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[56] Myrdal, An American Dilemma 2:849.

1. Through the work of the Commission the interracial organization and meeting have become standard techniques designed for the improvement of Interracial Cooperation in the South.
2. The Commission has improved racial understanding and has been an important source of biracial education.
3. The Commission on Interracial Cooperation has constituted a consultation center in racial problems for the South and the Nation.
4. Through performance and sponsorship the committee has made a worthy contribution to research on racial problems in the South.
5. The work of the Commission has contributed much to the mitigation of lynching and to the reduction of other forms of racial violence in the South.
6. The Commission has influenced legislative and other movements designed to alleviate southern problems especially problems of Negroes and to improve the standard of living of the South.
7. The Commission is contributing to the mitigation of racial problems arising out of present war conditions.[57]

He suggested some improvements for the future. These intimated some of the weaknesses he found:

1. The employment of a full-time director....
2. The establishment of some policy with respect to retirement of employees.
3. A revamping of the personnel of the Commission with the view to weeding out dead wood and the revitalization of it with new material.
4. Extensive effort toward the reorganization and vitalization of existing state and local commissions and the establishment of new interracial commissions in areas which are likely to become problem areas in the war and post-war period.
5. Vigorous attempt to expand interracial education in both Negro and white public schools.

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[57] Cole, outline of report to Board of Directors, October 15, 1942, C-Hist. Records, 1.

6. A closer working relation with the divisions of Negro education in the state departments of education.
7. The preparation of new materials on race and interracial problems for use in public schools, especially the lower grades.
8. The limitation of publications with publication efforts being confined very largely to a continuation of the Southern Frontier; to the preparation of more comprehensive basic materials for reference and school use; and to the preparation of materials treating the effective use of Negroes in industry, the armed forces and other phases of the war effort....
9. That the Commission accept the task of becoming the coordination agency for unifying the South on the elimination of the poll tax and the improvement of suffrage in the South.
10. That the Commission cooperate very closely with existing national and southern agencies who are working in the area of racial problems and southern problems and the general area of southern development.[58]

In his more comprehensive report, Dr. Cole elucidated on some of the points. On the positive side, he made such statements as:

> ... Not only was the racial crisis of the post-war period of the First World War passed with less friction and conflict than was anticipated, but over the years the Commission on Interracial Cooperation and state and local interracial organizations have constituted perhaps the greatest single technique for preserving interracial peace, for the discussion of interracial problems, for increasing racial understanding and for instituting action programs on behalf of the southern Negro.

and

> ... Among the more than 100 southern leaders interviewed as to the advisability of continuing and revamping the program of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, eighty persons believed that the Commission should be continued, while eight believed it should be

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[58] Ibid., 2.

> continued with certain modifications. Other replies were noncommittal and unfavorable.[59]

He also expanded on some of the Commission's shortcomings:

> ... Some of the more liberal southern Negroes like the work and the methods of the NAACP, but feel that the work of the Commission is static, colorless, is not charged with social action, is "Uncle Tomish" in nature, and in recent years has not shown courage in its program. They further say that it does not deal with "basic problems."[60]

> ... If the leadership of the Interracial Commission was inadequate in any respect, it probably lay in two directions: first, the failure of the Commission to incorporate the leadership of young Negro and white groups into the program; and secondly, the failure of the Commission and associated state groups to incorporate the industrial, labor and agricultural leadership of the South into interracial programs.[61]

Thus, two skilled social scientists viewed the Commission while it was still in existence. Their conclusions agree basically. Of the two, Cole's findings were the more exhaustive and reliable, for Myrdal could spend only a limited time in his evaluation of the Commission,

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[59] William E. Cole, "The Commission on Interracial Cooperation: An Appraisal and Suggestions for Program," January, 1943, C-Hist. Records, 2, 24.

[60] Ibid., 26.

[61] William E. Cole, "Southern Regional Council: Suggestions as to Program," November 23, 1943, C-Hist. Records.

and had to depend largely upon secondhand information.[62] On the other hand, as a total outsider, he may have been able to be a bit more objective than Cole was. That may account for his slightly more caustic final conclusions.

Any final consideration of the interracial movement must take into account what it meant to those who knew it both from within and without. A major difficulty, however, is to secure a clear impression from the myriads of minor facets presented. Likewise, of no less importance is an attempt to see the concurrent movements related to the field of race relations that were developing in the South. Only thus can the interracial movement be seen within its proper context.

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[62] The Commission staff were very unhappy about Myrdal's first appraisal which he submitted to them for approval. There were several exchanges of letters between him and various staff members. See especially Emily H. Clay to Gunnar Myrdal, August 24, 1942, correspondence, C-Miscel.

CHAPTER XI

CONCURRENT INTERRACIAL DEVELOPMENTS IN THE SOUTH[1]

In June, 1945, the Julius Rosenwald Fund issued a Directory of Agencies in Race Relations: National, State and Local.[2] This directory listed well over two hundred organizations as active in the field of race relations at that date. Many of these organizations had sprung up during World War II in response to the critical conditions existing then. Most of them were primarily active outside of the South. But there were some agencies which were working in the South. Of these, at least a few had been in existence for several years previous to 1945.

The Commission on Race Relations of the Federal Council of Churches held its organizational meeting in July, 1921. This Commission had been created by action

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[1] The very nature of this chapter makes it necessarily incomplete. The material for it had to be secured largely from secondary sources. But the data available in interracial organizations active during the period from 1919-1944 is quite limited. The development as a phase of the interracial movement of any one of the various organizations mentioned herein could very well become the subject of an entire study in itself.

[2] Julius Rosenwald Fund, Directory of Agencies in Race Relations: National, State and Local (Chicago, 1945).

of the Federal Council at its Third Quadrennial Meeting. It was composed of one hundred leading churchmen, Negro and white, from various parts of the country. As its objectives, it set the holding of conferences, the issuing of educational materials, and the promotion of interracial cooperation in the churches and communities throughout the nation.[3]

This Commission was closely related to the Commission on Interracial Cooperation both in personnel and program. John J. Eagan was its first chairman. Will W. Alexander was one of its secretaries for over a decade. Many of its activities, especially during the early years, were carried on jointly with the Commission. One of the most outstanding of these was the holding of a National Interracial Conference in Cincinnati, Ohio, in March of 1925. When the Commission on Race Relations began to present the Harmon awards in 1926, Will W. Alexander became the recipient of the first award for distinguished service in the field of race relations.[4]

In some ways the Commission on Race Relations of the

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[3] Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, Annual Report, 1921 (New York, 1922), 79-82. See also, Baker, Negro-White Adjustment, 24-26. Obviously this Commission was not limited to the South, but its activities were carried on in the South as well as elsewhere.

[4] Federal Council of Churches, Annual Report, 1925, 32-39; and ibid, 1926, 37-39.

Federal Council duplicated the activities of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation. It held a number of conferences and issued literature on race relations. But the Commission on Race Relations concentrated on the churches. In 1923 it called for the first observance of Race Relations Sunday in the churches throughout the country. Later this observance was broadened so that the entire month of February became designated as Interracial Brotherhood Month. By 1943 the Commission reported that Race Relations Sunday was on the regular church calendar of ten major denominations; and that more than four hundred cities and towns throughout the country were participating in this observance annually.[5]

The Commission on Race Relations also issued considerable literature on race relations for the churches. It encouraged the inclusion of race relations material into the Sunday School literature published by the various denominations. In 1931 it started the publication of the Interracial News Letter.[6] Thus this Commission through the specialized nature of its activities supplemented rather than duplicated the work of the

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[5] Ibid, 1923, 59-66; ibid, 1941, 44-49; and ibid, 1943, 55.

[6] Ibid, 1930, 43-46; ibid, 1931, 32-36; and ibid, 1941, 44-49.

Commission on Interracial Cooperation.[7]

Through the years several other religious organizations evinced an interest in interracial cooperation. In 1928 the National Conference of Christians and Jews began operations. It was mainly concerned about the relations between the various major religions. But it promoted brotherhood week and encouraged intercultural education.[8] About ten years later Catholics in the Southern dioceses from Virginia to Louisiana set up the Catholic Committee of the South "to bring about a friendlier understanding among Southerners irrespective of race or creed."[9] Through conference, support of the Fair Employment Practices Committee, and preparation of special literature, this committee encouraged interracial integration among Catholics in the South.[10] Neither the National Conference of Christians and Jews nor the

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[7] See also, George Edmund Haynes, The Work of the Department of Race Relations of the Federal Council of Churches (Interracial Publications No. 60, New York, 1945); and Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, Department of Race Relations, Twenty-Five Major Accomplishments in Twenty-Five Years 1922-1927 (Interracial Publications, No. 67, New York, 1947).

[8] American Council of Race Relations, Directory of Agencies in Intergroup Relations: National, Regional, State and Local. 1948-1949 (Chicago, 1949), 29.

[9] Rosenwald Fund, Directory of Agencies in Race Relations, 19.

[10] Ibid.

Catholic Committee of the South had any direct relationship to the Commission on Interracial Cooperation although there may have been some overlapping of personnel on the local level in the case of the N.C.C.J.

In 1942 the American Missionary Association of the Congregational Christian Churches established a Division of Race Relations with its headquarters at Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee. The American Missionary Association was an organization nearing the century mark; but its major efforts previous to this had been promoting education among Negroes, American Indians, Southern Highlanders and other minority groups. The Division of Race Relations was headed by Charles S. Johnson, an active leader of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation. Its activities included both the issuing of literature and the providing of skilled services in the solution of interracial problems.[11] Thus its personnel was directly related to the Commission. But its program tended to be more specialized than that of the Interracial Commission.

More distinctly Southern than most of the above groups, the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen came into being in 1934 as one of the reactions to the "Great Depression." This organization started by a little group

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[11] Ibid, 14. The writer worked with this organization from September 1, 1946, through July, 1947.

of "parsons, teachers and labor leaders" was interracial in composition. Its objective was "to set the redemptive gospel of Christ to work in the midst of a society floundering in economic chaos, political uncertainty, and spiritual dry-rot."[12] Its membership remained small, probably never exceeding five hundred. But it got groups of concerned persons together; it stimulated student thinking; and it provided a clearing-house of spiritual cross-fertilization for Southerners struggling with the application of the principles of Christianity.[13] Undoubtedly it was one of the most potent parts of the interracial movement in the South despite its limitations in members and funds. There seems to have been no direct relationship between it and the Commission on Interracial Cooperation. There was some overlapping of activities; but the Fellowship was an intensely religious group and its program directly reflected its deep religious motivation. Further, the Fellowship was mainly a widely-scattered collection of individuals united by a common dedication. As such it depended more upon individual action than upon any organized local

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[12] David Burgess, "The Fellowship of Southern Churchmen: Its History and Promise," in Prophetic Religion (Spring, 1953):3.

[13] Ibid, 3-11; see also, Howard Kester, "The Fellowship in Action," in Prophetic Religion (Spring, 1953):17-21. The writer has been personally acquainted with this group since 1946.

group participation for the implementation of its program.

In the early Forties a number of interracial committees were established by ministerial associations and church bodies throughout the South.[14] They were probably the product of the dual forces of the circumstances attending World War II and the long-time stimulation of the Race Relations Department of the Federal Council of Churches. Yet, as late as 1948, it was reported that there was little genuine interracial activity among churches in the South. A survey made at that time among a select group of Southerners who were more apt to be a part of interracial affairs in the churches revealed that the opportunities for such activities were quite limited, almost nonexistent.[15]

Between 1919 and 1944 the YMCA and YWCA took some steps in the direction of interracial integration both on the national and regional levels. Despite the fact that many of the initiators of the interracial movement had been "Y" workers, the YMCA remained a segregated organization throughout the period. It did, however,

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[14] A number of letters in the files of the Race Relations Division of the American Missionary Association at Fisk University substantiate this. See, for example, David N. Horwell to Rachel B. Noel, undated; and A. B. Hawkes to Rachel B. Noel, May 5, 1944. A number of major denominations in the South were concerned about race relations by 1944, but none of them can be called interracial.

[15] Maynard Catchings, "Interracial Activities in Southern Churches," in Phylon, 13(1952):54-56.

set up a commission to analyze its interracial relations in 1936, and in 1944 finally made a thoroughgoing study of itself. Thus it took the first real steps toward integration of its two divisions.[16]

The YWCA, in contrast to the YMCA, made some decided changes during the period. In 1922 it organized its central staff on a completely integrated basis without any discrimination. It organized a Council of Colored Work in 1928 and abolished it three years later as an undesirable separation. The National Board of the YWCA in 1943 adopted a statement favoring the complete integration of all YWCA's throughout the nation.[17] Thus it had advanced a long way toward interracial integration. But a study made in 1944 of the YWCA on the local level revealed that local chapters in the South had not kept pace with the National Board.[18]

The real progress toward integration of Negroes and whites into one "Y" movement was made by the students. Inspired by the actions of the Student Volunteer Movement Quadrennial Convention at Indianapolis in 1923, many student YMCA's and YWCA's became concerned about the

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[16] Charles Howard Hopkins, History of the Y.M.C.A. in North America (New York, 1951), 542-543, 582, 727-728.

[17] Juliet Ober Bell and Helen J. Wilkins, Interracial Practices in Community Y.W.C.A.'s (New York, 1944), 6-10.

