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Significant Activities Of The National Association For The Advancement Of Colored People

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SIGNIFICANT ACTIVITIES OF THE
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

by

J. Leon Booker

A Thesis Submitted In Partial Fulfillment Of
The Requirements For The Degree Of

Bachelor of Arts

in the

Department of Social Sciences

of the

Division of Arts and Sciences

of the

Prairie View State Normal and Industrial College

Prairie View, Texas

May, 1937

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A C K N O W L E D G E M E N T

" "

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J.L.B.

DEDICATION

**

IN memory of my Grandmother and my Father, the writer wishes to dedicate the thesis.

**** PART ONE
**

INTRODUCTION AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

BOND

MADE IN U.S.A.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

It is my hope that the reader will find in this volume a study of the attitude of my generation toward the subject of international law. This attitude is not only influenced by the general conditions of the world but also by the particular conditions of the United States. It is the purpose of this study to show the influence of these conditions on the attitude of my generation toward international law. The study is divided into two parts. The first part is devoted to a general study of international law and the second part is devoted to a study of the attitude of my generation toward international law.

PART ONE

INTRODUCTION AND HISTORICAL
BACKGROUND

The study of international law is a study of the relations between states. It is a study of the rights and duties of states. It is a study of the principles and maxims of international law. It is a study of the history and development of international law. It is a study of the present and future of international law.

The purpose of this study is to show the influence of the general conditions of the world and the particular conditions of the United States on the attitude of my generation toward international law. The study is divided into two parts. The first part is devoted to a general study of international law and the second part is devoted to a study of the attitude of my generation toward international law.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

It is only fair to the reader to say frankly in advance that the attitude of any person toward the subject will be distinctly influenced by his pre-conceived notions of an effective Inter-racial agency. If he questions the writer's selection of every act, merely for the sake of satisfying a hypo-critical nature, then he will need something more than the sort of facts and comments that the writer has given. It is not the writer's attempt to convince anyone of the strength or weakness of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The writer uses several reference books, a few Negro newspapers, answers to personal and written inquiries, and an assortment of pamphlets and magazines. Although the account of the activities may appear biased, the writer uses precaution in his presentation.

A. Purposes of this Study:-

The writer has two general purposes in writing this thesis. They are: (1) to sketch the origin, development and representative activities of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; and (2) to appraise the activities and accomplishments of the organization.

B. Limitations on the Scope of the Subject:-

The following limitations are placed on the scope of

the subject: (1) the treatment does not aim to be chronological; rather several accounts are cited in addition to the reconstruction background to support the claim that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has been active since its formation; (2) the source of material is limited to pamphlets and bulletins from the National Office, Negro Histories, newspaper accounts and personal and written communications with officials of the National and branch offices; (3) the appraisal is that of officials of the organization, and the writer's personal interpretation; (4) other civic organizations are passed over lightly; (5) although various activities are depicted briefly, stress is placed on the crusade against lynching; and (6) the writer avoids tracing rises and declines in membership, interest and finance.

CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

A. General Conditions out of which Organized Movement Grew:-

The general conditions of the Negro during the late Reconstruction were poor. The Southern Negro was socially, economically and politically dependent, upon the very hostile Southern whites. The whites were intimidating the Negro in order to force him out of control in politics.¹ During this period the Negro in every section was faced with the problem of achieving self-sufficiency. The wage of the Negro worker was reduced to the level of bare subsistence by taxation, peopangé, caste and discrimination.² A reign of terror prevailed in many parts of the South. The Ku Klux Klan, a secret terrorist organization, was determined to deprive the Negro, by force of whatever power he might have.³

Race riots sprang up in widely separated areas. Notable among them were the riots at Springfield, Illinois in 1908.⁴ People in both the North and South resented these repressive acts, by public disapproval of the way the Negro was being treated.

After an exchange of correspondence between Miss Ovington and Mr. Walling a preliminary meeting was held.

¹DuBois, Black Reconstruction, pp. 670-677.

²Ibid., pp. 670.

³Ibid., pp. 680.

⁴Ovington, How The N.A.A.C.P. Began, pp.

A few people came together, and decided to capitalize on the psychological effect of beginning the first campaign, to better the condition of the Negro, on February 12, 1909.⁵ The date, February 12, 1909, was significantly impressive for it was the month and day of the celebration of the centennial of the birth of Abraham Lincoln. In the least the move was a gesture of tribute to the great Emancipator.

The old Niagara Movement, which is representative of the type of concerted action launched against flagrant oppression and denial, served as a forerunner of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The programs of the two were identical; this fact made it an easy matter for them to combine their forces. They differed principally in the race of their members. The Niagara organization, of which W.E.B. DuBois was head, consisted wholly of Negro members; the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People consisted of both Negro and white members.⁶

The Niagara organization attempted a work of legal redress similar to the program that the N.A.A.C.P. adopted later. One factor that contributed most to its lack of effectiveness was the fact that the members did not give sufficient financial support to the organization.⁷

⁵Mary W. Ovington, How The N.A.A.C.P. Began, pp. 1-5.

⁶James W. Johnson, Along This Way, pp. 313-314

⁷Mary W. Ovington, How The N.A.A.C.P. Began, pp. 5-6.

B. The Influence of Early Movements on the Organization of a National Body:-

Early movements, which were usually started as the result of some act of violence, served as the nuclei around which racial consciousness revolved. One movement was led by Booker T. Washington, and the Conservative group supported its program. Unalterably opposed to the Conservative element was W.E.B. DuBois; the Trotter Movement was also active in arousing a feeling of racial consciousness.⁸ The spirit of airing common grievances and awakening Negroes to their rights prevailed in the early movements the same as it is in the National Inter-racial Agencies today.

C. The Formal Organization of the (Present) National Association for the Advancement of Colored People:-

The formal organization of the N.A.A.C.P. was realized a year after the first conference was held at Springfield, Illinois, in 1909. Mr. Oswald Garrison Villard, president of the New York Evening Post Company, drafted the plans for the organization of a permanent body.⁹

The second conference held in New York in May, 1910 made provisions for the permanency of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The Meeting in New York was far enough removed from the more flagrant abuses of Negro rights to allow the proceedings to be publicly proclaimed. There were no intimidations as might easily have been the case had the meeting been trans-

⁸ James W. Johnson, Along This Way, pp. 313-314.

⁹ Mary W. Ovington, How The N.A.A.C.P. Began, pp. 2.

ferred to the more prejudiced sections.¹⁰

The meeting was attended by several thousand members of both races, and the whites were active with the Negroes in the work which was outlined by the conference.

White leaders who were outstanding in the movement for organization were: William E. Walling, who issued the first formal challenge to sympathizers of the Negro; Oswald Garrison Villard, who was president of "The New York Evening Post"; and who wrote a challenging statement to a selected list of people, inviting them to come together on February 12, 1909 to consider the race situation; Moorfield Story, a prominent Boston attorney who later served as the first president of the N.A.A.C.P., and whose keen sense of legal technicalities made him one of the most useful men in the conference; and Mary White Ovington, who accepted the challenge issued by Mr. Walling, and who was also instrumental in promoting the early conferences.¹¹

The most important Negro leader in the conference was W.E.B. DuBois, who had been active in the Niagara Movement; and who served as the connecting link between the Niagara Movement and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The first set of officers was elected soon after the conference opened. They were: National President, Moorfield Story; Chairman of the Executive Committee, John E.

¹⁰Mary W. Ovington, How The N.A.A.C.P. Began, pp. 4.

¹¹Paul Baker, Negro-White Adjustment, "The N.A.A.C.P." pp.43
-44.