[18] Ibid., 1, 60, 63, 71.

separation of Negroes and whites in the "Y."[19] As a result a number of interracial intercollegiate councils sprang up across the South. They were composed of representatives of Negro and white "Y" chapters from colleges located near each other. These students met for discussion and fellowship at regular intervals. Such groups were to be found in Knoxville and Nashville, Tennessee; Lynchburg, Virginia; Columbia, South Carolina; Raleigh, North Carolina; Atlanta, Georgia; and New Orleans, Louisiana during the Twenties.[20]

The Atlanta Inter-Collegiate Council was quite formally organized and active in the early Thirties. It planned an ambitious program of activities and expansion; and sought financial aid from the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, without success.[21] During the later Thirties other groups in Tennessee, North Carolina, Florida and Mississippi sprang up or became reactivated. Several of them, especially the ones in Greensboro, North Carolina, and Nashville, Tennessee,

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19 Fern Babcock, "The Contribution of the National Student Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. in the United States to Better Race Relations," in Student World (Fall, 1951): 373-376.

20 Baker, Negro-White Adjustment, 39-40, 188, 193. See also the correspondence of Sue Hill, C-Hist. Records; and Southern YMCA InterCollegian (February, 1929).

21 "Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc., Meeting of Executive Committee," November 24, 1933, C-Official Min.

continued their activities throughout the period.[22]

As a result of the increasing concern of some students, the question of integration of the "Y" regional conferences began to be raised in the Twenties. At that time there were four separate regional conferences for men and women, Negro and white, respectively. For several years the two YM conferences exchanged "fraternal" delegates and the two YW conferences did likewise. But in 1930 the YWCA voted to discontinue this practice. At the same time the YWCA Regional Council set up a "long range program on race relations which looked toward complete integration."[23]

In 1932 the YMCA and YWCA held joint conferences, one for Negroes and one for whites. Experiments with one-day and weekend interracial conferences were tried in

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[22] See Robert B. Eleazer to M. D. Miller, March 20, 1941, correspondence, C-Miscel; Edwin L. Clarke to Jessie Daniel Ames, April 16, 1942, correspondence, C-Miscel; and A. D. Beittel to Rachel B. Noel, March 16, 1944, in files of the Race Relations Division of the American Missionary Association at Fisk University. Some of these groups are still meeting regularly. They tend to be very loosely organized and seldom do anything more than meet once a month. But they continue to furnish at least that limited interracial experience to the students. Howard Kester who has been an active leader of the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen, and also was a secretary of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union, mentioned below, was one of the students that organized the first council in Nashville.

[23] "Brief Summary of the History of Student YMCA and YWCA Summer Conferences in the Southern Region," manuscript prepared by the Southern Regional Student YWCA staff, September, 1951, from the files of that office.

several states. By 1936 the regional staffs of both the student YMCA and the student YWCA had become integrated. That summer a jointly sponsored interracial, coeducational, special summer conference was held following the regular conferences. Then, in 1938, the Negro YMCA-YWCA conference voted to discontinue itself in favor of one integrated summer conference for all "Y" students. But the white YMCA-YWCA conference did not follow suit; so two conferences continued to be held through 1942.[24]

The exigencies of war prevented the holding of the 1943 summer conference of the Southern Regional YMCA-YWCA. But it provided an opportunity for an advance toward integration. One leadership training conference was held at Berea, Kentucky. In 1944 the practice of holding two separate conferences, one interracial on a Negro campus, one for whites only at Blue Ridge, was revived. But that was the last year for such a practice. The groundwork for complete integration had been laid and such was soon to be attained.[25]

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[24] Ibid. Part of the difficulty of getting the two conferences together lay in the fact that the white conference met regularly at the YMCA conference center at Blue Ridge, N.C., and that center refused to accept Negroes except on a limited, segregated basis.

[25] Ibid. The YWCA withdrew from the segregated conference in 1945. From then on it sponsored only the integrated conference. The YMCA continued to support two conferences through 1951. Finally in 1952 one completely integrated conference for the YMCA and YWCA of the Southern Region was held at Blue Ridge, N.C. It has been continued every summer to date.

The YMCA and YWCA were not primarily concerned about race relations. But their steps toward integration of their separate divisions in the South are definitely a part of the interracial movement. Undoubtedly there were relationships between "Y" groups and the Commission on Interracial Cooperation. In 1926 the Commission included a special worker on its staff to stimulate student participation. Through the work in the colleges the Commission tried to influence college students. The activity of the student "Y" members may, indeed, have been a result of the Commissions efforts, at least in part.

In the field of labor little action was taken in the direction of integration of Negroes into the unions until the Thirties. The International Labor Defense, a radically inspired group organized in the late Twenties, did champion Negro causes. But it apparently did so for its own ends.[26] At Monteagle, Tennessee, in 1932, Highlander Folk School was started as a training center for workers and labor leaders; and it was maintained on an interracial, non-segregated basis.[27] In 1934 another

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[26] Baker, Negro-White Adjustment, 47; and Samuel Enders Warren, The Negro in the American Labor Movement, manuscript thesis in the library of the University of Wisconsin (1941), 324-383.

[27] American Council on Race Relations, Directory of Agencies in Intergroup Relations, 50-51.

small group, the Southern Tenant Farmers Union, emerged. It was a grass-roots reaction to the farm conditions in the lower Mississippi Valley; and was completely interracial. It remained alive throughout the Thirties but never attained the status of a major labor organization.[28]

The American Federation of Labor took little action to encourage the integration of Negroes into A.F. of L. unions before 1944. Philip Randolph, the Negro leader of the railway workers, made several attempts to push actions through at annual conventions to censure discriminatory unions, but with little success.[29]

The United Mine Workers and the Steel Workers became the first major labor unions to include Negro laborers in their unions on a completely non-segregated basis. The NRA codes of 1933 stimulated their action. Local unions in the South were no exception.[30] And with the emergence of the CIO in the mid-Thirties, the movement toward inclusion of all laborers into integrated unions was given impetus.

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[28] Howard Kester, Revolt Among the Sharecroppers (New York, 1936); and Harold Mitchell, "The Southern Tenant Farmers Union in 1938: Report to the Annual Convention" (Mimeographed, Memphis, 1938).

[29] Herbert R. Northrup, Organized Labor and the Negro (New York, 1944), 11-14.

[30] Ibid., 154-171, 180; and Cayton and Mitchell, Black Workers and the New Unions, 85-87, 343-349.

The CIO from its beginning insisted that it was for all workers. Its annual conventions frequently reiterated its non-discriminatory creed.[31] In 1941 it created a National CIO Committee to Abolish Racial Discrimination. This body was designed to stimulate concern in the locals, and to serve as a clearing house for complaints about discrimination.[32] In general the CIO achieved its intention for it had no national unions which excluded Negroes or segregated them into Jim Crow locals.[33]

The relationship between the integration of the unions and the Commission is an indirect one. The Commission was quite interested in the problems of the Negro workers. One of its research projects in the Thirties was devoted to a study of the Negroes in the unions.[34] A few labor leaders were active members of the Commission, Lucy Randolph Mason for instance. But one of the Commission's weaknesses lay in the fact that

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31 Congress of Industrial Organizations, The CIO and the Negro Worker: Together for Victory (Publication No. 63, revised ed., Washington, 1942); and Lucy Randolph Mason, To Win These Rights: A Personal Story of the CIO in the South (New York, 1952), 164-177.

32 Rosenwald Fund, Directory of Agencies in Race Relations, 43-44.

33 Northrup, Organized Labor and the Negro, 14.

34 Cayton and Mitchell, The Black Workers and the New Unions.

it did not include many representatives of the industrial workers. The action of the unions that became integrated, however, were a partial fulfillment or extension of the Commission's ideal of interracial cooperation.

One of the results of CIO activity in the South was the formation of a special organization, the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. This body was created in 1938 with much fanfare as a reply to the Report to the President on Economic Conditions in the South which had pictured the conditions in the South in such discouraging terms. The leadership in setting it up came largely from labor groups.[35]

The Southern Conference for Human Welfare included in the beginning many outstanding Southerners among them being several of the leaders of the Interracial Commission: Will W. Alexander, Mary McLeod Bethune, Rufus E. Clement, Charles S. Johnson, Arthur F. Raper. It was an interracially integrated organization; and its membership included representatives from all walks of life. Its objectives closely duplicated the planned expansion of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation in 1938. The appearance of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare at that time undoubtedly affected the Commission's

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35 Clark Foreman, "The Decade of Hope," in Phylon, 12(1951):137-150; see also, American Council on Race Relations, Directory of Agencies in Intergroup Relations, 53.

financial campaign and prevented the achievement of its success.[36]

But the Southern Conference for Human Welfare became uncompromising on many issues such as segregation. It engaged in political action, and took decided stands on civil rights, the poll tax and the franchise. It became dominated by the extreme "liberal" group, and began to lose much of its substantial support. After only ten years, it was to disband.[37] It never satisfied many who found a place in the interracial movement as it was exemplified in the Commission on Interracial Cooperation. Nor did it provide the extensive program of the Commission such as its publications and stimulation of local groups.[38] Thus the only organization that really seriously threatened to supplant the Commission on Interracial Cooperation during its existence proved unable to do so.

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[36] See above, p. 270.

[37] Foreman, "The Decade of Hope," 137-150. In 1948 it was investigated by the House Un-American Affairs Committee; and an unfavorable report was issued for all who wished to accept it at its face value.

[38] Quite early at least one Negro questioned whether the SCHW had not gotten off on the wrong start by attacking segregation first; see Gordon B. Hancock, "Between the Lines," manuscript sent to Jessie Daniel Ames, C-Field Work. In 1940 Mrs. Ames indicated that she did not think the SCHW was or would conflict with the Commission in any way; see, Jessie Daniel Ames to F. D. Patterson, April 18, 1940, correspondence, C-Miscel.

During the quarter century of the life of the Commission there were other reflections of the interracial movement to be seen. A number of Federal agencies created special advisors on Negro affairs, especially during the New Deal.[39] Some state governments and some cities created interracial committees; but these were largely confined to the North and West.[40] Some chambers of Commerce in the larger Southern cities set up biracial committees to study mutual problems.[41] Negroes were included as an integrated part of many welfare programs such as the Anti-Tuberculosis Association and the community chest.[42] None of these were interracial movements,

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[39] American Council on Race Relations, Directory of Agencies in Intergroup Relations, 1-5, lists a number of such departments.

[40] Lester B. Granger, "A Hopeful Sign in Race Relations," in Survey Graphic, 33(1944):455-456, says that at least 102 such committees were active at that date (17 state committees, 16 mayor's, 69 voluntary); but points out that there were no accurate statistics to rely on for a total count.

[41] Southern Frontier, 3(November, 1942):1; and B. F. Moomaw to Rachel B. Noel, in files of Race Relations Department of the American Missionary Association at Fisk University.

[42] See Mrs. D. M. McDonald to Jessie Daniel Ames, correspondence, C-Miscel; and Robert B. Eleazer, "Trends in Race Relations in 1926," in Opportunity, 5(January, 1927):16-17. Some professional organizations were undoubtedly becoming integrated before 1944 but little is known of that phase of the interracial movement as yet. The NAACP and the Urban League were, of course, still active; but they are not truly a part of the interracial movement.

per se; but they were incidental reflections of the Commission's purpose to bring Negroes and whites together into a working relationship.

More directly connected with the field of race relations were other developments. The American Civil Liberties Union which had been organized in 1920 on an inclusive basis, in 1942 created a "Committee on Race Discrimination ... to help coordinate the many organizations in the field...."[43] In 1933 the Bureau for Intercultural Education got its start. It was devoted to the "understanding, cooperation and national unity among the cultural groups in America."[44] As its name implies, it was mainly concerned with the preparation of literature and the development of techniques for reducing inter-group tensions through the schools. Both of these organizations were national ones with headquarters in New York; but their work supplemented that of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation.

Finally, the serious study of the whole area of race relations expanded greatly between 1919-1944. Before the end of the 1920's the number of published studies in "Race Problems and Race Relations" had

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[43] Rosenwald Fund, Directory of Agencies in Race Relations, 6.

[44] Ibid., 18-19.

increased decidedly.[45] By 1942 a survey indicated that 187 Southern colleges were doing something about race relations in their curriculum. Of these, fifty-three colleges were offering full courses in race relations, and twenty were carrying on research on the Negro and Negro problems.[46] In 1944 Gunnar Myrdal issued An American Dilemma. This monumental study was the concentrated result of several years of intensive research on the part of a highly trained staff; and was considered a definitive authority on the Negro in the United States.[47]

Thus, as the Commission on Interracial Cooperation was giving its expression to the interracial movement between 1919 and 1944, other organizations were developing as diverse aspects of the movement. The Commission furnished the leadership for some of these, especially the Race Relations Department of the Federal Council of Churches and the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. Others, it undoubtedly encouraged and stimulated. There was some duplicating of program and activities among the various organizations. But, considering the broad

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[45] Work, Bibliography of the Negro, 626-628, lists forty-eight such studies only eleven of which were dated before 1920.

[46] Charles S. Johnson and associates, Into the Main Stream (Chapel Hill, 1947), 153.

[47] Myrdal, An American Dilemma, 1:ix-xiv.

field of race relations, they tended to supplement each other rather than to conflict. The Commission was distinct from the others in that it was primarily educational, concerned with the formation of public opinion. It seldom engaged in direct social or political action. Initiated from a religious motivation, it was a secular rather than a religious organization; and was, therefore, more inclusive in its program. Not bound by any rigid creed or goal, it could compromise to accommodate diverse shades of opinion. While it was in many ways the spearhead of the interracial movement, the Commission was only one organization among several. Each of the others has its place in the full history of the movement.

When the Commission on Interracial Cooperation came into being immediately following World War I, it stood for a new idea, a radical idea for that day. By the time that it was disbanded in 1944 many other organizations had adopted the idea. More important, a number of groups and organizations not specifically concerned about race relations were practicing what the Commission had preached for twenty-five years. Much research remains to be done before the full story of this development will be known. But by 1944 the idea for which the Commission on Interracial Cooperation stood was definitely no longer new, nor radical, nor limited to a small group of individuals.

CHAPTER XII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Between 1900 and 1950 decided changes took place in the United States.[1] One of the more important of these changes was the shift toward the fuller inclusion of Negroes into the life of the nation. One of the factors operating to bring about that change was the interracial movement. This study has attempted to delineate the Commission on Interracial Cooperation as a major part of that interracial movement in the South.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the separation of the Negroes and whites in the South was increasing rather than declining. The race issue was often played upon as a campaign feature. Negro racial self-consciousness was developing. On the other hand, the scientific knowledge about race was increasing. Further, both individuals and organizations were evincing concern about race relations. When World War I greatly aggravated

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[1] Frederick Lewis Allen, The Big Change: America Transforms Itself 1900-1950 (New York, 1952), is a graphic presentation of the contrast between the United States of 1950 and that of 1900. For his treatment of the changes in race relations, see pages 177-186.

the racial tensions, the time was ripe for the initiation of an interracial movement.

The small group of white men that first advanced the idea of getting Negroes and whites together to discuss the racial situation were looking for a way to reduce the existing tensions. They acted in secret; and their actions were a temporary expedient. But, as the months passed, they continued to feel the need for joint action. Their circle was widened to include Negroes and women. The Commission on Interracial Cooperation came into being.

At first the organization was very informal. In 1929 it became incorporated. Ideally the organization was to be composed of thousands of local interracial committees scattered throughout the South. These were to be loosely knit together into state organizations, and stimulated and led by a central Commission and its staff. Actually very few of the local committees attained any permanency. Some state committees were a little more stable but only one or two survived without interruption. The Commission on Interracial Cooperation with its offices in Atlanta was the most sustained part of the setup.

The Commission and its various committees did manage, however, to include a fairly large number of persons across the years. Some of them, especially the paid staff members, gave long-term support to the movement. With

few exceptions, the people who made up the various committees and commissions were Southerners, and represented positions of leadership and respect. Unfortunately, though, they tended to come primarily from among clerical and educational groups. Few representatives of the rural farmers, the industrial laborers, or the businessmen were among the members.

The Commission throughout its existence depended largely upon Northern philanthropy to finance its program. Most of its funds went to the maintenance of a small staff. Several attempts were made to secure a permanent endowment for the Commission but none were successful. Because of limited funds, the Commission's program was altered from time to time, but it managed to continue for twenty-five years.

Fortunately, in view of the financial restrictions, the activities of the Commission were basically educational. It did advocate remedial measures to alleviate the causes of interracial tensions, usually by securing specific advantages for Negroes. But these were carried out for the most part by other groups. The Commission concentrated on the education of public opinion: through meetings and conferences, through circulation of literature, through research on special subjects such as lynching, and through contact with the established educational institutions. As an important aspect of this

campaign, it published over two hundred pieces of literature devoted to race relations. And it encouraged the publication of almost a dozen major research studies. Its accomplishments are a matter of record.

Finally, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation made way for the emergence of a new organization to take its place. Unable to secure the necessary financial support for its program, and failing to bring into its leadership the younger Negroes and whites, it suffered a decline during the late 1930's. It was not able to cope effectively with the demands placed upon it by the coming of World War II. But some of its leaders saw the need for becoming more inclusive. The idea developed that racial tensions were but one of the problems of the South as a region. The Southern Regional Council, composed of Southerners from all walks of life, was created to contend with the interrelated problems of the South. The Commission on Interracial Cooperation dissolved itself in 1944.

Against the background of the general history of the period during which it existed, the Commission emerges as an integral part of the social history of the South. In the critical times following World War I, it offered a radical approach to the racial problems. Yet its leadership was sufficiently recognized, and its principles were vague enough to win widespread respect and

influence. As the "roaring Twenties" unfolded, it attracted less and less attention. At the same time, the agricultural South, with its declining income foretelling the advent of the Great Depression, contributed in diminishing amounts to the support of the Commission.

The depression of 1929 nipped in the bud the first major financial campaign of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation. Yet, the depression accentuated the need for the Commission. And the Commission responded to the challenge. It undertook to spearhead a drive to stamp out lynching--and lynching virtually disappeared. It investigated the role of the Negro laborer in industry, and focused attention on farm tenancy in the South. Its director, Will W. Alexander, went to Washington to head the Resettlement Administration in the New Deal Department of Agriculture. But the field work and continued organization of local interracial committees had to be sacrificed to make possible these other developments on the limited funds available.[2]

With the late 1930's confusion settled upon the world. The strident voices of fascism and militarism became

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[2] Of course there were a number of other factors operating in the same direction to alleviate the pressures of the depression. It is impossible to give any precise mathematical evaluation of the contribution of the Commission in comparison with that of the other factors.

increasingly louder. Racism got a renewed vigor. Within the United States the New Deal settled into a rut. Isolationism fought to prevent any recognition of the fact that the United States was a part of one world. In such a milieu, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation sank to a low ebb. The financial support of the Northern philanthropists terminated, and the funds of the Commission greatly declined. It had little to offer to catch the imagination and win the loyalty of confused peoples for it professed no absolute panaceas.

Finally World War II broke upon the world. The stress and strain of wartime increased the "normal" racial tensions. The tested and proven method of interracial committees as a solution to such tensions was revived, and taken up by others. The Commission on Interracial Cooperation had a new challenge. But it lacked funds; it needed personnel, especially younger persons with energy. By its very nature it was unable to supply the new vision that was needed for the times. Yet, within it, there were those who led the way toward a new idea. So the pressure of war accelerated the transition of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation into the Southern Regional Council.

In any final appraisal of the role of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation as a strand of the social

fabric of the South, it may be viewed from two approaches. One way of looking at it is to consider it as an organization. What were its weaknesses and its strong points? The other approach is to examine it as an idea, a part of the intellectual life of the place and time.

As an organization, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation definitely had limitations. Most important was its weakness in terms of personnel. While it included some of the "best" people, it failed to be truly representative of all the South. Further, the personal idiosyncrasies of some of its staff members upon whom so much depended were a handicap and lessened its efficiency. A second weakness lay in its inability to secure indigenous financial support. The fact that it depended upon Northern funds both limited the nature of its activities and made it liable to the criticisms of "outside interference."

Finally, as an organization the Commission did not keep abreast of the major developments in the very field in which it operated. Its main concern was the development of public opinion. During the years of its existence, the control of public opinion became a subject of much study, and a matter of intensive attention. Yet the Commission clung rather tenaciously to its original

approach. It did vary its publications a little, and it did start a periodical which gave a fresh and needed approach to race relations. But it ignored the use of graphic illustrations. It showed very little originality in the literary style and physical make-up of its later pieces of literature. It never utilized to any extent the radio or the motion picture, both of which made such tremendous developments during the Commission's lifetime.

As the Commission on Interracial Cooperation had its weaknesses, so it also had its strengths. Despite its limitations in personnel, it included many strong men and women of reputation who were willing to stand up and speak out. Sometimes they spoke with timidity, but their loyalty through the years was a resource of undeterminable value. Another asset of the Commission was the looseness of its organization. It never became tied down to a fixed creed or goal. The simplicity of its method--just bring Negro and white leaders together--left much room for individual variations and interpretations.

This simple technique was also a valuable means of influencing public opinion. Granted, it had little direct influence on mass opinion. It provided, nonetheless, an interracial experience for many persons, some

of them decidedly influential. This experience took place on a level of unhindered association of Negroes and whites of similar backgrounds and interests, a level provided nowhere else in the South when the Commission came into being. Such contact was education in its most elementary form. Finally, the respect which the Commission gained was another manifestation of its strength. Its caution and lack of clearly defined objectives alienated some. They permitted others to accept a new idea with a minimum of difficulty. Eventually they became so accustomed to the idea that it was no longer new. Thus, as an organization the Commission on Interracial Cooperation possessed strength as well as weakness.

As an idea, the concept of bringing Negroes and whites together into small committees to face jointly the problem of racial tension, the Commission is somewhat more difficult to assess. Yet such evaluation is no less important in making a final appraisal of the movement.

In the first place, the idea of bringing Negroes and whites together to discuss anything on terms of mutual exchange was a reversal of the prevailing trend in the South. As Will Alexander liked to express it in the early days of the movement, the function of the interracial committee was to "bridge the widening chasm"

between the leaders of the Negro and white groups in the communities.[3] It was to provide a means of contact between the new Negro leaders who were rising and the white leaders who were often unaware that they did not "know" all Negroes.

Admittedly the idea of setting up interracial committees was limited in scope. It was fuzzy and ill defined. What was meant by "cooperation" was never completely clear. Such an idea could become and often did become the vehicle of continued paternalism. It may have been used even as a means of exploitation in some instances. The very terminology of the idea itself was a limitation to a complete inclusiveness because it placed a value upon race as a means of measuring participation.

In reality, the very incompleteness of the idea of interracial cooperation may have been a necessary step toward the concept of racial integration. In 1919 not many people anywhere were prepared to accept the notion that all peoples regardless of racial differences are basically equal. The idea of the unqualified superiority of the white race prevailed, especially in the

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[3] Florence Read, R. B. Eleazer and Will Alexander each recalled this particular expression in separate interviews with the writer; Read, personal interview, August 7, 1948; Eleazer, personal interview, July 23, 1947; Alexander, personal interview, May 16, 1950.

South. To suggest that Negroes might help in furnishing leadership to reduce racial tensions was in itself an implicit denial of the complete superiority on the part of the whites. To be sure, the majority of the participants in the interracial committees of the early 1920's undoubtedly did not recognize that fact. But with time the implication became more explicit. Eventually it was recognized that the individuals in a community regardless of whether they are Negro or white can work together to solve the problems of the community and the region. Even in 1944 when the Commission merged into the Southern Regional Council, probably all who shared in making the transition were not aware of the full implication of their action. By their deed they signified that the time for thinking in terms of the division of the community into racial groups was coming to an end. The basic foundations were laid for the integration of all peoples in the South into one community life. Although this recognition on the part of a few did not mean the coming of the Millennium in the South, it was evidence of a growth that had occurred in a period of twenty-five years--the passing of a generation.

Fundamentally, the idea of interracial committees was sound and important. It permitted concerned persons to start in the desired direction from wherever they stood in terms of their views and conceptions. It gave

room for personal growth and action. Further, it focused attention upon the problem of racial conflicts and tensions, and did so on a local level. It provided a relatively calm way that could be practiced with a wide variety of forms to meet differing circumstances. Its validity is attested by its survival over a period of twenty-five years, by the increase in the number of interracial organizations during that time, and by the widespread revival of the technique of the interracial committee during World War II.

In conclusion, the rise, development and ultimate dissolution of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation was a part of the overall social change that took place in the United States between the two World Wars. The total picture of life in the United States was greatly altered during that span of twenty-five years. The developments in the field of race relations were one aspect of that transformation. It is true that there was still much to be desired in that area by one who accepted fully the democratic Christian heritage as a fundamental value, for the "American dilemma" was still not entirely resolved. But changes for the better had occurred in race relations in the South, and there was much ground

for hope for the future.[4] Undoubtedly the Commission on Interracial Cooperation deserves recognition as having had a share in improving race relations in the South between 1919 and 1944. In the long run it may well be credited as an important step in the integration of the peoples of the South.

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[4] Many observers share this opinion with the writer. See for examples, Anson Phelps Stokes and others, Negro Status and Race Relations in the United States, 1911-1946: Thirty-five Year Report of the Phelps-Stokes Fund (New York, 1948), 31-42; Charles S. Johnson, Into the Main Stream; ---, "An American Revolution," in Survey, 85(1949):440-441; Joseph S. Himes, "Changing Structure of Negro-White Relations in the South," in Phylon, 12(1951):227-238; and Harry J. Walker, "Changes in the Structure of Race Relations in the South," in American Sociological Review, 14(1949):377-383.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

A. Findings Woman's Section Tennessee State Inter-Racial Committee

B. Organizations Committee to a Program of Education to Prevent Lynching

C. Staff Personnel of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation and its State Committees.

D. Program - Annual Meeting of the Alabama Interracial Committee, February 11, 1942

E. Program - Inter-Racial Forum, Charleston, South Carolina, January 17, 1941.

F. The Commission on Interracial Cooperation and the Scottsboro Case

G. Program - Anti-Lynching Institute, New Albany, Mississippi, October 17-18, 1939.

H. Selected Press Releases of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation

APPENDIX A

(A statement issued by the Woman's section of a state interracial committee--one of several such statements issued in 1921-1922.)

FINDINGS WOMAN'S SECTION TENNESSEE

STATE INTER-RACIAL COMMITTEE

We, a group of Tennessee women, assembled by invitation of the Committee on Inter-racial Co-operation, realize that the present misunderstandings and conflicts between races are world-wide and nation-wide; we also realize that the women of the South have a unique opportunity to demonstrate to the world the efficacy of the teachings of the Gospel of Jesus Christ as a solution of the problems brought about by conscious or unconscious selfishness, injustice, ignorance and indifference.

THE CHURCH AND THE GOSPEL

Upon the Church must be placed the major responsibility, since in the Gospel of Jesus Christ lies the only solution of the problems before us.

The Church faces the colossal opportunity of the age in the application of the fundamental principles of Christianity. "The Principle of Jesus can be nothing if it is not democratic. He recognized the immortal soul in both Jew and Greek, bond and free." The Golden Rule for Him applied to every relationship in life. When the Church learns His principle and applies His rule there will be no race problem.