Milholland; Disbursing Treasurer, Oswald Garrison Villard; Executive Secretary, Frances Blascoer; Director of Publicity and Research, Dr. W.E.B. DuBois.¹²

Each person who was chosen to serve as an officer proved himself to be competent and trustworthy. Miss Ovington made the following comment on the achievement of the officials in questions: "Our propaganda work was put on a national footing, our legal work was well under way, and we were in truth a National Association pledged to nation-wide work for justice to the Negro race."¹³

Replacements in the organization have been made from time to time. Upon the death of the first president, Moorfield Storey, J.E. Spingarn was elected to serve in that capacity; upon the resignation of Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, Walter White was chosen to serve in his stead. James Weldon Johnson discovered Walter White at a mass meeting in Atlanta during 1916. Under the presidency of J.E. Spingarn, the organization maintains the basic principles of its founders. Under the direction of Walter White, who is the executive secretary and editor of the official publication, the activities of the organization have been carefully presented to the public.

Several committees direct the activities of the organization. The Legal Committee, composed of men outstanding in the field of law, is headed by Charles H.

¹² Mary W. Ovington, How The N.A.A.C.P. Began, pp. 2-5.

¹³ Paul Baker, Negro-White Adjustment, pp. 44.

Houston, former Vice Dean of the Howard University Law School.¹⁴ It is the duty of this committee to direct legal battles in behalf of the lives, properties and constitutional rights of Negroes. In addition to Mr. Houston, on the Legal Committee there are the following: Arthur B. Spingarn, Homer S. Brown, Clarence Darrow, James Marshall, Charles H. Studin, and Herbert K. Stockton. Others, whose names do not appear, serve as associate members.

The Budget Committee formulates plans for the raising and expending of money. The committee is composed of the following: Hubert T. Delaney, Chairman; Isadore Marton; Arthur B. Spingarn, and Frances Williams.

The Spingarn Medal Award Committee is headed by Oswald Garrison Villard. This committee was formed in 1914 by J.E. Spingarn (then chairman of the board of directors, and now President of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People), who gives annually a gold medal for the highest or noblest achievement by an American Negro during the preceding year or years.¹⁵

According to the N.A.A.C.P. Annual Report for 1935, there are three hundred and twenty-five branch organizations throughout the country.¹⁶ Active branches are located in such cities as: Augusta, Georgia; Uniontown, Pennsylvania; Brooklyn, New York, and Baltimore, Maryland.¹⁷

¹⁴N.A.A.C.P. Annual Report, 1933, pp. 14-15.

¹⁵N.A.A.C.P. Pamphlet, Spingarn Medal, p. 1.

¹⁶N.A.A.C.P. Annual Report, 1935, pp. 38-39.

¹⁷Ibid., pp. 38-39.

In 1935 the branches contributed approximately twenty-one thousand dollars to the general fund of the Association. A total of seventy branches attained the Honor Roll for the year by sending in the total apportionment assigned to them as their share of the National budget.

The branch officials attend to the minor problems that arise in their localities.¹⁸ If a major case arises, the branch gets in touch with the National office, which in turn may send a representative to handle the matter.¹⁹

In addition to what has already been said, the organization has a membership of one hundred thousand white and colored citizens. Although these members are scattered throughout the country, they make attempts through their varied activities to better the condition of underprivileged Negroes.

¹⁸Information secured by correspondence with Dr. E.A. Etten, President of the Galveston, Texas Branch, and Attorney R.D. Evans, President of Waco, Texas Branch.

¹⁹Baker, Negro-White Adjustment, p. 44.

PART TWO

ACTIVITIES OF THE N.A.A.C.P

CHAPTER I

THE DEDICATION OF ITS SERVICES
TO THE ELIMINATION OF ABUSES

According to Baker, "The N.A.A.C.P. seeks and expects to secure for the Negro all the privileges that are available to any other citizen. For this reason it opposes all forms of segregation, discrimination, injustice, suppression, and special privilege. It maintains that the Negro should have the same protection under the law, the same economic, opportunity, the same cultural privilege, and the same rights to marriage as any other citizen of the country."¹ Perhaps the organization does "seek" and "expect" to secure all these things, but the writer fails to note much significant progress along these lines. The organization, in the main, has been active in its program.

The services of the N.A.A.C.P. are dedicated to the elimination of abuses which are heaped upon a person or a group of persons because of racial hatred.² Social abuses are more pronounced in the South than in any other section. Some of the more common social abuses are:

(1) Jim-Crow provisions for transportation, residential districts, and discrimination, and segregation in public places. Further, Negroes are subjected to discriminations when they try to attain economic stability. Whenever workers complain to the N.A.A.C.P. of inequalities,

¹Paul Baker, Negro White Adjustment, pp. 44.

²Frank Windom, Interview, Galveston, Texas Branch Secretary

N.A.A.C.P. representatives are sent to investigate the reported inequalities. The representatives make reports of their findings to persons in authority.³ Following is an example of racial abuse brought to the attention of proper authorities:

"In June of 1935 the Association sent John P. Davis, Secretary of the Joint Committee on National Recovery, south to investigate the treatment being accorded Negroes in the T.V.A. Copies of the report were sent to President Roosevelt; Chairman Arthur E. Morgan of the T.V.A.; United States Senators and Representatives; and other interested individuals."⁴

³N.A.A.C.P. Annual Report, 1935, p. 6.

⁴Ibid., p. 6.

CHAPTER II

THE FIGHT AGAINST LYNCHING

Agitation, declares James Weldon Johnson, is one of the most effective weapons of the N.A.A.C.P. It agitates through mass meetings, through leaflets and pamphlets, the Crisis, and any other publication which will open its pages.¹

Among the social, economic and political activities of the N.A.A.C.P., the one which comes in for the greatest amount of attention is the program against lynching. This has been a continuous struggle since the beginning of efforts to organize in the South.² According to J. E. Spingarn, "Lynching is to remain as the center of activity until all fear of physical violence has been removed from the land. Since lynching is used as a weapon of terror against Negroes, it is the aim of the N.A.A.C.P. to arouse the public interest to the extent that federal legislation will be passed in the interest of the Negro."³

Negroes have been subjected to intimidations since emancipation, principally by terrorist groups which were formed in order to drive the Negro from politics in the South. It is interesting to note some of the underlying causes of the common occurrence of lynching. There are four general factors of lynching: (1) the typical lynching is

¹ Along This Way, p. 314.

² Ibid., p. 314.

³ Crisis, February 25, 1934, pp. 18-23.

in the rural South; (2) the mob victim is usually a Negro; (3) the lynchers are poor, native-born whites; and (4) the accusations range from minor charges to the more serious crimes of murder and criminal assault.⁴

The report of the Committee on Inter-racial Cooperation gave the following facts relative to lynchings:

"In but few instances has anyone been punished for his participation in a lynching 'party.' Lynchers go unpunished because punishment of their crime depends upon the same peace officers and court officials whose impotence they demonstrated when the lynching occurred; the officers of the law have already shown their unwillingness or inability to administer justice; and lynchers in most cases are responsible only to the local courts."⁵

Since it was evident that the states were not curbing the practice of lynching, the N.A.A.C.P. turned its activity toward federal legislation against lynching. The States were disgustingly ineffective in stopping the practice, in that they were very lax in giving protection to accused persons.⁶

The N.A.A.C.P. decided that the only effective machinery for stamping out lynching in the United States would be the fearless and strict enforcement of an adequate federal anti-lynching law. Such bill was introduced

⁴Commission on Inter-racial Cooperation, The Mob Still Rides, 1931-35, pp. 5-7.

⁵Ibid., p. 6.

⁷See chart in Appendix II for Lynching Record.

by representative L.C. Dyer of Missouri in the Sixty-seventh Congress in 1918.⁸ The bill passed favorably in the House of Representatives, but, failed to pass in the Senate, due to stern opposition led by Senator William E. Borah of Idaho, and the Southern Senators. Modifications were made in the Anti-Lynching bills of 1925 and 1926 respectively, but each of them was defeated.⁹ Following is a partial list of its provision: A fine of ten thousand dollars shall be imposed upon the county in which a lynching takes place; this total sum is recoverable by the family or dependents of the victim; lynchers and lax officials are to be tried in Federal Court upon indictment. The main opposition was on the question of constitutionality.