We therefore appeal:

To the clergy to proclaim this principle and make plain its application to the question of racial adjustments;

To the teachers in the Sunday School that they seek by every method to instil in the hearts of their pupils a respect for personality regardless of race or color.

To the women of the Missionary Societies that they meet the challenge that faces them. Although they are making their gifts of money, and their sons and daughters are making the precious offering of life for the great enterprise of World Redemption, yet the gospel that is being carried to the heathen world will become almost impotent unless its principles can be applied in every day race contacts in our own land.

LAWLESSNESS

Unless lawlessness and mob violence can be checked, the very foundation of our civilization is endangered. The lynchings and burnings that have taken place throughout our nation in such appalling numbers have brought not only our Christianity, but also our civilization into question the world over.

Witnessing these atrocities, the sensibilities of great masses of men and women have been deadened, and even little children have had their lives blighted; yet Christian women have often stood in benumbed silence, either fearing, or not knowing how, to utter a cry of protest.

No longer can we fail to find our voice and to act with all possible vigor. We therefore pledge ourselves

1. To seek to arouse public opinion in every way possible.

2. To uphold our public officials in their efforts to enforce law.

3. To use our utmost influence in such lawmaking as shall bring about the speedy prosecution of all who engage in mob violence and all officials who fail to uphold the law.

MORAL STANDARDS

Justice can never be realized until there is a single standard of morals for all, and a sentiment for the equal protection of all women.

We appreciate the chivalry of white men in the protection of white womanhood, and hold that the integrity of the Negro home should be no less sacredly respected and guarded by the men of both races.

CHRISTIAN COURTESY

The lives of many of the young men and women of the Negro race are daily becoming embittered not only because of the injustice and discrimination that they constantly meet, but also because of the lack of simple christian courtesy.

We therefore pledge ourselves to cultivate the christian attitude of mind in every day contacts by discouraging the use of those terms both in conversation and in the press, that arouse resentment and convey a sense of inferiority or contempt; by using our influence against rudeness on the part of all public officials, and employes of public utilities; by standing for justice and opportunity and the fullest possible development to which every individual of the race can attain.

Mrs. Arch Trawick
Miss Estelle Haskin
Mrs. W. D. Weatherford
Mrs. Chas. Kinkead
Mrs. A. B. Smith
Mrs. Neal Spahr
Mrs. W. B. Gray
Mrs. W. E. Norvell
Mrs. J. T. Lupton
Mrs. J. H. Morrison
Mrs. J. H. Wheeler
Mrs. Daniel Briscoe, Jr.
Mrs. Loaring Clark
Mrs. C. W. Nichols
Mrs. J. W. Perry

APPENDIX B

(Organizations which endorsed the activities of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching - from Organizations Committed to a Program of Education To Prevent Lynching, 3rd ed., 1941.)

Organizations Committed to a Program of Education to Prevent Lynching

Business and Professional Women's Clubs, Southeast Regional Conference
Baptist, Southern Convention, Woman's Missionary Union
Disciples of Christ, International Convention
Episcopal Church, Fifty-first Triennial Convention, 1934
Episcopal Church, Executive Board of the Woman's Auxiliary
Episcopal Church, Woman's Auxiliary to the National Council
Federation of Women's Clubs
Jewish Women, National Council
Jewish Women, Southern Interstate Conference
Methodist Woman's Division of Christian Service
Presbyterian Church, U.S., Committee on Woman's Work
Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., Woman's Missionary Organizations
Temple Sisterhoods, National Federation
Young Woman's Christian Association, National

ALABAMA
- Episcopal Church, Woman's Auxiliary, Diocese of Alabama
- Methodist Woman's Society for Christian Service, Alabama Conference
- Methodist Woman's Society for Christian Service, North Alabama Conference
- Methodist Church, North Alabama Conference
- Temple Sisterhoods, Alabama-Florida-Georgia Federation

ARKANSAS
- American Association of University Women, Little Rock Branch
- Baptist Woman's Missionary Union
- Democratic Women's Clubs
- Episcopal Woman's Auxiliary, Diocese of Arkansas
- Federation of Women's Clubs

Methodist Woman's Society for Christian Service, Little Rock Conference
Methodist Woman's Society for Christian Service, North Arkansas Conference
Methodist Church, Little Rock Conference

FLORIDA
Baptist Woman's Missionary Union
Catholic Women's Club of Jacksonville
Disciples of Christ, Florida Convention
Disciples of Christ, Women's Missionary Societies of Florida
Democratic Women's Association, Duval County
Episcopal Woman's Auxiliary, Diocese of Florida
Episcopal Woman's Auxiliary, Diocese of South Florida
Episcopal Young People's Service League, Diocese of Florida
Federation of Women's Clubs
Federation of Women's Clubs, Polk County
Methodist Church, Florida Conference
Methodist Woman's Society for Christian Service, Florida Conference
Ministerial Alliance, Jacksonville
Religious Council of Jacksonville Women
Temple Sisterhoods, Alabama-Florida-Georgia Federation
Young Women's Christian Association, Jacksonville

GEORGIA
Baptist Woman's Missionary Union
Disciples of Christ, Women's Missionary Societies of Georgia
Disciples of Christ, Georgia Convention
Episcopal Woman's Auxiliary, Diocese of Atlanta
Federated Church Women of Georgia
Methodist Woman's Society for Christian Service, North Georgia Conference
Methodist Woman's Society for Christian Service, South Georgia Conference
Methodist Church, North Georgia Conference
Methodist Church, South Georgia Conference
Methodist Protestant Missionary Society of Georgia
Presbyterian Church, U.S., Committee on Woman's Work, Synod of Georgia
Temple Sisterhoods, Alabama-Florida-Georgia Federation
Woman's Christian Temperance Union

KENTUCKY
Baptist Woman's Missionary Union

Disciples of Christ, Woman's Missionary Societies of Kentucky
Disciples of Christ, Kentucky Convention
Episcopal Woman's Auxiliary, Diocese of Kentucky
Federation of Women's Clubs
Methodist Woman's Society for Christian Service, Kentucky Conference
Methodist Woman's Society for Christian Service, Louisville Conference
Temple Sisterhoods, Kentucky Federation

LOUISIANA
Association of Peace Officers, 1934
Baptist Woman's Missionary Union
Disciples of Christ, Woman's Missionary Societies of Louisiana
Disciples of Christ, Louisiana Missionary Society
Federation of Women's Clubs
Methodist Woman's Society for Christian Service, Louisiana Conference

MISSISSIPPI
Episcopal Woman's Auxiliary, Diocese of Mississippi
Federation of Women's Clubs
Methodist Woman's Society for Christian Service, Mississippi Conference
Methodist Woman's Society for Christian Service, North Mississippi Conference
Methodist Church, North Mississippi Conference
Methodist Young People's Conference, North Mississippi Conference
Parent-Teacher Association
Temple Sisterhoods, Mississippi Federation
Woman's Christian Temperance Union

NORTH CAROLINA
Baptist Woman's Missionary Union
Federation of Women's Clubs
Methodist Woman's Society for Christian Service, North Carolina Conference
Methodist Woman's Society for Christian Service, Western North Carolina Conference
Methodist Church, Western North Carolina Conference
Methodist Church, North Carolina Conference
Society of Friends

OKLAHOMA
Methodist Woman's Society for Christian Service, Oklahoma
Presbyterian Church, U.S., Woman's Auxiliary, Synod of Oklahoma

SOUTH CAROLINA
- Baptist Woman's Missionary Union
- Federation of Women's Clubs
- Methodist Woman's Society for Christian Service, South Carolina Conference
- Methodist Woman's Society for Christian Service, Upper South Carolina Conference

TENNESSEE
- Baptist Woman's Missionary Union
- Disciples of Christ, Woman's Missionary Societies of Tennessee
- Disciples of Christ, Tennessee Convention
- Federation of Women's Clubs
- Methodist Woman's Society for Christian Service, Memphis Conference
- Methodist Woman's Society for Christian Service, Tennessee Conference
- Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., Synodical Society for Missions

TEXAS
- Baptist Woman's Missionary Union
- Federation of Women's Clubs
- Methodist Woman's Society for Christian Service, Central Texas Conference
- Methodist Woman's Society for Christian Service, North Texas Conference
- Methodist Woman's Society for Christian Service, Northwest Texas Conference
- Methodist Woman's Society for Christian Service, Texas Conference
- Methodist Woman's Society for Christian Service, West Texas Conference

VIRGINIA
- Federation of Women's Clubs
- Methodist Woman's Society for Christian Service, Virginia Conference
- Presbyterian Church, U.S., Woman's Auxiliary, Synod of Virginia

APPENDIX C

(The known staff personnel of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation and its state committees.)

Headquarters Staff

Director

1920	Richard H. King
1921-1942	Will W. Alexander (Part time, 1932-1933, Dillard University Part time, 1935-1940, U.S. Government Part time, 1941-1942, Rosenwald Fund)
1943	William E. Cole

Associate Director

1920	Will W. Alexander
1922-1923	Richard H. King
1935-1942	Channing H. Tobias (Part time)

Educational and Publicity Director

1920-1921	Edwin Mims
1922-1942	Robert B. Eleazer

Director of Woman's Work

1921-1925	Mrs. Luke Johnson
1925-1928	Mrs. Maud Henderson
1929-1937	Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames

Associate Director of Woman's Work

1923-1924(?)	Ruth Reed
1930-1931	Abigail Curlee
1931-1932	Elizabeth Head

Director of Research

1922-1926	T. J. Woofter Jr.
1928-1937	Arthur Raper (Part time, 1932-1937, Agnes Scott College)

Secretary

1928(?)-1944	Emily Clay

Field Staff

General Secretary

1924-1926	David J. Jones
1937-1944	Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames

Assistant to the General Secretary

1942	R. P. Neblett, Jr.

Special Assistant to the General Secretary

1942(June-December)	C. H. Bynum

State Secretary

1920-1922	T. J. Woofter, Jr.	Georgia
1920-1929	James Bond	Kentucky
1920- (?)	R. E. Clay	Tennessee
1920-1926	R. W. Miles	Virginia
1922	H. L. Anderton	Alabama
1922	J. T. Hodges	North Carolina and South Carolina
1922-1926	Clark Foreman	Georgia
1922	W. W. Hadnott	Louisiana
1922	H. T. S. Johnson	Oklahoma
1922-1931	J. D. Burton	Tennessee
1922	E. M. Castleberry	Texas
1924-1925	Mrs. Maud Henderson	Alabama
1924-1929	Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames	Texas
1925-1928	Mrs. C. P. McGowan	South Carolina
1926-1928	Arthur Raper (Part time, 1929-1933)	Georgia
1928(?)-1941	L. R. Reynolds	North Carolina and Virginia
1929-1931	T. M. Bond	Kentucky
1929-1931	R. W. Woods	Texas
1931	Lester B. Walton	Texas
1937-1944	R. L. Russell	Georgia
1941-1942	R. P. Neblett, Jr.	Mississippi
1942-1943	Ernest J. Arnold (Part time only)	North Carolina
1942-1943	J. P. McConnell (Part time only)	Virginia
1943-1944	Thomas R. Allen (Part time only)	Virginia

Secretary of Student Work

1926	Sue Hill

Special Committee Work

1934 R. C. Weaver

The presidents of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation from the date of its incorporation until its dissolution.

1929-1931	W. C. Jackson	Greensboro, North Carolina
1932	John Hope	Atlanta, Georgia
1933-1936	E. McNeill Poteat	Raleigh, North Carolina
1937-1944	Howard W. Odum	Chapel Hill, North Carolina

APPENDIX D

(The printed program of an annual meeting of a state interracial committee. In the late Thirties and early Forties most of them followed the same general pattern.)

ANNUAL MEETING

of the

ALABAMA INTERRACIAL COMMITTEE

Birmingham, Alabama

February 11, 1942

PROGRAM

10:00 A.M. - Registration at Y.M.C.A. - 4th floor auditorium.

10:15 A.M. - Business Session. Appointment of committees. Treasurer's Report.

10:30 A.M. - Speaker: Mr. Eldridge R. Plowden, Assistant Superintendent, State Department of Education. Subject: "The State Vocational Program."

10:45 A.M. - Discussion.

11:35 A.M. - Speaker: Mr. William Mitch, State President of the Congress of Industrial Organizations. Subject: "The Place of Labor Now and The Place of Labor After the War."

11:50 A.M. - Discussion.

12:30 P.M. - Lunch.

2:00 P.M. - Parker High School Choir.

2:15 P.M. - Speaker: Dr. B. F. Austin, State Board of Health.
Subject: "Alabama's Public Health Program in this National Emergency."

2:30 P.M. - Discussion.

2:50 P.M. - Business Session. Election of officers. Reports: Resolution Committee, Program Committee.
Remarks on Interracial Forums by Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, General Field Secretary of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation. Remarks on Interracial Literature by Mr. R. P. Neblett, Jr., Assistant Field Secretary of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation.

ADJOURNMENT

APPENDIX E

(The printed program of an interracial forum. Several state committees held such meetings in the early Forties.)

INTER-RACIAL FORUM

MT. ZION A. M. E. CHURCH

FRIDAY, JANUARY 17, 1941

3 to 5 P.M.

Globe St., near Wentworth Charleston, S.C.

Territory - Berkley, Beaufort, Charleston, Colleton and Dorchester Counties

PROGRAM

Presiding Officer . . . . The Honorable Thomas P. Stoney

Prayer . . . . . The Reverend C. S. Ledbetter
Plymouth Congregational Church

Music . . . . . Avery Glee Club

General Subject: "Providing Adequate Educational Opportunities for All"

First Speaker . . . . Mrs. J. D. Ames, Atlanta, Georgia
Subject: "What Are Adequate Educational Opportunities?"

OPEN DISCUSSION

Second Speaker . . . . Dr. Clyde Helms, Columbia, S. C.
Subject: "What is Needed to Provide Adequate Educational Opportunities?"

OPEN DISCUSSION

Third Speaker . . Dr. M. F. Whitaker, Orangeburg, S. C.
President of State College
Subject: "The Relation of Income to Adequate Educational Opportunities"

OPEN DISCUSSION

Report of Findings Committee.

Benediction . . . . The Reverend G. J. Gongaware, D.D.
St. John's Lutheran Church

APPENDIX F

(A summarization of the Commission's role in the Scottsboro Case prepared in 1940 by some member of the central staff, probably Mr. Eleazer or Mrs. Ames.)

COMMISSION ON INTERRACIAL COOPERATION AND THE SCOTTSBORO CASE

Following is a brief summary of the activities of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation and its affiliated Alabama State Interracial Committee, in relation to the Scottsboro case, from its inception in March 1931 down to the present time:

1. Diligent afforts were made to secure adequate official protection for the defendants at the outset of the case, and on successive occasions when the possibility of mob violence was feared. These efforts were made through the mobilization of appeals to the governor and other authorities by influential Alabama citizens. On this point the state and local authorities and court officials must be given one hundred per cent credit for taking every possible precaution for the safety of the prisoners.

2. When the case was first reported, the Commission instructed its field secretary for Tennessee and Alabama to make a careful investigation of all the circumstances with a view to shaping its own policy in regard to the case and making such a statement to the excited public as the facts might justify. Enclosed is a copy of this statement, which was made public a few weeks after the trial. As will be seen, it points out the tense atmosphere in which the accused were tried, the youth of the defendants, and the elements of doubt in the evidence itself - all these imperatively demanding a new trial under better auspices and "more deliberate and more zealous in seeking all the facts."

3. Representatives of the Commission attended and sat through all the more important trials of the case, observing all the procedure carefully, conferring with the judge and with the attorneys on both sides of the case, and watching with special vigilance for possible dangers of mob violence.

4. In the early stages of the case, the Commission cooperated actively with the N. A. A. C. P. in

trying to secure for the accused the best possible legal defense. To that end, again working largely through Alabama connections, the Commission helped to persuade the firm of Fort, Beddow & Ray, one of the ablest in Alabama, to accept the case, on which they did considerable work in the summer of 1931 toward perfecting an appeal of convictions imposed at the first hurried trial in Scottsboro.

Meantime, however, within a few days of the first trial, representatives of the Communist party had got hold of the mothers of a number of the defendants, the latter being minors, and had persuaded them to commit the defense of the boys to the International Labor Defense, a Communist organization. Immediately, from their headquarters in Chattanooga and Birmingham, the Communist representatives issued statements announcing that the Scottsboro boys were the victims of capitalistic oppression and seeking to identify their case with the world-wide class struggle. On April 9, the last day of the initial trial, the New York office of the I. L. D. sent a telegram to Governor Miller of Alabama denouncing the trial as a frame-up and stating that the lawyers who had defended the boys were "only interested in catering to the prejudices of the mob," and protesting this "legal lynching again in the name of hundreds of thousands of workers." This initiated a struggle between the I. L. D. and the N. A. A. C. P. as to which should take charge of the case.

4. It seemed obvious that the international political crusade immediately begun by the Communists in connection with the case, their intemperate public attacks upon the integrity of the officers and courts upon which the lives of their clients depended, even going to the point in some cases of threats of violence against the governor and other officers of Alabama, would vastly complicate the issue and lay a tremendous handicap upon the accused. The Commission, therefore, joined with the N. A. A. C. P. and, pending the first appeal of the case, did its utmost to persuade the defendants to withdraw their case from Communist control and commit it to the N. A. A. C. P., which stood ready at that time to bring to the defense a number of the ablest lawyers in Alabama and in the nation, including Clarence Darrow and Arthur Garfield Hayes. To that end, the director of the Commission and a number of its members, white and colored, visited

and reasoned with the defendants at Kilby prison, but without avail. Likewise, fruitless were reported efforts on the part of the N. A. A. C. P. attorneys to persuade the Communists to relinquish their official connection with the case. Under those circumstances, first Fort, Beddow & Ray, and later Darrow and Hayes, reluctantly withdrew from the case, declaring that, with the handicap of Communist control, they could not go forward with it with any hope whatever of success. This was in the summer and fall of 1931, while the first appeal to the State Supreme Court was pending.

5. Two years later, when the case came back for one of its many retrials, representatives of the Commission conceived the idea that, in view of the previous abuse and threats brought to bear upon the courts by the I. L. D., the trial judge would be justified in declaring that organization in contempt of court and throwing it out of the case. This suggestion was considered favorably by able attorneys to whom it was submitted, and was then laid before the trial judge with voluminous supporting documents. The judge received and considered the suggestion with evident interest but did not feel justified in acting upon it. It is interesting to note that the same suggestion was offered editorially by the New York Herald-Tribune on

6. When it became evident that responsibility for the defense could not be wrested from the I. L. D., who were making of it primarily a political and class issue, all reasonable hope for a favorable verdict was abandoned by friends of the defendants in Alabama. Hence, early in the case, the Commission and its Alabama Committee began preparing for the inevitable ultimate appeal to executive clemency. To this effort a large number of the most influential people in Alabama pledged their cooperation, including lawyers, editors, educators, ministers, business men, and leaders of women's groups. Numerous preparatory interviews were held with state officials in strategic positions. This group took part in the clemency hearings before Governor Bibb Graves, in which they were hopeful but were disappointed by the governor's failure to act. It is not unreasonable to assume that their efforts had some weight in the unconditional release by the state of four of the accused in

Again, in the appeal for clemency for the remaining four which was laid before Governor Dixon a few

days ago (February 1940), the appeal was prepared by a prominent Birmingham attorney, a member of this Interracial Committee and at its request. Appearing before the governor in support of the appeal were two members of the committee, Dr. Henry M. Edmonds, its chairman, and Dr. F. D. Patterson, principal of Tuskegee Institute.

APPENDIX G

(The printed program of an anti-lynching institute put on by the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching. At least twenty-three such institutes were held throughout the South between 1936 and 1940.)

ANTI-LYNCHING INSTITUTE

METHODIST CHURCH

NEW ALBANY, MISSISSIPPI

OCTOBER 17-18, 1939

TUESDAY

2:00 P.M.

Building a Society Based Upon
the Living Principles of Christ
Rev. Rudolph Scott, Pastor Methodist Church
New Albany, Miss.

2:45

The World Christian Community and Lynching
Miss Louise Law, Conf. Supt.
C. S. R. Woman's Missionary Society
Greenville, Miss.

3:15

The Educational Program
for the Prevention of Lynching
Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, Atlanta, Ga.,
Executive Director of Southern Association
for Prevention of Lynching

7:30

Invocation
Rev. J. A. Randsome,
Presbyterian Church, New Albany, Miss.

7:40

Responsibility of the Law in Preventing Lynching
Mr. Hugh N. Clayton,
Attorney-at-Law, New Albany, Miss.

8:15

The Radio Police Patrol
a New Factor in Maintenance of Law and Order
Lieut. H. T. Lee,
Public Relations Director, State Department

8:30

Facing Facts
Dr. P. H. Easom,
Dept. of Education, Jackson, Miss.

Benediction
Rev. J. P. Kirkland, Pastor Baptist Church,
New Albany, Miss.

WEDNESDAY

9:30 A.M.

The Establishment of a God Centered Society
Rev. Jeff Cunningham, Pastor Methodist Church,
Sardis, Miss.

10:00

Address
Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, Atlanta, Ga.,
Executive Director
Southern Association for Prevention of Lynching

11:00

Bridge Builders
of Racial Good-Will and Understanding
Mrs. E. L. Jacks, Cleveland, Miss.

Benediction
Rev. E. M. Sharp, Olive Branch, Miss.

Adjournment

APPENDIX H

(Selected press releases of the Commission. These were all mimeographed on a page each--sometimes a very crowded one. The original spacing has been retained.)

PRESS SERVICE
COMMISSION ON INTERRACIAL COOPERATION
409 Palmer Bldg., Atlanta, Ga.
R. B. Eleazer, Educational Director

- -

[about 1925]

NEW ATLANTA DEPOT PRAISED BY NEGRO PRESS

- - - -

Provides Equal Service, and Best Accommodations for Negroes in Entire South, says "Atlanta World"

Atlanta, Ga., Apr. 22: -- Commenting editorially on the opening of the new union station in this city, in which careful provision has been made for the convenience and comfort of all patrons of whatever race, the Atlanta World, progressive Negro weekly says:

"Atlantans are rejoicing over the exquisite beauty of this new Italian traventine marble structure now housing the station facilities of the Georgia Railroad, the Louisville and Nashville, and the Chattanooga and St. Louis Railways.

"This beautiful edifice means more than just another landmark pleasing to the eye. To the race traveler it gives an atmosphere of a warm welcome to

the Gate City. The left wing of the new station houses the colored waiting rooms, which are without doubt the most elaborately furnished and decorated service rooms for Negroes in the entire southland.

"This realization of equality in service is indicative of the continual improvement in conditions of travel for our people in the South."

PRESS SERVICE
COMMISSION ON INTERRACIAL COOPERATION
409 Palmer Bldg., Atlanta, Ga.
R. B. Eleazer, Educational Director

- -

[1930]

BLEASE REBUKED
BY PROMINENT
CAROLINA WOMAN

- - - -

Southern Women Repudiate Lynching and Resent Use of their Names in Its Defense, says Mrs. C. P. McGowan

- - - -

Charleston, S. C., July 14: --Cole Blease's recent defense of lynching as a "protection of womanhood" was vigorously rebuked here today by Mrs. C. P. McGowan, chairman of the South Carolina Committee on Race Relations and one of Charleston's most distinguished women, who in a public statement called attention to the fact that groups of prominent white women in every Southern state have utterly condemned lynching and repudiate the effort to justify it on the ground of their protection.

Occasioned by two recent lynchings in South Carolina and the subsequent introduction of this issue into the senatorial and gubernatorial campaigns, Mrs. McGowan's statement was as follows:

"Hundreds of thousands of white women of the South feel that the law, as represented by sheriffs, juries, and judges, is their honorable and reliable protection and avenger.

"Through church affiliation with the great religious organizations and the membership of these organizations in the Commission on Race Relations in the South, women have in every state passed resolutions repudiating the use of the name of the white women of the South as a cloak for mob violence.

"They state that they stand for legal protection of women, and lawful execution of those convicted of crime, be it what it will.

"The women of the South are not afraid to stand by the constitution of the United States."

The resolutions referred to by Mrs. McGowan, it is understood, have been published in a pamphlet entitled "Southern White Women on Lynching and Mob Violence," copies of which may be had from the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, 409 Palmer Building, Atlanta, Ga.

PRESS SERVICE
COMMISSION ON INTERRACIAL COOPERATION
703 Standard Bldg., Atlanta, Ga.
R. B. Eleazer, Educational Director

- -

[early 30's]

Pittsburgh, Pa., Dec.__:--Among the forty-six persons recently awarded medals for heroism by the Carnegie Hero Fund Commission were two Southern Negroes, Quillie Addison, of Sylvania, Georgia, and Henry A. Miller, of Fort Mill, South, Carolina, according to an announcement by officials of the Commission.

Addison, a 36-year-old janitor, the Commission's report stated, saved William Z. Kemp, 66-year-old white man, from burning to death at his home in Sylvania in October, 1929. Kemp was in bed when his house took fire and was quickly enveloped in flames. Addison was able to enter only by crawling along the floor and effected the rescue with the aid of a mattress, though severely burned.

Miller, 44-year-old farmer, was caught with William J. Hamilton in a well cave-in at Fort Mill last December. He managed to free himself and was later lowered again into the well, where he dug Hamilton out and saved his life.

RELEASE SUNDAY, NOV. 29

11/23/31

PRESS SERVICE
COMMISSION ON INTERRACIAL COOPERATION
703 Standard Bldg., Atlanta, Ga.
R. B. Eleazer, Educational Director

Atlanta, Ga., Nov. 28:- -The complete report of the Southern Commission on the Study of Lynching, which was briefly summarized in the newspapers some days ago, has just come from the press and is now ready for distribution, according to an announcement from the

Commission's headquarters in this city.

The report, an eighty page volume entitled "Lynchings and What They Mean," records the general findings of the Commission in connection with the 21 lynchings of 1930, each of which was studied in detail on the ground. It also sets forth and interprets the more important facts about the lynching record of the last thirty years. Among the subjects covered are the number of lynchings by states, alleged crimes of the victims, attitudes and opinions out of which lynchings grow, types which compose mobs, characteristics of mob psychology and mob action, popular reactions to lynching, and its affect upon the community. The concluding chapter is devoted to suggestions for the reduction and elimination of mob violence.

A large edition of the report has been published and it is stated that copies will be sent at once to several thousand city and county officials, judges, educators, editors, and others who, it is believed, will be interested. Judging by the interest created by the preliminary announcement some days ago, the Commission anticipates for the report a widespread demand and a favorable reception.

PRESS SERVICE-COMMISSION ON INTERRACIAL COOPERATION,
ATLANTA, GA.