Between 1918 and 1935 the N.A.A.C.P. held mass meetings; distributed pamphlets; investigated and tried in other ways to get a federal Anti-Lynching bill passed.¹⁰ In keeping with its custom of furnishing facts when they are needed, the Association gave pamphlets to members of the Seventy-fourth Congress in April of 1935. These pamphlets contained data on lynching, and a list of organizations which endorsed the Costigan-Wagner Anti Lynching bill.

⁸ James W. Johnson, Along This Way, pp. 361-372.

⁹ Work, Negro Year Book, 1931-1932, pp. 292-293.

¹⁰ See Appendix I for chart showing the lynching record.

The main provisions of the Costigan-Wagner Anti-Lynching Bill are: (1) legal action is to be taken by the Federal Government in apprehending, trying, and punishing suspects of lynching if the state after thirty days, has not taken any action to punish lynchers; (2) guilty parties are to be tried in the Federal District Court, and punished by fine or imprisonment or both, of peace officers who fail to carry out their duty of protecting prisoners; and (3) damages of not less than two thousand, and not more than ten thousand dollars, might be sought in action in the Federal Court in behalf of the heirs of the victim. The defendant in such suits in all instances is to be the county in which the lynching occurs.¹² In the main, the Costigan-Wagner Anti-Lynching Bill is similar to the Dyer Anti-Lynching bill.

The N.A.A.C.P. data on lynching to the Seventy-fourth Congress contained the following: (1) number and causes of lynchings by states; (2) triviality of causes; (3) innocent persons lynched; and (4) constitutionality of the bill, and the F.E.R.A. funds to the South.¹³

The opposition was led by Senators Black of Alabama, Connally of Texas, Borah of Idaho, and Smith of South Carolina. Significantly impressive was the fact that four Southern Senators were recorded as favoring the bill. They were: Bachman of Tennessee, Logan and Barclay of

¹²Congressional Digest, p. 342.

¹³N.A.A.C.P. Annual Report, 1933, pp. 19-24.

Kentucky, and Neely of West Virginia.¹⁴

The following suggestions were made by folk who are willing to engage in bloody warfare. This philosophy is indicative of the impatient. The suggestions are: Until there has been enacted some Federal law against lynching, there is only one remedy, one power to be invoked by those black American citizens of the South.¹⁵ "Lynchers must be fought with the same instruments they use. When Negroes make up their minds to stop lynching it will be stopped.¹⁶ When they make up their minds to use (shot-guns, knives, dynamite and fire) violence against the revolting ambition of the murderers and lynchers, they will be meeting the lynchers on their own grounds. When and not until then will innocent black people of the South be protected and respected."¹⁷

The N.A.A.C.P. contends that the way to stop lynching is to make laws which will provide for the capture and punishment of mob leaders and members. A strong Federal Anti-Lynching bill proposes to do that. As the situation exists without a Federal Anti-Lynching law, the leaders along with all the members go unpunished.¹⁸ Such is allowed to happen because apprehension and punishment of the crime depend upon the same peace officers and court officials whom the lynchers defied in taking over

¹⁴N.A.A.C.P. Annual Report, 1933, pp. 5-6.

¹⁵Pittsburg Courier, December 18, 1935, p. 5.

¹⁶Ibid., December 18, 1935, p. 18.

¹⁷Ibid., December 18, 1935, p. 15.

¹⁸Baker, Negro-White Adjustment, pp. 52-57.

the law into their own hands.¹⁹ The sheriff and other of the elective officials are responsible to the inhabitants of the particular locality, and, in many instances, to keep the favor of the local electorate, either fail to make much of an effort to prevent the act, or invite the mob to come on and get the victim. A recent example was the lynching of Elwood Higginbotham at Oxford, Mississippi, in September of 1935. During the time the Negro was on trial for the murder of a white man, a group of unmasked white men took the prisoner and lynched him. The lynchers met with no resistance from the officers.²⁰

The lack of understanding between the races serves as another reason for the existence of deep-rooted hatred and prejudice.²¹ Inter-racial Agencies urge the cooperation between the races. Attempts are being made by both Negro and white college students of the South to become better acquainted with one another. These attempts manifest themselves in inter-racial conferences which are held in various Southern States annually. One such meeting was held in Dallas, Texas on November 21, 1936. The organization is appropriately named the Texas Commission on Inter-racial Cooperation.

The Southern Inter-racial Committee works toward the curbing of lynching as well as the bringing about of a better understanding between the races.²² The Texas

¹⁹Commission of Inter-racial Cooperation, A Review of the Lynching Record, 1931-1935, pp. 4-9

²⁰Ibid., 1931-1935, pp. 12

²¹Willis D. Weatherford, Race Relations, pp. 216-217.

Commission on Inter-racial Cooperation confines its activities to Texas; the Southern Inter-racial Committee works throughout the South.²²

The program of these inter-racial agencies are in harmony with the N.A.A.C.P. program. However, the organizations are not formally related, but their ideas on racial understanding give them something in common.²³ The various inter-racial organizations are noted for varied activities and in some instances they are confined to a specific phase of work; however, the activities of the N.A.A.C.P. are not confined to the eradication of lynching. Whenever complaints of discrimination against Negroes are brought to the attention of the Association, it investigates the complaints; and if the complaints are justified, charges are filed against the accused parties.

²²Texas Inter-racial Commission, Report, November 20-21, 1936, p. 3.

²³Information secured from Walter White in a letter under date of January 14, 1937.

19
G.B.

CHAPTER III

THE ATTACK ON EDUCATIONAL
DISCRIMINATION

There are many conditions which make for unequal educational advantages, especially in sections where there are provisions for dual school systems. Since the inequality is more keenly felt in the South than in other sections, a brief discussion of the Southern system follows: Constitutional and legal enactments throughout the South established school systems which were generally made mandatory both as to 'separation' and as to 'equality.' The first mandate of the school laws is universally respected, while the second is almost universally disregarded. Vast sums of money are being spent upon the education of Negroes by Southern States; but when compared with the amount spent for white children there is much to be hoped for. The per capita allowance for Negroes is only thirty-seven per cent of the allowance for whites.¹

this [A well-planned and far-reaching program has been launched in an effort to wipe out the injustices and inequalities in public education. There are focal points of attack on educational discrimination. The N.A.A.C.P. pledges itself to eradicate the following evils through making investigations, furnishing data to interested authorities, and sponsoring court cases:

- 1. Inequality in the school term

¹Horace Mann Bond, Education of the Negro in the American Social Order, pp. 226-231.

2. Inequality in the teachers' salaries.
3. Inequality in school plant and equipment.
4. Inequality in apportionment of state funds allocated to the counties and cities on the basis of total school population, white and Negro.
5. Inequality in transportation of rural school children.
6. Lack of Negro administration even in segregated public school systems.
7. Lack of Negro teachers in special subjects: Art, music, handicrafts in some systems.
8. Greater Negro administrative representation in all school systems.
9. Lack of Negro representation on boards of education.
10. Inequality in enforcement of truancy laws.
11. Lack of study of the Negro school curricula.
12. Lack of reference books and material on the Negro in school and private libraries.
13. Exclusion of qualified Negroes from State supported Universities and Technical schools.²
14. Inequality in per capita cost of education for the white and Negro child.³

The Southern States deliberately withhold from their Negro citizens an equal education in order to exploit, disfranchise and ostracize them more easily, and cripple their resistance to oppression.⁴

The N.A.A.C.P. retained the services of a capable attorney in the person of Mr. Charles H. Houston. The

²This point is discussed at length under title of "Court Cases Involving the Principle of Equal Educational Advantages."

³N.A.A.C.P. Bulletin, A Program Against Discrimination in Public Education, p. 4.

education program was further helped by the renewal of the grant of ten thousand dollars which came from "the American Fund for Public Service."⁵ These two agencies alone served as the main channels through which the Association launched its drive against educational barriers.