B. T. WASHINGTON 4/6/34
A CHALLENGE TO
A WARRING WORLD

Great Educator Hailed as "Apostle of Cooperation" in Founder's Day Address - Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones the Speaker

Tuskeegee, Ala., April 8:--The life of Booker T. Washington, as an "apostle of self-determination and cooperation," holds invaluble lessons to the world today, torn by national, racial, and class conflict, according to Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones, educational director of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, delivering here today the Founder's Day address of Tuskegee Institute. "Nowhere in history," said Dr. Jones, "is there a more convincing demonstration of the possibility of reconciling group welfare and intergroup cooperation than in the achievements of Dr. Washington." Speaking before an audience of 2,000 students, faculty and friends of the institution, Dr. Jones said in part:

"In today's world nationalism is rampant, internationalism a vanishing dream. Communism, fascism, socialism, capitalism, and racialism are at war within the nations. We need profoundly to realize what Dr. Washington clearly saw, that only through cooperation with others is it possible for individuals, groups, and nations to achieve security and progress. Believing in people, Dr. Washington believed that selfish exploitation could be superseded by cooperation and mutual welfare and that everybody would benefit by the change. The soundness of this confidence was abundantly demonstrated by his success in promoting the self-realization of his own people through cooperation with the majority group among whom they lived.

"These were his two objectives. No man surpassed him in the courage and the wisdom with which he struggled that Negroes might achieve fuller material, intellectual, and spiritual life. The success of his efforts was amazing, not only through the founding of a great educational institution, but through his influence upon the total life and ideals of his people.

"His second objective, the cultivation of cooperation, Dr. Washington regarded as equally necessary, and followed with equal devotion and success. His obvious desire to cooperate with others commanded their cooperation in turn, drew generous support from many sources, and made possible

an educational institution that has prepared tens of thousands for worthy citizenship and attracted the favorable attention of the world.

"These ideals, so notably demonstrated in Booker Washington's life, challenge the leaders of the world today, tempted as they are by the devils of national and group conflict. The movement for cooperation between the white and Negro people of America constitutes a laboratory worthy of study by all who would save the world from future war and conflict. The success of this movement, in which Booker T. Washington was the great pioneer, has amply demonstrated its effectiveness as a practical program of peace and progress."

4/16/37

PRESS SERVICE
COMMISSION ON INTERRACIAL COOPERATION
710 STANDARD BUILDING, ATLANTA, GA.
R. B. Eleazer, Educational Director

A LYNCHING EMBARRASSES

(Chattanooga Times, April 15)

The lynching of two Negroes at Winona, Mississippi, Tuesday by a mob of white men has placed in an embarrasing position every member of Congress who opposes enaction of a Federal anti-lynching law. The degree of that embarrassment and what it may lead to is reflected in the unprecedented action of Chairman Sumners, of the House Judiciary Committee, who Wednesday addressed to Governor Hugh White, of Mississippi, a telegram protesting against "as dastardly a crime as cowardice could devise and brutality execute."... A note of warning is discernible in these words of Representative Sumners:

"It (the crime) will be seized upon as a demonstration of the inability of the States to govern. As one Southern

man to another, I hope I will not be considered impertinent by stating candidly my own reaction, and that is that the State of Mississippi cannot escape this reflection upon its governmental capacity, in fact, cannot escape in effect from becoming an accessory after the fact unless it is able to and does bring these lynchers and officers to speedy and adequate punishment."...

If Governor White replies to Chairman Sumners by bringing "these lynchers and officers to speedy and adequate punishment" he will provide at least a basis for the contention that Federal action in such cases is not necessary. A reasonable basis for that contention does not now exist. The repetition of lynchings is causing more and more people in this section to believe that such instances of brutality and terrorism should be regarded, not as a violation of the laws of a State, but as a crime against society itself and subject to prosecution under Federal laws.

Oct. 24-40

PRESS SERVICE
COMMISSION ON INTERRACIAL COOPERATION
710 Standard Bldg., Atlanta, Ga.
R. B. Eleazer, Educational Director

JES' KEEPIN' IN TOUCH

Editorial, Atlanta Journal

From Valdosta, Georgia, by way of THE TIMES comes a story with something more than a smile in it. On Monday two Negroes knocked at the door of the draft board in the courthouse. When the secretary asked what they wanted, one of them said: "We don't want nothin', Ma'am. But it says on our card to keep in touch with the board, and that's what we are doin'."

Our Negro citizens are taking seriously their obligation to their country. Patient in adversity, cheerful amid distress, they are enduring and are courageous. They are a national asset.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The materials upon which this study is based fall into four main categories. These are (1) the manuscript records of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, (2) the publications of the Commission and its affiliates, (3) references on the Commission found in monographs and periodicals, and (4) other sources which helped complete the study. Each of these will be treated below in the order given.

1. The Records of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation

The manuscript records of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation are obviously not complete, but a substantial portion of them have been preserved. They are at present located in the office of the Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Ave., N.E., Atlanta 3, Georgia. There they are kept in a dark, unventilated closet in seven steel filing cases of four drawers each. When first examined, they were completely unorganized. In the process of examining them, the writer attempted to place them roughly into some logical order. As quite heterogeneous material was often found in one folder, it was impossible to do a perfect job without refiling

the entire collection--a task which remains to be done. The following is a list of the general divisions as they are at present in the order of location beginning at the first file reached on entering the room.

A - Historical Records (2 file drawers)

This includes records and reports of early meetings, duplicated reports of many meetings after 1929, numerous newspaper clippings, historical accounts and other materials, such as correspondence, related to the early years of the Commission. This "collection" remains largely as it was found. (The official minutes of the annual meeting of the Commission and of the meetings of the executive committee, and of the board of directors from 1929-1944 are kept in a special notebook of the file safe of the Southern Regional Council.)

B - Field Work (½ of a file drawer)

The records and correspondence of this department were rather sketchy. Much of the field work was related to other areas and the records placed elsewhere.

C - State Committees (2 file drawers)

This includes all the materials relating to the state committees other than that of Georgia. The material is mostly correspondence but includes some reports.

D - Financial Records (2 file drawers)

Auditor's statements for every year after 1921 were located. Ledger sheets for several years, and materials related to the financial campaigns are also included.

E. Legal Aid (½ of a file drawer)

This is the correspondence and reports of a number of cases of legal aid extended by the Commission.

F - Literature (1 file drawer)

This includes original copies of some of the publications, and correspondence concerning the literature. Many requests for literature were saved.

G - Publications (½ of a file drawer)

Here is the most complete file known of the numerous publications of the Commission.

H.- Publicity Releases (1 file drawer)

These cover many years but obviously do not include all of the releases sent out by the Commission especially during the early Twenties.

I - Special Studies and Special Projects (3 file drawers)

All materials related to the Conference on Education and Race Relations, the Commission on the Study of Lynching, the contests in the schools, etc. are located here.

J - Woman's Work (1 file drawer)

This is mostly correspondence and some reports.

K - Miscellaneous (3½ file drawers)

This includes much correspondence usually filed by year or under the name of the staff member involved. Much other unrelated material is also here such as accounts of lynchings.

L - The Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching (5 file drawers)

Reports, signatures of endorsers, accounts of lynchings and prevented lynchings, and much correspondence fill these drawers.

M - The Georgia Committee (3 file drawers)

The records, reports, and correspondence of the Georgia Committee are here.

N - Fulton-DeKalb Committee (2 file drawers)

This is similar to the material in the Georgia Committee file.

2. The Publications of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation and its Affiliates.

Between 1919 and 1944 the Commission and those

organizations related to it published over two hundred separate pieces of literature. Most of them were small. They are listed below according to the division which published them, and by groups according to size: Booklets - 50 pages or more, Pamphlets - 8 to 40 pages, Leaflets - unstapled material usually 4 printed pages, occasionally a folder, Flyers - usually one page printed only on one side. (Where a division published only a few pieces of literature, the size will be indicated with each title.) Since all of the literature was published in Atlanta, the place of publication is omitted unless otherwise indicated.

A. The Commission on Interracial Cooperation

Booklets

Ames, Jessie Daniel. The Changing Character of Lynching: Review of Lynching, 1931-1941 With a Discussion of Recent Developments in This Field. 1942.
A detailed analysis, well supported factually, of the lynchings of the depression decade.

---, and Newell, Bertha Payne, editors. "Repairers of the Breach" A Story of Interracial Cooperation Between Southern Women. 1935-1940. 1940.
An interestingly written series of short accounts illustrating the kind of programs some women's church societies were carrying on.

"The Black Shirts Meet Defeat" (A Confidential Statement) 1930.
A specially prepared brochure limited to 25 copies, designed for use in the financial campaign.

Weatherford, Willis Duke, compiler. Interracial Cooperation: A Study of the Various Agencies Working in the Field of Social Welfare. [1920].
A report of the agencies concerned with the Negro with special attention to some work being done in certain cities and by the Y.M.C.A.

Woofter, T. J., Jr. and Fisher, Isaac, editors. Cooperation in Southern Communities: Suggested Activities for County and City Inter-racial Committees. 1921.
A collection of articles by a number of outstanding individuals. Concise and practical.

Pamphlets

Alexander, Will Winton. The New Inter-Race Relations in The South. [1923].
A review of the beginnings of the Commission and a brief evaluation of some of the accomplishments to date.

---, The Racial Situation in America. [1923].
A recitation of some of the contributions of the Negro to American life, and a suggestion of some of the handicaps hindering the progress of the Negro.

America's Tenth Man: A Brief Survey of the Negro's Part in American History. 1926.
Very well summed up by the subtitle. The background and the contributions, progress and achievements of individual Negroes in various fields. 22 editions, the last, greatly enlarged, appeared July, 1943.

Ames, Jessie Daniel. Democratic Processes At Work in the South: Report of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc. 1939-1941. 1941.
A compact introduction to the Commission outlining the major phases of its program and accompanied by a directory of the state committees.

---, compiler. Friends and Neighbors. 1935.
A survey of some of the programs in the field of race relations carried on by the Presbyterian, Methodist and Baptist women.

---, editor. The Future of the Negro in American Life. 1942.
A collection of articles and editorials from the Southern Frontier, 1940-1941, mainly dealing with the Negro as a citizen.

An Appeal to the Christian People of the South. [1920].
The statement of the Conference of Church Leaders held in August, 1920, urging support of the Commission's work.

The Back Lines of National Defense. 1941.
The report of the Second Work Conference of Commission staff members and volunteer workers.

Black Spots on the Map: A Challenge to Every American Citizen. [1924].
An analysis of lynching statistics for 1900-1922 with illustrative maps showing the concentration by counties in 12 Southern states.

Bond, James. Progress in Race Relations in Kentucky: Report of the Director of the Kentucky Commission on Race Relations for 1922 and Minutes of the Third Kentucky Inter-Racial Conference, December 15-16, 1922. 1922.

Burnt Cork and Crime: Stories Summarized from Press Reports. [1930].
A collection of incidents in which the mask of color was used by lawbreakers to escape detection. Reprinted after 1936.

The Durham Statement, October 20, 1942, The Atlanta Statement, April 8, 1943, The Richmond Statement, June 16, 1943. [1943].

Edmonds, Henry M. "Let 'er Burn Down; The Taxpayers will Put 'er Back"- Sermon: "The Cost of the Mob." Reprinted from the Birmingham Age-Herald, October 8, 1933. [1933].
A brief but strongly worded analysis of the cost of lynchings.

Eleazer, Robert Burns, compiler. Southern Opinion and Race Relations. [Before 1930].
A number of short quotes from leading Southerners. 4 editions, the last June, 1938.

Ethridge, Mark F. Fairness Based on Reason, Not Emotion, Is Racial Problem's Need. Reprinted from Louisville Courier-Journal, June 21, 1942. 1942.
An exploration of the racial problem in the South and an explanation of the meaning of the FEPC.

Federal Aid to Public Education: The Educational Finance Act 1941. 1942.
A clear outline and discussion of The Harrison-Thomas Educational Finance Bill, 1941, with special attention to the benefits it would give to the South.

Head, Elizabeth McMahan, compiler. Future Citizens in the South. 1932. Educational statistics of ten Southern states taken from their official reports.

[Henderson, Maud, editor.] Southern White Women on Lynching and Mob Violence: Excerpts from Pronouncements of Women's Committees on Race Relations. [c. 1925].
Against lynching and mob violence. 3 editions.

The Interracial Front: Annual Report Commission on Interracial Cooperation 1933. 1934.

The Interracial Front: A Brief Report of Recent Activities. 1939.
A very general report.

Mims. Edwin, compiler. A Handbook for Inter-Racial Committees Containing Opinions of Representative Southerners and Noteworthy Achievements of States and Communities. 1920.

---, Law and Order in Tennessee: A Story of Inter-Racial Peace. [1920].
An account of the organization of the Law and Order League in Tennessee and how it prepared the way for the organization of an interracial committee there.

Morton, James. The Atlanta Plan of Inter-Racial Co-Operation. [1920].
A brief account of church cooperation in Atlanta complete with a diagram of the organization of the Christian Council.

The Nashville Plan of Inter-Racial Work. [1920].
Brief description of the cooperation between Negroes and whites in Nashville in 1919.

Newspapers and the Race Problem: A Symposium by and for Members of the Fourth Estate. 1942.
Three essays on the responsibilities of the press in the racial situation by prominent Southern editors.

The Opinion of Those Who Ought to Know: What Representative Negroes Say of The Interracial Movement. [early 20's].

Progress in Race Relations: A Survey of the Work of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation for the Year 1923-24. [1925].
Rather complete report.

Progress in Race Relations 1924-25. [1926].
More general than the previous year.

Progress in Race Relations: A Survey of the Work of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation for the Year 1926. [1927].
A very general summarization.

Race Relations in 1927. [1928].
Very general survey of conditions rather than a report of specific activities.

[Raper, Arthur]. The Mob Still Rides: A Review of the Lynching Record. 1931-1935. 1936.

[---]. The South's Landless Farmers. 1937.
A brief summarization of the plight of the cotton tenant in the South.

Recent Trends in Race Relations. 1934.
A revision of Some Recent Trends in Race Relations. 5 editions, the last in 1936.

Some Recent Trends in Race Relations: Together with a Brief Survey of the Work of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation. [1932].
Population statistics on the Negro based on the 1930 census showing his progress and his handicaps. 2 editions, and then revised and the "Some" dropped.

Southern Women and Race Cooperation: A Story of the Memphis Conference October Sixth and Seventh Nineteen Hundred and Twenty. [1921].
The account of the beginning of the interracial movement among the women.

State Interracial Committees: How They Work. 1940.
Outline and summarization of the Work Conference held by the Commission for field workers in 1940.

Study Guide for "Understanding Our Neighbors:" For Use of School Teachers and Leaders of Study Groups. 1942.
A short argument favoring the study of the race problem in the schools, accompanied by suggestions for use of the booklet, Understanding Our Neighbors, and a one-page bibliography on race relations.

Supreme Court Decisions Affecting Southern Customs. 1942.
A report of six decisions of the Supreme Court in clear, non-technical terms.

Understanding Our Neighbors: A Factual Study of America's Major Race Problem. 1940.
A short history of the Negro in America with emphasis on recent developments (geographic distribution, 1930-1940) and an analysis of problems. 7 editions, the last in 1943.

Leaflets

Alexander, Will W. Negroes in the Economic Structure. [early 30's].
A brief but rather detailed examination of the economic aspects of Negro life.

America's Obligation to the Negro. [1935].
The implications of the sacredness of human personality related to the obligation of the American to the Negro in his midst.

America's Tenth Man - A High School Project in Human Understanding. 1930.
Announcement of a contest.

America's Tenth Man - A School Project in Human Understanding. 1932.
Another announcement.

Ames, Jessie Daniel. Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching. 1932.
A brief sketch of the organization and its activities.

---. Cast Down Your Bucket Where You Are. [1931].
An imaginary conversation between two women illustrating how a discussion of the race problem can be brought down to earth in looking at local conditions.

---. The Church Woman Answers. [early 30's].
Paragraphs on what some women were doing in the field of race relations interspersed with scriptural passages arranged to suggest how much they might do.

---. Free Schools for All Alike. [early 30's].
Arguments favoring the education of Negroes and pointing out fallacies in some of the common arguments against such.

[---, editor]. Negro Homicides and Their Causes.
Reprinted from Southern Frontier, July, 1941. 1941.
A discussion of some causes and remedies for the high rate of Negro homicides.

---, compiler. Publications of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc. 1941.
Revised and reissued in February, 1942, and July, 1942.

---. What Price Domestic Service? 1931.
A monologue suggesting indirectly the responsibility of employers for the welfare of their domestic servants. 3 editions, the last in 1941.

---. Whither Leads the Mob. 1932.
A brief essay revealing mob action and rule as a social ill and a threat to American freedom under law.

Binder, Carroll. "The South Turning Corner in Racial Understanding" A Newspaper Man's View of Interracial Cooperation. Reprinted from the Christian Century, 42(May 7, 1925). [1925].
A report of the 1925 annual meeting of the Commission.

Brown, Charlotte Hawkins. The Negro and the Social Graces. [1940].
An appeal for good manners directed mainly to Negro youth. Given first as a radio address.

Burgess, J. P. Community Programs in Relation to Defense and Morale. 1942.
Suggestions of conditions that endanger the morale of Negroes with intimations that local communities could do much to improve them.

The Crime of Mob Murder: A Challenge to Every American Citizen. [1936].
A brief analysis of some lynching statistics and a strong argument against lynching directed particularly to church people.

Cunningham, John P. The Negro in War Times. Reprinted from the Episcopal Recorder. [n.d.].
An appeal for the application of democratic principles and Christian love in the treatment of Negroes.

Dobbs, John Wesley. The Negro in America. [1939].
A sketch of Negro participation in American life and an avowal of the Negro's share in the American ideal. First given as a radio address.

Eleazer, Robert Burns. An Adventure in Faith: A Brief Story of the Interracial Movement in the South. [1930].
A short historical sketch and description of the Commission.

---. An Adventure in Good Will: The Interracial Commission Its Origin and Work. [mid 30's].

---. Christianity and Racial Adjustment. [1940].
An appeal to Christian principles and scriptures as a basis for racial attitudes, prepared for use of Race Relations Sunday.

---. A Constructive Force in Race Relations: A Brief Survey of the Work of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation. Reprinted from the Southern Workman, October, 1924. [1924].

---. Negro Education in Georgia. [1925].
Some facts about Negro education in Georgia pointing out the disparities between that of Negroes and whites.

---, compiler. Negro Progress and Achievement: Random Paragraphs from a Stirring Story of Struggle and Success. [c. 1926].
A catalogue-like listing of the achievements of a number of Negroes. Possibly a forerunner of the Tenth Man.

---. Popular Fallacies about Race Relations. [mid 30's].
A listing and rebuttal of six misconceptions concerning the Negro.

---. Questions and Answers on the American Negro. [early 20's].
Designed to furnish information about the Negro in the United States and to advertise the Commission in a quiet way.

---. A Realistic Approach to the Race Problem: Origin and Work of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation. [1933].

---. Southern Women and the South's Race Problem. [early 20's].
Brief description of the Commission and the activities of women in it. A second edition after 1929.

---. What the Bible Tells Me About Race Relations. [mid 20's].
A number of Bible quotations followed by an application to race relations.

Embree, Edwin R. Negro Progress Since Emancipation. 1931.
A brief summary of Negro gains since emancipation with special attention to education, and suggestions of areas of less progress.

Hancock, Gordon B. Interracial Hypertension. 1942.
A Negro professor's call for non-violent solution to the racial tensions.

Head, Elizabeth McMahan. Women and Schools in the Community. 1932.
Account of an experiment made by the mothers' club of one community.

How Shall We Organize? 1940.
Suggestions for starting an interracial committee, emphasizing unity as a part of the war effort. Second edition in 1942.

The Interracial Commission Comes of Age. 1940.
Very brief sketch of formation and function of the Commission. Lists officers and board of directors, 1940-1941. Revised and reissued in 1942.

The Interracial Plan: How A Southern Newspaper Views the Commission's Work. [1926].
An editorial from the Birmingham News, June 8, 1926, commending the Commission.

Johnson, Guy B. Does the South Owe the Negro a New Deal? Reprinted with minor changes from Social Forces, 13(October, 1934). [1934].
A review of discriminations against the Negro and an estimate of the consequences both for the Negro and the South.

---. Negro Progress and Handicaps. [1941].
A delineation of some aspects of Negro progress and his handicaps, as a basis for intelligent action in the field of race relations.

Justice in Race Relations. [mid 20's].
Some implications of what justice for the Negro entails. 3 editions, the last in 1936.

The Local Interracial Committee; Suggestions As To Its Organization and Program. [mid 20's].
Very general.

Mays, Benjamin E. Interracial Leadership in This Time of Crisis. Reprinted from Georgia Observer, March-April, 1942. 1942.
A frank appeal for new leaders for both Negroes and whites, leaders who will be "sanely realistic" and not "hedge."

1925 Directory of the State Inter-Racial Committee of Tennessee. 1925.

$1000 in Prizes for Work Stories of Living Negroes. 1935.
Announcement of another contest.

Pierce, A. M. Our Christian Obligation to the Negro. [mid 20's].
An appeal for an absolutely "fair deal" for the Negro including access to every office.

A Practical Approach to the Race Problem; Origin and Work of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation. 1939.

Public School Expenditures Black and White. 1941.
Several tables of figures showing differentials in 13 Southern states, taken from official reports for 1939-1940. Second edition in 1942.

Recent Supreme Court Decisions Affecting Southern Customs.
Reprinted from the Southern Frontier. 1941.
Shorter version of pamphlet by the same title.
3 editions, the last in 1942.

Report of the Commission On Interracial Cooperation Regarding the Automobile Accident in Dalton, Ga., November 6, 1931. [1931].
A factual account of death of a Negro YWCA worker due to inability to secure adequate medical attention.

Richards, J. McDowell. Brothers in Black: A Sermon Preached As Retiring Moderator before the Presbytery at Atlanta. Reprinted from The Presbyterian of the South, November 5, 1941. 1941.
An outline of the needs of the Negro against the background of the text: "Where is ... thy brother?" Second edition, 1942.

The Southern Frontier. [1942].
An advertising leaflet made up of endorsements of the periodical.

Southern Leaders Impeach Judge Lynch; High Lights From Report of Commission on the Study of Lynching. [c. 1931].

"Suggestions For Writers on Justice in Race Relations." 1928.
A duplicated aid prepared for contestants.

Weaver, Robert C. The Negro and National Defense. 1940.
An address delivered to the annual meeting of the Commission, reviewing the need for the Negro in the national defense and areas of action for interracial committees.

What About It?; Series of Studies for Local Interracial Committees. 1942.
A study guide and questions on the participation of minority peoples in community life.

What Does the Negro Want? A Symposium Formulated by a Group of Negro Leaders. [early 20's].
Spells out the desire for rights and opportunities of all other citizens.

What the Bible Tells Us About Race Relations. [1933].
Same as earlier leaflet of very similar title by Eleazer. Second edition in 1936.

Flyers

"Four Phases of Racial Life in the South." [early 30's].
A duplicated, simple study sheet designed for women's groups to survey Negro life on the local level.

Gold at the Rainbow's End! 1931.
A contest announcement.

Good Will. [early 20's].
A sheet of unrelated news items all dealing in some way with race relations, sent out occasionally as a part of the press service of the Commission.

Let's Win the War. Reprinted from the editorial page of the Norfolk Journal and Guide, August 8, 1942.
An appeal for Negro support of the war effort in the face of threatening Hitlerism, in spite of the imperfections of American democracy.

Southern Regional Council is Organized. Reprinted from Southern Frontier, 4(August, 1943). [1943].

$200 in Prizes for College Students. [n.d.]. Announcement of a contest.

What Are Real Wages in Domestic Service? 1941. Some stimulating questions concerning wages in domestic services, accompanied by a list of items which should be considered in arriving at a desirable wage.

Periodicals

"Clip Sheet." Issued semi-monthly, July, 1942-February, 1944.
Selected clippings related to various aspects of race relations. Duplicated.

"Commission on Interracial Cooperation News Bulletin." 1931.
Related primarily to Women's Work. Duplicated. Only two issues located: October 7, 1931; and December 21, 1931.

High Spots. Issued by department of Woman's Work, 1932-1933.
Short articles and news notes. Only two issues located: November, 1932; and April-June, 1933.

Southern Frontier. Issued monthly, January, 1940 - January, 1944.
Four pages of news items and special articles devoted to race relations.

B. The Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching

Pamphlets

[Ames, Jessie Daniel]. Southern Women Look at Lynching. 1937.
A handbook on the ASWPL, listing its central and state councils, and its endorsers.

---. Tenth Annual Conference Planning Committee Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching. 1939.
An amplified program supplemented with an historical sketch, statistics on lynching, and lists of endorsers.

Are the Courts to Blame? Bulletin No. 3. 1934.
An annual report of a sort, with considerable statistics on 1933 lynchings and goals for 1934.

Clarke, Edwin L. White Women in a Biracial Society. 1942.
An appeal for women to lead the way in seeking justice, mercy and kindness for the minorities of the country. Reprinted the same year.

"Death by Parties Unknown." Bulletin No. 6. 1936.
Discussion and statistics on lynchings and prevented lynchings for 1935, plus a report of the ASWPL and its progress.

"Feeling is Tense," 1938.
An analysis of a variety of lynching statistics with special attention to 1937 figures. Reprinted three times that year.

"Lynching is Wholesale Murder." Bulletin No. 7. 1937.
The 1936 statistics on lynchings and prevented lynchings, illustrated with maps showing where lynchings had occurred in the years 1930-1936.

Southern Women and Lynching. 1936.
A packet of literature containing 3 leaflets and 5 flyers on the ASWPL and its activities. The contents were obviously varied from time to time.

"This Business of Lynching." Bulletin No. 4. 1935.
1934 statistics on lynchings and prevented lynchings and the latest figures on ASWPL signatures and endorsements.

"With Quietness They Work" Report of the Activities of Southern Women in Education Against Lynching During 1937. 1938.
Reprinted three times during the year.

Plays

Slavo, Mrs. A. M. "Youth Challenges Justice." Duplicated. 1936.
A 20 minute skit featuring the concern of two Southern women on race relations, centering around the threatened lynching of an innocent Negro, faithful servant of one of the women.

Seymour, Ann. "Lawd, Does Yo' Undahstan'?" 1936.
One-act play depicting the tragedy of the threat of lynching to a Negro family. Winner of second prize in the One-Act Play Contest sponsored by the ASWPL.

Spearman, Walter. Country Sunday. 1936.
An attempt to portray some of the causes of lynchings. Winner of first prize in the ASWPL contest.

Leaflets

Ames, Jessie Daniel. Southern Women and Lynching. Reprinted from Crime Survey, I(April, 1935). 1935.
A general review of the ASWPL, its organization, developments, purposes, and some reactions to it. Revised and reprinted, 1936.