The Association has been effective in removing educational discrimination to the extent of winning several court cases involving discrimination. Some recent examples are as follows: In the case of the University of Maryland versus Donald Gaines Murray, a decision in favor of the plaintiff was handed down. The decision in effect denied the University of Maryland the right to bar Murray from the Law School because of his color, and ordered him admitted in September of 1935. The N.A.A.C.P. took this action because the University of Maryland is a tax-supported school; unless there is a similar university erected for Negroes, Murray is entitled to admission. The University appealed to the United Supreme Court; the decision of the lower court was upheld.⁶

The victory won in this case marks the beginning of professional training for Negroes in the white universities of the South.⁷ If the N.A.A.C.P. continues to be successful in similar cases, qualified Southern Negroes will be able to attend their own State Universities in

⁴N.A.A.C.P. Bulletin, A Program Against Discrimination in Public Education, p. 4.

⁵Ibid., p. 6.

⁶N.A.A.C.P. Annual Report, 1935, p. 16.

⁷Ibid., p. 16.

other sections.

Another test case had the title of the University of Missouri versus Lloyd L. Gaines. Gaines, who was an honor graduate with a degree of Bachelor of Arts from Lincoln University, filed an application for admittance to the Law School of the University of Missouri. Although Mr. Gaines is legally entitled to admission to the University of Missouri, he was refused admittance. The N.A.A.C.P. legal staff had charge of the case throughout. Finally, in September of 1936, Gaines was admitted to the University of Missouri.⁸

Another case which deserves mention here is the University of Virginia versus Alice C. Jackson.⁹ This case, too, involved the filing of an application for entrance to the graduate school. After the application was finally rejected, an appeal was made to the N.A.A.C.P. for aid in opening the doors of the school to qualified Negroes. The Association accepted the plea, and set about to press the Jackson case.¹⁰

The Negro schools have been helped greatly by agencies other than the organs of the state in which the system is located. Private and public philanthropic agencies have been of great service in the promotion of education among Negroes. The N.A.A.C.P. has furnished officials of these agencies with data on Negro families, their needs, and

⁸N.A.A.C.P. Annual Report, 1935, p. 17.

⁹Ibid., p. 17.

¹⁰Pittsburgh Courier, December 18, 1935, p. 7.

reports on the environmental conditions are given on request.¹¹ A few items upon which reports have been furnished are as follows: (1) number of teachers in a school district; (2) number of Negroes living in a particular community; (3) number of children assigned to each teacher; (4) occupational choices of both patrons and students; and (5) salaries of teachers in the district. According to Edwin R. Embree, "In no other single item have the American foundations so universally shown an interest as in Negro schools."¹²

The Rosenwald Fund has been used to bring the Negro rural school out of the doldrums, and make the conditions in and around school of a more desirable nature. There are five thousand Rosenwald schools throughout the rural South. The gifts are not large in comparison with the total foundation efforts, but the ideal was realized when the movement instilled a spirit of cooperative school building.¹³

The Slater Fund has contributed equipment for farm and home training, and has made it possible for many of the large schools to grow into county training centers at high school level.¹⁴ This fund came as the result of a contribution of one million dollars made in 1882 by Mr. John F. Slater of Norwich, Connecticut.

¹¹Horace M Bond, Education of the Negro in the American Social Order, p. 136.

¹²Brown America, p. 122.

¹³Edwin R. Embree, Brown America, p. 122.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 124.

The Anna T. Jeanes Fund was created in order to supervise the teaching of Negro children. Two hundred thousand dollars was given to the General Education Board with the stipulation that it be used for helping Negro rural schools of the South.¹⁵

This agency has been of special benefit to rural teachers and children alike. Jeanes supervisors have stimulated the activities of both teachers and students.

¹⁵Horace Mann Bond, The Education of the Negro in the American Social Order, pp. 135-137.
Woodson, The Negro in our History, p. 456.

CHAPTER IV

ADEQUATE AND CAPABLE LEGAL DEFENSE

The activities of the Association in providing legal assistance are dependent upon a number of conditions, some of which are: (1) does the case involve color discrimination; and (2) is some fundamental citizenship right of Colored people involved?¹ On the basis of these conditions, those cases which are deemed worthy of defense are taken by the Association through its legal committee. The results of N.A.A.C.P. intervention in criminal cases have ranged from commutations of death sentences to penalties of less severity, as in the case of Jess Hollins of Okmulgee, Oklahoma, who was given the death sentence for criminal assault upon a white woman in 1931. Through the efforts of the Oklahoma State branches of the N.A.A.C.P., Hollins received a commutation of sentence.² Another case in which the N.A.A.C.P. was successful is the one of Shafter Roberts. Roberts was charged with the murder of a white man at Inverness, Florida. The Tampa Branch secured counsel and raised funds for the defense. Roberts was acquitted of the charge.

In 1925, the N.A.A.C.P. successfully defended Dr. Sweet and his family against charges of murder. These murder charges grew out of the attempt of a mob of whites to force Dr. Sweet and his family to leave their newly ac-

¹Baker, Negro-White Adjustment, p. 44.

²N.A.A.C.P. Annual Report, 1935, p. 10.

quired premises. They refused; the killings followed, and Dr. Sweet and the others of his family were arraigned and tried for murder. The case drew widespread attention, for it not only involved the murder charges, as such, but also the constitutionality of the segregation ordinance of Detroit. Dr. Sweet and all the others involved were acquitted. The court further ruled that the residential segregation law was unconstitutional.³

One other case of nation-wide importance is the one which involves nine Negro boys of Alabama and two white women. These boys were accused of criminally assaulting the women, for which the State of Alabama demanded death for eight of the defendants and life imprisonment for one because of his age. The N.A.A.C.P., along with other organizations, came to their aid. Although it surrendered the lead in the case to the International Labor Defense, it gave money and other support to the cause of the Scottsboro boys. The case is known internationally as "The Scottsboro Case."⁴

The principal charges for which victims are held are usually unsubstantiated claims of criminal assault, aggravated assault and murder. Third degree pressure is applied in order to force confessions of guilt from the accused. This procedure is often used when the plaintiff is a white person and the defendant a Negro.

³Crisis, September, 1935, p. 270.

⁴Baker, Negro-White Adjustment, p. 52.

CHAPTER V

CRUSADE FOR POLITICAL RIGHTS

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People does not condone the practice of whites excluding Negroes from participation in elections. These exclusions happen principally in the South. The practice, of not allowing Negroes to vote, is one of the abuses of the primary. In 1915 the main issue in the fight between the N.A.A.C.P. and the Southern primary rule was the Grandfather Clause and its validity.¹

Since the primary is the real election in the one-party states of the South, the Association holds that a constitutional right of Negroes is being violated when they are denied the use of the ballot.²

The Nixon case involved the question of the denial, by election judges at El Paso, Texas, of the right to vote to Dr. L. A. Nixon. Dr. Nixon was a qualified Negro Democrat of that city. The election judges were influenced by an act of the Texas Legislature which was passed in May of 1923.³ In part, the act provided for the systematic exclusion of all Negroes from the voting lists.

There were three of these cases involving Dr. Nixon and the Texas primary law. The cases were handled jointly by the El Paso, Texas Branch of the N.A.A.C.P., and the National office. These cases drew widespread atten-

¹Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science, November, 1928, p. 2.

²N.A.A.C.P. Annual Report, 1925, p. 14.

³Ibid., 1925, p. 22.

tion, for they were to serve as the basis for determining the legality of these primary laws. Each of the cases involved the question of illegal disfranchisement. Although favorable decisions were handed down by the United States Supreme Court in the Nixon Cases, the 'white' primary rule continues to keep the Negro from voting in a large number of Southern States.⁴

A. Legal Restrictions on the Rights of Negroes

✓ In great numbers of the states, Negroes are engaged in a bitter struggle with the whites. In the Southern states, the whites are seeking to keep the Negroes from securing and maintaining rights which are guaranteed them by the Federal Constitution.⁵

Despite the guarantees granted by the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth amendments, ten Southern states have as their policies the following:

1. The Negro may not vote.
2. The Negro may not marry according to his choice.
3. The Negro must accept separate accommodations in public schools and on public conveyances.⁶

In all but twenty-one States of the United States, at least, one form of the forementioned restrictions is practiced; in practically all of these states, violence is practiced against the Negro in order to keep him from becoming too aggressive in making demands for his consti-

⁴See map on "Restrictions on Negroes rights by States." Appendix VI

⁵Constitution of the United States, Amendments 13, 14, & 15.

⁶Civil Liberties Union, Black Justice, May, 1931, p. 4.

tutional rights.⁷

The N.A.A.C.P. has tested the legality of many of these restrictions. Examples of the tests are to be found elsewhere in this work; however, a few of such tests are cited here: In Pennsylvania, the Association sent written requests to the Pennsylvania General Assembly Number 132 to act favorably on proposed civil rights laws; the laws were passed, and the N.A.A.C.P. issued a memorandum for procedure in defense of civil rights for distribution to the Pennsylvania branches.⁸ Court cases involving Negroes and several prominent Southern Universities have been won.⁹

⁷See Appendix VI for map showing legal restrictions.
Civil Liberties Union, Black Justice, May, 1931, pp. 1-7.

⁸N.A.A.C.P. Annual Report, 1935, p. 32.

⁹See Part Two: Chapters 2, 3, 4, and 5 for test cases.

CHAPTER VI

PROMOTION OF A SOCIAL PROGRAM

The Program of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is one which aims to make conditions more desirable for Negroes. It will be necessary to change public opinion in order to bring about an appreciable amount of change in conditions. The N.A.A.C.P. auxiliaries apparently recognize this fact, for their programs are centered on bringing about this desired change.

In a great many instances, the N.A.A.C.P. fights against segregation and Jim-Crowism.¹ Some notable examples of N.A.A.C.P. intervention have been cited in previous chapters of this treatise.²

To have civil liberty is to have power and possibly prestige. Cases involving civil rights have been tried in several States. The Ohio State civil rights laws of 1894 were amended in 1936 in order that they would compare with the much more specific laws of New York, Pennsylvania and Illinois.³ These laws are designed to prevent segregation and Jim-Crowism in these states. Under the law Negroes are given the same privileges as whites. Civil rights are won and not given, therefore, it remains for the people in whose interest the laws are passed to invoke them. Laws mean less than nothing unless they are enforced.⁴

1 American Civil Liberties Union, Black Justice, May, 1931, pp. 3-5

2 For citations of cases see Part Two: Chapters 2, 3, 4, and 5.

3 Pittsburgh Courier, December 3, 1935, p. 8.

4 Ibid., p. 8.

CHAPTER VII

DEFINITION OF THE STATUS
OF THE NEGRO UNDER THE
NEW DEAL AGENCIES

In taking stock of the Negro's plight under the New Deal agencies, one finds many conditions which point to things that are not so desirable.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People used John P. Davis, and Charles H. Houston to make an investigation of the conomic plight of the Negro under the New Deal. These men concluded that the Negro was receiving only a small amount of his fair share of employment under the various agencies. The Association did something more than sponsor an investigation; it offered to give testimony to the House Labor Committee in May of 1935, which would support the charges of discrimination in giving emergency employment to Negroes throughout the country.⁵

Though the N.A.A.C.P. has made protests to the abuses given Negroes, another organization is very effective in championing the cause of Negro labor. The International Labor Defense is an organization, which is much more firm and decisive than the N.A.A.C.P.⁶

A. Status Under the Social Security Act

The activity of the N.A.A.C.P. in connection with the Social Security Act, has been confined more or less to

⁵N.A.A.C.P. Annual Report, 1935, p. 5.

⁶Baker, Negro-White Adjustment, pp. 45-47.

a mere advisory capacity. (The only activity listed as important is given in the following). The N.A.A.C.P. officials scanned the provisions of the act and found that agricultural workers, unskilled laborers, domestic and chance laborers were not included. A representative of the Association, Attorney Houston, met in a conference with the Senate Finance Committee in February, 1935. The attorney analyzed the proposed legislation, and scored the fact that the forementioned workers were omitted. Clauses were immediately drawn up which included the excluded classes of workers.⁷

B. Status Under the A.A.A.

The Federal government did not use discrimination in giving benefits to needy farmers. Scheming landowners deprived the Negroes of that which was due them. The conditions in the rural South were deplorable. "Wholesale fraud on tenants in the payment of parity checks occurred."⁸ The letters of complaining tenants caused the tenants to be subjected to floggings and other injustices, for these letters were referred to the locality in which they lived. Even when this did not happen, the tenants failed to get their checks.⁹

When the news of the injustices reached the N.A.A.C.P., that organization sent a formal protest to the Depart-

⁷John P. Davis, "A Black Inventory of the New Deal" - Crisis, May, 1935, p. 141

⁸Ibid., p. 142.

⁹Ibid., p. 142.

ment of Agriculture. The Association pleaded for the Department of Agriculture to act through some New Deal in alleviating the conditions among starving and shelterless Sharecroppers, and Tenant farmers in several of the Southern States. Arkansas has been hardest hit by the activities of the Sharecroppers and Tenant farmers. Farm owners in this state have resorted to mob violence in attempting to curtail the activities of the Southern Tenant-Farmers Union. This union has both Negroes and whites as members.¹⁰

C. Status Under the T.V.A.:-

Reports were coming to the National Office of the N.A.A.C.P. in 1934 and 1935, telling of the treatment being accorded Negroes in the Tennessee Valley Authority project. Two representatives of the N.A.A.C.P., Mr. John P. Davis and Attorney Charles H. Houston, made extensive visits throughout the Valley in 1934. These men prepared detailed reports on the chief social and economic problems of Negroes in the T.V.A.¹¹

According to the reports of the two N.A.A.C.P representatives, the presence of the two races on the same project created labor problems. Some of these problems, for example, were: (1) skilled Negro laborers were unable to find employment; (2) laborers were mis-classified, that is,

¹⁰Crisis, October, 1935, p. 294.

¹¹"The Plight of the Negro in the T.V.A." - Crisis, October, 1935, pp. 294-314.

Negroes were forced to do skilled work while receiving pay as unskilled workers.¹² For instance, two Negro workmen on the T.V.A. project were allowed to drive trucks for more than eight months - a job which should have paid seventy-five cents an hour, but for which they were paid at the rate of forty-five cents an hour. The men testified to the N.A.A.C.P. representatives that they were afraid to complain because the experience of other Negro workers had been that complaints about false classification led to dismissal.¹³

Negroes were excluded from taking up residence quarters in the "Model Villages" which were constructed, for the dam workers, with government funds. The houses in the Negro villages were decidedly inferior to those found in white villages. Schools and recreational facilities for Negroes were non-existent or decidedly inferior, according to Attorney Charles H. Houston, John P. Davis, and Ward H. Rodgers.¹⁴ In the training program, inequalities were present to the extent that courses, such as Electrical and Civil Engineering, were open to whites only.

The report of the N.A.A.C.P. representative praised the T.V.A. for the encouragement of the following: (1) community leadership; (2) wholesome family life; (3) adult education; and (4) fruitful use of leisure time.¹⁵

¹²"The Status of the Negro Under the T.V.A." - Crisis, October, 1935, p. 297.

¹³Ibid., p. 294.

¹⁴Ibid., pp. 294-314.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 296.