---. Toward Lynchless America. Reprint of leaflet of same title issued by the American Council on Public Affairs. 1940.
Short analysis of some of the causes of lynchings and some of the factors in the reduction of their number in the late 30's. Reprinted in 1941.

Annual Bulletin. 1933.
A summary of the strength of the movement through the signatures and endorsements secured.

Facts on Lynchings in Georgia. 1934.
A recounting of the three Georgia lynchings of 1933.

A New Public Opinion on Lynching; A Declaration and a Pledge. 1932.
The pledge circulated and signed by the women in the ASWPL. Reissued several times through 1940.

Nordyke, Lewis T. Ladies and Lynchings. Reprinted from Survey Graphic, November, 1939. [1939].
An account of the ASWPL through some of its statements, actions and accomplishments.

Organizations Committed to a Program of Education to Prevent Lynching. 1940.
A list of endorsers of the ASWPL, 3 editions, the last in 1941.

"Semi-Annual Report." Duplicated. 1936.
Midyear account of activities and mob violence.

Why We Lynch. 1932.
Statistics on lynchings, 1922-1932, with large bar graph of the accusations involved.

Flyers

Ames, Jessie Daniel. The Beam in Our Eye. 1942.
Questions designed to arouse opposition to the injection of the race issue into political campaigns. Reprinted during the year.

---. The "White Primary:" An Anachronism in the Year 1942. 1942.
Legal and patriotic arguments against the "White Primary."

Country Sunday by Walter Spearman Lawd, Does Yo' Undahstan'? by Ann Seymour. 1937.
Advertisement of the two plays selected as first and second prize-winners in the contest sponsored by ASWPL.

Feeling is Tense. 1940.
A statement of how the sheriff reflects the state of mind of the community he serves.

Lynched on Minor Accusations. [n.d.].
Very brief accounts of several lynchings.

Lynching Maps of the United States For Two Decades. Reprinted from Southern Frontier, January, 1942. 1942.
Five maps graphically pointing up the decline of lynching between 1922-1942.

A Lynching Threatens. 1936.
Brief outline of steps that might be taken by sheriffs or local citizens to prevent a threatened lynching. Reprinted during the year.

What One Woman Can Do To Prevent Lynchings. 1936.
10 positive steps that one woman could take to stop lynchings. 3 editions, the last, 1938.

[What We Know About Lynchings. Late 30's .
Listed among the publications but no copies located.]

C. The Conference on Education and Race Relations

Booklets

Education and Racial Adjustment: Report of Peabody Conference on Dual Education in the South. 1931.
Summaries of reports and speeches given, and list of those in attendance included.

Education and Racial Adjustment: Report of Second Peabody Conference on Education and Race Relations July 21-23, 1932. 1932.

Pamphlets

College Courses in Race Relations: An Effort to Meet the Challenge of the Southern Situation. 1939.
Report on a survey made of college courses "dealing with the interracial situation in America."

Education and Race Relations. [early 30's].

Designed to circulate information on the Conference on Education and Race Relations and its activities to the schools.

Education For Southern Citizenship: Plans for Study of Region's Special Problems. 1938.
Introductory pamphlet to the Conference on Education and Race Relations. 5 printings, 1938-1939.

Eleazer, Robert Burns. A Challenge to Southern Schools. 1941.
Strong appeal for more attention to race problems in the schools based on the evident need illustrated by extracts from student opinion.

---, compiler. The Quest For Understanding: Extracts from Report of Peabody Conference on Education and Racial Adjustment. 1931.
Rather full summaries of major addresses made at the 1931 conference. 5 editions, the last in 1935.

---. School Books and Racial Antagonism: A Study of Omissions and Inclusions That Make for Misunderstanding. [c. 1933].
Summary of a study of American history, American literature and civics texts used in Southern schools which concludes that most of them gave an inadequate treatment of the Negro. Second edition, 1935.

---, compiler. Singers in the Dawn: A Brief Anthology of American Negro Poetry. 1934.
Brief sketches of 40 Negro poets with selections from their writings. 5 editions, the last in 1939.

---. Twelve Million Negro Americans: Their Background, Progress and Present-Day Problems. 1941.
Condensed version of Understanding Our Neighbors. Second edition, 1942.

---. Understanding Our Neighbors: An Educational Approach to America's Major Race Problem. 1940.
Identical with the Commission's publication of the same title. 6 editions, the last in 1942.

Population Problems in the South: A Brief Supplement to the Study of Civics and American Problems. 1937.
Cursory analysis of some statistics on Negroes: health, public schools, the ballot, etc. Much of the same material given in Understanding Our Neighbors.

Study Guide for "Understanding Our Neighbors" For Use of School Teachers and Leaders of Study Groups. 1942.
Identical to the Commission's Study Guide.

Leaflets

America's Tenth Man: A School Project in Human Understanding. [1933].
Announcement of 1933-1934 Tenth Man contest under sponsorship of the Conference that year.

Award for Teachers' Colleges and Schools of Education. [1931].
Announcement of another contest, 1931-1932.

Education and Race Relations. [c. 1931].
Designed to interest schools and colleges in introducing units of study on the Negro or race relations.

"The Quest For Understanding:" An Educational Project for Teachers Colleges and Schools of Education. [1933].

Schools Challenged by South's Peculiar Problems. 1937.
Virtually the same as Education and Race Relations.

Why a Unit of Study About the Race Problem. [1942].
Reproduction of two pages of the Study Guide for advertising purposes.

D. Southern Commission on the Study of Lynching

Lynchings and What They Mean. 1931.
Booklet. The general findings of the Commission's study.

The Mob Murder of S. S. Mincey with the added Story of a Threatened Lynching Foiled. 1932.
Pamphlet. Two case studies illustrating aspects of the lynching situation.

The Plight of Tuscaloosa: A Case Study of Conditions in Tuscaloosa County, Alabama, 1933. 1933.

E. Stabilization Fund of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc.

An Announcement by the Commission on Interracial Cooperation Incorporated. New York, 1930.
Large Size four-page folder, briefly outlining history, plans, and financial needs of the Commission, mailed to 5,000 prospective givers.

Depression Intensifies the Race Problem. New York, 1931.
Pamphlet. Short statement of accomplishments of the Commission viewed against background of increased need.

A Sane Approach to the Race Problem: Justice and Goodwill Between the Races Through Conference and Cooperation. New York, 1930.
Portfolio size pamphlet, illustrated, designed to win support for the Commission.

Where Men Agree: Eminent Opinion on a Sane Approach to the Race Problem. New York, 1930.
Pamphlet. Short quotes from a number of outstanding persons, including Calvin Coolidge and Herbert Hoover.

F. State Committee Publications

Alabama

What is the Alabama Committee on Interracial Cooperation? Birmingham, 1941.
Leaflet. Statement of purpose, proposed program and leadership.

Georgia

"An Astounding Situation." Reprinted from Southern Frontier. [1940].
Leaflet. Part of the campaign literature to get the Georgia legislature to support the Home for Delinquent Negro Girls.

The Case for Negro Policemen. [1933].
Flyer. List of Southern cities having Negro policemen with quotes from police authorities of some of the cities.

Georgia Committee of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation. [1938].
Pamphlet. Outline of purpose and organization of the Georgia Committee with a list of the membership by sex and race.

Georgia Observer. Periodical issued bi-monthly, occasionally more often, 1940 - December, 1942.
Four-page, half-sheet size. Usually reproduction of a speech or special article on some phase of race relations. Incomplete file.

Georgia Problems; Excerpts Taken from the Georgia Program for the Improvement of Instruction - Bulletin No. 2, May, 1937. 1938.
Leaflet. Lists number of Georgia problems, including race relations.

Georgia's Mob Centers. [1922].
Leaflet. Map showing concentration of Georgia lynchings accompanied by the anti-lynching program of the Georgia committee.

The Georgia School Law: How Equitable is Its Operation? 1938.
Pamphlet. Excerpts from the state school law of 1937 with appropriate questions and blank charts for the reader to find out how the provisions apply to his own county.

Negro Public Schools in Georgia 1937-38. 1938.
Pamphlet. Discussion of figures on Negro education in Georgia.

Purpose and Program of the Georgia Committee on Inter-Racial Cooperation. 1937.
Flyer.

Purpose - Georgia Committee of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation. [1942].
Flyer. Lists officers of the committee.

Washington, Forrester B. Economic Problems of Rural Negro Migrants in Atlanta. 1940.
Leaflet by director of the Atlanta School of Social Work.

What is the Georgia Commission on Interracial Cooperation? 1938.
Leaflet. Designed to advertise the committee.

What Juvenile Court Judges Say About a Training School for Negro Girls. 1941.
Leaflet. Short quotes from a number of judges, accompanied by list of the sponsoring committee for the training school.

Woofter, T. J., Jr. Progress in Race Relations in Georgia: Report of the Secretary of the Georgia Committee on Race Relations for 1922. 1922.
Pamphlet. Mainly a report of a number of cases of legal aid rendered, and a few general suggestions for action by local committees.

Fulton-DeKalb (Georgia) Committee

Summary of the Findings Concerning Negro Life Taken From a Study of Atlanta Made by the Senior and Young People's Departments St. Mark's Methodist Church. Atlanta, Georgia. 1940.
Leaflet.

Mississippi

Could a Picture Like This Be Taken In Your Town? Jackson. [1941].
Leaflet. A picture of Negro children behind bars accompanied by listing of state action on a proposed training school for delinquent Negro children.

Is There a Need? Jackson. [1941].
Leaflet. Quotes from a number of Mississippi judges on the need for a Negro training school.

Lyells, Rudy E. S., compiler. Understanding the Negro: A Short List of Recent Books by and about the Negro Selected to give a Background for Understanding what the Negro Thinks in the Present Crisis. Jackson, 1942.
Pamphlet. Not very extensive, but covers a wide range.

Purpose and Program of the Mississippi Council on Interracial Cooperation. Jackson. [1941].
Flyer. Accompanied by list of officers and executive council.

Statement of Purpose: Mississippi Council on Interracial Cooperation. Jackson. [n.d.].
Leaflet. Accompanied by a membership blank.

North Carolina

Building Goodwill Through Conference and Cooperation: An Effort to Improve Human Relations. Chapel Hill, 1931.
Pamphlet. A brief of the North Carolina Committee: opinions on it by outstanding North Carolinians, a list of its personnel and an outline of some aspects of its program.

[Comer, Harry F. and Fisher, Isaac]. Progress Report - Commission on Interracial Cooperation For Virginia and North Carolina. Place of publication not indicated , 1935.
Pamphlet.

Cooperation in Community Planning and Action. Raleigh. [n.d.].
Leaflet. Announcement of plan to hold several commission meetings in various cities.

Going Forward Together Through Conference and Cooperation: A Program to Improve Human Relations. Raleigh, 1937 (?).
Pamphlet. Advertisement of the Committee. Second edition, 1938.

Going Forward Together Through Understanding: Six Regional Conferences on Interracial Cooperation. [Raleigh, 1940].
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Flyer. Points out Texas lost by not establishing a graduate school for Negroes.

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Pamphlet. Brief sketch of origins, achievements, personnel and endorsements.

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Leaflet. Prepared to acquaint new members with the program of the State Committee.

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Leaflet. Material for use on Race Relations Sunday.

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Appreciative editorial and biographical sketch on Dr. Robert Emory Blackwell, Chairman of the Virginia Commission on Interracial Cooperation for many years.

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Statement prepared by 9 leading Negro women revealing several areas of concern they felt in the field of race relations.

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A study of the changing relationships of Negro labor, especially as affected by the New Deal. One of the studies projected in 1933 by the Special Committee on Negroes in the Economic Reconstruction.

Chadbourn, James Harmon. Lynching and the Law. Chapel Hill, 1933.
A thorough and interesting analysis of the state legal provisions concerning lynching, illustrated with newspaper accounts of lynchings, and supplemented by a detailed outline of model legislation designed to curb lynching.

Johnson, Charles S., Embree, Edwin R. and Alexander, Will W. The Collapse of Cotton Tenancy: A Summary of Field Studies and Statistical Surveys 1933-1935. Chapel Hill, 1935.
Brief summary of studies made of tenancy in the cotton belt prior to 1935, especially as it was affected by the New Deal, with suggested programs for improving the situation. Another of the studies projected by the Special Committee on Negroes in the Economic Reconstruction.

Mangum, Charles S. The Legal Status of the Negro. Chapel Hill, 1940.
A review of statutes and cases concerning relations between Negroes and whites in the South since 1865. An outgrowth of the Participation Study begun in 1933.

Raper, Arthur F. Preface to Peasantry: A Tale of Two Black Belt Counties. Chapel Hill, 1936.
A report of living conditions in Greene and Macon counties, Georgia. Originally a Ph.D. dissertation at the University of North Carolina, 1931. A third study projected by the Special Committee on Negroes in the Economic Reconstruction.

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A description of conditions in the South in the late 1930's with emphasis on the economic needs of the people.

Raper, Arthur F. The Tragedy of Lynching. Chapel Hill, 1933.
A thorough study of lynching illustrated with a number of case studies. The results of research sponsored by the Southern Commission on the Study of Lynching.

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A textbook designed to furnish information about the Negro, opening and closing with chapters devoted to consideration of the nature of interracial contacts and adjustments.

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A survey of problems arising out of the population shifts of the World War I period, well supplemented with charts and maps.

3. Materials Directly Related to the Commission on Interracial Cooperation.

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4. Other Sources.

Much material was needed to fill out the context within which the Commission on Interracial Cooperation existed. Numerous works have been cited, especially in Chapter I, as examples of developments that were occurring. They have been clearly identified when cited. This list includes only those references which proved

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