D. Status Under the W.P.A.

In June of 1935, Walter White, National N.A.A.C.P. Secretary wrote Harry L. Hopkins, F.E.R.A. Administrator at Washington, D.C., urging the appointment of a qualified Negro as Deputy Administrator in every State having an appreciable number of Negro citizens.¹⁶ The communication also scored the practice of discrimination against Negro workers in widely separated sections of the country. Charles H. Houston, acting in behalf of the N.A.A.C.P., made reports to the F.E.R.A. Administrator of widespread discriminations which were being heaped upon the Negro worker. The following cases are examples of what the N.A.A.C.P. has done: (1) In Pine Bluff, Arkansas, Negro applicants for work relief were compelled to stand outside the office while white applicants were seated within; (2) in Nashville, Tennessee, two Negro timekeepers employed on a project at Tennessee Agricultural and Industrial College employing 99 per cent Negroes, were removed from their jobs without explanation; and (3) in Arcadia, Florida, by admission of Florida F.E.R.A. officials, colored workers were paid twenty cents an hour while whites received twenty-five cents an hour for the same work.¹⁷

The extent of the N.A.A.C.P. activities is characteristic of its gentle policy of playing safe. The organization prepares reports and makes protests to persons in authority, in its attempt to stamp out the practice of

¹⁶N.A.A.C.P. Annual Report, 1935, p. 7.

¹⁷Crisis, May, 1935, p. 142.

injustice to Negroes under this New Deal Agency.

E. Status Under the C.C.C.

Each New Deal Agency seeks to alleviate the conditions in different phases of our socio-economic life. The main objective is to help the citizen in his attempt to attain a normal and comfortable place in society. In trying to make this adjustment, many forces, which are needed in making a society both normal and comfortable, were brought into play. The agencies deal with both the adult citizens and the citizens of tomorrow.

With increasing frequency members of the two races were taking advantage of the opportunities which the Civilian Conservation Corps was offering.¹⁸ Quite early the matter of segregation was brought to the attention of the N.A.A.C.P. In June of 1935 the National Office of the N.A.A.C.P. filed a formal protest with the War Department against segregation in the C.C.C. Camps. This segregation not only was found in all Southern States, but in other states; such as California, New Jersey whose provisions prohibited such practices.¹⁹

The main defense used by the War Department to support the acts of camp segregation is a statement to the effect that the mixed camps had been unsuccessful.

During 1935 the N.A.A.C.P. investigated complaints

¹⁸These points are discussed at length in a later paragraph.

¹⁹Pittsburgh Courier, August 24, 1935, pp. 1-7.

of non-promotion of qualified Negro reserve officers in a New Jersey camp. The activity in this connection did not end with the usual procedures, investigation, report and protest. The New Jersey Conference of Branches advised complainants as to the procedure to follow in making applications for promotions and of aroused civic groups to fight their cause.²⁰ The results of N.A.A.C.P. intervention were as follows: The War Department called several Negro medical reserve officers and chaplains for C.C.C. service; caused officials of the Long Island Railroad Company to curb the segregation of Negro C.C.C. enrollees going to and from New York City, and stimulated the appointment of Negroes to the C.C.C.²¹

The C.C.C. has since served as an agency through which young Negroes might become gainfully employed; it also gave them new opportunities for discipline. The discipline was useful, for it stressed duties of a citizen in the light of his responsibilities both to himself and to his society. Moreover, the youth's affiliation with the C.C.C. automatically stipulated that twenty-five dollars per month is to be paid to his dependents. This not only gives the youth an opportunity to actually shoulder burdens which are his, but it arouses a sense of responsibility which is peculiar to a man with the highest type of ideals for citizenship.

²⁰N.A.A.C.P. Annual Report, 1935, p. 7.

²¹Ibid., 1935, p. 8.

F. The N.Y.A.

The National Youth Administration has been, and is, one of the most impartial of the New Deal Agencies. The executive director of the N.Y.A., Aubrey Williams, invited the N.A.A.C.P. to help in carrying out the program which was outlined by the President of the United States. They made definite checks in order to determine the extent of Negro participation in the N.Y.A. program. In most of the checks made conditions were found to be highly satisfactory.²² Whenever a case of unequal proportions of employment under the system is cite, the Association tries to bring an immediate adjustment of the situation.

G. Effects of N.A.A.C.P. Intervention on Governmental Activities: -

The N.A.A.C.P. has been active in all of the New Deal agencies. Bits of success have been realized in some of them while in others it was not so successful. The examples which have been given serve as the basis for the assertion that the N.A.A.C.P. has stressed the necessity of giving to Negro citizens the same type of consideration which is given all other.

²²John P. Davis, "New Deal Activities" - Crisis, February, 1935, pp. 4-5.

CHAPTER VIII

THE ANNUAL AWARD OF THE SPINGARN MEDAL

As a possible incentive for making outstanding contributions, the practice of making a yearly award was begun in 1914. The medal takes the name of the man making such award, J.E. Spingarn. Spingarn was then chairman of the board of directors of the N.A.A.C.P. An official pamphlet entitled The Spingarn Medal for 1936 sets forth the two-fold purpose of the award¹: first, to call the attention of the American people to the existence of distinguished merit and achievement among American Negroes; and secondly, to serve as a reward for such achievement, and as a stimulus to the ambition of colored youth.²

"The medal is presented annually to the man or woman of African descent and American citizenship, who shall have made the highest achievement during the preceding year or years in any honorable field of human endeavor. The Committee of Award is bound by no burdensome restrictions, but may decide for itself each year what particular act or achievement deserves the highest acclaim. The act or achievement may be in any field of human endeavor. It is intended that the medal shall be for the highest achievement in the preceding year, but if no achievement

¹Pp. 1-2.

²Ibid., pp. 1-2.

in any one year seems to merit it, the committee may award it for work achieved in preceding years, or may withhold it and use the money so withheld for second or third prizes in any subsequent year or years in accordance with the same principles." ³

The recommendations for the award may be made by any person living within the borders of the United States. The person making the recommendation should give a detailed account of the achievement of the person recommended as meriting the Spingarn Medal. ⁴

The presentation is always made by some notable person. For example, Edwin Embree presented the award to Max Yergan; others are: Presidents of the United States, Governor of a State, President of a College, and a Senator. ⁵

From 1914 to 1935 there have been twenty-two awards made. ⁶ Their contributions are significant enough. The award serves as the highest symbol of honor and praise which the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People gives to an outstanding Negro citizen.

³Ibid., pp. 1-2

⁴Ibid., p. 2.

⁵Ibid., p. 1.

⁶See Appendix VII.

A. A Brief Summary of Activities

The activities of the N.A.A.C.P. are very broad, though they are lacking in definiteness. They are out of adjustment in the social, economic and political life of the Negro. These injustices are attacked both by the national organization and the branches.

1. Its Protests and Campaigns Against Lynching:-

The N.A.A.C.P. has been successful in its protests and campaigns against lynching.

PART THREE

A BRIEF SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

2. Its Campaign Against Unjust Federal Legislation:-

The South's dual school system is the main cause of the Negro's educational backwardness. The Negro children are kept in inferior schools, and the law justifies this state of affairs. The N.A.A.C.P. has been successful in its campaign against this system.

The schools are always separate, and the Negro children are kept in inferior schools. The N.A.A.C.P. attacks this system and has been successful in its campaign against it. The N.A.A.C.P. has been successful in its campaign against this system.

I. A Brief Summary of Activities

The activities of the N.A.A.C.P. are very broad, though they are lacking in forcefulness. They grew out of injustices in the social, economic and political life of the Negro. These injustices are attacked both by the National organization and the branches.

A. It Protests and Campaigns Against Lynching:-

The N.A.A.C.P. supports and urges the passage of Federal anti-lynching bills. It makes investigations of all reported lynchings, and reports its findings to the general public, and to members of Congress. It strives to integrate the various fights against lynching.

B. It Crusades Against Unequal Educational Advantages:-

The South's dual school system is detrimental to both whites and Negroes. The Negro suffers most, for he does not get his just or equal share of school facilities, salaries for teachers and per capita distribution of funds.

The schools are always separate, but never equal. The N.A.A.C.P. attacks educational discriminations through the courts, and the pressure of public opinion. Barriers of inequality in the matter of securing professional training are being broken down through the courts. Nota-

bly is this true in Maryland and Missouri.

C. It Provides Adequate Legal Defense for Negroes.

The N.A.A.C.P. furnishes legal defense to Negroes who are in need of it. The conditions upon which the Association enters a case are: first, the case must in-
color discrimination, and second, some fundamental citizenship right of colored people must be involved.

Negroes are frequently held on false accusations. The legal committee has successfully defended Negroes who were implicated in court cases involving whites.

D. Fights for Political Recognition

The N.A.A.C.P., through court cases, has been active in trying to give political significance to the Negro. The legality of disfranchisement has been tested in the courts up to and including the United States Supreme Court. But court decisions, though favorable in text, have failed to give the Negro political freedom in the South.

E. It Campaigns Against Segregation

In 1925, the N.A.A.C.P. succeeded in getting the Detroit Segregation Ordinance repealed. It further successfully defended Dr. Sweet and his family against a charge of murder, which grew out of the attempt of a mob of whites to force the Doctor to vacate the property.

F. It Fights for Recognition of the Negro
Under the Various Agencies of the New
Deal.

The N.A.A.C.P. has made investigations of the Negro under the several New Deal Agencies. In at least one of these investigations, conditions were found to be partly favorable. The N.A.A.C.P. has been called upon to act in an advisory capacity.

fact is not altered that the Organization is composed of influential whites and Negroes, who continue in their non-violent, seemingly passive, ways of resting the abuses that are thrust upon Negroes.

-Finis-

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2. NEGRO YEAR BOOK, 1931-1932. Work, Monroe. Tuskegee Press, Tuskegee, Alabama.

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1. Baker, Paul E. NEGRO-WHITE ADJUSTMENT. Association Press, New York, 1934.
2. Bond, Horace, M. THE EDUCATION OF THE NEGRO IN THE AMERICAN SOCIAL ORDER. Prentice Hall Co., New York, 1934.
3. DuBois, W.E.B. BLACK RECONSTRUCTION IN AMERICA. Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1935.
4. Embree, Edwin R. BROWN AMERICA. Viking Press, New York, 1933.
5. Johnson, James W. ALONG THIS WAY. Viking Press, New York, 1933.
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2. THE CRISIS, May, 1930, p. 161.
 Sept., 1930, p. 304.
 April, 1931, p. 134.
 August, 1931, p. 371.
 Feb. 1932, p. 82.
 May, 1935, p. 85.

B I B L I O G R A P H Y

3. THE CONGRESSIONAL DIGEST. Volume 14, June-July, 1936, pp. 161-162.
 4. NEW REPUBLIC. Volume 79, 1934, p 139.
- B. Newspapers:
1. PITTSBURGH COURIER. August 24, 1935.
December 24, 1935.
 2. KANSAS CITY CALL. December 24, 1936.
- IV. Pamphlets:
- A. N.A.A.C.P. ANNUAL REPORTS. 1925, 1933, 1934, and 1935.
 - B. COMMISSION ON INTERRACIAL COOPERATION. "The Mob Still Rides". 1931-1935.
 - C. CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION. BLACK JUSTICE. 1931.
- V. Miscellaneous:
- A. LETTERS
 1. Walter White
 2. Attorney J. G. Evans, Waco, Texas.
 - B. PERSONAL INTERVIEWS:
 1. Frank Windom, Galveston, Texas.
 2. Dr. C. A. Etter. Galveston, Texas.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

The standard book of the United States...
"Appendix A" consists of...
to be familiar to the United States...
to be grateful. To various...
which is ascribed the book...
of value in our country...
when the degree of...
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A P P E N D I C E S

APPENDIX I

HISTORY OF AMERICAN LYNCHING

The standard book on lynching, J.E. Cutler's "Lynch-Law" speaks of it as "a criminal practice which is peculiar to the United States". The origin of the term is doubtful. To various colonels and civilians named Lynch is ascribed the honor of establishing this form of crime in our country, in Revolutionary times, when the absence of courts of justice in country districts and the turmoil of American political upheaval caused men to band together for the maintenance of order, or for purposes of vengeance. Something not far from lynching occurred during the early wars with the Indians on the American Continent, and it may be said that this form of mob action is truly characteristic of civilized communities. Where society is still in the frontier stage, the settlement of disputes is left to individuals or groups of individuals. Thus in early days the bands of regulators notified undesirable characters to leave the community, prosecuted horse thieves and, in Revolutionary days especially, flogged Tories and tarred and feathered "informers", such as, persons accused or reporting American Smuggling to the British Authorities.

The term lynching, as used in those days, did not

apply, as it does now, exclusively to the infliction of the death penalty. The usual penalty inflicted by the self-constituted courts was a severe flogging and a warning to leave the community. With the agitation for the abolition of slavery, lynching began to be an element in what has since crystallized into the race problem. Slave insurrections, notably the Nat Turner rebellion, were punished with the utmost severity and those suspected of having a share in them were often executed, shot, hanged, or even burned, without any form of trial. The Abolitionists themselves met with mob action.

Lynching accompanied the border troubles that preceded the Civil War, especially on the soil of Kansas. Lynching was used as an instrument to drive the Negro out of politics in the South during the post-Civil War days.

The U.S.A.S.P. compiled and published thirty years of lynching, the standard statistical work on this subject.

APPENDIX IIHIGHLIGHTS OF THE N.A.A.C.P.'S FIGHT
AGAINST LYNCHING

1. It began the first systematic, intensive and organized fight against lynching in the United States.
2. Investigators for the N.A.A.C.P. have visited the scenes of lynching, obtained the facts, sometimes establishing the innocence of the victim, and (have) published the facts to the world.
3. The First National Conference on Lynching was promoted by the N.A.A.C.P. and held in New York in May of 1919.
4. Anti-Lynching Campaigns of the Association have been directed toward the passage of Federal Anti-Lynching Bills; namely, The Anti-Lynching Bill by L. C. Dyer and the Anti-Lynching Bill by Costigan and Wagner.
5. The N.A.A.C.P. compiled and published "Thirty Years of Lynching", the standard statistical work on this subject.

APPENDIX IIISTATISTICS ON LYNCHING
FROM 1885 TO 1918¹

A. During this time there were 3,224 persons lynched in the United States.

B. Distribution of lynchings by race.

1. White- 702 or 21.8 % of the total.

2. Negro- 2,522 or 78.2 % of the total.

C. Distribution by sections.

1. Number of lynchings in the South alone

a. 2,824

2. Number in all other sections combined.

a. 400

¹ Carter G. Woodson, THE NEGRO IN OUR HISTORY, pp. 547

APPENDIX IVMOB VIOLENCE IN THE UNITED STATES, 1889-1935¹

From the chart one can conclude that lynching reached its highest peak in 1892, when two hundred and fifty persons met death at the hands of lynch-ers. Since that time lynching has been on the decline with occasional flare-ups.

The number of lynchings declined from a yearly average of 124 between 1895 and 1905 to seventy between 1905 and 1915, to fifty-three between 1915 to 1925, and to seventeen between 1925 and 1935.

¹COMMISSION ON INTERRACIAL COOPERATION. THE MOB STILL RIDES.
p. 9.

A CHART SHOWING MOB-VIOLENCE IN THE UNITED STATES, 1889-1935

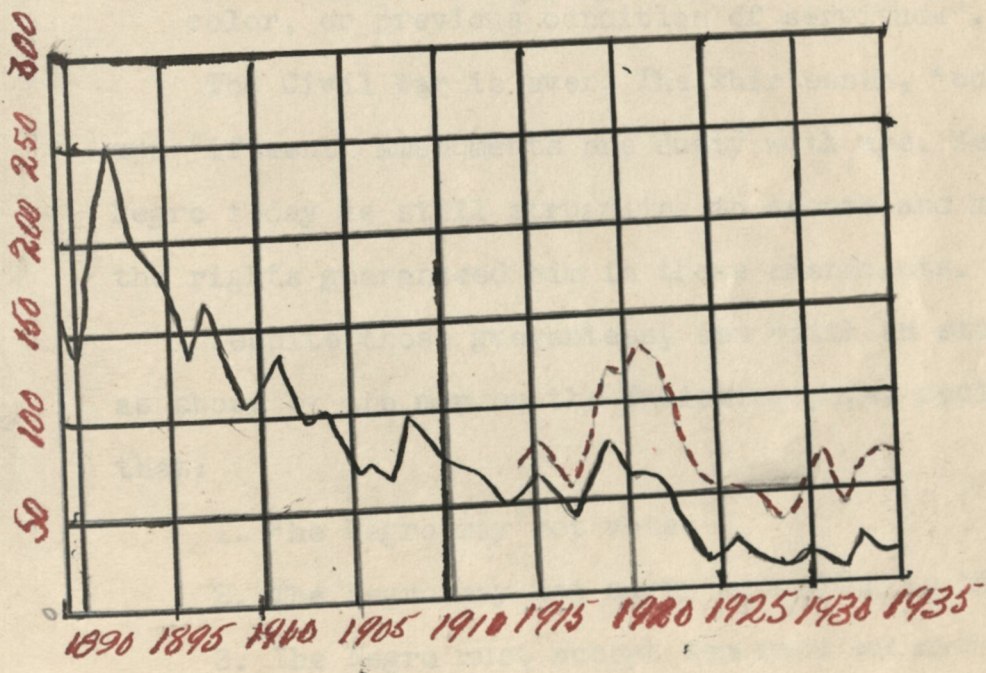
LOCAL RESTRICTIONS ON VOTING RIGHTS

The Constitution says:

"Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall exist within the United States."

"No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States."

"The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude."



--- Total Lynch Bent Mobs 1914-1935
 — Total Number Persons Lynched 1889-1935

APPENDIX V

LEGAL RESTRICTIONS ON NEGROES' RIGHTS

The Constitution says: ¹

"Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall exist within the United States."

"No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States".

"The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude".

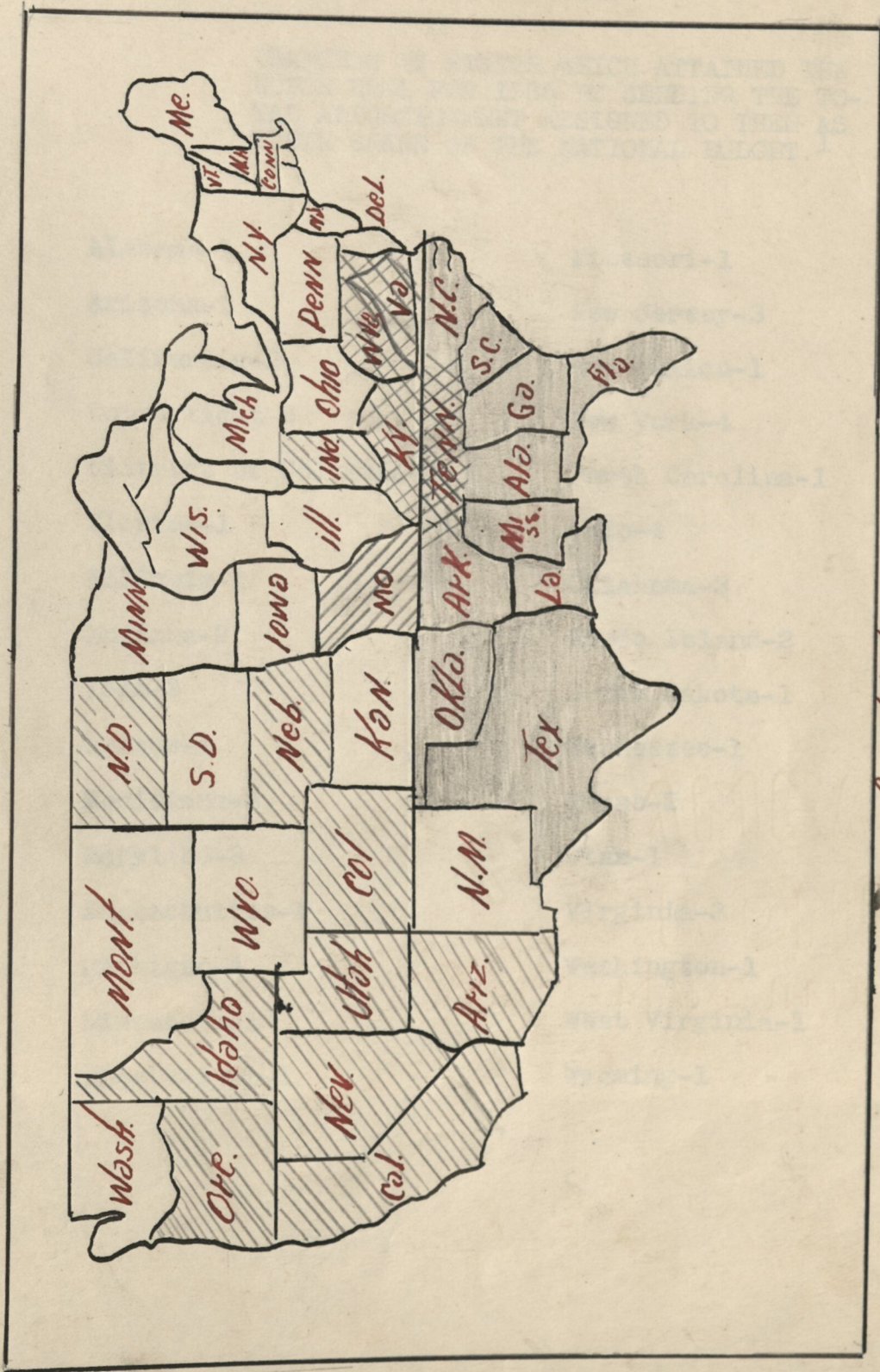
The Civil War is over. The Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments are dusty with age. Yet the Negro today is still struggling to secure and maintain the rights guaranteed him in those amendments.

Despite those guarantees, ten Southern states, as shown by the map on the following page, declare that:

1. The Negro may not vote.
2. The Negro may not marry according to his choice.
3. The Negro must accept separate accommodations in public schools and on public conveyances.

In all but twenty-one states of the United States at least one form of the above legal restriction is practiced. And in practically all of these same states, illegal violence is practiced against the Constitutional rights of the Negro.

¹ Amendments 13, 14, and 15



- Denial of right to marry with whites seg. in schools.
- ▣ All above restrictions except right to vote
- ▤ Intermarriage Ban; School Segregation. (17 States)
- ▥ Intermarriage Ban. (27 States)

¹CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION

APPENDIX VI

BRANCHES BY STATES WHICH ATTAINED THE HONOR ROLL FOR 1935 BY SENDING THE TOTAL APPORTIONMENT ASSIGNED TO THEM AS THEIR SHARE OF THE NATIONAL BUDGET.¹

Alabama-1	Missouri-1
Arizona-1	New Jersey-3
California-2	New Mexico-1
Connecticut-2	New York-4
District of Columbia-1	North Carolina-1
Florida-1	Ohio-4
Illinois-1	Oklahoma-3
Indiana-2	Rhode Island-2
Iowa-3	South Dakota-1
Kansas-1	Tennessee-1
Louisiana-3	Texas-2
Maryland-3	Utah-1
Massachusetts-1	Virginia-3
Michigan-4	Washington-1
Minnesota-1	West Virginia-1
Mississippi-1	Wyoming-1

¹N.A.A.C.P. ANNUAL REPORT, 1935, pp. 48.